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The Right Hon^{ble}
The Earl of Lauderdale
from the Author

REFLEXIONS

ON THE

CAUSES WHICH INFLUENCE

THE

Price of Corn.

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THE PRICE OF CORN.

BY M. FLETCHER.

Molti autori dall' ozio tranquillo del loro gabinetto formandosi idee astratte sopra ipotesi anzi che sopra fatti conosciuti, hanno innalzate le loro speculazioni. Il mio ingegno è stato più lento. Ho impiegato varj anni a conoscere i fatti. Le idee mie coll' occasione di esaminare oggetti reali, accozzate, dispute, contraddette, si sono andate componendo, e le generali idee sono emanate poi dopo una longa combinazione di elementi conosciuti.—VERRI.

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БИОХИМИЯ

habbit und Strahlung. So können wir die von
diesem aus lebendig wirkende Seele prägen
zu einer entsprechenden Empfindung der gesamten Umwelt.
Und wenn wir diesen Eindruck auf die Seele des Kindes
ausüben, so kann sie leichter und leichter dasjenige erlernen,
was sie zu lernen hat. Und das ist nicht nur eine
Voraussetzung für das Lernen, sondern es ist auch
die Voraussetzung für das Verstehen. Denn wenn
die Seele des Kindes nicht in der Lage ist, die
Wirkungen der Umwelt zu verstehen, so kann sie
nicht lernen. Und wenn sie nicht lernen kann,
so kann sie nicht leben. Und wenn sie nicht leben
kann, so ist sie ein totes Wesen.

REFLEXIONS,

8c. 8r

THE late session of parliament has added much to the stock of useful and authentic information as to the past and present value of corn. It will be serviceable to collect the facts into a connected view, and to inquire into the sources of the fluctuations which have taken place in the price of grain. The price is, in reality, the especial object of all legislation upon the foreign corn trade.

Directions were given, through the Foreign Office, to the Consuls abroad to transmit returns of the average prices of grain. These have, in many instances, been made up, from the beginning of the last century, yearly to the present time. The House of Lords, likewise, appointed

a Committee to inquire into the prices at which foreign grain was shipped at foreign ports, the quantity of foreign grain, and the price at which it could be imported into this country.

In the evidence before this Committee it is shown* that a remunerating price for wheat, at Dantzig, cannot be fairly stated at less than 30s. the imperial quarter. According to a statement† of the shipping expenses, freight, insurance, and sale-charges, and adding ten per cent. for waste and profit, this wheat will require to be sold in London at 44s. 4d. per quarter. This is the best quality of wheat. Dantzig is the principal source of foreign supply to this country, and governs, in a great degree, all other places. At other ports, as Petersburgh, Hamburg, &c. where the bulk of the wheat is not so good, the price has prevailed of late years from 25s. to 28s. per quarter, which will, as above, make a selling price in this country of about 39s. to 42s. It is, therefore, to be collected from the evidence of practical persons, that wheat of the qualities marketable in this country is to be imported so as to be sold, giving the least re-

Committee of inquiring into the prices at which foreign grain was shipped at foreign ports, the quantity of foreign grain, and the price at which it could be imported into this country.

The actual price which has prevailed in the northern ports of Europe for the last seven years, has been conformable, that is, equal to 25s. to 30s. the imperial quarter. In France the price has run nearer 35s. to 40s. In Italy, according to the evidence given by Mr. Risquin, fully the same. In Spain and Portugal, at times, higher than in England. The Black Sea is too distant to admit ordinarily the shipment of grain, with sufficient safety. In the United States wheat is rather dearer than in the Baltic. In the consideration of the effects, consequently, of the importation of foreign grain into this country, the attention may be safely confined to the Baltic, the greatest and cheapest source and more especially to Dantzig.

During the last seven years this country has received into consumption very little foreign wheat.* The growth of Great Britain and Ireland to 1821, shows the following consumption of wheat on which the duty has been paid by foreign consumers, vizt., 1820, 34,275 qrs.; 1821, 2

1822 * Mr. J. H. Lander's evidence; pages 6 and 21.

1823 + Mr. Birrell's evidence; page 39.

1824 † Mr. D. Hodgson's evidence; page 179.

1825 1825, 4525 qrs.; evidence; page 142.

1826 315,945

* Mr. J. H. Lander's evidence; pages 6 and 21.

+ Mr. Birrell's evidence; page 39.

† Mr. D. Hodgson's evidence; page 179.

1826 315,945

Ireland has pretty well sufficed for the wants (estimated at 14,000,000 quarters) of the population; and judging of the future from the past, the same may be anticipated in the years ensuing. The following are the annual average prices of wheat from 1820, stated in the imperial measure:

1820	.....	58s. 9d.	67s. 11d.
1821	.....	51s. 9d.	56s. 2d.
1822	.....	51s. 9d.	54s. 7d.
1823	.....	53s. 5d.	53s. 5d.
1824	.....	64s. 0d.	64s. 0d.
1825	.....	68s. 7d.	68s. 7d.
1826	.....	58s. 9d.	58s. 9d.

The average of these seven years is 59s. 1d. to the imperial quarter. This would give for the qualities of foreign wheat above-named about 55s. to 65s. as their market value. The selling price, warehoused, being 39s. to 45s., the difference, 16s. to 20s. would not suffice to pay the duty, which, when the price is 58s. to 59s. is 28s. 8d. according to the scale in the Bill lately before Parliament.

But if the average price were to rise to 62s. to 63s. and these foreign qualities bear their proportionate values in the London market of 58s. to 68s. the difference of 19s. and 23s. between these rates, and the cost 39s. to 45s. would, in the finer, be more than sufficient to

pay the duty of 20s. 8d. in the proposed scale. But the inferior would stand excluded until the average rose still higher. The general effect of such a scale of heavy duties would be to confine the importation to the superior qualities, as is the well known tendency of heavy duties in all merchandise. For instance, a commodity which, at its source, costs, in its extreme qualities, 10 and 20 and is enhanced 30 by charges and duty, will stand in 40 and 50 at the place of sale: that is, although intrinsically the worst and the best differ 100 per cent. they will come to vary in price only 25 per cent., and the consumer, at this slighter difference, will necessarily take to the better kind principally or entirely.

From this general estimate of the practical effect of the proposed scale, it is obvious that, whenever the average price began to exceed 62s. the finest wheat of the Baltic might be imported:—when the average price rose to 66s. the inferior of the Baltic, and the superior of the Netherlands, and the flour of the United States:—and when the average price reached 70s. the wheat of France and Italy might be added to the importations from other countries. This is assuming that the price of wheat continues at the level of late years, that is, equal to 25s. to 30s. per quarter in the northern ports of

Europe, and at the prevailing higher rates at
the other sources of supply. The wants of
this country in years of ordinary plenty would
form so moderate a demand upon foreign
markets as not permanently to affect the price
in them. A material diminution in the tillage
of the country must take place, with an unim-
paired consumption, before any extensive calls
could arise for foreign grain; and such dimin-
ution would be little likely to ensue from its
introduction, checked by the heavy duties pro-
posed.

Since, however, the projected law is deferred
and the disparity between the price of grain in
this country and the prices of other countries is
not likely to be soon equalized, it may assist the
consideration of the question in the interval
to the revival of the discussions, to endeavour
to investigate the causes which occasion the
value of corn to vary in different countries;
and, also, to show the origin of the fluctua-
tions which have, at certain periods, extended
throughout all.

Setting aside the effects of the plenty or dearth
of harvests which, depending on the nature of
these seasons, are uncontrollable by human power,
and occasional, rather than lasting sources of
variation, the scope of the inquiry will com-
prehend the reasons chiefly assigned, for high

prices under the following heads:—*the pressure
of population and growth of industry—the state
of the currency—monopoly or exclusion of foreign
trade—and taxation.* These are of local opera-
tion. Finally will remain to be examined the
cause of the fluctuations in the prices of grain,
which have been common, at the same time, to all
countries.

In the first place, with regard to the pro-
gress of population and the increased consump-
tion from the advance of general industry, the
effect is not universally to raise the price of
corn. In the prevalent passion for abstract
reasoning without reference to facts, this con-
sequence—a rise in corn—is too much assumed
to be the result of these causes. The people
multiply in the United States of America, but
corn is as cheap as when that country did not
contain half its present number. In Ireland,
the population is in excess, yet grain is a chief
article of export; and, consequently, is rela-
tively cheap. Flanders and Holland export all
kinds of agricultural produce, grain, cheese,
butter, &c. yet their population is the most dense
in Europe, the inhabitants to the square mile
are, in East Flanders, 554; West Flanders,
420, and in Holland, 362; while in Ireland,
at present, the scope of the industry will com-

pellecting the reasons chiefly assigned for high
prices in England, on the present State of England, page 227.

237, and England, 232; France, 150; Poland, 60; and Spain, where corn is not unfrequently the dearest, only 58. The price of corn does not, therefore, bear any necessary relation to the pressure of population. A proposition, which has the reception of an axiom is, that population rises up to the means of subsistence. The state, however, of Egypt, Poland, Mexico,* and, in a word, of all corn-exporting and highly fertile countries, is in all past centuries, opposed to this principle. If it be urged, that checks exist, the checks appear universal—the exceptions supersede the rule; and population, instead of rising up to the means of subsistence, must obey some other influence. The principle has, however, been generally admitted, and upon the basis of it has been raised a theory of rent, and of profits, and deductions have been drawn, as incontrovertible, of numberless consequences, which have been commonly and implicitly received in political argument. But reasoning, founded on events at most only possible, and never yet existing, can apply only to such possible, and not, as generally applied, to the actual condition of things. Population springs up where in-

* See Humboldt's 'Nouvelle Espagne,' vol. iii. for details of the nourishing qualities of the banana and maize of the country.

dustry is secure, where the usages and laws promote it, and sometimes where constrained or attracted by gain and wages, as in great marts, and not solely where subsistence exists.

The habits of the population, rather than the extent of their numbers, compared with the productiveness of the soil,—the direction of the husbandry to other objects than grain,—or the prevalence of commerce, manufactures, or unproductive labour, give rise to a dependence on foreign supply. While thus, universally, this principle of population does not hold, and it is an obvious fact that no extended or cultivable country has ever reached its utmost production of food, yet, it is true, that from the causes above-named, the population does frequently, in certain places, reach, and exceed, the consumption of the actual produce. The price of corn must then rise above the level of other countries, in order to command a supply by importation. It is by entering locally upon a degree of dearth, in which, the quantity of money remaining the same, subsistence will command more, but other commodities less;—in other words, the value of money rises as regards them, but it falls as regards subsistence, or commands less:—In a state of plenty it is the reverse. But such a position in life cannot extend to all countries:

commodities, the money price of every thing
will fall, though grain, its quantity not being
increased, less than others.

Price, therefore, depends upon the propor-
tion of money to commodities—the more money
existing as the sign of commodities, the higher
the price; the more commodities, with the same
amount of money, the lower the price. Paper-
money may be introduced, but so long as con-
vertible at will into coin it is identical with it:
—the paper, the same in value, can only tend
to add, for the time, to the quantity of the
precious metals used in circulation, or required
for luxury. The merchandize, or capital, of
one country is exchanged against the currency
of another. But the total currency of the
world is not to be augmented permanently, ex-
cept from the mines. In the advancement
of society to money remaining unchanged, or not increasing,
accordingly of civilization, and increase of pro-
duction and commodities, and the quantity of
The average price of the best wheat at Windsor
market, from 1595 to 1700, was 45s. 4d. for
eight bushels. From 1701 to 1764, it was 36s.
8d. Hence the price of grain has been reduced
in the first half of these sixty-four years, it
was higher, about ten per cent, than in the
latter half.* In the same period there was a
decrease in the prices of commodities, but because
there was a diminution in the number of
men employed in agriculture, and because
the number of men employed in agriculture
is increased, the price of grain has been raised
above its natural price.

like decline in France. Yet, the commodities in circulation in both countries, as well as their population, had augmented many fold. The following statement shows the progress in England, in this period, in which prices had gradually declined:

	Net Duties	Shipping	Imports	Exports
Population	Tons			
1600	5,274,000	£ 148,975	46,600	£ 2,487,485
1700	7,650,000	1,474,861	261,222	6,045,432
1730	8,000,000	1,658,897	440,210	8,548,982
1760	10,000,000	1,969,933	555,900	15,781,175
1772	10,575,000	2,522,596	923,810	17,720,168

Sir William Petty, in the year 1664, computed the total wealth of the nation, consisting of lands, houses, shipping, coin, merchandise, &c., to amount to two hundred and fifty millions. About 1780, Sir William Pulteney valued the landed and personal property at two thousand millions.

The money of the country increased, as well as the commodities, but not proportionately, and, therefore, without raising prices. Davy-
nant estimates the total silver and gold coin to be eighteen millions and a half, and, adding the notes of the Bank of England, in 1718,

Nations, book i. chap. ii. The first advanced price of wheat is in 1574, being 40s. per quarter.

£1,829,930, the circulating medium would be full twenty millions. On the re-coining in 1773, Lord Liverpool was enabled to make a near calculation, the gold having been found about twenty-six millions; at the same time, the Bank of England notes were £6,201,030, and, adding the silver, the total currency must have been near thirty-five millions.

The period is important as respects corn, for, previously to 1772, the exports exceeded the imports generally, as far as 100 to 500,000 quarters annually of wheat, and as much more of other grain. But, commencing with 1772,* the excess became on the side of imports. These imports averaged short of 100,000 quarters of wheat up to 1793, from which date they passed that quantity regularly, reaching yearly to full 500,000 quarters till 1818, when the importation was restrained by law. The price of wheat in the ten years ending 1749 averaged 28s. 2d.; in the ten years ending 1765, 34s. 11d.; and in the ten years ending 1773, the first of the series of importing years, was 44s. 1d. The price varied then little till 1795, the average of which year was 72s. 3d. From that time till after 1819, the price of corn stood at high and very fluctuating rates.

* See, for details, *Rooke on National Wealth*, Appendix, Table No. 2.

The high level will be subsequently, it is believed, satisfactorily accounted for; the fluctuations might proceed from a state of war or the changes incident to an inconvertible paper currency.

In solving the question whether the rise in corn and consequent importation from 1773 proceeded from the growth of population or from other causes, it is to be remembered that the effect then was confined to this country and was not equally experienced on the continent. The exportation hence had been mostly to France, Spain, and Italy. The average price of wheat was, in France,* 1756 to 1759, francs, 11.12, and 1764 to 1773, francs, 15.00 per hectolitre, being an increase of 34 per cent. In Seville, the price of wheat † 1727 to 1752, was nearly 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ reals; and from 1753 to 1764 averaged 21 reals, being a rise of 18 per cent. In Tuscany,‡ wheat did not rise above 12 per cent, averaging, from 1735 to 1759, livres, 4.17, and from 1774 to 1785, livres, 5.9.3 per sack. But, in England, the price of wheat advanced in a greater proportion, being in 1773, compared

* Returns of accounts relative to foreign corn. Consul General Morier, No. 2, p. 60.

† Bullion Report, 1810, Mr. John Allen, in Appendix.

‡ Fabroni "Dei Provvedimenti Annulari." Part I.

with 1750, full 50 per cent. higher. Subsequently the price rose still further; for, in the ten years ending 1797, it was 52s. 2d., near 100 per cent. more than the average (26s. 3d.) of the ten years ending 1750.

An influx of the precious metals will raise prices generally,—but not equally, because countries will, at the same time, be under different circumstances and degrees of improvement. Where productions multiply, prices will not, therefore, advance, but rather fall; yet the congregation into towns and the abstraction of a portion of hands from agriculture, or relative diminution of the numbers in tillage, may, at the same time, raise grain, and require a foreign supply; and this may have been much the origin of the advance in England.

Industry, in 1773, had begun to be more beneficially turned to manufactures than to farming, and the former predominated. In the cotton manufacture, it was, in 1767, James Hargreaves invented the Jenny; the same year Arkwright brought forward his improvements in spinning. Manchester, in 1757, had only 19,839 inhabitants; in 1773, 41,032; 1780, 50,000; 1791, 268,000; 1801, 84,053; 1811, 108,460. Birmingham advanced at the same period. In 1757, a rolling mill for metal, &c.

was erected. In 1768, James Watt took out a patent for his steam-engine.

The progress of towns not so particularly connected with manufactures, may be better marked by the population of London, which was, in 1700, 674,350; 1750, 676,250; 1802, 900,000; 1811, 1,065,772.

The sum of this review is, that from 1674 to 1772, during a vast increase in population, production, commerce, and even currency, the period, in fact, of the rise of the country from a state of rudeness and incipience as to manufactures, to a full and abundant possession of industry and art; during these two hundred years, no rise in the money price of wheat took place, whatever may have been the increase in the real value of the wheat, its command over other commodities. The average of the ten years ending 1605 was 40s. 8d. while that of the ten years ending 1771 was 39s. 11d.; and in the intermediate space, as has been shown above, wheat was, during the seventeenth century, (some nine shillings per quarter) higher than during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Further, the average 44s. 1d. of the fifty years ending 1699, was not much exceeded by that of 45s. 3d. in the fifty years ending 1799.

The rise which took place about 1770 was as follows:

no more than was requisite to raise wheat from an export to an import price, when the consumers began to bear a higher proportion to the growers. The advance which followed 1772 will be matter of investigation in the sequel, because being observable in even a stronger degree abroad, it will fall under that head of this inquiry which applies to the fluctuations extending over all countries.

In the second place, *the domestic currency* calls for notice as a cause affecting price.

Some have maintained the low price of wheat in 1822, and its higher price in 1825, to have arisen wholly from the state of the circulating medium. Although since 1819, the currency rests upon gold as its basis, or, more strictly, is referable to it as the test, the depreciation of paper being corrected by convertibility, and the whole currency, in consequence, bears a close relation to the metallic money of the world in its command of commodities; yet variations are continually experienced both internally, as regards the paper against gold, and externally, with respect to the mixed currency against the general value of the precious metals; and these proceeding to an extent to prove often most delusive and disastrous from their imperceptible progress and sudden effects.

The circulating medium has been formed as

The specie may not suffice to correct the evil.	
follows, at the periods stated, according to the best estimates:	
its 1773. 1797. 1824. 1827.	
Gold Coin	£26,000,000
Silver Coin	3,000,000
Bank of Eng.	16,201,030
Bank Notes	7,000,000
Country Bank	1,000,000
Notes.	1,000,000
and so	£35,201,030
	£48,408,826
	£41,393,690
	£43,897,498
	£51,000,000

The population has almost doubled since 1773, and its productive powers are at least four-fold, yet the aggregate of the currency is not materially increased. This may be accounted for by the greater portion of paper of which a less amount serves to effect exchanges than in specie. In France, where the commodities interchanged have been greatly less, the currency has been long estimated, in silver and gold, to be equal to ninety millions sterling; but it may be said to be wholly metallic. A necessary quality of a circulating medium is elasticity. On the continent, where a metallic currency prevails, an excess of circulation is remedied through a thousand pores, by the introduction of commodities and the export of specie. Every one is engaged in the correction of the excess; and it is easy, imperceptible, general. It is otherwise in the mixed money of this country, in which from the large proportion of paper, the abstraction of the

specie may not suffice to correct the evil. For the specie must be gold. The silver coin from its seignorage, actually 10 per cent. is, in this respect, even worse than paper, because it is not to be contracted; the exportation is out of the question, and the calling in is too losing, and at such moments it is inexpedient. The circulation, in this view, may now be thus

divided:

Slowly reducible	Bank-notes.....	22
Creditable	County Bank Notes	7
Irreducible	Silver Coins	8
Reducible	Gold Coin	7 to 13

The total currency was, in 1819, about fifty-five millions; in 1822 and 1823 it had diminished to forty-one or forty-two millions; and in 1825 it was again fifty millions. This experience shows an abstraction of eight or ten millions, at least, to be necessary or usual in the restoration of the currency to the standard value. But often the gold in circulation barely reaches that amount. Although this portion of the currency passes between the country and the rest of the world, with the freedom of a wide sea, the reduction of notes meets with resistance on the part of the issuers, accompanied with difficulty and slowness, and non-

has no place in the due value of money.¹⁴ The Bank of England is coupled with the Government, the country bankers with their customers and their own engagements. Such system has convulsion inherent in it, as the periods come round of depreciation and its violent correction.

About six hundred different establishments issue one-third, and one large one two-thirds of the total notes in circulation. The country banker is actuated by interest to retain the smallest possible reserve of gold, and to cause its removal from his neighbourhood, in order to substitute his own notes, and every one extending thus the circulation, making it brimful, a general redundancy ensues. In this manner the gold first tends towards the common reservoir of the Bank; and, secondly, this reservoir, as the currency overflows, is drained by foreign countries. It has, in fact, been found that whenever the exchanges have fallen, the Bank of England has been the great or sole source for a supply of gold.¹⁵ If the notes of the Bank in circulation be issued upon securities, not readily convertible, as in 1825,*

* This shock in the money-market was accurately foreseen, in December 1824, a year previously, in Mr. Page's "Letters of Daniel Hardcastle," p. 22. 1821, and in

(except by open sale, which accelerates and aggravates alarm,) a state of incalculable pressure ensues. Thus the treasure in the Bank, at times, when confidence abounds, accumulates to excess from abroad and from all the country; and, at other times, after a re-enhancement of the currency, may be lowered in an imminently perilous degree. According as these alternations have occurred, the Bank has at one period, January 1824, been supposed* in possession of seventeen millions of specie; and at another, in 1825, not to have been able to hold out in paying at one particular time for six hours, if they had not put out their old one-pound notes.

(These notices of the internal concerns of the institution might be forbore, if publicity were not its best interest, and were it not that these crises, equally either of excess or paucity of treasure, affect the community throughout every pecuniary interest. It is not here requisite to enter into the question of the advantages or defects of so large a portion of the paper circulation of the country as two-thirds, or three-fourths, being engrossed by one institution. The excellent expedient was adopted

¹⁴ *Museum of the Currency*, p. 158. ¹⁵ *ibid.* ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰

by Parliament of joint-stock banks; but these have been little availed of, not being allowed without the unlimited responsibility of the shareholders. — Let us, however, consider capital. Some have suggested, upon a erroneous notion of the indestructibility of capital, that not used, it would be transferred; though more likely, in such cases, to be destroyed; that bank-notes should only be convertible against gold, in bullion, to serve for foreign payments, where it is indispensable; and thus engross domestic payments. Our paper system has, in fact, effected this. The banking establishments occupy the space of domestic exchanges, and reserve only enough of specie to correct the value of the issues; or rather with the usual success of individual competition, this last and profitable duty is thrown upon the Bank of England. The discontinuance of one-pound notes will now, to the extent that they filled in the circulation, impose the charge upon the public.

Periodical excitements break out from time to time, which advance the price of grain, as well as other objects. The most remarkable of these have been in 1792, 1809, 1813, 1818, and 1824. The true cause of these bursts of

coming out. (See 7 Geo. IV. c. 88.)

prosperity might be traced, in the first instance, to the growth of capital, which will also account for like events in countries having a currency solely metallic. Capital—that portion of material objects by which the production of the country is effected—is yearly fluctuating. In a period of active industry it accumulates and gradually exceeds the quantity necessary to accomplish the annual production; every hand is full of profits, and渐渐ly diminish—efforts are made to increase them, and extravagances burst out. The circulating medium never fails to expand on these occasions, and assist in the consequences. It is peculiarly important in the circumstances of an excess of capital, to prevent the currency from getting into excess; and that avenue to a subsequent destruction of capital from being opened, and its restoration, through contraction, checks and destroys capital far and wide, by reason of the new footing of the money engagements of its employers and possessors succeeding the former one, and the sudden exaction of the old and greater weight upon lessened means. If notes are extinguished, a chasm arises. Property cannot be suddenly disengaged to procure gold from abroad. Distress follows, till the currency is replaced; such was the case in 1825, and in all like panics.

The distribution of capital and the stability of society should be secured from the commercial convulsions which the country has so frequently witnessed. These shook off from 1793 to 1825, arose from capital and currency—the accumulation of the former preceded—the first collision set fire to the inflammable materials—the formation of the quinines preceded, necessarily, the explosion—high feeding the fever. Better that stagnation and small profits had prevailed, the necessary consequence of a full compared with a rising capital than these convulsions, nearly always the result of excess in the artificial part of the currency, acting upon a redundant capital growing. When money abounds and interest is low, it is important, but often difficult to discover at first whether originating in the growth of capital or of currency. This proceeds from the frequently assimilating nature of the two, and their distinction being a matter of shyness and subtlety. It is obvious, indeed, when from capital it is from the public; the abundance flows, when from currency it is from the bankers. Time, also, will show the cause of the lowered interest, founded on capital, it will be lasting; on currency, temporary.

Commercial capital approaches nearest to currency. It resembles currency in its employ-

ment in the transfer of property, if it is value of one species exchanged for another, and replaced with a certain increase of profit according to the competition of values so employed, foreign or domestic. Capital consists of the material objects employed in production and transmission; currency is the *representative* (by coin, paper, &c.) of those objects and all other values in their interchange. Bullion is, occasionally, currency, and occasionally, capital. It is a subject of argument, among writers, whether bills of exchange are to be considered as currency or capital, and it is generally concluded that they are to be classed with the former when moving in actual circulation. Some will have Exchequer bills and even the bonds of foreign governments to be currency. Merchandise is accompanied with profit, bills with interest, and, rigorously perhaps, currency is distinguished by its receiving no increase from hand to hand. The first hand, indeed, pays an interest for the use of notes to the issuer; the first hand to whom the precious metals pass gives to the owner of the mine the equivalent. In subsequent circulation, the precious metals exchange against their value; and notes against the value of the precious metals they represent, so long as convertible coinage is kept up.

Currency is always a sign of value, as paper,

but not necessarily an *equivalent*, or having the intrinsic worth as coin. The sign may be substituted, valueless in itself, to serve in the exchange of commodities. Bankers who issue notes lend the sign, not the equivalent; and this sign, so long as the confidence of convertibility attaches to it, is sustained in circulation for the indispensable purposes of currency. It will retain that place in circulation until a debt to be paid abroad, and the equivalent is then needed. The sign is preferable to the bulky and heavy equivalent—it is more portable—assists despatch*—is more readily secured—and, if lost, is to be traced with greater facility. It is, in many respects, less, though, in some, more hazardous; however, it is held, because bearing

upon it the issue, perhaps not realizable at all, to count five millions of sovereigns, at the rate of a sovereign every second, and working twelve hours a-day, would employ one person nearly four months. It might have been added that to count the same sum, in notes of one thousand pounds, would not take up more than eighty-four minutes, not an hour and a half. Estimates have been made of the daily money-transactions of the kingdom: if reckoned at ten millions, and all to be made in sovereigns, they would require, at the rate above mentioned, four hundred and sixty-three persons working sixteen hours a-day, about the usual time for business; while, in notes of one thousand pounds, one person would count the whole in less than three hours.

but necessarily as short a time as possible, and answers the uses of currency, for the moment, every way better. It is preferable, nationally, because an efficient means for the distribution of capital, transferring it from the inert to the active, and furnishing means to the skilful and industrious.

It is by dislodging coin that notes circulate, and that can only be done by substituting notes for sovereigns, and selling the coin for export; otherwise, more indirectly, by extending the issue of notes till a sufficient depreciation takes place to exclude coin.

Country bankers, in their issue of notes, lend currency, not capital. The notes are the signs of a capital in some shape received at the mo-

ment of their issue, perhaps not realizable at all, to count five millions of sovereigns, being convertible again to the equivalent they represent; and the banker, out of the various means he possesses, reserves to himself the constant power of exchanging the notes. He is intrusted, too, with capital, without the sign of notes as the acknowledgement of its receipt, that is, by forming a book-debt, and, in the country, giving interest, in the manner of the practice of those governments who, instead of a bond, establish a registry of their creditors, with power of transfer. But this substitute for

the inconveniences of coin is only practicable in large towns,—a more dispersed population must have coin or notes. The Bank of England, also, lends not capital, but currency, in its advance of notes to government. When the specie is displaced, it is the public, in fact, that lends the specie to the government—every man who pays away gold, and receives a note in the stead of it,—the Bank is the medium in the business, and gets the credit of lending capital, while it only distributes the paper. When the specie is not displaced, further notes can only find room by the increase of the general circulation. The notes maintain their credit from their serving all purposes of currency, their convertibility, and the known solidity of the Bank, and the national security, on which it depends. Its circulation is a government circulation to a certain extent, as much as those of Austria and Russia, though not depreciated; yet locked up, and incapable of being redeemed without a repayment from the government.

Thus, it may be said, that, beyond their own capital employed, the London banker lends the capital of his customers; the Bank of England, currency; the country banker, both—in return, all receive securities more or less convertible.

Afterwards called the old of business

It has been urged, that the government might derive benefit by the issue of the notes, which are thus lent by the Bank of England. Whether the public would be as safe in the sole hands of government, as to convertibility, may admit of doubt; a public independent institution is secured from abuse more probably than any board which could be devised, and in respect of practical experience, at least, will prove more intelligent. It was the minister who, in a time of pressure, in 1797, intrenched on the means of the Bank, and forced the suspension, and, subsequently, under the suspension, it was the resistance of the directors* that preserved the circulation from a greater depreciation, which, probably, would have taken place, had the establishment been solely under the control of government.

It is hoped that these remarks will have afforded some light to those who have not particularly attended to the subject, with respect to the influence of the circulating medium, as now constituted; and to the occasional changes in which are unquestionably, to be traced the variations which, at times, occur in the prices of coin; those of a temporary nature are here referred to, but which always affect the value of

* See Extracts of Correspondence with Ministers, Appendix to the Lords' Bullion Report, 1819.

property, and in their depressions are often extensively calamitous; and the cause, therefore, well merits notice. That the currency of the country is upon a precarious, artificial, unstable footing, is manifest from the recent declaration of a member of government, informed on these subjects, speaking of the effect were a great influx of grain to happen under the law of 1822:—“No person, possessing any acquaintance with the state of our currency, but must be fully aware of the almost certain effect which such a system must produce upon the foreign exchanges; and when he recollects the events of 1825 and 1826, it was with extreme apprehension he contemplated the possibility of the exchanges being against us.” Could such a fear have been expressed in this country previously to 1797, when a large portion of the circulating medium was metallic? Or could it have place in France, Holland, Italy, wherever currencies of silver and gold prevail? Metallic money, cumbersome as it is, and costly, as some maintain it to be, is blessed with exemption from this source of hazard; and so might a mixed currency be, if founded on a better system, or in juster proportions.

The cause which is next to be examined

* Mr. Huskisson, 18th June, 1827, in the debate on the Warehoused Corn Bill.

tending to produce a higher price of corn, is *monopoly*. The exclusive supply of consumption preserved to the growers in this country would not advance the price, if the quantity produced did not fall something short: if it exceeded the demand, as previously to 1770, the price must sink so as to allow the advantageous exportation. There is an extreme nicety or impracticability of fitting the quantity of the produce to the consumption, so as not, by exceeding it, to lower the price greatly, or by falling short to raise the price and force, from necessity, an admission of foreign corn; and when the legislature establishes a minimum price, assuming in reality the knowledge of such quantity, it is a fertile source of extreme fluctuations.

It is only when the crops of grain are short, that the price is raised by the exclusive supply, and this privilege becomes a benefit. If a monopoly be in the hands of an individual or a company, the quantity might be limited, and the market managed so as to obtain the highest value the consumer could pay. But the growers of corn are too numerous to combine, in too great necessity to sell to be able to hold, the produce is too much dependent upon seasons to allow its being dealt out in stated portions conformable to the consumption, and too perish-

able to be preserved through a long period. The growth, however, of this country seems, of late years, except in 1822 and 1823, to have been barely what the country has needed; and the price has, therefore, stood higher in consequence of the monopoly given by the law to the home produce.

So much has been said upon the merits of the law of 1815 and 1822, by which the minimum price for wheat is 80s. or 70s. before foreign is admitted; and so much recently upon the scales of duties proposed in substitution, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon them in this tract, designed to consider the causes which generally bear upon prices. Under such system as the scale, compared with the higher prices maintained by the law of 1822, the grower would be fairly protected, and the consumer alleviated. It may merely be remarked, that the ascending duty as the price descends would render the importation of grain peculiarly hazardous to the merchant. With a duty so fluctuating, their only chance to him of mitigating the evils of a falling market would be by warehousing, in order to wait for a better turn of the price, and with it of the duty. He was, in the origin, no object of consideration with the framers of the law. A falling market is disastrous enough to the man who imports, without the

aggravation of a greater weight of duty. He might order wheat, acting upon a price of 65s., with the duty 16s. 8d.; on arrival he finds it 55s., and the duty 36s. 8d.; a loss of 10s. in price, and 20s. more in difference of duty. Instead of getting 48s. 4d. to pay the cost, charges, and some profit, he discovers he has only 18s. 4d., and chiefly through this new fiscal principle of pressing upon the unfortunate and assisting the successful. This inverse morality is extended in the scale to all sorts of grain.

It is far from being intended to deprecate a due protection to the most important class in the community, the growers of corn; under their actual engagements of leases, taxes, &c. The execution of changes in policy of any kind, whether in currency or trade, have been marked with convulsions of property to those in possession, or in charge of it, and with consequent suffering, deep and wide, among all classes. Alterations cannot be too gradual. Innovation has been adventured upon abundantly; the property, the comforts, almost the means of self-preservation have been the objects of experiment. Were it not requisite to remedy the defects of the actual corn law, it would be time to pause, to leave the course of things to the working of years, and to watch their effects.

The prosperity of 1824 and 1825 was said to,

be the result of the free system of trade established. But a like prosperity prevailed in 1791 and 1792, and at several periods during the war. There was a more lasting prosperity in the seventeenth century in France through Colbert's measures, all restrictive as regarded foreign countries. France, of late years, has made great advances in commerce, in many factories, in all industry and wealth, yet under restriction. In like manner has every nation in Europe. The United States of America, the most rising of all countries, is surrounded with prohibitions. The causes of prosperity must, therefore, rest on other, more general causes than the freedom of trade, as the security of property, and the spirit of individual exertion, whether guided by regulation, or left to their own course under a free commerce. While it is useful to remove all internal impediments, it is internationally expedient to watch and support the great branches of industry. The legislature, to compensate for the inability to overrule the changeable and sometimes hurtful regulations of other states, may so guard those within the dominions over which it has control as to secure the stability, compactness, and other advantages of the greatest possible interchange of domestic products. The pursuit of wealth, national, any more than individual, ought not to be wholly won abando[n]ed.

cannot be held to be the sole or the great object of consideration. It must be postponed to religion, to morals, to character, to independence, to defence; for, indeed, wealth without these cannot be stably retained. Under the reciprocity acts, the British shipping suffers by the encroachment of foreign. The navigation of the country must, nevertheless, continue to retain a considerable magnitude, from the necessity of its existence in the coasting, the East and West India trade, the Canadian, and, generally, in carrying the supplies for the immense consumption of the country; but it is chiefly because the conveyance is secured to British shipping, which is upheld in these branches by privilege, and were the circumstances of many distant countries different, and the reciprocity system could enter at large, it would be scarcely possible for the British to navigate against more cheaply-built and cheaply-sailing foreign vessels. The shipping interest, indeed, under such law, cannot stand, and no war must have protection. During the last, had not the supply of the home consumption been restricted to the British flag, under the old, and so much-decried, navigation-law, neutrals must have supplied the country, and displaced the British mercantile marine. Should a war break out with the latitude now allowed to foreign

vessels in the carrying trade, the supply of the country must be wholly engrossed by neutrals, from their security, cheaper insurance, and freights; and a considerable part of this all-important interest, now in activity, would then be consigned to ruin.

Freedom of trade, therefore, is a good, subject to limitations. Essential interests may claim protection and support at some sacrifice, yet great disparities from the rest of the world, in the main necessities, conveniences, and objects of life are to be lowered and levelled; otherwise, all who are not locally held will escape abroad to a condition of less restraint and a freer air. As a part of the world, it is requisite to be on some near footing, especially with neighbours, in the price of subsistence and general enjoyments. In grain, this is hardly the case, the difference is 50 to 100 per cent.; it is felt in fixed incomes, manufactures, in every walk of life. Labour, notwithstanding the accession of machinery, is still the chief ingredient in the industry of the country, as well in the first formation of fabrics, as in the multiplied after-processes of finishing and conveying; and the price of grain goes mainly into the price of labour. Hence reasonableness in food must enter more extensively, than any other lessening of expense, into the general cheapness of produc-

tion, and the consequent enlargement of vent and manufacture; and (what is more, of enjoyment). At the same time, as regards agriculture, the competition of foreign food must interrupt and impair its prosperity, except in so far as the means and condition of the other classes of the community, productive and unproductive, are advanced, — those on whom it rests for support, as they on it. As the silk, cotton, and other manufactures, cannot be said to be increased by the admission of foreign, neither can the agriculture of the country by the introduction of foreign grain. But all are brought gradually to a fair and entire competition with the rest of the world, sharing freely with, but not superseding the industry of other nations. In fine, a more easy, solid, and secure position of the country results; and this is the sum of the advantages of free trade, rather than any extension of prosperity consequent upon it. Whether this footing be acquired or not, enough has been said to show that a monopoly in favour of the growers can only be considered as a cause of high price when the supply happens to be bare; when very short, the necessity of the consumers will break through the exclusion; and either, in pursuance of a permanent law, or by an act of government, the introduction of foreign will take place. When the sup-

ply is superabundant, no monopoly can prevent the price falling to the lowest level; and monopoly is then a nullity, as to its intended effect of procuring higher prices.

The effect of taxation upon the value of corn remains to be considered.

The levy of a fixed money contribution must require that the prevailing prices shall command that portion of money as well as the other outgoings of production. The taxes furnished by the land come ultimately at such a rate as to give a sum to the landlord, and to leave a sum to the labourer, which is to be paid as rent. The number of the labourers lowers wages to common necessities, and prevents them from having any excess from which to contribute to the taxes. The farmer's profits will allow some abstraction, but they are confined, too, by competition to narrow limits. The rent contributes either directly or indirectly, the latter occurs if the taxes are levied on the articles consumed by the labourer or farmer, the money price of which, advancing accordingly, raises wages and profits, and reduces to an equal degree what would otherwise be paid as rent.

The difference in the fertility of soils is now commonly maintained to be the sole cause of rent. This theory rests on the circumstance of the population being supposed to encroach in its growth upon the less fertile land, and to

leave the excess of the more productive disposable in the hands of the proprietor. But all cultivated land, likewise, renders a produce over and above what is requisite to support those actually employed in raising it, and which excess is assignable to the proprietors of the soil notwithstanding the law of rent.

In the evidence attached to the Agricultural Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1821, are several statements from farmers of the expense of cultivating one hundred acres of arable land. The number of labourers is uniformly four or five. The hundred acres will give a spare hundred or hundred and twenty quarters of grain, besides grass, &c. after reserving for seed, provender, and the maintenance of labourers. Of the labour of four or five persons will give food for above a hundred, allowing a quarter a head per annum: or say above twenty families are maintained by barely three, for of the five persons, two, at least, are boys or women. This is conformable with the natural proportion of labour to the value of wheat, to which the market-price constantly tends, that is, the imperial quarter is worth thirty-nine days' labour, or six and a half times the labourer's weekly wages makes the value of wheat per imperial quarter. This is proved in a table of the prices of wheat since 1776, in *Rooke's National Wealth*, p. 445.

This constant relation of the wages of labour to the price of wheat is remarkable. It has been observed, indeed, long since, for A. Smith observes it (book ii. chap. xi.) that "in France, both in the last century and in the present, the day wages of common labour are said to have been pretty uniformly about the twentieth part of the average price of the septier of wheat." As one imperial quarter is equal to 1.85 septiers, and the septier is worth twenty days' labour, the quarter must be worth thirty-seven days' labour; and thus the experience in France, during two centuries, very closely agrees with that of this country.

If the price of wheat in France, reckoned by the English quarter, has been thus uniformly equal to thirty-seven days' labour, six days' labour, or one week, will be equal to forty-one quarts. In the researches which have been made into the real wages of labour in this country, they have been found to average forty quarts of wheat per week during the two last centuries; and if accurate data could be met with,* the same would, probably, prove the fact during the remoter centuries.

* In many other countries there are periods of great dearth.

** See Cooke's "Inquiry into the Principles of National Wealth," where the data collected by Sir George Shuckburgh, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Barton, and Mr. Malthus, are placed in one view, pp. 447 to 450.

If the labourer, then, received his wages in wheat, he would have forty quarts per week, which makes eight quarters and one eighth in the year. (As half this quantity is amply sufficient for his own family,* the other half serves to maintain other members of the community not engaged in agriculture, or supplying him with other necessaries or conveniences of life, clothing and shelter, instruction or amusement, or trifling outlays, &c. &c.) Not only does the labourer thus earn double the indispensable food for his family as his proper share, but his exertions give the excess in six and a half times this share, being that part of the produce of the land falling to the farmer and the landlord, and, through them, supporting all other classes, inclusive of the state, through the medium of taxes. This is the distribution of the produce of the land stripped of the disguise of the intervention of money. The difference between the value of labour and wheat is thus shown, by the experience of ages, to be constant. The market price varies: wheat may sometimes be to labour as four, sometimes as one hundred and fifty to one.

* Fabbroni, in his elaborate work *Dei Provvedimenti Annoverati*, concludes, chap. xvii., *On the medium Quantity of Grain consumed in Food*, that five bushels yearly a head is a full reckoning for a man of middle age, and it hardly

times as nine to one); but, the settled tendency is six and a half to one, and it never continues long above or below that proportion. This unvarying average of difference between labour and wheat little accords with the doctrine of population; there is no proof of encroachment of labour upon less and less fertile soils yielding gradually diminishing returns. The relation is the same in the seventeenth as in the nineteenth century, in France and in England, whether chiefly agricultural and exporting, or highly advanced and importing grain. A like uniform relation prevails between the price of wheat and other corn; so and consequently, certain settled proportions between labour and all corn.

(It is true, the wages here mentioned are those of the head of the family; other members, the wife and children, usually get something.) In that case, wages will form a somewhat greater portion of the price of a quarter of wheat; they may be a fourth or a third. Still a disposable surplus exists, by which is meant an excess, after supporting the persons actually employed in raising the grain. The division of the land may be so small, as not to leave this, in the shape of rent to a landlord; but it is really

* See Appendix, Tables VII. and VIII.

possessed by and goes, in the distribution of the produce, to support the other classes of the community, not engaged in husbandry; and balanced the prevalent theory of population, it is insisted that, in a society, if freedom from vice and misery were to prevail, a voluntary restraint would alone prevent the excess of numbers over the means of subsistence. But, as civilization rises, the surplus produce increases, and, with it, the commercial, manufacturing, and all unproductive pursuits extend. The objects of life, as improvement takes place, required longer training, residence, in a larger portion of mankind, is less necessarily fixed, avocations are of a more absorbing and intense nature; the moral restraint becomes involuntary, and the ratio of increase rapid; in the early stages of society, must gradually diminish as it advances. This is not the place to enter into detailed proofs of the position; but the fact may suffice, that the world has not seen the extremities foreboded by the advocates of a constantly encroaching population, and their lucubrations may, therefore, be safely concluded to have wandered into the regions of imagination.

If, then, population does not increase indefinitely, the land is not pressed upon, and the surplus produce exists entire. The worst land,

on which any cultivation has been bestowed, leaves some surplus, insinuating still more.

It is from the limitation of the view to the gradations of the soil that theorists have been among the most powerful deterrents and alarmists of the agriculturists, with regard to the consequences of the admission of foreign grain, by dwelling upon its displacing, as a necessary effect, the inferior soils from cultivation. But, if the main source of rent be the surplus produce, then the introduction of foreign grain may change the culture, not put out of cultivation the less productive soils. This surplus produce is the bounty of the Great Creator, like air, water, and the earth itself, and owes its sustained value to the peculiar quality possessed by agricultural produce, that of giving sustenance to human beings.

No foreign import can deprive of this surplus. The least fertile land, which may yield one quarter per acre surplus, must still give that, however mixing in the market with the produce of more fertile soils abroad or at home, and rendering an excess of two or more quarters. The competition of less taxed grain might lower the price, labour would fall, in the money expression, both farming and manufacturing, but not in quarts of wheat earned.

See N. 160. 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 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controlling power over profits, as the encroachment of population on subsistence, no country having been yet cultivated to the extent of its fertility, the universal footing on which profits have rested has been the mere play of the market, supply and demand. This is the primary basis, coupled with the circumstances of different countries as to the tenure and security of property, and existing habits of saving or profusion.

This exposition of the real principles which govern profits is of importance in reference to the subject of taxation, as it is from the fluctuations attending the ratio of profits alone that any material alleviation has been effected in the reduction of the national debt, the great source of the weight of the taxes. The sinking-fund has accomplished little, compared with the lowering of the rate of interest which the growth of capital and the consequent lessening of profits has from time to time allowed to be carried into execution.

The only practicable mode of reducing the debt, without breach of faith, besides the sinking-fund, the efficiency of which is lessened as it proceeds, by raising the price, is to avail of the growth of capital. When the general rate of interest becomes reduced in the market, and the public funds have risen—the Three per

Cent. Consists to part—the reduction of the stocks bearing a higher interest is practicable. When the income is lowered to the smallest level in interest, the diminution of the debt is to be effected by tendering a higher interest to the stockholder for a reduction of capital; otherwise, the amount of debt might be lessened by tendering advantageous life-insurances. The success of the reduction, thus, of the capital of the debt must depend on the public, through parliament, voluntarily burdening themselves, at the time existing, to lighten future obligations.

That capital will increase wherever profits exceed the ordinary rate till equalized with that level, and that the ordinary rate will tend to a less one in the quiet course of industry, are matters of every day experience. Still there is the boundary of the returns to this accumulation—the returns cannot be augmented beyond the physical powers of the population employed in production, with the aids of the mechanism in their knowledge and possession. At such limit capital cannot be extended, and there must ensue a forbearance from accumulation, from the conversion of revenue into capital,—in fine, an enlarged share of unproductive consumption. Happy if the overflowings of capital, indispensably turned to unproductive

consumption, were directed to the assuagement of the lot of the necessitous part of the community! How has Providence ordered in the constitution of things for the power of a general participation of productions—the true community of goods—at the same time maintaining the privileges of property, without which they cannot be renewed?

But accumulation always overflows, and, annually, an amount of capital is disposable out of the channels in which it arose. It first fills the hands of bankers. This class, so useful in the community in distributing capital when it is short, become the means, perhaps unconsciously, of its excessive increase when abounding. Capital flows to these depositaries; they must receive or cease business, though they may not know how to make the interest they allow. In the endeavour to obtain some return, they advance to more hazardous pursuits, at longer dates, aiding production when consumption is needed; and every channel of industry is overdone.

It has been an object of curiosity to ascertain what may be the extent of the surplus capital which is annually disposable in this country. Mr. Joseph Lowe* estimates it as much as

* "The Present State of England:" Appendix, page 75.

£50 or £60,000,000, of which £9 or 10,000,000 are applicable to public funds, the rest to improvements in land, buildings, repairs, machinery, furniture, &c. It might not, however, be difficult to show, were this the place, that the amount invested in this country in loans has not, since the peace, exceeded £7 or 8,000,000 annually, and that the Continent, where this accumulation equally advances, has nearer £20,000,000 yearly to employ in funds, and a proportionably larger amount to invest in real property. Although London be the market where loans are negotiated, a comparatively small portion eventually remains. Capital always grows up to the occasions for it, and no country which has employment for it continues long short. After the most active destruction of capital, year by year, no vacuum—not the smallest apparent diminution of the total aggregate capital—is manifest at the present day.

Thus much it seemed fitting to say in elucidation of the nature of capital, from its being the source from which loans are contracted, and, also, of their discharge when effected; and, therefore, is closely connected with taxation:—that which is, perhaps, almost the sole cause of the high price of corn in this country compared with every neighbouring one.

The last division of this inquiry comes now to be entered upon. Hitherto the examination has been confined to causes affecting the price of corn within a nation, distinct from other countries. Another more extended view remains to be taken, the course of the variations in price throughout the world, as commonly expressed by the precious metals.

The effect of the produce of the mines of silver and gold has not been often adverted to, in considering the fluctuations in the price of corn since the sixteenth century. Any influence except this, the most considerable and only general one, has been alleged as producing the variations; the progress of industry, prohibitions, taxation, war, peace, series of favourable or unfavourable seasons. But if any doubt could remain, that these are causes of only partial and temporary operation, it must be removed by an examination of the more general state and bearing of prices. In this view, the returns of the consuls at the principal ports abroad, which were lately laid before parliament, will be found very serviceable. These useful documents contain, in numerous instances, the yearly prices of grain since 1700, and sufficient light is possessed of the preceding centuries, to afford a knowledge of the course of the general prices.

The increase of the produce of the mines of silver and gold was most sudden and important in the consequences, at the discovery of America, when its great influx, in the sixteenth century, raised all prices nearly five-fold. Thus the price of wheat in England was,

1451 to 1499	13	8
1504 " 1562 " 1580 " 1604 " 1622 " 1640 " 1659 " 1679 " 1699 " 1719 " 1739 " 1759 " 1779 " 1799 " 1819 " 1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	10	0
1574 " 1599 " 1619 " 1649 " 1669 " 1689 " 1709 " 1729 " 1749 " 1769 " 1789 " 1809 " 1829 " 1849 " 1869 " 1889 " 1909 "	46	1
1599 " 1619 " 1639 " 1659 " 1679 " 1699 " 1719 " 1739 " 1759 " 1779 " 1799 " 1819 " 1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1619 " 1639 " 1659 " 1679 " 1699 " 1719 " 1739 " 1759 " 1779 " 1799 " 1819 " 1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
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1699 " 1719 " 1739 " 1759 " 1779 " 1799 " 1819 " 1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1719 " 1739 " 1759 " 1779 " 1799 " 1819 " 1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1739 " 1759 " 1779 " 1799 " 1819 " 1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1759 " 1779 " 1799 " 1819 " 1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1779 " 1799 " 1819 " 1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1799 " 1819 " 1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1819 " 1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1839 " 1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1859 " 1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1879 " 1899 "	46	1
1899 "	46	1

By comparing the rise or fall of prices with the supply of the precious metals, an obvious relation appears,* though the exact produce of the mines cannot be given. This may, however, be stated nearly, by taking the amount of dollars annually coined in Mexico, from the official reports, which commence with the year 1690. The mines of Mexico have hitherto given

* The operation of the produce of the mines upon prices of late years, was first fully explained by MR. W. Jacob. His view has not been published, but the substance is given in Tooke, on "High and Low Prices," 2d edition, p. 379.

from Bolivia, about one-half of the supplies, or about two-thirds of the total annual supply of gold and silver; and the advances and interruptions to which they have been subject, have likewise, equally, of late, attended the other sources in Peru, &c. that the Mexican produce will serve correctly to indicate the course of the general supply—the object in view in examining the effect of the quantity of the precious metals, at distant periods, on the prices of corn, and with it, necessarily, of most other commodities. In the Appendix, No. I., is the return* of the silver and gold coined in the mint of Mexico, from 1690 to 1822.

In 1502, Columbus traced the coast of Darien. In 1526, the Spaniards first visited Peru; and, in 1533, Pizarro became master of the country: in 1529, Cortes took the city of Mexico. The first supplies of the precious metals were the fruits of conquest, immaterial as additions to the previous stock of the world. It does not appear that the extraction of the metal from the ore became an object of regular industry in Peru till about 1545; and that country, for many years after

* The author has been indebted to his worthy friend, Don Miguel Cavaleri, who was Minister of Finance, in Mexico, in 1822, for many particulars respecting the mines.

the conquest by the Spaniards, yielded more than Mexico. The ores were, at first, found extremely rich, but gradually became less so: in 1545, the quintal gave ninety marks; in 1574, only nine marks; in 1607, not more than one and a half ounces of silver, diminishing in productiveness as one hundred and seventy to one. The mine of Potosi, which was discovered in 1545, fell off less, only as four to one. A regular account of the produce of Potosi has been rendered, from 1556* to 1800, showing, in two hundred and forty-five years, an average annual produce of 3,354,900 dollars. The official return of the Mexican coinage commences later, 1690, and the average of the first ten years was 4,897,133 dollars, but gradually augmented, as is seen in the table, No. I., in the Appendix.

The effects of this first influx from the American mines began to be manifest, in this country, between 1562 and 1574. The price of wheat, given by A. Smith, (book i. chap. vi.) is, in 1562, eight shillings per quarter: no quotation is then given till 1574, when it is forty shillings per quarter.

Through the seventeenth century the prices

* See Extracts of Mr. Allen, from Spanish documents, in the Appendix of the Bullion Report, 1810.

averaged above forty shillings, but in the early part of the last century it fell below. After 1770, the price advanced again above forty shillings, and increased rapidly from 1790, but it receded after 1810.

The produce of the mines corresponded being on the increase through the whole of the last century, but at first slowly, and not keeping pace with the multiplication of commodities in the world, till in 1772, the produce took a start. Immediately before 1770, the average produce had been about twelve millions, but in the ten years following 1770, the average was above seventeen millions, in the ten years following 1780, above nineteen millions, and from 1790 to 1810, about twenty-three millions subsequently under ten millions. In like manner the prices of wheat and labour have risen and fallen.

According to Humboldt, in 1768, the great mine of Valenciana, under the individual who took its name, began to render largely; in 1771 enormous masses; and afterwards with constancy and equality. Another very rich mine, the Real del Monte, on the finishing of a level by Count de Regla, in 1762, became most productive, and so continued for twenty years. About the same period mines in Zacatecas were wrought with the greatest activity and

success, owing greatly to the enterprise of a Frenchman, Joseph Laborde, of whom one mine yielded, for a while, nearly four million dollars per annum. The labour of these mines and others caused the quantity of the precious metals furnished to the world, thus greatly to augment after 1770, aided, says Humboldt, by the progress of knowledge and national industry, the increase of population, and the liberty of trade conceded to America in 1778. The two years, however, in which the produce attained its maximum were 1804, when 27,092,001 dollars, and 1805 when 27,165,888 dollars were coined at the Mint of Mexico. But, in 1810, the struggle for independence broke out in the Spanish dominions in America, and mining industry was checked, and the produce at once declined; the districts were the theatre of devastating hostilities, the machinery was destroyed, and the mines inundated with water. The produce of Mexico, from 1810 to 1819, averaged something above nine millions, and since has been less.

These fluctuations in the supply of the world with the precious metals, increasing rapidly after 1770, and decreasing still more rapidly after 1810, may account for the fluctuations

* Mr. Jacob estimates the annual supply of silver and gold, from the American mines, to have been, on an average, as follows:

1810, have been found to have been followed by a corresponding rise and fall in prices in this country. The most accurate criterion possessed of the value of money is, doubtless, to be found in the price of farm-labour, being the most necessary, extensive, and uniform of all objects of purchase. It is identical with corn, as has been already shown by its fixed proportion in long periods; and for short ones it is better, because not variable as corn is, from diversity

	1800 to 1810.	1810 to 1821.
	Dollars.	Dollars.
Mexico	30,000,000	8,000,000
Peru	5,480,000	2,000,000
Buenos Ayres	3,640,000	1,500,000
Chili	866,000	800,000
New Grenada	2,735,000	2,000,000
Brazil	2,340,000	1,736,000
	47,061,000	16,036,000

The official account of the coinage at Mexico, in the ten years, 1800 to 1810, averages 22,302,899 dollars: an addition is made above for illicit export. The twelve years, 1810 to 1821, should have been, according to the official account, 9,328,786 dollars. In the table, p. 60, the produce of the years 1820 to 1826 are supposed to average eight million dollars. The preceding gives the produce of the New World. The Old World is usually reckoned to have yielded pretty uniformly the value of about five million dollars annually.

of seasons. Mr. John Rooke has collected the prices of farm-labour in Cumberland, since 1730, which correspond in their bearings with the rates in other parts, as noticed by other writers. His object has been to recommend this standard of value to be adopted in contracts, and to raise and lower the price of gold annually, according as the average rate of farm-labour throughout the country should be ascertained to have varied. In this manner, the price of labour, land, rent, corn, (wheat, say at 60s.) would continue, as they are in substance so in money denomination, very nearly uniform from year to year. Mr. Malthus has, also, maintained the superiority of agricultural labour as a measure of value. The wages given by Mr. Rooke being in a regular series, are added yearly, in Table I. of the Appendix, to the account of the produce of the Mexican mines, as proving, in their fluctuations, the effects of the supply of the precious metals with more exactness, from year to year, than any other prices.

The following table will exhibit, in one view, the averages of the prices of wheat in England, commencing with 1451 to 1499, and in periods of ten years, since 1600;—their proportion to the average of 1700 to 1709, represented by 100;—and the annual produce of the Mexican

mines, taking also the medium of every ten years, since 1690; and the produce of the mines at Potosi is prefixed, it is but a small ratio all yd. obem 1700 since 1690 to see the price of wheat in England from 1450, with the Proportions to the Average of 1700 to 1709, taken as 100, and Annual Average of the Produce of the Silver and Gold Mines in Mexico, and at Potosi, sis
1690 to 1709.

Years.	Average Price.	Proportion to 1700 to 1709 as 100.	Quantity of Silver and Gold produced at Potosi.	Dollars.	1700 to 1709 as 100.	Annual Average of the Produce of the Silver and Gold Mines in Mexico.	Dollars.	1700 to 1709 as 100.	Annual Average of the Produce of the Silver and Gold Mines in Mexico.	Dollars.
1450 to 1499	13 8	39	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1504 , 1560	10 0	29	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1574 , 1594	47 5	136	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1595 , 1599	45 1	130	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1600 , 1609	33 10	97	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1610 , 1619	37 0	106	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1620 , 1629	37 11	110	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1630 , 1639	49 7	142	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1640 , 1649	56 1	161	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1650 , 1659	45 10	131	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1660 , 1669	46 9	135	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1670 , 1679	43 9	126	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1680 , 1689	34 10	100	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1690 , 1699	49 9	94	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1700 , 1709	34 9	109	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1710 , 1719	43 6	125	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1720 , 1729	37 4	108	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1730 , 1739	31 8	91	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1740 , 1749	31 10	92	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1750 , 1759	37 39	109	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1760 , 1769	41 5	119	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1770 , 1779	45 3	130	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1780 , 1789	46 29	131	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1790 , 1799	55 11	160	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1800 , 1809	77 4	223	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1810 , 1819	75 0	216	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000
1820 , 1826	57 3	165	100	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000	2,043,869	352	1,000

It becomes next matter of important interest to ascertain if like variations have taken place in other countries, and in this view the returns of the prices of grain, since 1700, made by His Majesty's Consuls, are very serviceable. They exhibit similar fluctuations. In the Appendix are inserted the average prices for every ten years in all the countries in Europe from which they have been furnished; and the relation of the prices is shown to the first ten years of the last century considered as expressed by 100. In some of these places the money may have undergone alteration in purity or by a depreciated paper; and in many of the returns the prices are reduced to sterling at the par of the present day, which may not have been the par of other dates. However, the results from five countries are hereunder collected, in which the coin was preserved in the same, or near to the same purity throughout the whole period, and they accurately show the fluctuations of the value of the precious metals throughout Europe to have mainly corresponded. The details are contained in the tables No. II to V. in the Appendix. In the last column hereunder is given the average of the five preceding columns, and it may, therefore, be considered as a tolerably near index of the variations in the price

of gold.

of wheat throughout Europe within this period
1700 to 1826.

Years.	England.	Dantzic.	Amsterdam.	Biscay.	Ancona.	Average of the five preceding columns.
1700 to 1709	100	100	100	100	100	100
1710 " 1719	125	120	110	119	94	114
1720 " 1729	108	92	115	87	71	95
1730 " 1739	91	88	94	106	92	94
1740 " 1749	92	106	129	117	105	110
1750 " 1759	109	102	117	103	108	108
1760 " 1769	119	111	134	138	136	128
1770 " 1779	130	129	122	150	130	132
1780 " 1789	131	130	139	158	147	141
1790 " 1799	160	170	178	217	185	182
1800 " 1809	223	257	235	245	226	237
1810 " 1819	216	206	250	257	272	240
1820 " 1826	165	124	138	158	144	146

The depreciation of the currency in this country during the time of the inconvertible paper money has been allowed for, in the ratio of the excess of the market over the mint price of gold, from 1800 to 1819. The details will be found in the table, No. VI.* inserted in the Appendix.

These variations in money value are illustrated in the prices of one kind of grain, wheat. It may be of interest to examine if other corn has been correspondently affected. In a table, No. VII. in the Appendix, the parallel fluctuations are given in rye, barley, and oats, taken

* The scale of depreciation is after the one in Lord Lauderdale's pamphlet, "Depreciation of the Paper Currency of Great Britain proved." Appendix, No. III.

from the returns from Königsberg; and annexed are columns to show the contemporaneous relative value of these sorts of inferior grain to wheat, represented as 100. From these columns it appears that rye has undergone, in Prussia, no change in its relative value to wheat, having continued about $\frac{6}{10}$, but barley and oats have risen in the latter part of the century. Barley from about $\frac{3}{10}$ to $\frac{4}{10}$, and oats from about $\frac{2}{10}$ to $\frac{3}{10}$ in comparison with wheat. However, the lower relation of these two kinds of grain to wheat was only in the very early part of the last century.

The bearings of the value of the other grain to wheat appear to have been pretty uniform in this country, according to the table, No. VIII. in the Appendix, giving average proportions, as follows:—

Wheat, 100; Rye, 65; Barley, 53; Oats, 35; Beans, 63; Pease, 62. Upon a similar basis, the admission prices of foreign corn have been regulated in this country. Nevertheless, by the proposed new scale of duties, see Appendix, No. XIV. there is a wide deviation in the proportions of the highest rates, on attaining which all grain is to be on the freest footing, that is, to pay 1s. per quarter. These rates are

Wheat, 72s.—Barley, 41s.—Oats, 31s.—Rye, Beans, and Pease, 47s.

But if the natural proportions are as above stated, the prices should have been—

—Wheat, 72s.—Barley, 38s. 2d.—Oats, 25s. 2d.—Rye, Beans, and Pease, 45s. 4d.

Oats, however, at 25s. 2d. pay, by the scale, 9s. 3d. duty: and Barley at 38s. 2d. pays 3s. 4d.

The tendency of this disproportion in favour of the inferior grain would be to encourage its cultivation to the displacement of wheat.

In the Appendix are such other tables, No. IX. to XII. as could be collected from the Consuls' returns, to show the fluctuation of prices for a lengthened period; and they contain the average prices of wheat at Hamburg, Dordt, in France, at Bordeaux, and of grain, half rye half barley, in Sweden.

It would import much to know what was the amount of specie which was added, on the first influx from America, to the existing circulation of Europe, and which produced, at first, nearly a quintuple increase of prices; but the traces of it are indistinct. Gregory King, in a calculation of the quantity of silver and gold, in Europe,* supposes the stock, at the discovery of the West Indies, (1500,) was forty-five millions sterling, and, in 1600, was one hundred mil-

* Inserted in Mr. Tooke's work on "High and Low Prices." Second edition, Appendix, No. 2.

lions, making the increase thus fifty-five millions sterling. On what data this is founded is not stated; but as his estimates have always been reputed careful and just, these were, doubtless, formed upon due grounds. This accession must have been introduced in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the mines in Peru commencing in 1545, and the first effect on prices, in England, were not apparent till about 1570.

The forty-five millions are explained to include plate, trinkets, &c, as well as coin, in a proportion which would make the coin nearly thirty millions. The additional fifty-five millions, introduced, almost wholly, from 1560 to 1600, must then be considered as poured in upon an European currency of thirty millions, about trebling, in the space of forty years, the aggregate circulation, and the portion which entered in the first ten years producing the extreme effect at once, as if the first approaches of the tide had spread a panic of an overwhelming deluge. It will have been observed by the table, p. 60, that the average price of wheat, from 1574 to 1594, rose to forty-seven shillings and five pence; but that of 1595 to 1599 fell to forty-five shillings and one penny; and, in 1600 to 1609, it sunk to thirty-three shillings and ten pence the quarter. Thus, the price

settled in an almost exact proportion to the addition to the currency. The price of wheat, previously to 1560, had averaged ten shillings; and, in 1600 to 1609, averaged thirty-three shillings and ten pence; * and the money, in Europe, from under thirty millions, is estimated to have reached eighty-five millions, † supposed

* The variations on the continent were similar. J. B. Say, in his "Traité d'Economie Politique," livre, chap. 21, extracts, from Dupré de Saint-Maure, the following values at which the septier of wheat exchanged in France against grains of pure silver:

		[s. d.]
In 1520	against 512 grains,	equal to 8 10 per Winchester quarter.
In 1536	" 1063 "	18 3
In 1602	" 2060 "	35 5
In 1789	" 2012 "	34 7

Say remarks, " Depuis 1200 jusque vers 1520, la neuvième partie d'un marc d'argent, (512 French grains, or $419\frac{1}{2}$ grains troy, that is, in English standard silver, 8s. 10d. per quarter,) quelle que fut sa dénomination en monnaie, valait communément autant qu'un setier de blé;" and he adds a good general rule for the valuing of money before and after the discovery of America; which is, to multiply prices in the former period, in silver, by four; and, in gold, by three.

+ In 1819, it was maintained, by some writers of high authority, that a contraction of the currency, about three per cent., then required to restore its standard value, would not further lower prices, but prices sunk at first to a much greater extent. In the contrary way, the effect is seen, above, to have outrun the cause. In both cases, the principle alleged may have been the true one in operation.

sing the influx to have been wholly superadded to the currency. This must have been much the case, as the constant successive annual supplies exceeded, doubtless, what was absorbed for purposes of manufacture.

The price of wheat gradually rose, and the first half of the century, 1600 to 1649, the price averaged forty-two shillings and ten pence; and, in the latter half, 1650 to 1699, it averaged forty-four shillings and one penny. King, at the date he wrote, 1688, estimates the stock of silver and gold, in Europe, to be equal to two hundred and twenty-five millions sterling, and considers ten millions to be gold, one hundred and twenty-eight millions silver coin, eight millions bullion, and the rest plate, &c. This one hundred and thirty-eight millions of coin may be reasonably supposed to have reached, in round numbers, one hundred and forty millions by 1700.

Here is an actual specification of the amount of coin, and its relation to the price of wheat appears very near to that existing a century and a half previously, before the American mines made such important additions to the specie in circulation. For, if thirty millions were accompanied with an average price of ten shillings, in the same proportion one hundred and forty millions would establish forty-six shillings

and eight pence, a price, it is true, something exceeding the prevailing rate 42*s.* 6*d.* from 1690 to 1719; but, on the other hand, is to be borne in mind the great increase of commodities.

In the fifty years, from 1700 to 1749, the price of wheat fell, averaging thirty-five shillings and ten pence. It was a more pacific half century than the world had enjoyed for ages, and, though the produce of the mines was on the increase, (see Appendix, table No. I.) commodities probably multiplied in a still greater ratio; capital certainly reached the utmost boundaries of the actual production, for interest was never before or since so continually low.*

In the latter half of the last century, 1750 to 1799, the average price of wheat was forty-five shillings and three pence; and, as the advance was progressive, the last ten years being fifty per cent. above the first ten, and the increase of the supply of the Mexican mines became very rapid after 1770, this period is strongly indicative of the effect of a larger influx of the precious metals on prices generally.

* The market-rate of interest was barely three per cent. in the principal marts in Europe. The Three per Cent. Consols were usually about par.—See Sir John Sinclair's "History of the Revenue," Vol. ii. Appendix, No. 2.

It has been shown, p. 62, to have been manifested in the prices throughout Europe.

The rate of the supply of the Mexican mines, since 1700, suggests a division as follows, in round numbers, and adding the supposed aggregate supply of the Old and New World, the whole will exhibit thus the bearings of the fluctuating quantity of the precious metals upon prices:—

Dates.	Years.	Annual Produce of the Mexican Mines.	General Supply of Gold and Silver.	Scale of the Price in Europe.
		Millions.	Millions.	
1700 to 1739	40	8	20	100
" 1740 " 1769	30	12	25	115
" 1770 " 1789	20	18	35	136
" 1790 " 1809	20	23	50	209
" 1810 " 1827	18	8	20	193

In the latter part of these last eighteen years the price has declined rapidly, as is seen in the table, page 62; but, the American mines, generally, having been in a disastrous state throughout the period, the whole is conjoined in one. They are now recovering, and the produce is on the turn to abundance.

An increase in the produce of the Mexican mines nearly threefold, comparing the forty years, 1700 to 1739, with the twenty years, 1790 to 1809, was accompanied by a rise in wheat, as 100 is to 209. The great additions yearly to the stock of silver and gold must have been mostly absorbed in the use of plate, &c. and in the

demands for India and the countries rising into importance in America. Humboldt reckons the silver and gold in circulation, in coin, in Europe, at the beginning of the present century; and Storch,* correcting this estimate, 1805, from the best authorities in different countries, considers the amount to equal about 271 millions sterling. The metallic currency in Europe was thus estimated, in 1700, to be 140, and, in 1805, to be 271 millions sterling; and the prices of wheat coincide pretty much with that proportion, being as 100 is to 209, collected from five different countries. An addition should, however, be made for the paper-money, chiefly circulating in England, Austria, and Russia, the copper coin, and something, likewise, for bills of exchange, actually circulating, making, perhaps, about 100 millions more in sterling value. May not this excess be placed against the vastly-increased mass of commodities, and of all other objects of pecuniary exchange, compared with a century back?

It is probable, looking to the advances made in Europe, the United States, and other quarters of America, and the extending countries in the southern hemisphere, that the supply of the waste of currency and consumption of the

* Cours d'Economie Politique, vol. vi. p. 83.

precious metals, has, since the peace, required yearly, about thirty millions of dollars; and as, from 1810 to this year, the aggregate produce of all the world may not have averaged twenty millions of dollars, the remaining ten millions annually must have been abstracted from the old metallic currency, and will account for the constant diminution of prices since 1810. The examination and comparison of these data, which are sufficiently various and extended, prove the source of the general rise and fall of prices to have been the fluctuating supply of the precious metals, the most obvious cause, being, in fact, that matter in which those prices consist or are expressed. Now that the mining countries, by the establishment of their independence, are in a state of internal tranquillity, and great efforts, capital, and all the modern improvements in science, are applied to the renewed working of the mines, especially in the most important quarter, Mexico, effects very considerable may be expected to result upon prices generally. Some progress has been made in that country. The produce of Mexico in silver and gold was about thirty million dollars annually from 1800 to 1810: in some of the following disturbed years, it was barely five millions: the last year, 1826, about thirteen million dollars were coined.

The prospect of increase in the produce of other mines, and the rate of that increase, are objects of most extensive importance; such increase will affect all pecuniary engagements, and especially the condition of those possessed of fixed incomes; and will contribute essentially to the alleviation of all governments burdened with a weight of debt.

Whether looking to this view, or to the many other great interests involved, or merely to the chances attending the great mining companies, it appears, by the Reports of the Anglo-Mexican and the United Mexican Mining Associations, that His Majesty's Minister in Mexico had been instructed to make various inquiries, in 1826, of the Managers of the mines. Among these were the following, which apply directly to the subject here considered:

Ques. 6. "Within what period the mines may be expected to yield equal to their annual average produce previous to 1810?"

Ques. 7. "Whether that amount is likely to exceed, and in what proportion, their former average produce?"

The following is an extract from the reply* of the Commissioners (J. W. Williamson and

W. C. Jones) of the Anglo-Mexican Company, dated Guanajuato, 1st July, 1826. "On the arrival of this Association (1825) all the mines contained water. The machinery was nearly all destroyed, and most of the buildings ruined or fallen; and no horses or mules. Now half is animation. Families are subsisted: labouring men, though arrived in thousands, are still wanting: unoccupied dwelling-houses, lately in superfluity, are now unattainable. It is calculated that the produce of the mine of Valenciana may be expected to equal that of 1810 in eighteen months or two years."

The answer of the Board of Management of the United Mexican Company,* (signed L. Alaman and A. D. Lewis Agassis,) dated Mexico, 2d Oct. 1826, states: "All the mines of importance are again working. The spots whence the greatest produce is to be expected are still under water. These works will be finished within two years at farthest in all the mines;—much sooner in most of them, and are so already in some. The produce of silver and gold will, therefore, probably increase daily, but cannot, in our opinion, reach the average of the produce previous to 1810, until

* It is contained in the Report of the Directors at the Annual Meeting of the Proprietors, 3d January, 1827.

* Report of the Directors at the Annual Meeting in London, 7th March, 1827. Page 18.

after these two years, and then only, provided the several works engaged in are pursued with spirit." Further they say, "It is probable that, in the regular order of things, the produce of gold and silver in this Republic will, within a few years, be much greater than before the year 1810."

It is truly remarked, "that the capital in former times was much more than has now been introduced by the English companies." In all countries, capital indeed is rather created on the spot than transferred to them. The United Mexican Mining Company has, nevertheless, already disbursed £775,000; and the Anglo-Mexican £750,000; and, adding the actual payments of the several other companies for working American mines, a total sum of about three millions sterling has been invested in these undertakings from this country.

Thus, according to the opinions of the managers of the principal mines, those locally and best acquainted with the subject, the annual addition to the stock of the precious metals in the world is expected to become equal to the most flourishing period in a very short time, that is, by the next year, 1828. Some time must be allowed for the diffusion of the metal through the world; something must be given for the greater quantity needed for circulation,

on account of the increased commerce and commodities in every quarter of the globe. Still the immediate accession of so large an annual quantity of specie must, in a few years, exhibit sensible effects, for other mining countries will probably increase in their produce in the same degree as Mexico.

These researches are made with a view to guide conjecture as to the consequences of the promised increase in the produce of the American mines. If the total supply of the precious metals is to be as it was previously to 1810, say 50 millions of dollars annually, and to go beyond that, then 20 or, perhaps, 30 millions of dollars, that is four to six millions sterling will be added yearly to the metallic currency of the world after the next year. If the gold and silver coin current in Europe be now about £250,000,000 sterling,* in a few years the

* This amount may be distributed in some such proportions as this:—

England	20 millions.
France	90
Holland	15
Germany	50
Russia, Sweden, and Denmark	20
Spain and Portugal	20
Italy	30
Turkey in Europe, &c.	5
	250 millions.

amount will rise higher than in the first years of this century, and prices advance accordingly. It has here been endeavoured to detail correctly what has formerly taken place, and the reader, in watching the progress of the mines, will form his own estimate of the effects.

If corn doubled in price in the world from depreciation of money, the free admission into this country would follow under the existing law as well as by the proposed scale. The price of wheat which has here prevailed, about 60s. and in the Baltic about 30s. would not double here, because the price would be checked by the import of foreign, saleable* about 75s. The British farmer, as all commodities would double in price, would have to pay double in wages and in all purchases, but taxes would rise little, and, perhaps, rent, not, at first, in proportion. The only mode of bringing the price of corn in this country to the level of the rest of the world without disturbing the engagements of the farmers, is by lessening taxation, which, with the large debt, is only very slowly practicable; and by the increase of the produce of the mines, which, at present, is an operation which a few years may bring about. It has been estimated† that 60s. at the present time,

* Adding the freight, charges, &c. as stated page 4.

† "I am very much mistaken if the honourable member for Essex (Mr. Western) did not say that 60s. at the pre-

are equal to 80s. in 1815. Upon this proportion, if one-third be added to the present annual amount of taxes, 53 millions, they became effectually equivalent to near 71 millions in 1815. The time may approach when these 53 millions will be really in the relation they stand numerically to 80 millions twelve years ago.

The lessening of the value of money would, in the first instance, exceed the ultimate effects: the 800 millions of debt, though nominally the same, would, virtually, be no more than the half, or less. The national income has been estimated to be, in money value, about 350 millions,* and as the taxes are about 53 millions, they form a contribution of near a seventh part: but if the money-value of this income rose to 700 millions, the taxes continuing the same, (though all except the interest of the debt must be adapted eventually to the lowered value of money,) would become only one-thirteenth.† The Mining-Companies, however

sent period, were equal to 80s. in 1815. My opinion approximates to the same."—*Mr. Huskisson*, 18th June, 1827.

* Colquoun, "Wealth of the British Empire," p. 96, reckons 430 millions in 1815; but, in 1823, the national income is more justly valued in Lowe's "Present State of England," at 350 millions.

† In two "Letters to the Right Hon. R. Peel, on the pernicious Effects of a variable Standard of Value," 1819, ascribed to Dr. Coppleston, are several appropriate quota-

little promising as speculations, are in this view greatly conducing to lighten the weight of taxation from authors of the time of Queen Elizabeth, (Bishop Latimer, Lord Bacon, Harrison,) showing, in lively colours, the effects of the depreciation of silver then experienced. The writer observes.—“The rapid depreciation, after the working of the mines in South America, has become a matter of trite remark! But there are circumstances attending it more instructive and more deserving the attention of a practical statesman than the fact itself. I mean the backwardness of mankind in perceiving this fact,—their unwillingness to allow it,—their proneness to account for the change of prices by every other cause than the true one,—the consequent unfairness and inequality in all contracts made for a length of time,—the disturbance caused in the several relations of society, the hardships and depression of some, the ruin of others,—the difficulties thrown in the way of adjustment, and the discord, reproach, vexation, and anxiety which was thus spread through every department of life.

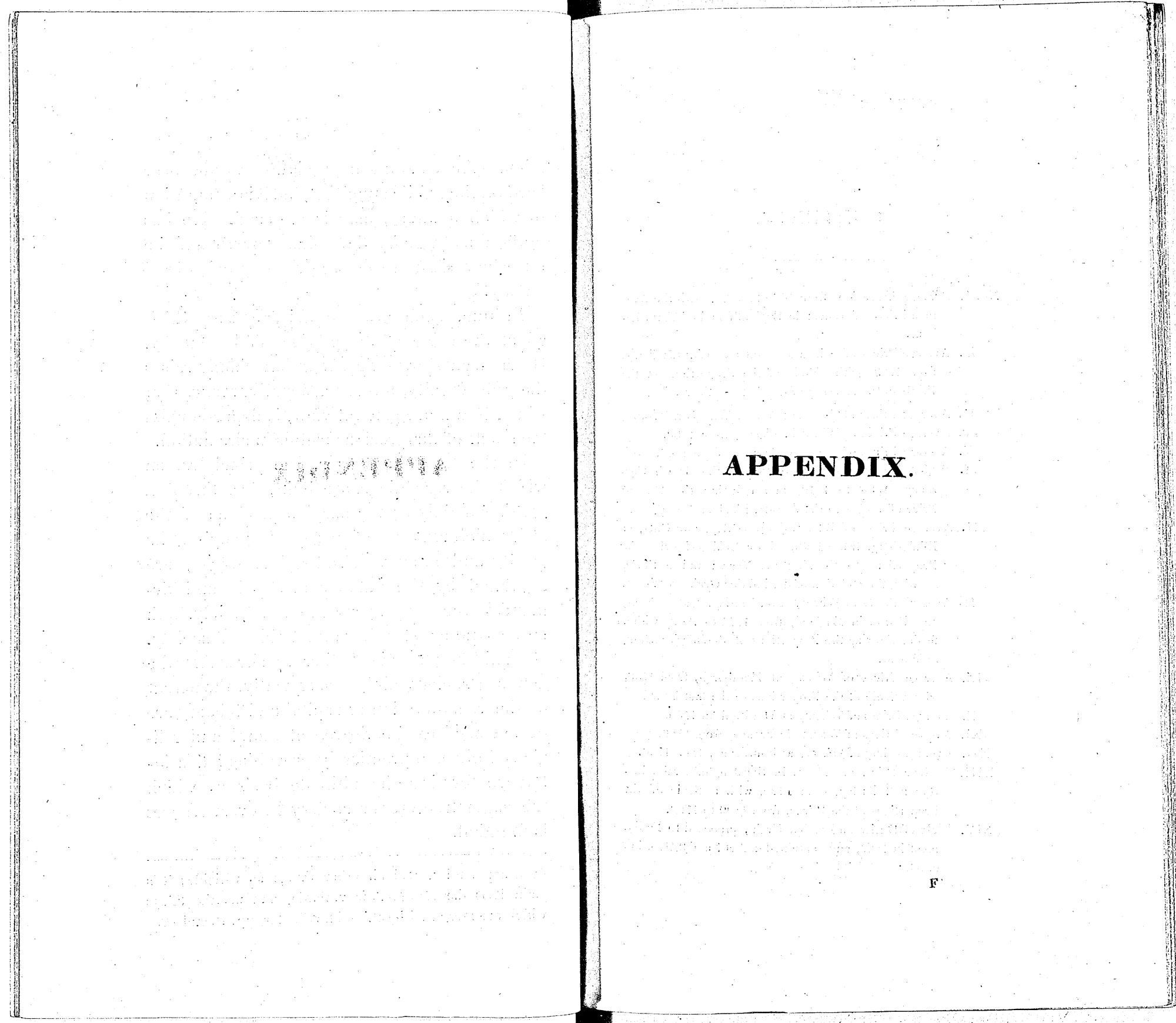
“Whoever is conversant with the history of those times, especially with that branch of history which enters into the detail of life and manners, must have had frequent opportunities of verifying these remarks: they abound with complaints of the increased dearness of provisions, and of all the necessaries of life;—of the rapacity of landlords, the extactions of the clergy, the sufferings of the poor, the pressure of public burdens, the extravagant demands of all men for higher prices, and for an increase of wages.” Again:—“In the year 1773, when Dr. Johnson travelled through the Highlands, he observes that the people everywhere complain of the rapacity of landlords, and the increasing dearness of provisions and of all articles of trade. Men will, he remarks, persist in regarding money as the

ation. An extreme depreciation would bear hard on the public annuitant, but it is a condition to which a money-loan is exposed. He has profited at times by the enhancement, and he must be content to endure the depreciation of money.

In fine, such are the chief causes which affect the value of the produce of husbandry. It has been shown that taxation chiefly raises the price locally, and, occasionally, monopoly; while, in a more general view, it depends upon the stock of the precious metals in circulation.

In the foregoing pages, the principles, on which the reasonings are built, are, that rent consists mainly of the surplus produce of the soil, which remains after repaying capital, its profit, and labour. Profits, like wages, are regulated by the balance of supply and demand in the market; and, more remotely, both rest on the constitution and habits of society. It would be possible further to show that the habits of society, and, consequently, the extent of the remuneration of capital and labour, are to be traced to the degree of moral and religious influence practically prevailing; this influence forming the ultimate basis on which the superstructure of society in every respect is founded.

fixed commodity, and all other things as variable; it is plain it is the *standard* is variable, and not the things which are measured by it.” First Letter, pp. 13 and 16.



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APPENDIX
No. I.

An Account of the Silver and Gold coined in the Mint, at Mexico, in Dollars, from 1690 to 1822, inclusive; with the Average Price of Wheat, in England, and the Price of Farm-Labour, per week, in Cumberland, from 1730.

Year.	Coinage of Mexico, in Dollars.	Average Price of Wheat.	Year.	Coinage of Mexico, in Dollars.	Farm Labour.	Average Price of Wheat.
1690	5,285,581	30 10	1716	6,527,738	42 8	
1691	6,213,709	29 11	1717	6,750,734	40 5	
1692	5,352,729	41 9	1718	7,173,590	34 8	
1693	2,802,378	50 8 2	1719	7,258,706	30 11	
1694	5,840,529	56 10	1720	7,874,322	32 10	
1695	4,001,293	47 1	1721	9,460,734	33 4	
1696	3,190,618	56 0	1722	8,823,932	32 0	
1697	4,459,947	53 4	1723	8,107,348	30 10	
1698	3,319,765	60 9	1724	7,872,922	32 10	
1699	3,504,787	56 0	1725	7,369,815	43 1	
1700	3,379,122	35 6	1726	8,466,146	40 10	
1701	4,019,093	31 8	1727	8,133,088	37 4	
1702	5,022,650	26 8	1728	9,228,545	48 3	
1703	6,079,254	32 0	1729	8,814,970	42 2	
1704	5,827,027	41 2	1730	9,745,870	4 8 32 5	
1705	4,747,175	26 8	1731	8,439,871	4 8 29 4	
1706	6,172,087	23 8	1732	8,726,465	4 8 23 8	
1707	5,735,029	25 4 2	1733	10,175,895	4 8 25 2	
1708	5,737,610	36 9	1734	8,908,660	4 8 33 6	
1709	5,214,143	69 7	1735	8,359,835	4 8 38 2	
1710	6,710,587	69 4	1736	11,821,067	4 8 35 10	
1711	5,666,085	48 0	1737	8,523,555	4 8 33 6	
1712	6,663,425	41 2	1738	9,971,007	4 8 31 6	
1713	6,487,872	45 4	1739	9,005,256	4 8 33 2	
1714	6,220,822	44 9	1740	9,906,038	4 6 48 10	
1715	6,368,918	38 2	1741	9,261,679	4 6 41 9	

Year.	Coinage of Mexico, in Dollars. round	Farm- Price per bushel of Wheat.	Ave- rage Price of Year 1890	Coinage of Mexico, in Dollars. round	Farm- Price per bushel of Wheat.	Ave- rage Price of Year 1890	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	
1742	8,861,226	4	6 28	5	1782	17,580,490	7 0
1743	9,440,859	4	6 22	1	1783	23,716,657	7 0
1744	11,125,115	4	6 22	1	1784	21,037,374	7 0
1745	10,938,172	4	6 24	3	1785	18,575,208	7 0
1746	11,952,535	4	6 34	8	1786	17,257,104	7 0
1747	12,454,510	4	6 30	11	1787	16,110,840	7 0
1748	11,972,370	4	6 32	10	1788	20,146,366	7 1
1749	12,214,346	4	6 32	10	1789	21,129,911	7 2
1750	13,704,324	4	7 28	10	1790	18,063,688	7 4
1751	12,912,867	4	8 34	2	1791	21,121,713	7 0
1752	13,969,256	4	9 40	9	1792	24,195,041	7 8
1753	12,060,378	4	10 39	8	1793	24,312,942	7 10
1754	11,917,998	5	0 30	10	1794	22,011,031	8 0
1755	13,025,035	5	2 29	11	1795	24,593,481	8 2
1756	13,096,528	5	4 40	2	1796	25,644,627	8 4
1757	13,105,521	5	4 53	4	1797	25,080,038	9 0
1758	12,946,267	5	4 44	5	1798	24,004,589	10 0
1759	13,481,658	5	6 35	3	1799	22,058,125	10 6
1760	12,441,048	5	7 32	5	1800	18,685,674	10 1
1761	12,465,969	5	8 26	10	1801	16,568,442	10 7
1762	10,713,725	5	9 34	8	1802	18,798,599	10 11
1763	12,641,667	5	10 36	2	1803	23,166,906	11 2
1764	10,349,928	5	11 41	6	1804	27,090,001	12 10
1765	12,397,924	6	0 48	0	1805	27,165,888	14 2
1766	11,748,298	6	2 43	1	1806	24,736,020	14 7
1767	11,054,498	6	3 57	4	1807	22,014,699	15 1
1768	13,259,851	6	4 53	9	1808	21,886,500	15 1
1769	12,483,197	6	5 40	7	1809	26,172,982	13 7
1770	14,587,310	6	6 43	6	1810	19,046,188	13 3
1771	13,353,432	6	7 47	2	1811	10,041,796	12 6
1772	18,889,785	6	8 50	8	1812	4,409,266	11 6
1773	20,237,325	6	9 51	0	1813	6,133,983	10 5
1774	13,666,954	6	10 52	8	1814	7,520,550	11 4
1775	15,032,193	6	11 48	4	1815	6,941,263	11 5
1776	17,315,537	7	0 38	2	1816	9,276,009	9 9
1777	21,524,805	7	0 45	6	1817	8,849,893	11 6
1778	20,729,758	7	0 42	0	1818	11,386,288	11 0
1779	19,435,457	7	0 33	8	1819	12,030,515	10 9
1780	17,514,263	7	0 35	8	1820	10,406,154	10 6
1781	20,335,842	7	0 44	8	1821	5,903,526	10 0

Year.	Coinage of Mexico, in Dollars.	Farm-Labour.	Average Price of Wheat.	Year.	Coinage of Mexico, in Dollars.	Farm-Labour.	Average Price of Wheat.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1822	5,543,254	9 6	43 3	1825		10 0	66 6
1823		9 0	51 9	1826		10 0	57 11
1824		9 6	62 0				

1,640,493,784 Total Dollars

Of this total coinage of the one hundred and thirty-three years, 1690 to 1822, the quantity of silver was 1,580,260,776 dollars; of gold 60,233,008 dollars.

The prices of wheat require some explanation. The series of average prices in England is not formed upon a uniform principle throughout. Those previous to 1770 are founded upon a register in the audit-books, in Eton-college, and are given in "Smith's Wealth of Nations," book i. chap. 11, from 1595; but, as is there remarked, this being the very best quality of wheat, one-ninth is to be deducted to bring the price to a middle quality. From 1771 the averages are in conformity with the act 10 Geo. III. c. 39, from all the counties of England and Wales; and, from 1815, according to act 55 Geo. III. c. 26, from the maritime counties. This year, 1827, a new system is adopted.

It is to be observed, likewise, that the metallic currency, though established by Queen Elizabeth, in 1560, on the footing of a silver standard at five shillings and two pence per ounce, was subject to changes in the circulation. About 1685 to 1696 the money had become clipped and depreciated seventeen per cent., standard silver being worth six shillings and three pence per ounce. At times the gold was overvalued, and displaced the silver. It was in 1717 the guinea was fixed, permanently, at twenty-one shillings. The gold did not circulate, in perfect purity, till after 1773; see "Mushet's Tables," published 1811, in Appendix to "Inquiry on the National Currency." In the preceding averages, the prices of wheat and farm labour, from 1800 to 1819, are given in metallic money, according to the table No. VI.

No. II.

The Average Price of Wheat, at Dantzig, in every Ten Years from 1703, reduced into sterling Money, through the Medium of the Dutch Ducat 2.089, to £1 sterling, previously to 1791; and, since, at the current Exchange on London; and the Proportion of the Prices to the first Ten Years, considered as 100.*

Year	to	1709	s	d	100
1710	..	1719	26	3	120
1720	..	1729	20	2	92
1730	..	1739	19	3	88
1740	..	1749	23	2	106
1750	..	1759	22	5	102
1760	..	1769	24	3	111
1770	..	1779	23	3	129
1780	..	1789	28	5	130
1790	..	1799	37	3	170
1800	..	1809	56	5	257
1810	..	1819	45	3	206
1820	..	1826	27	1	124

The prices are according to the returns of Mr. Consul Gibsone, No. 2, page 42. The averages give, at the current exchange, { 1800 to 1809 .. 59.7 } but are reduced to standard money in the preceding table.

* The returns of the Consul at Dantzig are the most extensive of any received, and in the conversion into sterling, the debasement of the Dantzig coin is accurately rectified by reducing the Dantzig florins, first to Dutch ducats, and then at the rate of 2.089 ducats to £1 sterling. From 1700 to 1729, about 8 florins were equivalent to the ducat; from 1730 to 1750, from 8 to 8½; 1751 to 1758, from 8½ to 9; from 1759 to 1773, from 9 to 12; and thence to 1814, a £12. An exchange on London commenced 1791. The Dutch ducat has been preserved in uniform purity. Sir Isaac Newton's assay, in 1717, gives 2.1585 ducats to the £ sterling. Dr. Kelly, in 1821, 2.140, (See Dr. Kelly's Cambist, second edition, vol. ii. pages 152 and 158). Mr. Gibsone reckons 2.089 ducats to the £ sterling, and if this deviation were adjusted it would lower his sterling prices about 2½ per cent. up to 1791, when he takes the exchange on London. Considering the importance of Dantzig, as a corn-market, the fulness of the averages collected by the Consul, and the exact reduction to standard gold money, per Winchester quarter, these returns, doubtless, present the most correct records before the public of the metallic value of corn since 1703.

II. 104

Prices of Wheat in Gold 28 Stivers, per Standard Quarter, in every Ten Years from 1700, in Gold Guilders of 28 Stivers.

Year	to	1709	Guilders	28 Stivers
1700	..	107	107	100
1710	..	118	118	110
1720	..	123	123	115
1730	..	100	100	94
1740	..	138	138	129
1750	..	125	125	117
1760	..	144	144	134
1770	..	141	141	122
1780	..	149	149	139
1790	..	191	191	178
1800	..	252	252	235
1810	..	268	268	250
1820	..	148	148	138

The prices are from the returns of Consul Melvil, No. II.

page 31, from 1709.

V. O.

No. IV.
The Average Prices of Wheat in the Province of Biscay, in every Ten Years, from 1700, reduced into sterling Money, at the par of Exchange, and to the Winchester Quarter: and the Proportion of the Prices to the first Ten Years, taken as 100.*

1700	to	1709	s.	d.	1700
1710	"	1719	29	2	119
1720	"	1729	21	3	87
1730	"	1739	25	9	106
1740	"	1749	28	6	117
1750	"	1759	25	2	103
1760	"	1769	33	9	138
1770	"	1779	36	6	140
1780	"	1789	38	6	158
1790	"	1799	53	0	217
1800	"	1809	59	8	245
1810	"	1819	62	8	257
1820	"	1826	38	4	158

The prices are from the returns of Mr. Consul Hoyles, No. II, page 75.

The Spanish returns are valuable on account of the purity of the coin being known. Sir Isaac Newton's assay of 1717 gives the standard weight of the Spanish dollar, 417 grains. Dr. Kelly, 1821, 408 grains, a difference of about 2 per cent. in a century.

No. V.

The Average Prices of Wheat, at Ancona, in every Ten Years from 1700, in Roman Scudes, per Rubbio; and the Proportion of the Prices to the first Ten Years, taken as 100.*

1700	to	1709	Roman Scudes.	100
1710	"	1719	4.07	94
1720	"	1729	3.09	71
1730	"	1739	3.98	92
1740	"	1749	4.56	105
1750	"	1759	4.67	108
1760	"	1769	5.88	136
1770	"	1779	5.64	130
1780	"	1789	6.40	147
1790	"	1799	8.02	185
1800	"	1809	9.82	226
1810	"	1819	11.78	272
1820	"	1825	6.27	144

The prices are from the returns of Mr. Consul Parke, No. II, page 89.

* Sir Isaac Newton, in his assays, 1717, gives the weight of the Roman scude 20 dwt. 14½ grains. Dr. Kelly, (Cambist, vol. ii. p. 166) gives the weight, before 1753, 20 dwt. 14 grains, and after 17 dwt. 1 grain. After 1753 the coin seems to have been debased about 18 per cent. The papal territory has been at times filled with a much depreciated paper money.

In other parts of Italy the coin has been well preserved, and correct returns for a very long period might be obtainable. Fabbroni has given an account of prices at Florence from 1782, but having reduced the old to modern money upon some principle he has not explained, they throw no light on the variation in the value of money. In the Consular returns, No. II, page 89, it is stated that the archives of Catania could furnish the prices of grain from 1700; and the writer, from personal knowledge, believes much older prices might be collected, and in a coin the purity of which has been fully maintained.

No. VI.

The Average Market-Price of Standard Gold, from 1800 to 1819, the Value of One Pound, Paper-Currency, in Standard Gold; the Average Price of Wheat in the Current Money, and in Standard Gold, in each Year.

Year	Average Market Price of Gold.	Value of One Pound in Standard Gold.		Average Price of Wheat.	Price of Wheat in Standard Gold.
		£	s.	s.	d.
1800	4 5 0	18	4	110 5	101 8
1801	4 3 9	18	7	115 11	107 9
1802	4 3 6	18	8	67 9	63 3
1803	4 3 6	18	8	57 1	53 3
1804	4 1 6	19	0	60 5	57 4
1805	4 0 0	19	6	87 1	84 11
1806	4 0 0	19	6	76 9	74 10
1807	4 0 0	19	6	73 1	71 3
1808	4 0 0	19	6	78 11	76 11
1809	4 9 0	17	6	94 10	82 8
1810 to 1809, average.	18 10 2	18 2	107 4	82 5 2	77 4
1810 to 1819, average.	17 0 2	17 0	88 2	61 5	53 10
1810 to 1819, average.	17 0 2	17 0	88 2	61 5	53 10

The depreciation, { 1800 to 1809 is 5.625 per cent.
{ 1810 to 1819 is 14.670 per cent.

IV.

No. VII.
The Average Prices of Wheat, Rye, Barley, and Oats, at Königsberg, in Florins, per Last; with the Proportions of the succeeding Prices to the first Ten Years; and, likewise, the Proportion of the Prices of the inferior Grain to Wheat in each Ten Years, assuming 100 as the Index of Wheat.

Years.	Wheat.	Proportion of the Prices to the first Ten Years.		Rye.		Proportion of the Prices to the first Ten Years.		Barley.		Proportion of the Prices to the first Ten Years.		Oats.		Proportion of the Prices to the first Ten Years.		Proportion of Oats to Wheat.	
		100	124	100	64	74	100	38	46	100	102	24	100	43	51	110	29
1700 to 1709	193	100	124	100	64	74	100	38	46	100	102	24	100	43	51	110	29
1710 " 1719	195	101	130	105	67	80	108	42	47	102	102	24	100	43	51	110	29
1720 " 1729	172	89	119	96	69	74	100	43	51	110	110	29	100	43	51	110	29
1730 " 1739	144	75	105	89	70	61	83	42	41	89	89	29	100	43	51	110	29
1740 " 1749	202	105	135	109	66	76	103	37	46	103	103	32	100	43	51	110	29
1750 " 1759	214	111	126	102	59	78	105	36	57	124	124	27	100	43	51	110	29
1760 " 1769	255	132	147	118	58	109	147	43	72	157	157	28	100	43	51	110	29
1770 " 1779	258	133	179	144	68	127	171	49	82	178	178	32	100	43	51	110	29
1780 " 1789	254	132	184	148	72	136	184	54	87	189	189	35	100	43	51	110	29
1790 " 1799	325	168	210	169	65	159	215	51	103	178	178	33	100	43	51	110	29
1800 " 1809	530	274	368	296	69	284	384	54	178	387	387	34	100	43	51	110	29
1810 " 1819	587	200	238	192	61	184	248	48	143	311	311	37	100	43	51	110	29
1820 " 1829	231	119	145	117	64	103	139	45	81	176	176	35	100	43	51	110	29

The prices are from the returns of Mr. Consul Fonblanche, No. II. page 14, extracted by him from Official Records.

No. VIII.
The Average Prices in England and Wales of Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, Beans, and Pease, from 1771 to 1819, with the Proportions of the Prices of the inferior Grain to those of Wheat, within the Periods as under:—

		Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.	Proportion of Wheat to the Inferior Grains.	Proportion of Oats to Wheat.	Proportion of Barley to Wheat.	Proportion of Rye to Wheat.	Proportion of Pease to Wheat.
1771 to 1779	s. d.	30 10	26 4	16 0	16 4	16 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0
1780 " 1789	" "	100 9	100 7	50 1	50 1	50 1	35 4	35 4	35 4	35 4	35 4
1790 " 1799	" "	100 11	100 7	50 10	50 7	50 7	36 4	36 4	36 4	36 4	36 4
1800 " 1809	" "	100 12	100 7	52 7	52 7	52 7	36 5	36 5	36 5	36 5	36 5
1810 " 1819	" "	100 8	100 5	54 2	54 2	54 2	35 10	35 10	35 10	35 10	35 10

No. IX.

The Average Prices of Wheat at Hamburg from 1736, with the Proportion of the Prices to those of 1736 to 1739, taken as 100.

	s. d.	
1736 to 1739	22 11	100
1740 " 1749	26 6	116
1750 " 1759	23 11	104
1760 " 1769	29 4	128
1770 " 1779	30 6	133
1780 " 1789	30 7	134
1790 " 1799	37 6	164
1800 " 1809	61 1	266
1810 " 1819	51 6	225
1820 " 1825	28 2	123

The prices are from the return of the Consul-General H. Canning, No. 11, p. 28. No exchange is given.

No. X.

The Average Prices of Wheat at Dordt, in every Ten Years from 1700, reckoned at 10*1/2* Quarters Imperial per Last: the Exchange at 11.83 Florins per £ Sterling, and the Proportion of the Prices to the first Ten Years, taken as 100.

	s. d.	
1700 to 1709	33 11	100
1710 " 1719	35 6	105
1720 " 1729	28 9	85
1730 " 1739	26 6	78
1740 " 1749	33 11	100
1750 " 1759	32 9	96
1760 " 1769	38 5	113
1770 " 1779	42 11	127
1780 " 1789	42 10	126
1790 " 1799	53 6	158
1800 " 1809	67 4	199
1810 " 1819	85 0	251
1820 " 1825	37 10	112

The prices are from the returns of Mr. Consul Ferrier, No. II. p. 39.

No. XI.

The Average Prices of Wheat throughout France, from 1756, in Francs per Hectolitre; and the Proportions of the several Prices to the Average of 1756 to 1759, assumed to be 100.

	Francs.	s. d.
1756 to 1759	11.12	100
1760	12.08	109
1770	15.70	141
1780	15.27	137
1790	20.86	188
1800	19.98	180
1810	24.75	228
1820	16.99	153

The prices are from the return furnished by the Minister of the Interior to the Consul-General D. R. Morier, No. II. p. 60.

No. XII.

The Average Prices of Wheat at Bourdeaux, in every Ten Years, from 1700, reduced, at the Par of Exchange, to sterling Money, per Winchester Quarter; and the Proportions of the Prices to the first Ten Years, taken as 100.

	s. d.
1700 to 1709	00
1710	20 4
1720	21 1
1730	26 3
1740	23 8
1750	27 8
1760	28 9
1770	33 11
1780	40 2
1790	41 8
1800	55 9
1810	50 7
1820	59 6

The prices are from the returns of Mr. Consul H. Scott, No. II. p. 80.

In 1716, the louis d'or was raised from sixteen livres to twenty, and silver conformably. In 1718, all heavier old coins were called in, and lighter new ones issued. Unless, therefore, the pure contents of the money were known, a table of prices cannot be justly formed.

No. XIII.

The Average Prices of Grain in Sweden, half Rye and half Barley, from 1624, reduced into Sterling per Quarter, and the Exchange at Par 448 Rix-dollars per £ Sterling, with the Proportions of the Prices to the Ten Years, 1700 to 1709, taken as 100.

	s. d.	£	448
1624 to 1628	14 10	1629	180
1630 to 1634	16 10	1639	291
1640 to 1644	15 3	1649	83
1650 to 1654	21 6	1659	117
1660 to 1664	18 0	1669	97
1670 to 1674	14 10	1679	80
1680 to 1684	15 9	1689	85
1690 to 1694	20 5	1699	110
1700 to 1704	18 5	1709	100
1710 to 1714	14 4	1719	77
1720 to 1724	18 8	1729	101
1730 to 1734	15 9	1739	85
1740 to 1744	21 8	1749	117
1750 to 1754	20 5	1759	110
1760 to 1764	21 4	1769	115
1770 to 1774	23 3	1779	126
1780 to 1784	21 4	1789	115
1790 to 1794	25 11	1799	140
1800 to 1804	38 8	1809	209
1810 to 1814	23 7	1819	155
1820 to 1824	17 5	1829	94

The prices are from the returns of Mr. Consul G. Foy, No. II. p. 2. The crown-rents, &c. are paid in rye and barley, the half of each.

This account of prices would be valuable from the early date at which it begins, if the rix-dollar of Sweden had, through the whole period, been of the same pure contents: but this was not the case, and the writer has not succeeded to trace the deviations.

No. XIV.

The Scale of Duties on Foreign Grain, proposed to Parliament in the Session of 1827, and subject to which the Corn in the bonded Warehouses, on 1st July, 1827, was admitted to Consumption, under 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 58.

	WHEAT	Barley	Rye	Oats	Millet	Flour
	Duty.	Duty.	Duty.	Duty.	Duty.	per 100 lbs.
The Average Price being 53s. and under	53s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
54s. per Imperial Quar- ter, the Duty to be ..	5438	8	23	3		
54 and under 55	5436	8	22	1		
55	5534	8	20	10		
56	5632	8	19	8		
57	5730	8	18	5		
58	5828	8	17	3		
59	5926	8	16	1		
60	6024	8	14	10		
61	6222	8	13	8		
62	6320	8	12	5		
63	6418	8	11	3		
64	6516	8	10	0		
65	6614	8	9	0		
66	6712	8	7	7		
67	6810	8	6	85		
68	6988	8	5	82		
69	7086	8	4	80		
70	7184	8	2	79		
71	7282	8	1	67		
72	7181	0	0	67		

BARLEY, MAIZE, BUCKWHEAT, AND BIGO

The Average Price being 30s. and under	Duty.
31s. the Duty to be .	s. d.
31 and under 32	16 10
32	15 4
33	13 10
34	12 4
35	10 10
36	7 10
37	6 4
38	4 10
39	3 4
40	1 10
41	1 0

OAT

The Average Price being 20s. and under 21s. per Imperial Quar- ter, the Duty to be ..	Duty.
21 and under 22	s. d.
22	16 9
23	15 3
24	13 9
25	12 3
26	10 9
27	9 3
28	7 9
29	6 3
30	4 9
	3 3
	1 9
31	1 0

RYE, PEASE, AND BEANS.

The Average Price being 30s. and under 31s. per Imperial Quar- ter, the Duty to be ..	Duty.
31 and under 32	24 6 0
32	23 0
33	21 6 0
34	20 0
35	18 6 0
35	17 0
36	15 6 0
37	14 0
38	12 6 0
39	11 0
40	9 6 0
41	8 0
42	6 6 0
43	5 0
44	3 6 0
45	2 0
	1 0

THE END

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MARCHANT, PRINTER, INGRAM-COURT, FENCHURCH-STREET.