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THE STATE

OF THE

CIRCULATION AND CURRENCY

BRIEFLY CONSIDERED,

IN A

SECOND LETTER TO A FRIEND.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

By JASPER ATKINSON, Esq.

"Parmi les peuples commerçants, ce n'est pas celui qui a le plus d'argent qui est le plus riche, et le plus fort, mais celui qui a le plus d'argent circulant par des effets et denrées reeles, au moyens des signes representatifs."—Montesquieu.

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THE STATE,

MY DEAR SIR,

Some communications which I have received, relative to my former Letter on our Circulation and Currency, encourage me to add a few observations upon that important subject.

I am aware, indeed, that many persons will consider any labour as useless, inasmuch as it has been bestowed upon a dry and threadbare topic, which has been so fully investigated, from time to time, in the last fifteen years, that we have, at length, attained a perfect knowledge of every part of this intricate question. You well know that I am not yet prepared to subscribe to this opinion. With due deference, therefore, and at the risk of being charged with tiresome repetitions, which, from the nature of the subject, are unavoidable, I venture to trespass once more upon your time, while I endeavour to show upon what grounds this dissent is founded. Should they give rise to a single idea which will tend to promote the

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welfare of the country, I shall think myself amply rewarded.

I must be allowed to premise that, according to my views, the success of any measures for establishing a permanent metallic currency, upon an extensive scale, must depend upon the ratio at which we are enabled to maintain a steady rate of exchange with foreign countries, so as to afford a reasonable security against the export of our coin, except under very peculiar circumstances. This appears to be the turning point of the question; and, if I mistake not, what has lately passed under our observation will sufficiently prove that we have STILL to learn how this object is to be attained.

To illustrate this point, it will be necessary to take a comparative view of the state of our coinage and of foreign exchanges at four different periods, when gold was the established circulating medium of this country.

The first period was that of the re-coinage, which commenced in the year 1773-4, and ended in 1777.

The second, from 1778 to 1783-4, upon the return of peace.

The third, from 1785 to the Bank-restriction, in 1797.

And the fourth, from the year 1817, when our gold-coinage may be said to have recommenced, to the present time.

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The first of these periods deserves particular notice,—it forms an important epoch, having furnished a large supply of perfect gold coin for circulation, which had long been a desideratum. It is also deserving of attention, as having commenced only two years before the American war, and not terminating till that which followed with France.* This re-coinage

* It may not be uninteresting briefly to notice in this place that the great re-coinage of silver was undertaken by King William while he was engaged in a foreign war, and it was completed in 1702. The exchanges were then very disadvantageous to this country, owing to the heavy foreign expenditure and the debased state of our coin. A reference to the interesting report of Lord Ranelagh, in 1696, will show that the loss from the exchange and the want of new money (in fact, our money was too much depreciated to make it worth exportation) was no less than 273 per cent. The benefit of this new silver coinage was felt, during the war, in the subsequent reign, when it found its way abroad, to assist the foreign expenditure; and we learn, from the report of Sir Isaac Newton, in 1717, "that very little was then left of that noble coinage." It is impossible not to discover some resemblance between that period and our situation in the year 1795, when our gold coin began to disappear, for the purpose of supplying the foreign expenditure; the decline in the exchanges was arrested, so long as we possessed the means of applying the remedy. When that ceased, from the exhaustion of our coin, and our foreign expenditure continued, the exchanges necessarily became more and more unfavourable.

This will appear upon considering the second period proposed; namely, from the year 1778 to 1783-4, by the depressed state of the foreign exchanges, and the corresponding effect which followed, in diminishing the amount of our coinage.

Ž.		Amount coined	Lowest Exchange on	Highest Hamburg.*
I	n 1778 · · · ·	350,437	32.4	34.11
	17791			35.6
	1780	nil	•• 33.8	35.2
	1781	876,794	31.11	34.1
	1782	698,074	31.8	32.10
	1783	227,083	⊶31.5 🐗	32.9
. :	1784	822,126	33.5	34.10

^{*} The exchange on Hamburg is taken throughout the whole of these calculations.

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making the total coined in these seven years only £4,670,631, of which £1,924,040 were from light guineas.

This was, truly, an unfavourable state of exchange during a long period, and such as sufficiently accounts for the export of our coin. We were engaged in a war with America, France, Spain, and Holland, which entailed upon us a large foreign expenditure. That its effects were very seriously felt, by an alarming diminution of the treasure at the Bank, is well ascertained; and the evidence of one of the most experienced Directors* of that day, before the Committee, in 1797, deserves particular notice. It states, that the cash was reduced, in 1783, below the amount when the restriction took place; and this circumstance is highly necessary to be kept in view, as it occurred within six years after the completion of the great re-coinage of gold.

We now proceed to the third period, namely, from 1785 to the Bank-restriction, in 1797, including a space of twelve years, which has been distinguished as that of the sound state of our currency. During the far greater part of this time the country was in a state of high prosperity.

^{*} Mr. Bosanquet.

making a total coined of £24,192,803 in the above twelve years, of which upwards of ten millions were from foreign gold; and it should be remarked that the exchange was never higher than 36s. 6d. except for four months, in the year 1793.* The large coinage in 1787–8 was chiefly taken from the light guineas which returned to this country from foreign parts, in consequence of the revival of trade and the improvement in the exchanges.

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The eventful period from the years 1797 to 1816, so important in our history, although not exactly relevant to the present subject, must not be passed over; it points out but too plainly the depressed state of the foreign exchanges, and, with the exception of the first two years, the very low state of our coinage, during no less than the eighteen succeeding years. This will appear from the following statement, viz.—

Year. Coined	. Lowest. Highest	
1797 · · · · · £2,000,2	$297 \dots 35.2 38.2$	
1798 2,967,5	504 37.4 . 38.4	
	061 31.6 37.7	
1800 189,9	$37 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot 31.\overline{0}$ 32.5	
1801 450,2	24229.8 32.6	
1802 437,0	018 32.0 33.5	
1803 596,4	44433.10 34.8	
1804 718,5	$396 \cdots 34.8 35.1$	0
1805 54,6	$368 \cdots 32.9 35.8$	
1806 405,	$105 \cdot \dots \cdot 33.8 34.6$	
1807 · · · · · nil	$l \dots 34.2 34.1$.0-
1808 371,	$744 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot 32.4 35.3$	3
	$946 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot 28.6 31.3$	•
1810 316,9	$935 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot 28.6 31.6$	- 1 -
	$263 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot 23.6 26.6$	3
1812 ni	$l \cdots 26.9 29.4$	Ļ
1813 519,	72226.0 30.0)
and the contract of the contra	$1 \cdots 28.0 33.1$	Ľ
1815 · · · · · ni	i27.10 34.6	3
1816 · · · · · · · n	il34.6 38.0)*

^{*} The coinage in France, from 1795 to 1815, was as follows:—
In Gold, equal to about £26,322,000

In Gold, equal to about £26,322,000 Silver, 44,744,000.

^{*} Early in 1793, the failures in the north of England occasioned a considerable demand for gold coin, which the Bank of England supplied, and when the cause ceased the coin returned. This is a natural call, and such as must occasionally occur in a mixed currency and a large country circulation.

It is generally admitted, that our gold coin had almost wholly disappeared in 1811-12,* notwithstanding that during the twenty-six years between 1773 to 1798, we had issued from the Mint an amount of pure coin of no less than £55,422,773, which, I believe, is a larger quantity of gold than ever was coined in any country during the same period of time.

But let us pass on to a more pleasing portion of our task,—the fourth period to be noticed, namely, from 1817 to the present time. 11

The state of our coinage and the rate of our foreign exchanges, during those years, were as follow:—

	Amount coined.		Highest.
1817	£4,275,337 · · · ·	34.6	36.9
	2,862,373		35.2
1819	3,574	33.8	36.9
	949,516		37.10
	9,520,758 • • • •		38.11
	5,356,787		38.0
	750,748		38.6
	4,065,075		37.8
	4,580,919		38.0

making a total coined of £32,365,087 in these nine years.

The amount of silver coinage, during the same years, is nearly nine millions, which forms the whole of that circulation.

The issues of gold from the Bank commenced soon after the coinage, and amounted to \pounds 6,809,314 to the 6th April, 1819, of which \pounds 1,822,272 were in guineas, and \pounds 4,987,042 in sovereigns; the greater part of this sum was exported. What may have been issued since that time I have no means of knowing; but, as about seven millions of notes under \pounds 5 were exchanged for coin, and as the Bank has supplied all the calls upon them, it may be supposed the total amount has been considerable. We have been officially informed that three millions of sovereigns were issued during the late crisis.

^{*} A person who was in this country in 1815, and had the management of the machinery of the French Mint, informed me that, in the year 1811, fifty-nine millions francs were coined from guineas at the Paris Mint, and twenty-nine millions at the Mint at Lille, making together full three and a half millions sterling in that year. Various schemes were devised by Buonaparte to draw away our coin and bullion. Among them was a remission of part of the duties upon articles purchased in France by those who paid in the precious metals, with the option of taking no greater quantity of wines than was convenient; and every encouragement was given to smuggling. When gold was selling here at £4:10 per oz. an offer of £5 was made for a large parcel lying at the Bank, which was accepted, and the gold exported.

It appeared from the Report of the Committee,* in 1819, that, from "the unfavourable state of "the foreign exchanges, since July, 1817, a " profit has been realized on the exportation of "gold coin, and that the Bank has been sub-"ject to a constant demand for cash for their " small notes." Mr. Baring's evidence is referred to, which says, that, "by the report of the "French Minister of Finance, there had been " carried to their Mint, in the sixteen months " preceding the 31st December last, (1818,) " gold to the amount of 125 millions of francs, "(equal to about five millions sterling,) of "which gold, upwards of three-fourths was in " coin from this country, and this operation has "continued during the present year (1819), " though the amount of the importations of this " year has not been reported."

Thus soon after the commencement of our

Gold.—Francs. Silver.—Francs.

1818......125,000,000 25,000,000

1819......51,900,000 21,800,000

1820.....27,600,000 18,700,000

1821......66,700,000

equal to about £8,200,000 sterling of gold, and £5,300,000 sterling of silver.

efforts to re-establish a metallic currency we found ourselves unable to keep it;* which, at that time, may, perhaps, be traced to the state of the exchanges. Upon their improvment in the following years, from 1819 to 1823, the total export of our coin amounted only to £986,078; but, in the years 1824 and 1825, it increased to the enormous amount of £6,281,098, of which only about one million has returned in coin.† It seems very difficult to account for such an occurrence from the state of the exchanges or from that of our trade. Our paper currency was convertible into coin upon demand; we were in the enjoyment of profound peace, and in a state of high national prosperity.

Before entering further upon the subject proposed, I shall recapitulate what has been the

^{*} On the Affairs of the Bank of England in 1819, page 5. † My former Letter gave some account of the coinage of France to the year 1815; I now add that of the following years, viz.

^{*} Mr. Locke said, "Be your coin what it will, our neighbours, if they overbalance us in trade, will not only have a great value for it, but get it, too; and there will be more got by exporting it to them than by any other thing that can be sent." But our neighbours, in OUR DAYS, appear to have discovered a way of getting our coin in defiance of a favourable trade and a favourable exchange! How is

[†] The amount of silver bullion exported during the same period was four millions; and, it has been said, that the entries at the Custom-house do not include the total exportations of our gold.

supply of gold coin from the year 1760 to 1825, a period of sixty-six years. It is as follows:—

From the year 1760 to the end of 1772 .. £8,819,411 1777 .. 19,591,863 .. 1772 1784 .. 4,670,631 1796 .. 24,192,803 1816 •• 10,084,188 .. 1797 1825 ..32,365,087 .. 1817 £99,723,983

The estimated amount of old gold in circulation, of full weight, upon the completion of the re-coinage, in 1777, was nearly seven millions, making, therefore, a total of upwards of 106 millions.*

This will suffice to show how much we have been in earnest to establish a gold metallic currency, while it proves, also, the wealth and powers of this great empire. Let us once more glance at the periods when these well-intended efforts were counteracted.

It is mentioned in Anderson's History of Commerce, that "an unusual scarcity of gold " and silver prevailed in 1759 and 1760, occa-" sioned, partly, by much money being carried " out of the nation, on account of the expensive " wars in Germany and America, and partly by " a great demand for the current services of the " year 1759, which were £12,749,860." The exchange on Hamburgh fell, in 1760, as low as 31.8; in 1761, between 31.11 to 33.4; and, in 1762, between 32.11 to 35; so there can be no doubt that our coin was then exported. The price of gold in the market was from £3:18:6 to £4:1:3. Various representations were made by the Bank of England to Government as to the state of the gold coin and the losses sustained by them from coining; the last of which was (I believe) in 1772, when they stated that they were losing upwards of £25,000 per annum on the coinage, which is not difficult to conceive, as the price of gold, in 1769 to 1772, was from £3:19:4 to £4:1:6, and the exchange upon Hamburg, in the same years, never above 33.9, and as low as 32.7.

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The re-coinage put a stop to this evil for a time; but we find that we experienced a considerable drain upon our coin in the progress of the American war, which continued to be felt some time after the conclusion of the peace. The next occurrence of a similar kind commenced about the year 1795, during the war with France, and led to the Restriction-Act, in February, 1797. After a lapse of nearly twenty years, our efforts have been once more directed to replenish our treasure, which efforts have been pursued with great perseverance, and, at least, without any interruption from foreign

^{*} See Appendix, No. 1.

warfare. We have been in the full enjoyment of peace, and nothing seemed likely to interrupt the extraordinary and rapid growth of national prosperity, except what might occasionally be expected to arise out of a superabundance of wealth, placed at the disposal of the most industrious and most enterprising people in the world. The effects of this repletion, operating upon such ardent spirits, have been recently experienced, as we too well know, to a very alarming extent. Various opinions are entertained as to the causes which have produced them, some of which were noticed in my former Letter. It is not intended to enter further upon this point than to notice how men of eminent talents sometimes ascribe effects to causes which happen to be near at hand. Often has every variation (nay, even the price of grain) been attributed to the quantum of Bank of England circulation; and, during the discussions on the resumption of cash payments in 1819, it was said by one who holds a high situation, and is deservedly looked up to,* that most of the evils complained of were to be attributed to over-trading, as arising out of the unsoundness of the THEN system, which was represented on this account to be so defective. To what, then, will the late convulsion be ascribed under the improved system?

* Mr. Peel.

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That the increase of paper currency, which began in 1824, did not consist entirely of that of the Bank of England, is evident, as, on the 15th February, 1824, it amounted to £20,357,160, and, on the 15th February, 1825, to £21,301,930.* But it is equally true that the circulation of small country notes had advanced, from 1823 to the end of 1825, upwards of four millions, to which one million from the Bank of England must be added. Whether an additional amount of paper circulation to such an extent, or even greater, is capable of producing the effects attributed to it, I leave to others to determine. To me, it appears very problematical, and it may be remarked, by the way, that an increase took place in Bank circulation only, between 1788 and 1791, of £2,328,790, upon a circulation which was not one-half the amount of 1824-5, without being followed by similar consequences; and there is reason to suppose that the country circulation, during the same period, increased in a like proportion.

But there is a fact of very recent date which deserves notice. It appears that the circulation

1820....23,875,925

1823....19,137,492

1821....21,757,722

1824 ... 20,616,010

1822 . . . 18,042,937

1825...19,751,015

^{*} Average circulation in the following years, taken at four different periods in each year, viz.:—15th February, 15th May, 15th August, and 15th November.

of the Bank of England, which was £17,477,294 on the 3d of December last, increased to £25,709,425 on the 31st of the same month. This great increase was, however, as it is well known, entirely owing to the numerous applications made to them for assistance during the late crisis. The promptitude with which this assistance was rendered arrested the progress of the evil; but let us suppose that at such a moment the price of gold had advanced, from large importations of grain, or other causes; in that case, how could the Bank, consistently with the principle laid down of drawing in its issues, have afforded the liberal assistance they rendered, and which was so imperiously called for, to support private (and I will add also PUB-LIC) credit? And who can say that such a combination of circumstances may not occur at some future period? This would place the Bank of England in a situation from which it would not be easy to extricate itself without much difficulty as well as obloquy.

But to return to the immediate subject before us. The state of prosperity (with few interruptions) which we enjoyed after the return of peace did not secure us from experiencing occasional drains upon our coin; such, for instance, as occurred in the years 1817, 1818, 1819, when it may be accounted for by the exchange, and that, more recently, in 1824, 1825, when such

a cause could not be said to exist. It is, therefore, to this point that our chief attention ought to be directed in any attempt to establish a metallic currency.

In all the discussions which have taken place respecting our circulation and currency, it has been laid down as a fixed principle that the Directors of the Bank of England should attend to the state of the foreign exchanges, upon which the supply, or loss, of our gold mainly depends: But it should seem that the value of this sound and salutary maxim has been considerably weakened by what has lately occurred, when a large export of coin has taken place, in defiance of a highly favourable exchange. How is this to be accounted for, or how is it to be prevented? The scheme of reducing the circulation of the Bank of England, the effects of which will always be felt in proportion to the impulse previously given to the innate spirit of enterprize which exists amongst us, is to be put in practice, not when our coin is exported under a favourable exchange, but when the price of gold advances above the Mint regulation. No remedy has been suggested for the new and unprecedented state of things in which we now find ourselves. Indeed, it appears to have been almost overlooked; and yet, if I mistake not, it will be difficult to establish a metallic currency unless some plan can be devised to guard against similar recurrences.

Looking at these facts, "The unfavourable turn of the foreign exchanges" can only be so called from taking a very high standard as a comparison; and such, indeed, as can be adduced from one solitary example only, for more than one hundred years, and this only during four months.*

The average rate of exchange in 1825 is far above that of 1817, 18, 19, 20, when upwards of 8 millions of gold were coined; and still more above that between 1785 to 1792, (equally years of peace,) when we coined nearly 18 millions of gold. Shall we, then, henceforward be obliged to maintain an exchange of 37, and upwards, in order to prevent the export of our gold coin?

The permission granted for the free export of our coin has, doubtless, encouraged a more frequent use of it, for commercial and other

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purposes; for, although we have abundant proof that no restrictive law could keep it at home when the export offered an adequate advantage, it is no less true that, in order to cover the risk, as well as the extra charge necessarily incurred under a direct prohibitory law, the prospect of gain must have been larger, in proportion to that risk, before any one would venture to engage in it; and we may, therefore, infer that the prohibition to export the coin did operate as a preventive when the profit was small, because there is no instance upon record, except that which has recently occurred, of our coin being exported when the rate of exchange was such as, according to all former experience, would have prevented such an export. The barrier being removed, and our coin having become a legalized article of traffic, as mere bullion, it will be used at any time as a remittance whenever it may afford a small advantage,* or even

^{*} Upon referring to the exchanges from 1718, it appears that, from that year to 1736, they ruled between 33 and 35.10. For the first four months in 1746, they were 36 to 36.5, and, afterwards, to 1755, between 33.3 and 35.7; from 1756 to 1758, 37.9 to 36.10; in 1759, 35.8 to 36.10, except during four months, viz. May, June, July, and August, when they were at the highest, 37.4 to 38.2; from 1760 to 1762, as low as 31.8; from 1763 to 1772, 32.7 to 35.11; from 1773 to 1780, 32.1 to 35.0; in 1781, 2, 3, 31.6 to 34.1; 1784 to 1792, 33.5 to 35.10; in 1793, April, May, June, and July, 37.2 to 37.6; after which it declined to 35.3, and in 1794, 50, and 6, was between 33.6 and 36.7. The subsequent periods, from 1797 to the present time, are sufficiently known.

^{*} In the Letter of the late Earl of Liverpool to the King, two instances are cited from the report of the late Sir Isaac Newton, in 1717, to prove at how small a profit they who traffic in coin will carry it on. The one, in the reign of King William, when louis d'ors were imported from France, at a profit of $5\frac{1}{2}d$, each, and when a loss of $\frac{3}{4}d$. "drove them out." Again, with moidores, which were brought into the kingdom at 5d. profit, and sent out at 1d. loss. "It is very difficult, "says his Lordship, "to prevent the evils from this sort of traffic entirely: all that can be done is to diminish the temptation as much as possible." pp. 207, 208. Can we be said to have done so under the existing regulations?"

convenience, over the usual mode of taking bills. It is not, however, merely the loss of our coin which makes it a matter of great national importance; but the consequences that arise out of it. Our whole circulation is deranged, all our commercial transactions are affected—it leads to sudden elevations and depressions of prices, as well as changes in the relative plenty and scarcity of money, which are always injurious; sometimes creating an artificial security, and, at others, an undeserved distress. In short, where the interests of so vast a body of the community are involved, every thing which has a tendency to produce any of those effects, should be carefully watched, and, as far as possible, provided against.

If it was deemed expedient to allow the free export of our coin, it seemed to follow, as a necessary consequence, that, like every other article of trade, it should, at least, bear the cost of manufacture, which does not exceed ‡ per cent.; this would be a protection, to that extent, against the export, as well as a considerable saving in the expense of coining. We have taken off the restraint without applying the legitimate remedy within our reach, a remedy which has been adopted by every other country without any inconvenience whatever. The well-known purity of our coin will always render it more desirable as an article of traffic: it acts as an encouragement to foreign countries to take it in preference to any

other;* and, if report speaks true, it is not unfrequently or unsparingly used for purposes very opposite to those for which it was issued.

Having endeavoured to point out what has been our situation, at different periods, in respect of our gold coin, it cannot be deemed out of place to add a few words upon our too long neglected silver currency. The objection against making it a part of the current coin of the realm has been raised from the failure of the experiment in the coinage of King William, and failed. Having, in my former Letter, expressed my opinion upon a mixed currency of gold and silver, I shall now proceed to examine the facts upon which the alleged failure rests.

The incidental notice which has been taken of that coinage, in the course of these remarks, is sufficient to show the cause of that failure in the first instance; and a little attention to the occurrences of the subsequent years will account for the deplorable state to which our silver coin was reduced. Here are the facts:—

Amount coined in Silver.

William and Mary 1688 to 1694 ... £115,895

William III. 1695 ... 1702 ... 7,014,420

Anne 1703 ... 1714 ... 530,296

George I. 1715 ... 1727 ... 239,800

George II. 1728 ... 1760 ... 304,420

George III. 1760 ... 1815 ... 64,581

^{*} See Appendix, No. 2.

Thus, we see that, in the 113 years following the silver coinage in the reign of King William, the whole amount of silver coined was only £1,139,097;* can it, therefore, be a matter of surprise that it should have miscarried? or is it not more correct to say that, after the year 1702, the idea of possessing any silver coinage commensurate with the wealth and dignity of this great empire was wholly abandoned?

It is not now necessary to inquire what could have been the cause of such a proceeding: it is sufficient to have stated the fact, in order to show that the experiment was NOT fairly TRIED, and, therefore, cannot be said to have FAILED. The cause of the disappearance of the new silver coinage of King William equally applies to the various periods in which we have been deprived of our gold coin; and it is self-evident that all our great and repeated exertions, from time to time, attended with no small portion of expense, have proved insufficient to prevent the amount of our circulating gold coin from being so much exhausted at the end of the American war as to require a large supply to reinstate it. The loss of our gold coin compelled the Bank Restriction Act, in 1797, and that it was reduced almost to a nullity in the year 1815, will not be denied. Are

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not those so many failures, after as powerful exertions as could be made?

If we look to the continent, we find in all those countries a mixed metallic currency; and by far the most considerable portion of it is of silver.* In persisting to make gold our medium of circulation, -in allowing its free export,-and exonerating it from the charge of coinage, WE STAND ALONE. That, under these regulations, we have not been able to preserve our coin for the uses of internal circulation, for which it was intended, so well as our neighbours, does not admit of a question. Where, then, is the encouragement to persevere in a system which experience has proved to be inadequate to accomplish the end proposed, or to relieve us under difficulties inseparably connected with our peculiar situation? While, at the same time, it is constantly entailing a heavy expense upon the country.†

^{*} The amount of gold coined during the same years will be found to be upwards of ninety millions!

^{*} A silver standard currency has been recommended by Sir John Sinclair, "because it is indispensable for the smaller and, consequently, the more numerous payments: it is harder and less liable to wear than gold, it cannot be so easily or profitably melted down, nor can it be exported but at a greater risk or heavier charge; it is the least subject to a variation, and it is the general legal tender in Europe and America." It would be desirable to have a sufficiency to pay all artisans and labourers in silver coin, to enable them to go to market to the best advantage for their daily subsistence.

Political Economy, has the following observations upon the coin of France, which are not undeserving of attention. He says "Louis d'ors, in consequence of the high imposition of coinage in the French Mint, pass current, almost every where, for more than their intrinsic value, even compared with the coin of the very nation where they circulate without the sanction of public authority: and when that authority regulates their currency according to their intrinsic value, such regulation has the same effect as forbidding them altogether; because the moment a money-jobber lays his hand upon them at the statute value, he circulates them no more; but sends them either back to France or to some country where they pass, by a conventional value, above their intrinsic worth. Thus louis d'or, as well as all French coins, are effectually prevented from being melted down, and, so soon as the balance of trade becomes favourable to France, they return home." Vol. ii. p. 58.

In another place, he observes, "Foreign gold of 22 carats fine, sold in the Paris market (13th Dec. 1760) at 7.12 livres the marc. In order to find the value of the marc of fine gold, state thus, 22:712::24:776.7. Now, the marc of fine gold in the coin is 801.12 sols. So, at this time, when France is engaged in a most expensive war, while she is exporting immense quantities of gold and silver coin to pay her armies and subsidies, the price of gold bullion in her market is 24.18 sols per marc below the value of coin. Nothing but the advanced price of her specie in foreign countries could produce such a phenomenon. But when she was sending stamped ingots of gold to Russia, in the month of September last, the price of gold bullion of 22 carats then rose to 734 livres per marc, which, for the marc of fine gold, makes

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vation of our coin, and it may be said to apply almost exclusively to this country, namely, our paper circulation. This has so much increased of late years, that it adds to the difficulty of controlling the circulation, without, more or less, deranging the operations of our industrious and enterprising population. A partial remedy for this evil might perhaps be found in a mixed currency. The circulation of other countries consists almost exclusively of coin, and that chiefly of silver, which, from its bulk and inferior value, operates as a check upon any drains being carried to the same extent as if it were mostly of gold, under a legalized export, accompanied by an accredited paper substitute. Where the metallic currency is abundant (as in France) every person is compelled to carry in his pocket a certain amount of coin, according to his means, having no substitute; while with us, even the loss of our coin was scarcely perceived, for some time, except by the Bank of England, from

800 livres 14 sols, which is but 18 sols below the value of the coin. The reason is plain: the coin sent to Germany or Holland is constantly returning to France, or, at least, may soon return, which supports the high price of it in those countries: but what was sent to Russia was plain bullion." Page 76.

This sufficiently accounts for the few variations in the French exchange, as well as the facility it affords to France of preserving her coin at home.

our having a paper currency. The late regulation prescribes a period when the circulation of small notes is to cease; and this may assist to establish a more general metallic currency, but it must still be of a precarious nature, under our present system.

The following estimate has been made of the amount of our paper circulation, compared with that of gold coin, previously to the Bank Restriction Act and the present time.

From 1787 to 1793, the amount of gold coin in circulation is supposed to have exceeded that of our paper currency by fifteen millions; from 1794 to 1797 they were nearly equal; and, from 1818 to 1825, the amount of paper currency was about forty millions,* and that of gold coin about twenty-five millions.

The circulation of Ireland and Scotland is not included in these estimates.

Average amount of Bank of IRELAND notes, in the following years, viz.

:	£5 and upwards.	Under $\pounds 5.$
1820	£2,894,777	£1,314,806
1821	3,501,119	1,710,603
1822	3,618,111	1,552,321
1823	3,528,625	1,558,764
1824	3,890,337	1,732,118
	4,446,994	1,964,354
The amo	unt of notes, issued	by the Bank of IRELAND

The difficulties in the restoration of the coin, arising out of our mixed circulation, did not escape the acute attention of the late Earl of Liverpool, who, in his letter to the King, already referred to, observes, "that a new difficulty

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to the agents of the several LOCAL offices, since their commencement, has been-

Of Irish currency £567,000 British currency 611,000

Unstamped small notes, issued by the three Chartered Banks of Scotland, to 5th of January, in each of the following years, viz.

1821	 £118,000
1822	 171,800
1823	 77,000
1824	 167,000
1826	

We have heard much about the superior system of banking in Scotland contrasted with our own. Upon which it has been observed, that "the only charge against the English bankers is, that they have given away under the effects of the panic, while the Scottish bankers have shook the ruin around them, and have saved themselves at the expense of the public." It has been said, that the bankers in Scotland have, wisely for themselves, united to support each other. But another fact is mentioned, which, if correct, will sufficiently account why the late convulsion which we experienced has not produced similar effects upon the banks in Scotland. It is said, "There is not a lawyer in Scotland who will dare to put the law in force against any of the Scottish banks, and compel them to pay in gold!!!" this would be nothing less than a forced paper circulation.

^{*} The country circulation in 1818 was estimated at £20,507,000.

prospect of permanent duration."

I have endeavoured to show, why there does not appear any fair ground to attribute the export of our coins in 1824 and 1825, to "the unfavourable turn in the exchanges," by taking a comparative view of what occurred in the twelve years from 1785 to 1796, when upwards of ten millions were coined from foreign gold, which must have been imported when the exchange was never higher than 35.4; whereas, the export in 1823, 4, 5, took place when the exchange was sometimes as high as 38.6, and NEVER BELOW 36.6.* Is there not, therefore, ample cause to call our attention to this important branch of the subject? How is it that we were enabled to import foreign gold, thirty or forty years ago,

* The par of exchange in gold, under Mint regulations, between England and the following places, is given in the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, in 1819.

 See Appendix, C. 8, p. 364.

 Amsterdam, current
 f11.4.5

 Hamburgh
 34.3.5

 Paris
 25.40

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to supply our coinage, at a rate of exchange which is, upon an average, full six per cent. under that which, as now appears, is not able to preserve our coin from being exported, and this during a period of profound peace, a prosperous commerce, without any importation of foreign grain, and with a paper currency convertible into coin?*

We are now legislating for the avowed purpose of establishing a general metallic currency: the causes of the above phenomenon we have still to learn, and their effects still to provide against, in order to secure to the country the advantages proposed.

I confess my inability to solve the difficulty; but others, more equal to the task, would do well to examine it, and ascertain whether some portion may not be ascribed to a progressive advance in the price of gold upon the continent. In my former letter, I pointed out that such an advance appears to have taken place in Holland, upon comparing the price of gold in that country, from 1781 to 1790, with its present value. If this be correct, the same relative value will show itself in other parts of the continent, probably with the exception of France, where, from the redundancy of metallic currency, and the regulations under which their coin is issued, the

^{*} See Appendix, No. 3.

fluctuation of price is less frequent than in any other country in Europe.

Under these circumstances, the great question again occurs, "At what ratio we can hope to maintain a steady course of exchange with foreign countries, so as to afford a sufficient security against the export of our coin?" It is evident, from whatever cause it may proceed, that such an exchange must be higher than it was thirty or forty years ago, and our ability to maintain it must depend upon a great and permanent state of commercial prosperity. I am as little disposed as any one to under-rate the powers of British skill and industry; but even these have their limits, and recent experience will remind us that it is as necessary to discourage any artificial or over excitement, where so little stimulus is required to put it in motion, as it is wise to promote whatever tends to the advancement of solid national wealth and prosperity.

Perhaps a comparative statement of the variations in the exchanges, taken from the lowest to the highest, during the nine years of peace previously to 1793, and those of seven years of peace to 1825, will afford a fair view of our present situation compared with that of the former period. The result is as follows:

The variations of exchange from 1784 to 1792

were from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent., and in the year after the peace (1784), $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

From 1819 to December, 1825, they were from 2\frac{3}{4} to 5 per cent., and in 1819, that is FOUR years after the peace, the variation was as high as 9 per cent.

You will perceive, my dear sir, from the general tenour of these observations, that, according to my ideas, we have attempted more than, under the present established system of our coinage, can be supported by all our wealth and all our exertions; that this attempt has failed when we most required its aid; and that recent experience has shown the precarious tenour on which we hold our gold coin, under circumstances which have, heretofore, been deemed its best security. So true is the observation that "the breath of rumour itself is sufficient to disperse it." Neither must we keep out of view our occasional wants of a supply of foreign corn, although happily they did not press upon us during the late crisis. These wants have been neither trifling nor unfrequent in the last sixty years.* They have greatly increased in the latter portion of that period: there is no reason to suppose we shall be exempt from similar calls in future; nor need we now be

^{*} See Appendix, No. 4.

told what are the effects which importations of corn have never failed to produce upon the exchange. If to this be added the large amount of revenue, to be raised within the year, it points out the necessity of preserving a just equilibrium between the various and, sometimes, conflicting interests, which constitute the basis of our vast resources arising out of our industry.

Before I conclude, I venture, notwithstanding the objections which are known to exist in certain quarters, once more to recommend, with any other measures to be adopted, the establishment of a mixed metallic currency of gold and silver, with, at least, a brassage to cover the entire expense of its coinage. Not that such a protection would prove sufficient under EVERY circumstance that might occur; but it would, in some degree, prevent that lavish use of our coin, and its frequent removal, in ordinary times, which the free export of it has so much encouraged; while, at the same time, we should maintain a station equal to the brightest periods in the history of the coinage of any of our continental neighbours.

I remain, dear sir,

Yours, most sincerely,

J. A.

Cookham, Berks, April 8th, 1826.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Coinage from the Commencement of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558, to the Year 1760—202 Years.

	Silver.	Gold.
Elizabeth 1558 to 1602.	.4,718,519.	· 795,138
James I 1602 to 1625.	1,765,912	• 3,666,3 89
Charles I 1629 to 1648.	·8, 776,544 ·	· 3,319,686
Commonwealth • 1648 to 1660 •	• 383,294 •	· 72,515
Charles II 1660 to 1685.	•3,722,180	4,177,254
James II 1685 to 1688.		
William & Mary 1688 to 1694.	• 115,895•	• 482,340
William III 1695 to 1702.	· 7 ,014,420 ·	• 3,214,6 00
Anne 1702 to 1714.	• 530,296•	· 2,958,540*
George I 1714 to 1727.	· 239,800·	· 8,115,152
George II. · · · · 1728 to 1760 ·	• 304,420	11,599,880

* There was a coinage of silver at Edinburgh in this reign, the amount of which I am not able to ascertain.

Computation of the probable Amount of circulating Gold and Silver Coin at

following Periods:—

Year 1600 . About 4 millions. . . Davenant.*

1656 14 ditto. . . Ditto.

1676 8 to 10 ditto. Sir William Petty.

1696 16 ditto. . Davenant.

1711 12 ditto. . Ditto.

1760, 2 16 ditto. . Anderson, besides foreign gold.

^{*} Gerard Malynes, in his curious Treatise on Tripartite Exchanges, published in 1610, says, that, in 1603, the loss on the exchange was £500,000 annually.

A Table, containing the Rate of Foreign Exchanges, the Price of Bullion, and the Account of Bank of England Circulation, every Three Months, from 1st January, 1819, to 31st March, 1826, with the Monies coined, and the Amount of Coin exported in each of the above Years.

l	_		•													-			
Silver in each Year.	\$		1810 —	1,267,272					1820847,717					1821.—453,686					1822.—31,430
Gold coined in each Year.	2+8		3,574					949.516					6 3 4 6 2	9,520,758					5,856,787
British Gold exported.	#	2. 2.40 2.40	181000 070	26,57					1820.—12,544					1891 -No Export.					1822.—573,005
Bank Circulation.	£ 25.956.840	25,068,380 24,111,199	23,182,710	04 0 20 000	24,022,700 15th Feb	23,815,700	24,452,460	15th Aug. 23.182.710	15th Nov.	23,335,190	15th Feb.	15th May	15th Aug.	18,641,350 15th Nov.		18,826,260	17,230,400	15th May 18,513,240	15th Aug. 17,601,800 15th Nov.
Standard Silver.	s. d.		1.0		•	5.	5 0	4 113	9		4 11	A 40X	12 14 14	4 11		•	4 115	4 11	:
New Dollars.	s. d.		5 0	10		4 11	4 10£			4 11	4 10			4 12 12		•	4 10	4	;
Gold in Bars.	£ s. d.		3 17 10½		•	•	*				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			•				3 17 6	;
Paris $2\frac{1}{2}m$.	23.50	23.95	25.85	e n e	C7.C7	25.70	26.20	26.10	atry Gay	26.5	26.15	06 96		26.0		25.90	25.60	98	25.90
Hamb. 2½m.	33.8	.35.8 85.8	36.9	95		36.7	37.3	37.8	. 397 15.2 15.5 15.5	38.1	58.7	38.10		37.10		92.2	37.2	38.8	28.0
Amst. 2½m.	1	11.4	12.2	, ,	01.11	12.1	12.5	12.8		12.9	12.14	10.18		12.16		12.11	12.6	12.10	12.7
Date.	1819 Jan, 1	April 2 July 2	Oct. 5	1820 J	# •	April 4	July 4	Oct. 3	1091	Jan. 2	April 3	July 3		oct. 2	1822	Jan. 1	April'2	July 2	Oct. 1
	v *											.,							

			4																					
	Control and Contro				1893 - 085 971				1824. — 282,070				1895 417 536											
	and his televisy parameter communication and the first parameter and the first			: . 4.53 554	750,748				4,065,075				4,580,919									ı		
1822.—573,005	The state of the s				1000	1022.—3/3/100			1804 0060 000	1044 4,500,524				1825.—5,320,176										
15th Nov.		17,802,610	18,501,370	19,892,810	20,353,130	20,357,160	15th Feb. 19,961,900	15th May 20,960,530	15th Aug. 21,184,420 15th Nov.	21,301,930	20,687,516	19,038,339	2a Juis 18,536,561 1et Oct	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	24,120,415 6th Jan.			. 1 6					,	
-		4 11	:	:	:	4 115	:	4 113	5 OF	•	5 1	5 04	5 1			:		•	:	: :	5 03	:	4 113	4 113
4	_	4 94	:	4 9	:	4	•	160 T	•	4 10½	4 115	4 114			4 104		4 4		4 4		:	4 9L		:
-		3 17 6	:	•	:			•	•	3 17 9	- •	3 17 101			3 17 6		• •	:	• •		:	• •	::	::
		25.85	26.10	26.10	26.10	25.85	25.85	25.80	25.60	25.45	25.50	25.45	25.65	3	25.65	25.65	25.65	25.65	25.85 95.95	25.95	25.90	25.90 25.90	26.0	26.10
		37.8	38.1	58.0	38.2	37.8	37.7	37.3	37.1	37.0	36.10	36.10	37.2		37.8	37.4	37.5 5.75	37.3	37.3	37.10	37.8	37.6 37.6	37.10	38.8
-		13.4	12.9	12.9	12.10	12.3	12.1	12.1	12.3	12.2	12.2	12.2	12.4		12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.11	12.13	12.12	120	12.10	12.10
and the same of th		1823 Jan. 3	April 11	July 1	Oct. 7	1824 Jan. 6	April 6	July 6	Oct. 1	1825 Jan. 4	April 5	July 5	Oct. 4	1826	Jan. 6	13	20	Feb. 3	10	24	Mar. 3	10	26	31

By the above account, it appears that the coinage, from 1819 to 1825, both inclusive, was as follows:—

In Gold. In Silver. Gold Coin exported. £25,236,379 ·· £8,382,798 ·· £7,269,176

1817 ·· 4,275,337

1818 ·· 2,862,373

£32,374,089

Circulation of Bank of England notes in the following years:-

****	5 - 4 - 5 - 5 - 5 - 5 - 5 - 5 - 5 - 5 -			æ
1718	•••••	July		1,829,930
				2,054,780
				4,224,090
1754	•••••	do.	•••••	4,023,790
1761	•••••	do.		6,001,810
1762	•••••	do.		6.131,770
1763	•••••			6,889,680
1778	•••••	do.		7,540,070

The subsequent years have been published.

No. 3.

THE following are the periods of the different variations in the exchange on Hamburgh in the last ten years, from 1816 to 1825, inclusive, viz.:--

The exchange began to recover from the effects of the war in March, 1816, when it rose from 32, and under, to 35, and was as high as 38.0 in October following. Gold, in bars, £3:18:6 to £4:2 per oz.

In January, 1817, it was 36.9, and declined, in the course of that year, to 34.6. Gold, £3:18:6 to £4:0:6 per oz.

In January, 1818, the exchange continued 34.6, and fluctuated between that and 33.8 during the year. Gold, from £4:0:6 to £4:2 per oz.

In 1819, the exchange ruled from 33.8 to 34.11 to the beginning of August, when it advanced rapidly to 36.0, 36.9, and rather declined towards the end of the year. Gold, £3: $17:10\frac{1}{2}$ to £4: 3 per oz.

In 1820, to May, 36 to 36.9, and then rose to 37. 37.8, 9, 10, during the remainder of the year. Gold remained stationary at £3: 17: $10\frac{1}{2}$.

In 1821, the exchange was from 38.1 as high as 38.11 on 12th June, after which it gradually fell to 37.6. Gold stationary at £3:17:10 $\frac{1}{2}$.

In 1822, it was from 37 to 38 till the beginning of October, when it fell to 37.5.7.8. Gold was £3:17:10 $\frac{1}{2}$ to June, after which it fell to £3:17:6.

In 1823, it was never below 37.7, and as high as 38.5; and gold £3:17:6.

In 1824, from 36.10 to 37.8. Gold £3:17:6, and in November, £3:17:9.

In 1825, from 4th January to 12th April, from 36.9 to 37.0; from 19th April to 2d May, (that is only 14 days,)

it was at the *lowest*, namely, 36.6, and afterwards rose to 36.9, 37.0; and on 16th December to the end of the year, it was 38. Gold at £3:17:9 to 26th May; £3:17:10 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 20th September; and £3:17:6 in December. Dollars varied only $\frac{3}{4}d$. per oz. that is, between 4s. $10\frac{1}{4}d$. and 4s. $11\frac{1}{4}d$.

The exchange on Amsterdam was from 12.2 to f. 12.11; and that on Paris 25.45 to 25.85.

No. 4.

It is well known that, during the greatest part of the last century, corn was our chief article of EXPORT; and that from being an exporting, we become an importing country of corn. The first large importations were in 1767, and 1768, consisting of upwards of 716,000 quarters. In 1774 and 1775, we imported 853,000 quarters. In 1783 and 1784, 800,000. In 1790 and 1791, 682,000 quarters.

The excess of importation from 1784 to 1792, was 6,732,700 From 1794 to 1800, 7,843,438

This excess of importations has increased in the greatest ratio, since 1789.

From 1697 to 1764—67 years, grain exported, 52,465,790. 1765 to 1818—59 years, grain imported, 121,856,970 From 1819 to 1824, we imported 7,652,327 quarters.

THE END.

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

^{*} During this period, there was only one year of excess of export, which occurred in 1815, and amounted to £53,873.