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AN
INQUIRY
INTO THE
CORN LAWS AND CORN TRADE.
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

AN
I N Q U I R Y
 INTO THE
CORN LAWS AND CORN TRADE
 OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N,
 AND THEIR INFLUENCE
 ON THE
PROSPERITY OF THE KINGDOM.

WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CORN LAWS.

By THE LATE ALEXANDER DIROM, Esq.
 OF MUIRESK, IN THE COUNTY OF ABERDEEN.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A S U P P L E M E N T,

By MR WILLIAM MACKIE OF ORMISTON IN EAST LoTHIAN,
 Bringing down the CONSIDERATION of the SUBJECT to the PRESENT TIME;
 INVESTIGATING the CAUSE of the present SCARCITY; and suggesting MEASURES
 for promoting the CULTIVATION of the WASTE LANDS; and for rendering the
 PRODUCE equal to the INCREASING CONSUMPTION of the KINGDOM.

EDINBURGH:
 Printed for WILLIAM CREECH;
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 1796.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY DUNDA S,

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

ON my return from the East Indies, in the year 1792, I found the following Work in Manuscript, among my deceased Father's papers; with a memorandum written, in the end of the year 1787, a short time before his death, containing a recommendation to me to have it published.

Finding that my Father had obtained your permission to dedicate his intended publication to you; and it being congenial to your character to countenance a work, which has the prosperity of the kingdom for its object, I am happy in thinking that this Inquiry, whatever may be found to be its merit, will still have the advantage of appearing under your patronage; nor does it afford me less satisfaction to have this opportunity of testifying the high respect, with which I have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your much obliged, and

Most obedient humble Servant,

ALEX. DIROM.

Edinburgh, 10th March 1796.

a.

P R E F A C E

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Author of the following Work, who lived to the age of sixty-three, devoted a considerable part of his time to the study and practice of agriculture*. To a professional knowledge of the law, he added extensive literary acquirements; and, actuated by a strong zeal for the public good, undertook this investigation, which will appear to have been a work of much reflection and research.

The great object, which the author appears to have had in contemplation, was to exhibit such a view of the principles and effects of the Corn Laws, enacted at different periods in Great Britain, as might shew that the Corn Trade, both as a manufacture, and an article of commerce, is, of all others, the first in importance to the prosperity of the kingdom: His statements, founded upon *facts*, tend to prove, that abundance of grain at home, and at a moderate price, cannot be obtained by *importation* from abroad, and can only be secured by giving such liberal encouragement to *exportation*, as may render agriculture, or the raising of corn, the favourite object of

* An account of the Author's practice in Agriculture will be found in Wight's State of Husbandry in Scotland, Vol. 3. page 677, and page 719.

PREFACE.

industry in the kingdom. Thus, instead of purchasing a considerable part of our subsistence from foreign countries, we may, by salutary regulations in the Corn Laws, be enabled, not only to supply ourselves, but to render our country one of the principal granaries of Europe.

It is necessary to remark, that this investigation includes only the Corn Laws, as far down as the year 1774, and the consideration of the subject in general, to the year 1786. Since that period, several statutes, particularly that of 1791, by which all the former Corn Laws are repealed, have received the sanction of Parliament; the expediency of which, it is hoped, may, in some measure, be also judged of from the principles suggested in the course of this Inquiry.

In order, however, to afford to the Public a continued chain of information, on a subject so difficult, and so important, the Editor applied to Mr Mackie of Ormiston, in the county of East Lothian, a man of extensive knowledge in this line, as well as in practical agriculture*, to furnish him with a review of the Corn Laws that have been enacted since this Inquiry was written, and to bring down the consideration of the subject to the present times. This has been done by Mr Mackie in Two Letters, which the Editor hopes will be found to be an useful and able Supplement to the Work.

* Mr Mackie is the author of two small Tracts, the one entitled, Disquisitions on the Influence of Soil and Climate, in Improving the nourishing quality of Vegetables; the other, An Address to the Landed Interest in Great Britain, on the Present State of the Distillery. Both printed for William Creech, Edinburgh, 1786.

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C H A P. I.

Of the General State of Nations, with respect to the alimentary support of Mankind; and more especially that of Great Britain.

THE strength and power of nations being limited, or extended, according to the number and industry of their inhabitants, the attention of their respective governments ought to be directed to such measures as have an immediate tendency to encourage *agriculture*; thereby giving rise to an useful population, and enlarging that basis which affords the most solid support to *manufactures* and *commerce*.

CHAP. I.

On reverting to the state of mankind, in the different stages of society, we find that the inhabitants of a country, who subsist by hunting, can associate only in small numbers, on account of the great extent of land which the chase requires to sup-

A

port a family; and of course, the population must bear a small proportion to the extent of territory which they possess.

If, like the Tartars or Arabs of old*, a nation be wholly employed in pasturage, its population will be in proportion to its herds, or, which is in effect the same, in proportion to the number of cattle, which the territory occupied by such nation is capable to support.

Under mild and fruitful climates, where mankind are partly supported by the spontaneous productions of the earth, and obtain their subsistence with a small degree of labour, the population may be great, but the inhabitants will in general be feeble and enervated; unaccustomed to mental, as well as to bodily exertions, they are without resources upon emergencies; their struggles in adversity must be weak; and a barren season will either banish or cut off a number of them, proportioned to the decrease of the usual quantity of food.

In communities such as Holland, Venice, Genoa, Geneva, and other republics, the Hanse, and other free towns, whose industry is great, but whose territory is of small extent, the inhabitants must barter their labour in the different arts, or in commerce, for the productions of the lands of other nations; depending therefore, in a great measure, upon foreign countries for subsistence, their prosperity can advance by only slow degrees, and their population will be proportioned to the supply procured by their manufactures and commerce.

In Great Britain, and other extensive countries under the

* Vide Genesis, c. 13. ver. 2, 5, 6.; and c. 33. ver. 13.

like climate, where the soil is capable of being made highly productive by labour, but without labour is nearly barren, the exertion of the inhabitants is called forth, and is rewarded by abundant crops. The population, manufactures, and commerce of such nations, will increase with the industry and capital employed in Agriculture, and can be limited only by their territory.

Since the acquisition of the means of subsistence must precede that of the conveniencies or the luxuries of life, so the industry which procures the first, must, in the order of time, as well as of importance, be prior to that which furnishes the others. The true riches, therefore, of all countries, both primarily and ultimately, must be derived from bodily labour, and the food of mankind, produced by that labour; population, and every occupation of mankind, being entirely supported by, and dependant upon these main sources of national wealth.

It is evident, that a much greater number of people, can be reared and supported in the same extent of territory, by the productions of the vegetable, than possibly can be by those of the animal world. Thus the Hottentots, who lived by hunting, having been pressed backward by the Dutch colonists at the Cape of Good Hope, have decreased in numbers at least proportioned to the territory of which they have been divested; yet, by the cultivation of the soil, the number of the Dutch colonists, now comfortably supported upon the same space of land occupied by their predecessors, exceeds the latter probably fifty times. The same observation may be applied to North America.

Agriculture, or the art of raising corn, having increased population, and greatly contributed to extend the strength and power of Great Britain, it may be worthy of the attention of the community, to enquire into its rise, to contemplate its progress, to investigate the causes of its decline, as well as of its prosperity; and as far as possible (*avoiding theory*) to point out to the legislature, from the experience of past times, those circumstances that have most materially contributed to its success, or to its depression.

The period appears to be very distant when agriculture was first introduced into Great Britain; for when the Romans invaded the southern parts of it, they found the fields full of corn, and the inhabitants in possession of trained horses and chariots of war, which they managed with great dexterity*. And although the other parts of the island were inhabited by people, who lived by pasturage or by hunting, and clothed themselves in the skins of their cattle, or of their game, yet, having been initiated by the Romans in the arts of civilized life, they soon began to cultivate their fields, and to raise corn.

After the departure of the Romans, the inroads of the Scots and Picts, the invasion and conquest by the Saxons, their heptarchy, and military appointments, were all unfavourable to agriculture; and the invasions and successes of the Danes, and the immense sums which they carried out of England, continued its depression†.

* Cæsar's Commentary, lib. 4. 28. and lib. 5. 10. Clarke's edit.
† Flor. Wigorn. Brad. Hist. Eng. vol. 1. p. 123.; Cartes Hist. of England, vol. 1. p. 334; Hume's Hist. Eng. vol. 1. p. 93. &c.

The Norman conquest, by the fresh distresses of war, and the change of property, retarded its recovery; and, except in the royal domains, or those of the dignified clergy, of the great barons, or of religious orders, agriculture for a long time after that period, appears to have been left to the feeble exertions of such people, as by their infirmities or age, or their inferior situation in life, were not called for in war. By degrees, however, the English and Norman families came to be so much incorporated, that the distinction was lost; the bold and independent spirit of the English Nobles again appeared, and the fields began again to receive cultivation.

It would appear that at some distant period, agriculture had been in a higher state of perfection in Scotland, than it now is, and that the country had been more populous than at present. The straight and equal ridges still appearing upon extensive fields and high grounds, in every part of the country, which must have been barren for many centuries; and even the penalties in some of the old Scotch laws having been paid in wheat, seem to point out a more plentiful and populous era.

Malcolm II. gave great support to agriculture; but in the year of his death (1034) a few days after the summer solstice, there were severe frosts and deep snow, which destroyed the fruits of the earth, and a great famine ensued*.

In the beginning of the reign of Malcolm IV. a great famine raged over all Scotland, by which great numbers of men and cattle were destroyed†.

* Buchanan's Hist. Scot, l. 6. *sub finem*.
† Ib. l. 7. 37.

But whatever progress agriculture may have made in Scotland, prior to the accession of William, in the year 1165, the war with England, the captivity of that prince, and the money paid for redeeming the superiority or vassalage of his kingdom, which William had surrendered for his release, brought Scotland into such distress, that, upon the accession of his son Alexander II. in the year 1214, agriculture was found to have been almost totally abandoned; and the very first law, made in his reign, was to oblige the inhabitants to labour and sow their lands*.

Under Alexander III. Scotland recovered, in some degree, its agriculture and its consequence; but the disputes that happened upon his death, and the war which ensued with England, diminished both afterwards for many ages.

It is not, however, to a very distant period we need apply to discover at what time agriculture came to be so far advanced in England, as to render *wheat* the chief article of subsistence. This could only be the case, when the quantity raised became so abundant as to bring the prices of that grain, one year with another, to be reasonable, and nearly equal. If scarcity should now double the ordinary prices, it would produce dearth; but if it should triple them, famine would follow. Therefore, so long as we find the prices of wheat vary, ten, twenty, thirty, or forty times the current value of it, in years of ordinary plenty, we must consider the culture of that grain to have been still in its infancy, and that mankind did not depend upon wheat as the chief part of their support. In the year 1244, the price of wheat was 2s. the

* Stat. Alex. II. c. 1.

quarter. In 1270, it was at L. 4, 16s. equal to L. 47:12:4 of present money; so that, in such times, it would appear in small quantities, and only at the tables of the rich. In 1288, it was 1s. 6d. In 1317, it was at L. 2, 4s. before harvest, and the same year, after harvest, it fell to 6s. 8d. In 1349, the price was 2s. In 1359, it was L. 1:6:8; and in 1361, 2s. the quarter. So late as the year 1557, wheat rose from 8s. the quarter, to L. 2:13:4. In 1562, it was at 8s. the quarter, and in 1574, at L. 2, 16s*.

We are disappointed, when we apply to the statutes of our ancient legislatures, to discover the encouragement bestowed upon agriculture; for that seems not to have occurred to them, as a matter in any way necessary: on the contrary, we find many of the old laws of England and Scotland, inviting and encouraging foreign merchants and others, to import corn

* The principles, upon which the ancient money of England, and of Scotland is converted into the present Sterling money, are explained in the Appendix, No I.; which also contains a Table of the price of the quarter of wheat in England, at such periods as it can be properly authenticated, from the year 1223 to 1784.

The authors are numerous who have made calculations of the progress of the value of money from the Conquest to the present time; and to ascertain it has been found a matter of the greatest difficulty. Mr Hume, in his History of England, vol. 1. p. 228. calculates the money about the time of the Conquest at 30 times the value of the present money. He even goes the length to say, that we may multiply the sums mentioned by historians, for some reigns after the conquest, by 100.

Bishop Fleetwood, in his Chronicon Pretiosum, published in 1707, shews, that a quarter of wheat, which in the year 1240 cost L. 4:13:9, would be equal to about L. 50 of present money. In 1489 he reckons that L. 5 was equal to L. 40 of present money, or as 1 to 8.

The calculations of our Author are lower than Bishop Fleetwood's, but, upon the whole, correspond pretty nearly with them. They are made upon principles more general, and more easily applied than the Bishop's, and appear, from other manuscripts left by the Author, to have been adopted by him, after a long and painful investigation of the subject. *Edit.*

and all kinds of provisions; and the inhabitants purchased them, with their raw materials, of wool, leather, and lead, which they themselves were then incapable of working up*.

Agriculture was for several centuries after the Conquest, without reputation, and without support. The lands were chiefly in the hands of the clergy, or of the great barons; they were laboured by their villains or slaves, in proportion to whom, the number of husbandmen or socmen was very small over all England†. The freemen, who occupied farms in the country, and they were but few, held no rank in society; and besides the depredations of the banditti, with whom the kingdom in those days was overrun, they were oppressed by the greater legal depredation of *purveyance*. This originally comprehended the necessary provisions, carriages, &c. which the nearest farmers were obliged to furnish, at the current prices, to the King's armies, and his houses and castles in time of war. It was called *the great purveyance*, and the officers who collected those necessaries were called *purveyors*. The *smaller purveyance* included the necessary provisions and carriages for the King's household, when living at home, or travelling through the kingdom, which the tenants in the King's demesne lands were obliged to furnish gratis; and the like practice came to be adopted by the barons, and great men, in every tour which they thought proper to make in the country‡.

* Vide Magna Charta, K. John, cap. 50.

† Brady's Hist. of England, General Preface, p. 7. 8. &c.

‡ This custom exists now in the *East Indies*, where the feudal system is in force. *Edit.*

These exactions were so grievous, and levied in so licentious a manner, that the farmers, when they heard of the court's approach, often deserted their houses, as if the country had been invaded by an enemy*.

Purveyance came to be a prodigious distress upon the subjects in both kingdoms, and was perhaps, for many centuries, the chief obstruction to the agriculture and improvement of Great Britain.

The abuse was extended so far, that hostlers, brewers, and victuallers, purchased the King's letters-patent, of the office of purveyor. The exactions were so grievous, and the office came to be so odious, 'that the heinous name of purveyor, 'was ordered by law to be changed into that of buyer †.'

Many laws were made for the reformation and regulation of purveyance, without effect. The distresses of the people of England, arising from this mode of oppression, are well painted in one of those reforming laws, 28 Hen. 6, entitled 'The 'penalty for taking any persons horses or cart, without the 'delivery of the owner, or some officer, or for taking money 'to spare them.'

An higher legal distress cannot well be imagined, than this old and ordinary method of purveyance; nor a measure more injurious to the best interests of the kingdom.

* Hume's Hist. vol. 1. p. 242.

† 36 Ed. III. c. 2.

The practice was not confined to the neighbourhood of the King's household, it was spread over the whole kingdom; for when such powers are to be sold, purchasers would be found every where.

If a farmer had an hazardous crop to take in, if he had an appointment upon urgent business, if he had fixed a day for the marriage of a son or daughter; it was then that his neighbour purveyor came, and laid hold of his horses and carriages for the service of the King, and detained them until they were redeemed by a fine; and this fine would be proportionate to the anxiety, or the distress of the farmer; for all sentiments of humanity or justice were out of the question.

By this law, those letters-patent having been recalled, none such were afterwards issued; but purveyance in other respects continued to be executed in its usual rigour.

In the 30th of Elizabeth, the Commons passed a bill for regulating purveyance; but it was lost in the House of Peers.

In the following session, they made a fresh attempt to remove that grievance; but the Queen expressly prohibited them to meddle with that branch of her prerogative.

The various modes of oppression by purveyance, so late as the reign of James I. are pointed out by Bacon, in his speech delivered in the first parliament of that king*.

* Hume's Hist. vol. 4. p. 641.

Another great distress upon agriculture had arisen, and continued long, in the execution of the office of Clerk of the market.

The Clerk of the market was originally an officer in the King's household, who had the charge of the King's measures, and the custody of the standards for regulating the weights and measures throughout the kingdom.

But the jurisdiction of this office had, by degrees, been extended over the whole markets of the kingdom, and by the general inequality of weights and measures then in use, the Clerk of the market came to be invested with powers in appearance legal, to oppress the farmers, and other subjects, at his pleasure.

The Crown had also been in the practice of letting the office to farm, for which, great sums of money were paid; and, of course, it became necessary to the lessees, for their own reimbursement and profit, to execute the unjust powers committed to them with the utmost rigour*.

* The Cutwal of the bazar, or market, in India, is exactly such an officer as is here described. In short, the peasantry of that country, particularly under the native princes, labour under all the hardships that appear to have existed in Great Britain some hundred years ago. This being the case, may not benefit be derived, even in the government of the British empire in India, from the investigation of this subject, so important in all countries? And might not the example of our government there, were they to redress all such grievances, have a happy influence in also directing the attention of the native princes, to objects of such consequence to the prosperity of their people? *Edit.*

Several laws were made for removing this grievance without effect *, until the 16th Cha. I. when the jurisdiction of this officer was restricted to the verge of the court; and the powers of the officer, over the rest of the kingdom, were committed to the Mayor, or other Head-officer of the city, borough, or town-corporate; and to any Lord, Lords of liberty, liberties or franchises, his, or their deputy or deputies, or agents, according to their several liberties and jurisdictions †.

These circumstances, however, in the mean time served to depress the rising spirit of improvement; and, joined to the general ignorance of the proper methods of cultivation, induced the landholders to disuse tillage, and to throw their grounds into inclosures, for the sake of pasture, which contributed much to the depopulation of the kingdom, in those times, when there were not commerce and manufactures sufficient to employ the hands thrown out of husbandry.

Camden observes, that after the allowance given to export corn in the 5th of Eliz. agriculture received new life and vigour; but it is certain, during all that reign, and that of her successor, England depended upon foreigners for bread. There was a regular importation from the Baltic, and from France; and when these failed, the bad consequences were very sensibly felt by the nation. Sir Walter Rawleigh, in his

* 16 Ed. 2. c. 9.—14 Ed. 3. st. 1. c. 12.—16 Rich. 3. c. 3.

† 16 Ch. 1. c. 19.

observations, computes that two millions went out of the kingdom at one time for corn*.

Nor did England ever supply herself with corn, till after the system of corn laws, begun by King William in 1688, were completed in 1700.

In Scotland, the iron rod of purveyors, was also exercised with great severity. Their conduct in early times has been transmitted to us by an act of the Chamberlain Air (circuit court) c. 17.

Agriculture has now become the chief manufacture of Great Britain; it is that upon which all others depend, and in which many more people are employed, than in any other manufacture whatever.

The consequence of agriculture to the state, from the numbers of people employed in it, is highly increased by the numerous and vigorous offspring which they produce, by whom the waste, made in the human species by every other manufacture, is supplied.

We find no manufacturer returning his son to the plough, while almost every ploughman endeavours to breed up, at least one of his sons, to what is vulgarly called a trade, as giving him a higher rank in society. Prejudices remain long after their causes have ceased; and perhaps this sentiment con-

* Hume's Hist. vol. 5. p. 127.

tinues to be impressed upon the bulk of mankind, from the mean state in which our early farmers were placed.

By the encouragement of agriculture, we not only secure plenty, and moderate prices at home, and raise a new trade and employment for fresh numbers of people, by the exportation of our excrement stock; but we make ground, otherwise barren, to be fruitful; and the employment of one additional man, or the improvement of one acre of ground at home, is certainly of more consequence to the community, than of an hundred such in a colony.

It is from plenty alone, that cheapness and equal prices can proceed, and this plenty can only be procured by raising corn at home; for if we shall depend upon foreign importation, the supply and the prices must both be precarious.

It is generally believed, that the number of inhabitants in Great Britain is about eight millions; and we may suppose, that each person will consume rather more than a quarter of wheat yearly; or of wheat and other grain to that value*.

* Maitland in his Survey of London, 2d edition, fol. 756, says, that the bakers unanimously agreed, that, including puddings, pies, and other pastry ware, people in London over-head, consumed 10 ounces of flour each day, which requires 5 bushels, 2 pecks of wheat for each, yearly.

Mr Hume in his Essay on Antient Nations, Edin. Edit. 1752, page 235, says 'the portion of corn given every month, to every man of full years in Rome, was 5 modii.' This Mr Hume computed at 1 qr. 2 bushels yearly; but according to Dr Arbuthnot it amounted to 1 qr. 7 b. 1 p. yearly.

Essai sur les Monies, printed at Paris in 1746, p. 52, in the notes says, 'It is not

Wheat is double the value of the inferior grain over-head*. To avoid multiplicity of computations, we shall rank malt as barley, and throw, upon the general consumption of the people, the grain consumed by horses not employed in agriculture, and by hogs, poultry, starchmakers, &c.; and when it is considered that a great number of the people live chiefly upon the inferior grain, we cannot, under all these circumstances, appropriate less than two quarters of the several sorts of grain over-head, to the consumption of each person, upon

* thought too high an estimation of the consumption of men, one with the other, to rate it at 3 setiers a year: if there are those that eat less, there are a great many who consume more.' Three setiers are equal to 1 qr. 4 b. 3 p. London measure. Corn Tracts, p. 188. 190.

Our soldiers when encamped, and prisoners of war, are allowed a pound and a half of brown bread, each day, which is equal to 9 bushels of wheat yearly.

In the royal hospitals of Chelsea and Greenwich, the allowance is one pound a day, of wheaten bread, which is said to go farther than a larger quantity of brown bread, which requires 7 bushels of wheat yearly.

These computations are made from wheat of the best quality.

People who labour hard, and who form the larger part of the community, will consume more than either of those portions; and the weaker that any grain is, it will require the greater quantity of it for sustenance.

Wheat, as the superior, commands in a great measure, in all seasons, the value or price of the inferior grain; and as its proportional value to the latter can be ascertained with certainty, we have made choice of the superior grain singly, as the foundation of our computations in the present work.

Add to this that we could not find so many authentic proofs of the prices of the inferior grain, at distant periods, as of wheat; and that the different kinds of inferior grain, were not always comprehended in the same law, the calculations will be infinitely more comprehensible, when made from one object or datum, instead of seven or eight.

* Vide Explanatory Table, Appendix, No 8. art. 6.

an average yearly, for bread, beer, spirits, &c. and of course the consumption of 8 millions of people, will be 16 millions of quarters of the several kinds of grain over-head yearly.

It will be ascertained that, for many years, Great Britain exported about 850,000 quarters of grain yearly; and we may therefore conclude, that, in those years of prosperity, corn sufficient was raised to support the inhabitants for near 14 months, beside the seed to be sown, at the rate of somewhat more than 1,300,000 quarters monthly; for it may be admitted, that at least one month's provision must be kept on hand to bring in the new crop.

But even in such years, the produce is so nearly balanced by the consumpt at home, that; independent of bad seasons, if by any mistake, or misapplication of the laws, the hand of labour should, in a small degree, be withdrawn from agriculture, the consequences would be dreadful. From the strength of our commerce, we might ward off the blow for a short time, by the importation of foreign grain; but while that would impoverish us, by the payment of the price, it would increase our wants, by trenching upon the remains of our own agriculture.

Yet if the people can be plentifully and cheaply supported, and even the exportation mentioned kept up, it would be a vast addition to the wealth and resources of the kingdom; but if, by any encouragement that the law can give, corn could be yearly raised sufficient for 15 months provision to the in-

habitants, an exportation of a million and a half of quarters of grain, in years of ordinary plenty might be kept up, which would be equal to a tenth part of the whole exports of the kingdom: an immense fund of riches, and of employment to numbers of people, more than at present exist in Britain would from thence ensue; and the importation of foreign grain would always be unnecessary, unless after some extremely barren season.

Importation of foreign grain, although at some times necessary, is at all times ruinous, by the check it gives to our agriculture, and should never be admitted but from necessity, and with great circumspection. In that event the prices must be high, and the market precarious; because our supply then depends upon the judgment, perhaps the caprice of other people; and added to the prime cost and freight, &c. we are subjected to the payment of such taxes, as the prince from whose ports we are to be supplied, shall be pleased to put upon it; and which may possibly be increased in proportion to our necessities. Besides, by importation, we employ the lands and labour of other nations, at the expence of yielding so much of our own, and so far we cut off our own resources.

In every country, the quantity of seed sown, will always be proportioned to the usual demand for the crop; and a nation accustomed to raise more corn than it consumes, and to export the excrescence, will seldom feel scarcity or high prices; because a short crop, which in other situations might be hurt-

ful, will generally afford a sufficient supply for home consumption, although exportation must stop.

All nations who have hands sufficient for the purpose, wish to keep their raw materials at home, to be wrought up by their own people, and to allow a free trade of the goods manufactured.

When 100 people are employed upon the same subject, if 10 of them are sufficient for one branch of it, and 90 are required for the other, we may in general suppose the first to be the raw material, and the other the manufacture.

Corn being entirely the produce of labour, the land upon which it grows may be said to be the raw material, and of 100 people employed in bringing corn from the seed to the oven or still, more than 90 are engaged in bringing it to marketable grain; after which, fewer people are employed in it, than are necessary to cut and sew up the woolen and linen cloths, after they have received the last hand of the manufacturer; so that corn, when brought to be dressed grain, is a finished manufacture in every sense of the word.

The generality of other manufactures are arbitrary, and may be taken up or laid down at pleasure, possibly without much detriment to the nation; but agriculture must be supported, as it is the hinge upon which both our lives and actions turn, and the ultimate and only certain resource of the state, both for men and for money.

Almost every other manufacture, may be admitted to a free trade; but, as the trade of corn must at all times be limited by, and subservient to the necessities of the state, it requires the attention of a careful and fostering parent. Our agriculture ought therefore to be guarded by the wisest laws, and the strictest execution of them, as the only certain means of employing the greatest number of people, and consequently of increasing our population; and it is the better entitled to this attention, that the farmer and the landholder pay a full proportion of all taxes imposed, for promoting and protecting the sale of our other manufactures, both at home and abroad, as well as for the growth of corn at home.

It is not easy to ascertain, with certainty, the number of people employed in the raising, manufacturing, transporting, and sale of corn; but it may be computed with a great degree of probability.

It is imagined that a farm, from which 100 quarters of grain, of the ordinary production of the county in which it is situated, can be sold yearly, (after maintaining the farmer's family, supporting his cattle, &c. and sowing the ground for another crop), will employ, at an average, 12 people, old and young*.

* It is supposed that the farmer's family consists of himself, his wife, and three children at a medium; that he acts as overseer, that his wife manages the dairy, and that they employ,

- 2 men servants,
- 1 maid servant,

In larger farms, where the soil is good, and the climate favourable, fewer people will be required; and when the farms are smaller, or the soil and climate less favourable, more will proportionally be necessary.

To raise 13 millions of quarters of grain for sale, would, according to the above calculation, require the labour of 1,560,000 people, old and young; and their maintenance, at the rate of two quarters to each person, being added to that quantity, will make up the general yearly consumption of 16 millions of quarters.

But beside the farmers, who raise grain for sale, (without including millers, mealmen, factors, and others employed entirely in the corn trade), there must be at least two hundred thousand families of cottagers in Great Britain, who raise as much corn as serves their own families only, and whose landlords are paid by other branches of their industry; and allowing 5 to each of their families, there cannot in all be fewer

- 1 herd,
- 1 hind or labourer for threshing corn, &c, and
- 2 children to tend the lesser animals.

The cattle and live-stock necessary for work, or to be reared for profit, may be considered to consist of at least,

- 4 work horses, and a riding horse, or
- 8 oxen in place of the 4 horses, for work;
- 6 cows and their production for three years, and about
- 50 sheep; and that the farm will besides feed
- 8 hogs and two breeders, with poultry, &c.

than two millions and a half of people employed in husbandry.

Deducting 5 millions of quarters of grain, for the maintenance of the farmers and cottagers (at the rate of two quarters to each person), from the 16 millions of quarters, which we have reckoned to be the quantity required for the general consumption of the kingdom, there remains 11 millions of quarters of grain, which is to be considered as the produce of the lands, after supporting the people and cattle employed in raising the corn, and sowing the ground; or, in other words, a quantity equal to the consumption of the 5 millions and a half of people, who are not employed in husbandry.

But it is to be observed, that the 11 millions of quarters of grain, are raised by the million and a half of farmers; for the cottagers, raising only as much grain as will support their own families, come not into the computation; so that every person, old and young, employed in husbandry, as a trade or manufacture, is supposed to raise as much corn as will maintain himself, and nearly four other persons, after supporting the stock upon the farm, and labouring and sowing the ground for another crop.

We have taken up this calculation, as is already said, from the generally received opinion, that there are 8 millions of people in Great Britain; but we are apt to believe that the population considerably exceeds that number.

AN INQUIRY INTO

CHAP. I.

If this be the case, we do not pretend to alter the computation, by saying, that every person, old and young, employed in agriculture as a science or trade, could raise, upon an average, more grain than would support 4 other persons besides himself, after defraying the other necessities of the farm; for we believe that if 48 or 50 people, old and young, in proportion to the raisers, were to be billeted upon such a farm as we have mentioned, they and the people upon the farm would find full use for all the productions of it, after supporting the cattle, &c. and sowing the ground.

But if there are more people, the numbers of the corn-raisers will be more also, in proportion to the number of the other members of the community, which will make no difference in the other parts of the calculation; and from every consideration we have had in view, and every judgment we can form, we are apt to imagine that there are at least 2 millions of people, old and young, employed in agriculture in Great Britain, beside the cottagers; and that the numbers of the other branches of the community are in proportion. This would make the population of the country amount to about 11 millions.

In stating this number, we have, among other considerations, taken the taxes or public revenue, under review, amounting to 15 millions of pounds Sterling, all which must be raised from the industry of the people at large*; for those

* This was written in the year 1786, when the public revenue rather exceeded fifteen millions. *Edit.*

THE CORN LAWS.

CHAP. I.

parts of the community, who, by their birth, fortune, or employment, are not subjected to bodily labour, although equally necessary in society, are not very considerable in number, when compared with the great body of the people.

Fifteen millions of pounds, to be paid yearly by eight millions of people, would amount to 37s. 6d. each person, or L. 9 : 7 : 6 out of each family, supposed to consist of five persons, which would appear rather impossible to be borne; but divided among 11 millions, it will only affect each about 23s. 6d. per annum, or L. 5 : 15s. from each family, which is more likely to be the case.

It has been said, that the land tax, the window tax, the tax upon carriages, &c. do not affect industry; but that is without foundation: For land, without the industry of people, would be of little or no comparative value; nor is it of any consequence whether the landlord or the tenant pays the land tax: For if it be paid by the tenant, he will pay proportionably less rent; and without the industry of the people, there would be neither cultivated land, nor windows, nor carriages to pay taxes. Every public burthen must be paid out of the common stock of industry, although some of the taxes may affect one class of people more than another.

In the unimproved stages of society, there was no occasion for public taxes; because every member of the community contributed personally, both to public and private defence and accommodation.

There are but four occupations natural to mankind, hunting, fishing, pasturage, and war for defence or retaliation; for agriculture is a trade or manufacture, and has been introduced by art.

The persons who were at the head of those occupations, were the makers of their own instruments, as well as the users of them; their children and relations were allowed to participate in their toils and in their pleasures, but those who served them were their slaves.

In well regulated communities, there must be subordination, but slavery is not necessary; on the contrary, every person is free, and a useful member of the society in his vocation, whatever it is, so long as he conforms himself to the rules of the society.

Men of superior birth, fortune, or merit, come naturally to be employed in the political line or department of government; the farmer raises bread for the community; the sailor and soldier defend it; the manufacturer, assisted by the labourer, works up its raw materials; the artisan by the division of labour, and the application of the mechanic arts, gives assistance to both; the merchant facilitates the exchange of its commodities with those of other nations: and thus every part of the community hangs by the other.

In the course of this inquiry it will appear, that from the Union, till the year 1763, is the period when agriculture, with

some few exceptions, received the full protection of the laws. If from the exports of grain from England and from Scotland, during that time*, we may judge of the comparative quantities raised in each of the kingdoms, which may possibly not be an improper rule, we shall find that England produces 15 times as much corn as Scotland; that, in general, the crops of England consist of $\frac{8}{10}$ of wheat, and $\frac{2}{10}$ of inferior grain; and that the crop of Scotland has only $\frac{1}{3}$ of wheat, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of inferior grain†. In England the prevailing crop appears to be wheat and barley; and in Scotland barley and oats.

During the above prosperous period, the average exportation from Great Britain for 10 years, from 1740 to 1750, was 848,660 quarters yearly. In 1750 above a million and a half of quarters were exported; and, for several other years, the

* Vide Appendix, No 3.

† From the Reports of the rents or revenue of the bishopricks and religious houses in Scotland, so far as they were payable in grain, made up after the Reformation in the year 1562, which have been very carefully collected by Maitland, in his History of Scotland, it appears, that the quantity of grain amounted to 5078 bolls of wheat, and 64,655 bolls of inferior grain. These proportions would point out the crop of Scotland to consist of about $\frac{1}{3}$ of wheat, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of inferior grain. But if it be considered that the rents of the clergy were, in general, of the better kind of grain, and that the exportation from Scotland was chiefly of the inferior grain; if we take the medium of the proportions of the grain paid to the clergy, and of that exported, we may with great probability conclude that, in general, the crop of such land consists of $\frac{1}{3}$ of wheat, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of inferior grain.

But again, taking the quality of the crop of both kingdoms under review, and computing the quarter of wheat at 40s. and that of the inferior grain, over-head at 20s.;

annual importation was above a million of quarters. The average exportation for 50 years, from 1710 to 1760, was near 600,000 quarters yearly*; and in the course of those years it will be found, that *the prices of grain gradually fell as exportation increased; and rose again as exportation decreased, and as the importation of foreign grain took place*†.

we shall find, that in England the quarter of grain, over-head, is worth 28s. and in Scotland only 21s. 4d. ‡; so that in point of quality the crop of England is about $\frac{4}{3}$ of more value than that of Scotland; and being 15 times more in quantity, the crop of that kingdom may be even 19 times the value of that of Scotland.

So powerfully and steadily do climate and soil operate, that the species of grain payable to the clergy of old, points out the general state of the crop of the several districts in Scotland at this day. Only, in examining this point, it must be attended to, that the Archbishoprick of St Andrew's comprehended all the territory south of the Forth, which was afterwards, in the year 1633, erected into the Bishoprick of Edinburgh.

* Vide Appendix, No 2.

† Vide Appendix, No 4. & 5.

‡ Vide Explanatory Table, Appendix, No. 6. Art. 8.

Of the causes and effects of the several Corn Laws of Great Britain, prior to the Revolution in the year 1688.

FOR several centuries after the Conquest, in order to maintain the laws of England, in force, it was thought necessary to renew, or to confirm them, upon the accession of every new sovereign. The laws themselves too, though generally made with great care and attention, receiving but little support from the executive power, fell often into disuse.

This accounts for the numerous confirmations of the Great Charter, and the frequent re-enactions of the same laws on this and other subjects, without any fresh meaning, to be found upon the statute-book.

In those times, the rents of lands, possessed by tenants or farmers, were chiefly payable in corn or cattle, or other pro-

ductions of the soil. The rules by which the rents were received, were very irregular; the measures of grain varied, they were taken heaped, and 9 bushels were generally taken for the quarter.

1360.

By the Great Charters of King John and Henry III, often confirmed by succeeding kings and parliaments, one weight and one measure had been appointed to be used over all England, but with very little effect. Of this we have sufficient evidence from an act of the 25 Ed. III. by which the weights and measures were again attempted to be regulated; and by which 8 bushels stricken, and no more, were appointed to be received for the quarter of grain, *'But saving the rents and farms, and all manner of franchises, of the lords.'* With such reservations it is not to be expected that the law could have any effect.

Under such impositions, with the oppression of purveyance, and the depressed situation in life, wherein the farmers were placed, it is not to be wondered that agriculture languished, and that a numerous community depended upon foreign provisions for their subsistence.

It would be an useless and a disagreeable labour, again to harrow up the laws, and the habits, which checked the productions of our own fields, and made foreign provisions necessary. We shall now, with pleasure, leave them behind us, to enter upon a more agreeable investigation, and

endeavour to trace the steps by which agriculture emerged from obscurity, and rose to be the first pillar of the state.

But before entering particularly into the corn laws; as forestallers, regrators, and ingrossers, are frequently mentioned, it may be necessary to make the reader acquainted with them.

For many years after the Conquest, the greatest part of the trade or business of England, was carried on in markets and fairs; and a very considerable part of the revenue of the crown arose from the duties payable to the king upon the goods brought to them for sale*. The barons had also tolls at the fairs within their respective jurisdictions.

When the farmers and merchants were bringing their corn, and other necessaries, to be sold at the markets and fairs, people met them by the way, and purchased their provisions, in order to retail them at a higher price. By these means the king and the lord of the manor lost the several duties payable to them, and the price was raised upon the inhabitants, by lessening the quantity of provisions brought to market. Such were the original forestallers, and thus both public and private interest were united against them, and severe penalties were laid upon the practice †.

* Hume, vol. 1. p. 414.

† Ord. for Bakers incert. temp. c. 10. 25 Ed. 3. st. 4. c. 3; 27 Ed. 3. c. 11, and 2 Rich. 2. st. 1. c. 2.

But the description of a forestaller was farther extended,
 to any person who should buy any merchandise or victual,
 coming toward any fair or market, or toward any city,
 port, creek, or road of England or Wales, from beyond sea,
 to be sold; or who should make any bargain for having the
 same, before the merchandise or victuals should be in the
 market to be sold; or who should make any motion for en-
 hancing the price; or should move any person coming to
 the market to forbear to bring the things to be sold*.

A person who should by any means regrate, obtain, or get
 into his possession, in any fair or market, any corn, wine,
 fish, butter, cheefe, &c. that were brought to any market in
 England or Wales to be sold, and should sell the same in any
 fair or market holden or kept in the same place, or in any
 other fair or market within four miles thereof, should be
 holden and reputed a regrator †.

A person who should ingross, or get into his hands, by
 buying, contract, or promise-making, any growing corn in
 the fields, or any other corn or grain, butter, cheefe, fish,
 or other dead victuals whatever, with intent to sell the same
 again, shall be holden and reputed an ingrosser ‡. It is need-
 less to add that severe penalties were enacted against the of-
 fenders.

* 5 & 6 Ed. 6. c. 14. § 1.

† Ibid. § 2.

‡ Ibid. § 3.

Several parts of the laws against ingrossing were, however,
 afterwards softened, to facilitate the internal commerce of the
 kingdom, which will be noticed in their proper place.

In Scotland, laws to the same purpose were made against
 forestallers and regrators; and although the word ingrosser
 does not appear in the laws, the description of an ingrosser,
 and the penalties upon the practice, are fully comprehended
 under the description of the forestaller and regrator*.

Many antient laws had been made, inviting the importa-
 tion of foreign provisions, and the exportation of English
 grain had been prohibited †. So that while the exportation of
 the excrement part of our own produce was prohibited, and
 the importation of foreign grains encouraged, we cannot con-
 sider agriculture to have been cherished as a national object.

But a dawn of reason began now to appear, and a law
 was made, authorising all the king's subjects to carry corn
 out of the kingdom, upon payment of the customs and sub-
 sidies ‡. Which law was confirmed this year, reserving to
 the king and council to restrain the exportation when they
 should judge that to be necessary ||.

1393.

1425.

But this reservation had been constructed into a prohibition

* Burrow Laws, c. 78. Cham. Air. c. 19. 20. 21. Ja. 5. Par. 4. c. 21. Par. 7. c. 98. and Ja. 6. Par. 12. c. 148.

† Abbrev. Imp. & Exp. Laws, vide Appendix, No 7.

‡ 17 Rich. 2. c. 7.

|| 4 Hen. 6. c. 5.

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to export grain without a licence, which had totally prevented the beneficial consequences expected from the first law.

This misapprehension of the law, or possibly the high hand of executive power, making licences difficult, checked the early progress of agriculture, and brought distress upon the whole kingdom.

1436. This sufficiently appears from the preamble of the following law, by which liberty was given to persons to transport grain to where they pleased, without licence, except to the enemies of the king when wheat was at 6s. 8d. and barley at 3s. the quarter*. And these sums were rather above the middling prices, being equal, in the present money, to L. 2 : 4s. for the quarter of wheat, and 19s. 10d. for the quarter of barley.

1442. This law had been found so beneficial to the kingdom, and had produced such plenty of corn, that it was now confirmed, and continued for ten years, and soon after was made perpetual †; and the consequences were, that, so far as we can now discover, the price of grain did not fluctuate greatly for 40 years, and was very moderate ‡.

1444. But still the laws inviting the importation of foreign grain continued in force; the trade was in the hands of foreign

* 15 Hen. 6. c. 2.

† 20 Hen. 6. c. 6. and 23 Hen. 6. c. 5. ‡ Vide Appendix, No. 1.

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merchants, who carried their corn, and other provisions, from port to port, and secured the market before the English farmers could bring forward their produce.

And although those merchants may have lost upon the grain which they imported into England at this time, they gained upon the general course of the trade; because they received, in return, wool, unfinished woollen cloth, and ready money, upon which they made great profit in their own countries, and thus were enabled to undersell the produce of our fields at home.

This appears to have been the case, even after this period, from two restrictive and regulating laws of Richard III. * by the last of which it appears, that the foreign merchants, who imported wines into England, had not only taken their payment, two thirds in woollen cloth, and one third in ready money, but had considerably lessened the contents of their wine casks, although sold under the former titles and contents.

The distress upon husbandry, occasioned by the continual importation of foreign grain, came at length to be attended to, and a preventative law was made; although we can learn from it nothing of the causes, but, in general, that the labourers and occupiers of land had been grievously damaged by the importation of foreign grain, when corn at home was at a small price; and that therefore the importation of foreign

1463.

* 1 Rich. 3. c. 8. 13.

grain was prohibited, until the prices at home should exceed 6s. 8d. for the quarter of wheat, 4s. for rye, and 3s. for barley*; equal to L. 1:15:2, L. 1, 1s. and 15s. 10d. of present money.

These were the laws to which the agriculture of England may be said to have owed its origin; and, although their purposes have been often defeated, by other laws, they are the foundation which still remains, and upon which a great fabric (at present out of repair) has been built, which, with moderate attention, may long continue to be the chief ornament and support of Great Britain.

Upon these laws the agriculture of England rested for near a century; but it is to be lamented, that the want of execution rendered them, in a great degree, nugatory: The prohibition of the importation of foreign grain was never attended to, and the occupiers of land in England had still to struggle with the competition of grain from abroad, and the oppression of purveyance, and other grievances at home.

1552. This is evident from an act of this year made against regrators, forestallers, and ingrossers; by which the crime of forestalling is extended to persons buying victuals coming in ships from beyond the seas, to be sold in any market or fair, city, port, haven, creek, or road, as if no laws had subsisted by which such importation had been prohibited.

* 3 Ed. 4. c. 2.

Although a repression of the practices of forestalling and regrating might have been necessary, it is difficult to discover a reason for the enactment of ingrossing, at so late a period as the present reign, when commerce had made some considerable progress; and, by the same law, no person at home could transport corn from one part to another without a licence; neither could they purchase corn, to be laid up in their granaries for home sale, until the quarter of wheat was at, or under, 6s. 8d. (equal to 16s. 6d. of present money); malt and barley at 3s. 4d. (8s. 3d.); oats at 2s. (4s. 11½d.); pease and beans at 4s. (9s. 11d.); and rye at 5s. (12s. 5d.) per quarter*.

Thus the former system of corn laws was totally overturned; for although these were the prices to which exportation was limited, by the act of Edward IV. in 1463, the value of money was materially changed; for, at the former period, there were only 37s. 6d. in the pound of silver, and now there were 60s. and at the former period, money bore a very high and unlimited interest, and now, it yielded only about 12 per cent. per annum; so that 6s. 8d. for a quarter of wheat in 1463, was equal to L. 1:15:2; and, in the year 1552, it was only equal to 16s. 6d. as is already noticed; and the prohibition to purchase corn, to be laid up in granaries, or to carry it coastways, until it should fall to a price below the expence of raising it, must necessarily put a total stop to all trade in corn, and ruin the farmers; and all this was done at a time when the price of grain had been uniformly low.

* 5 & 6 Ed. 6. c. 14.

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It does not seem to have occurred to the legislature at this time, that by keeping the corn at home in times of great plenty, the price must be raised, because the farmers would not be able to continue their trade of raising corn at a disadvantage; so that, how soon the stock on hand was exhausted, scarcity or famine would ensue; nor did it occur, that by allowing an exportation of the excrement stock, plenty would be ensured, by keeping an open market to the farmers, and thereby enabling them to carry on their business, and to raise more corn than was generally necessary for home consumption; nor did they attend to the benefit that would arise to the kingdom, from the additional number of people that might be employed in raising and exporting what corn could be spared, and the sums of money that would be brought into the kingdom for the price of it.

They seem to have proceeded upon the principle, that the only way to preserve plenty, was to keep all the corn and other provisions at home, and import as much as possible from abroad, which experience has fully proved to be totally erroneous.

1554.

The same plan, however, was followed out, and enforced by another law of this year, which enacts, 'That whereas fundry good statutes and laws have been made within this realm, in the time of the Queen's highness most noble progenitors, that none should transport, carry, or convey, out of this realm, into any place in the ports beyond the seas, any corn, butter, cheefe, or other victuals, except only for

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'victualling the towns of Calais, &c. upon divers great pains and forfeitures, in the same contained: That notwithstanding many and fundry covetous and insatiable persons, seeking their only lucre and gains, have and do daily carry and convey innumerable quantity, as well of corn, cheefe, butter, and other victuals, as of wood, out of this realm, to parts beyond seas, by reason whereof the said corn, victual, and wood, are grown into a wonderful dearth, and extreme prices, to the great detriment of the commonwealth of this your Highness' realm, and your faithful subjects of the same.'

It was therefore enacted, that no manner of person or persons should export any wheat, rye, barley, or other sort of grain, growing within England; or any malt made within the same; or any beer, butter, cheefe, herring, or wood, without having licence so to do, under severe penalties; except when the common price of corn, within England, should not exceed for wheat 6s. 8d. (equal to 16s. 6d. of present money); rye, 4s. (9s. 11d.); and barley, 3s. (7s. 5d.) per quarter*.

Here it may be observed, that notwithstanding the complaint, of the high price of grain, in the preamble to this law, the price of wheat this year, and several years before, had been only 8s. the quarter, (equal to 19s. 10d. of present money); and the export prices were far below the medium prices, in times of ordinary plenty.

* 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 5.

Such, however, was the policy of Edward VI. and of Philip and Mary; and it was soon after followed in Scotland by laws expressly prohibiting the exportation of all kinds of victuals, tallow, and flesh, under severe penalties*.

1554.

Several favourable seasons happened to follow after this law had passed, the importation of foreign grain was continued, and the price of wheat continued about 8s. the quarter; but the English farmers came to be ruined, and agriculture began to be abandoned.

Laws are necessary for the regulation of society; but they become inept when they either direct impossibilities, or order people to labour in professions, by which they cannot earn a reasonable subsistence. The wise laws of Hen. VI. and Ed. IV. had subsisted without repeal during the whole of the reigns of Hen. VII. and Hen. VIII. but without receiving any countenance or execution; and yet they, as well as Ed. VI. and Phil. and Mary, the latter of whom were the chief instruments in crushing husbandry, made repeated laws to oblige people to labour and sow their lands †.

1562.

These incongruities did not escape the observation of the vigorous administration of Elizabeth, although the desire to raise money superseded the wisdom of the other institutions proposed for the benefit of the kingdom.

* Mary, par. 6. c. 40.—Ja. 6. par. 11. c. 55.

† 4 Hen. 7. c. 19.—7 Hen. 8. c. 1.—27 Hen. 8. c. 22.—5 & 6 Ed. 6. c. 5.—2 & 3 Phil. and M. c. 2.

Soon after her accession, she renewed the former laws for rebuilding houses of husbandry, and labouring the land, which had formerly been in culture, with more vigour; but, by another law, she allowed the farmers to export their grain as merchandise, when the price of it was not high at home.

The former laws, obliging the proprietors or tenants to rebuild the decayed houses of husbandry, and to return to tillage, had given the penalties to the king; but these were now given to the next heir, &c. of the person offending.

‘ It was enacted, that such lands as had been put in tillage and eared in any one year, and so kept 4 years, since the 20th Hen. VIII. should be again eared and put in tillage, according to the nature of the soil and custom of the country, by the occupier thereof, upon pain that every offender should forfeit 10s. an acre yearly, to the next in remainder or reversion, for the term of life, lives, or in tail, for which he might distrain; and in default, by the space of one year, then he, in the reversion or remainder in fee simple, should have the same remedy; and in his default, to the immediate lord of the fee; and in his default, the Queen, or the Queen and the informer*.’

1562.

By the other law ‘ It was enacted, that it should be lawful for all and every person and persons, being subjects of the Queen’s majesty, her heirs and successors, only out of

* 5 Eliz. c. 2.

such ports and creeks, as by proclamation should be published and appointed, to load, carry, and transport any wheat, rye, barley, malt, pease, or beans, unto any parts beyond the seas, to sell as a merchandise, in ships, crayers, or other vessels, whereof any English born subjects then shall be the only owners; so that the price of the said corn and grain, so carried and transported, exceed not the prices hereafter following, at the times, havens, and places where and when the said corn and grain shall be shipped and laden, viz. the quarter of wheat, at 10s. (equal to L. 1 : 8d. of present money); the quarter of rye, pease, or beans, at 8s. (16s. 7d.); and the quarter of barley or malt, at 6s. 8d. (13s. 10d.) of current money of England*.

This was a considerable extension of the exportation prices; and it appears by Camden and Sir Walter Rawleigh, both famous authors, and co-temporaries of Queen Elizabeth, that from the year 1562, that great princess having penetrated into the causes of odious monopolies, the exorbitant prices of provisions, and artificial scarcities, that impoverished and devoured the nation, wisely took off the old prohibition of the exportation of corn, leaving full liberty in that respect; and it is remarked by the same authors, that the direct and immediate consequence of this wise measure, was the increase of tillage, and the reduction of importation.

And Sir Walter, in his Remarks on Trade, presented to

* 5. Eliz. c. 5. § 26.

James I. positively asserts, that for some years preceding the above period, the importation of corn had exceeded 45 millions of livres*.

But soon after a more vigorous effort was made to recover the agriculture of England, by a law entitled, 'An act for the better increase of tillage, and for maintainance and increase of the navy and mariners of England.'

By this law it was enacted, 'That it should be lawful to every person and persons, being subjects of the Queen's majesty, her heirs and successors, and inhabiting within her highness realms and dominions, only out of such ports and creeks, where were, or should be resident, a customer or collector of subsidy, or tonnage and poundage, or one of their deputies, and not elsewhere, to load, carry, or transport any wheat, rye, barley, malt, pease, or beans, into any ports beyond the seas, in amity with the realm, and not prohibited by any restraint or proclamation; only to sell as a merchandise, in ships, crayers, or other vessels, bearing cross sails, whereof any English born subjects, inhabiting within her highness dominions, then should be the only owners, at such times as the several prices thereof shall be so reasonable and moderate, in the several counties where any such transportation shall be intended, as that no prohibition should be made, either by the Queen's majesty, her heirs or successors, by

* Gen. Review of England from 1600 to 1662, p. 18. The book from which this quotation is taken, having been written in French, the sum mentioned is called present money, but can mean only millions of livres.

proclamation to be made in the shire town, or in any port
 towns in the county; or else by some order of the Lord Pre-
 fident and Council of the North, or the Lord Prefident and
 Council in Wales, within their several jurisdictions; or of
 the justices of assize, at their sessions, in other shires, out of
 the jurisdiction of the said two prefidents and councils; or
 by the more part of the justices of the peace of the county,
 at their quarter sessions, in this manner following, that is,
 The said lord prefidents and councils for the shires, within
 their jurisdictions, the justices of assize at their several
 sessions in other shires, out of the said jurisdictions, belong-
 ing to the said councils in the North, and in Wales, yearly,
 should, upon conference had with the inhabitants of the
 county, of the cheapness and dearth of any of the said kinds
 of grain, within the counties, within the jurisdictions of the
 said councils, or in the other counties within the limits of the
 said justices of assize, by their discretion determine whether
 it should be meet, at any time, to permit any grain to be
 carried out of the realm, by any port within the said several
 jurisdictions or limits; and so should, in writing under their
 hands and seals, cause and make a determination either for
 permission or prohibition; and the same cause to be, by the
 sheriffs of the counties, published and affixed in as many
 accustomed market towns and ports, within the said shire,
 as they should think convenient, and in such manner as the
 Queen's majesty's proclamations were usually published and
 affixed; which determination of the said prefidents and coun-
 cils in their jurisdictions, and of the justices of assize in their
 limits, should continue in force for the time, place, and

manner therein expressed, until the said prefidents and coun-
 cils should otherwise order; or until the justices of assize, at
 their being in their said circuits, in every of the said coun-
 ties, should alter or otherwise order the same, except the same
 shall be otherwise, in the mean time, altered or countermand-
 ed by the Queen's majesty, her heirs or successors; or by
 some order of the justices of the peace, in the counties situ-
 ated out of the jurisdiction of the said two councils, in their
 quarter sessions, to be holden in the mean time; or the greater
 part of them shall find the same determination of the justices
 of assize to be hurtful to the county, by means of dearth, or
 to be a great hindrance to tillage, by means of too much
 cheapness; and should by their writings, under their hands
 and seals, make any determination to the contrary, either
 for permission or prohibition of carriage of any kind of
 grain out of the realm; and the same determination should
 cause to be, in like manner, published and affixed as above
 is said. Which determination should also continue in force,
 except the same should be altered by the Queen's majesty,
 her heirs and successors; or until the justices of assize, at
 their being in their said circuits, in every of the said coun-
 ties afore to them limited, should alter or otherwise order
 the same; who should and might, upon new conference had,
 by their discretions, from time to time, alter and change the
 said determinations, in the whole or in part, as to their dis-
 cretions should seem meet; and the same should also cause
 to be published, as is before prescribed.

Provided, nevertheless, that neither any of the said presi-

‘dents and councils, nor the said justices of assize, nor the said justices of peace, above-mentioned, should publish any their determinations, above-mentioned, until the same should be first, by writing, notified to the Queen’s majesty, or to her privy council; and by her majesty, or her privy council, should be liked or allowed.’

‘Provided also, that the Queen’s majesty, her heirs and successors, should have and receive, by the customers and officers of her ports, for the custom or poundage of every quarter of wheat, to be transported by force of this statute, twelve-pence; and of every quarter of other grain, eight-pence. And of every quarter of wheat that should be, by any special licence thereafter to be granted, transported out of the realm, and not by force of this statute, two shillings; and of every quarter of other grain, sixteen-pence, &c.’

‘Provided also, that her Majesty, her heirs and successors might, at all times, by writ of proclamation, to be published generally in the whole realm, or in the counties of the realm where any port towns were, command that no person should, by virtue of this act, transport, or carry out any manner of grain, to any parts out of her dominions, either generally out of any port of the realm, or particularly out of any special ports, to be in the same proclamation named; and that it might not be lawful, for any person, to carry out any such grain, contrary to the tenor of the same proclama-

‘tion, upon such pains as by the laws of the realm are, and have been provided*.’

Here the corn trade appears to have been scientifically considered; and if the plan laid down had been properly digested and modified, and the duties upon exportation removed, there can be no doubt of the act having produced the most beneficial consequences to the kingdom; but the judges, to whom this most important business was committed, had no certain rule to direct their procedure; they were not allowed to determine, by the price of grain at the time of their yearly inquiry, which is the only certain index of plenty or scarcity, but merely upon a conference with the people of the country, to judge, whether it would be hurtful to the kingdom, by means of dearth, or be a great hindrance to tillage, by too much cheapness, to allow of exportation of grain; than which, nothing could be more vague and uncertain.

But whatever consideration may have been given to the framing of this act, the laying a duty of 20 *per cent. ad valorem*, upon grain to be exported, by licence, and 10 *per cent.* upon grain to be exported by the statute, was equal to a prohibition, and gave full scope to the importation of foreign grain, which was still received without the payment of any duty. So difficult it is, in all situations, to judge, or point out the propriety of conduct, where revenue or public interest is concerned.

* 13 Eliz. c. 13.

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In Scotland, the prohibition to export grain to foreign parts, was continued, under severe penalties*.

We can only judge of the effects of the above law of England, from the prices of grain that followed it; and from thence we cannot think they had been favourable, as we find the price of a quarter of wheat, in the year 1574, to have been L. 2 : 16s. equal to L. 5 : 15 : 8 of present money; and in 1587, no less than L. 3 : 4s. equal to L. 6 : 12 : 8 †.

It is to be regretted, that the legislatures, of every country, do not, at all times, when they make laws, give the specific and true reasons of the enactions, that people of the same age, and more especially those of after generations, may profit by their experience, and be enabled to judge of the expediency of the institutions, from their consequences; whereby posterity may have it in their power to follow the tract, or to avoid the danger.

1593. In the present case we have no such guide. The corn laws were now again revised; but it would appear to have been done rather in bad humour. We find them taken notice of in an act, entitled, 'An act for the revising, continuance, explanation, and perfecting of divers statutes ‡.'

By this act it appears, that government had abandoned the

* Ja. 6. Par. 11. c. 55.

† Vide Appendix, No 1.

‡ 35 Eliz. c. 7.

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impracticable scheme of obliging people to labour their land, whether they could live by that occupation or not; and the act for this purpose, passed in the 5th of the present reign, was now repealed; and it appears, from other circumstances, that the plan laid down by the act of the 13th, was laid aside, although the act itself is neither repealed nor mentioned; for we find the resolutions of the legislature changed by the 23d section of this act, in the following words: 'Provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that when the price of corn and grain exceedeth not the rates hereafter following, at the times, and havens, and places where and when the same corn and grain shall be shipped or loaded, viz.—the quarter of wheat at 20s.; the quarter of rye, pease, and beans, at 13s. 4d.; the quarter of barley or malt, at 12s. current English money: That then it shall be lawful, to all and every person or persons, being subjects of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, to load, carry, or transport any of the said corn or grain, in such manner and form as in the said act made for the maintenance of the navy, (5 Eliz. c. 5.) is limited and appointed; and that the Queen's majesty, her heirs and successors, shall have and receive, by the customers and officers of her ports, for the custom or poundage of every quarter of wheat to be transported by force of this statute, 2s. and of every quarter of any other grain, 16d.: Which said several sums, so to be had, or taken as custom or poundage, to be in full satisfaction of all manner of custom or poundage, for the said corn or grain, by any constitution, order, statute, law, or cu-

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‘ from, heretofore made, used, or taken, for transporting of
‘ any such manner of corn and grain.’

By this act exportation was allowed when wheat was at 20s. the quarter (equal to L. 2 : 1 : 4 of present money); rye, pease and beans, at 13s. 4d. (L. 1 : 7 : 8); and barley and malt, at 12s. (L. 1 : 4 : 10); which is just double the prices at which exportation was allowed by the former law of the 5th of this reign: But at the same time the duties payable upon grain exported by force of the statute, were doubled, which, joined to an unlimited importation, without the payment of any duty whatever, became equal to a prohibition, rendered the act nugatory, and kept the price of grain at an extravagant height; for we find that a quarter of wheat, in the year 1594, sold at L. 2 : 16, equal to L. 5 : 15 : 8; in 1595, at L. 2 : 13 : 4, equal to L. 5 : 10 : 2; in 1596, at L. 4, equal to L. 8 : 5 : 4; and in 1597, at L. 4 : 12s. equal to L. 9 : 10s. of present money*.

1604.

Things, however, remained in that situation until this year, when, upon the accession of James I. a number of statutes were revised, some of them continued and others repealed, without assigning any reason for so doing; and, among other matters, it was enacted, That ‘ when the prices of corns
‘ or grains exceeded not the rates following, at the times, havens,
‘ and places, where and when the same corn or grain shall be

* Vide, Appendix, No 1.

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‘ shipped or loaded, viz. the quarter of wheat at 26s. 8d. (e-
‘ qual to L. 2 : 13 : 4 of present money); the quarter of rye,
‘ pease, and beans, 15s. (L. 1 : 10); the quarter of barley and
‘ malt, 14s. (L. 1 : 8) of current English money; that then it
‘ should be lawful for all and every person and persons, being
‘ subjects of the King’s majesty, his heirs or successors, to trans-
‘ port of his own, and to buy and transport, any of the said
‘ corns and grains, into any parts beyond seas, in amity with
‘ his Majesty, to sell as merchandise, in ships, crayers, or other
‘ vessels, whereof any English born subject or subjects then
‘ should be the owner, or owners, any law, usage, or statute to
‘ the contrary notwithstanding: And that his Majesty, his
‘ heirs and successors, should have and receive, from the cus-
‘ tomers and officers of the port, for the custom or pound-
‘ age of every quarter of wheat, to be transported by force
‘ of this statute, 2s. ; and of every quarter of other grain, 16d.
‘ in full of all manner of custom and poundage: Provided
‘ always, that the King’s majesty, his heirs and successors,
‘ might at all times, by his or their writ of proclamation, to
‘ to be published generally in the whole realm, or in any
‘ the counties of the realm, where any port towns are, com-
‘ mand that no person should, by virtue of this act, trans-
‘ port or convey, any manner of grain out of his Highness’
‘ dominions generally, or out of any special port to be in the
‘ same proclamation particularly named, for such time as
‘ should therein be limited and appointed: And it should not
‘ be lawful for any person to carry out any such grain, con-
‘ trary to the term of the same proclamation, upon such pains

‘ and forfeitures, as by the laws and statutes were and had
‘ been provided in that behalf*.’

It is not easy to discover the reasons for enacting the laws of the reign of James I. Many of them give none; the preamble to others are often unsatisfactory; and, with respect to corn and husbandry, they are totally silent.

Besides, the desire to raise a revenue from corn, pervaded, and in a great measure defeated the beneficial intentions of the whole of the corn laws, for 130 years prior to the commencement of the 17th century.

In the present case, the prices of grain, at which exportation was permitted, were considerably extended, and were very high; but we cannot consider this extension to have proceeded from any benefit already felt from exportation, under the former law; for so long as that was loaded with a duty of 10 per cent. and importation permitted without duty, we cannot imagine that any considerable quantity of grain had been exported; and, as the former duties upon exportation were by this law still continued, perhaps we are not in the wrong if we believe, that the present extension or enlargement of the exportation prices, proceeded, in some measure, from a view to raise a revenue from corn, by giving a larger scope to the exportation of it.

A writing, published in 1621, by Sir Thomas Culpeper, in-

* 2 Ja. 1. c. 25. § 26. 27.

forms us, that at that time the French with their corn, and the Dutch with that of Poland, supplied the English markets, and that the national corn was continually below its true value. ‘ At present,’ says Culpeper, ‘ whilst corn and the other
‘ merchandises which the earth produces, are at a low price,
‘ the spade and the plough are forsaken; the poor find little
‘ employment, and wages are extremely low. If the proprie-
‘ tors of lands could find their account in minding them,
‘ there would soon be many more people employed in their
‘ cultivation than there now are, and wages would be better.
‘ Every man, blest with health and strength, would not be
‘ poor, except through extreme laziness*.’

In another revising act of this reign, 58 statutes are recapitulated by their titles only; and continued, except in so far as they had been altered in that session of parliament.

1623.

In this law † there are the following sections relative to corn,
‘ Provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority of
‘ this present parliament, that when the prices of corn and grain
‘ exceed not the rates hereafter following, at the times, havens,
‘ and places, when and where the same corn and grain shall
‘ be bought, shipped, or loaded, viz.—the quarter of wheat
‘ at 32s.; the quarter of rye at 20s.; the quarter of pease and
‘ beans at 16s.; the quarter of barley or malt at 16s.; of cur-
‘ rent English money: That then it shall and may be lawful,
‘ for all and every person and persons, being subjects of the

* Corn Tracts, p. 174. † 21 Ja. 1. c. 28. § 3. 4.

King's majesty, his heirs and successors, to carry and transport his own, and to buy to sell again in markets, and out of markets, and to keep and sell, or carry and transport any of the said corn or grain, from the places where they shall be of such prices, into any parts beyond the seas, in amity with his Majesty, as merchandise, in ships, crays, or other vessels, whereof any English born subject or subjects then shall be the owner or owners, or the same to carry and sell in other places within this realm, or dominions thereof, any law, usage, or statute to the contrary hereof notwithstanding: And that the King's majesty, his heirs and successors, shall have and receive by the customers and officers of his ports, for the custom or poundage of every quarter of wheat, to be transported by force of this statute out of this realm, 2s.; of every quarter of other grain, 16d.: Which said several sums so to be had or taken as custom or poundage, shall be in full satisfaction of all manner of custom or poundage, for the said corn or grain, by any constitution, order, statute, law, or custom heretofore made, used, or taken, for transporting of any such manner of corn or grain.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the King's majesty, his heirs and successors, may at all times, by his or their writ of proclamation, to be published generally in the whole realm, or in any of the counties of the realm, where any port towns are, command that no person shall by virtue of this act, transport or convey, any manner of grain, out his Highness'

dominions generally, or out of any special ports, to be in the same proclamation particularly named, for such time as shall therein be limited and appointed: And it shall not be lawful for any person to carry out any such grain, contrary to the tenor of the same proclamation, upon such pains and forfeitures, as by the laws and statutes of this realm are, and have been, provided and ordained in that behalf, this act, or any thing therein contained to the contrary; notwithstanding.

The extension of the export prices, by this law, was very great, for 32s. for wheat, was equal to L. 3 : 4s. of present money; 20s. for rye, was equal to L. 2; and 16s. for barley and malt, pease and beans, was equal to L. 1 : 12s.; and all these sums are very near double the medium prices of the present time, in years of ordinary plenty: so that the act appears clearly to have been made for an extension of the revenue.

By this law too, the penalties of ingrossing were removed, so long as the prices of grain did not exceed those specified in the law; and indeed, the laws against ingrossing were such as behoved to put a total stop to all trade in corn, whether internal or external, until they were softened or abolished.

Soon after the accession of Charles I. we find an act, by which 56 statutes were revised, and recapitulated by their titles; and so much of these statutes as were not then altered or explained, were ordained to remain in force.

In this law, without any preamble or reason given, the 3d and 4th sections of the act 1623, above copied, are ingrossed, verbatim, in the 24th and 25th sections*.

But although the export prices were literally the same, they were very different in fact; for, in the year 1624, the yearly interest of money having been reduced from 10 to 8 per cent. 32s. for a quarter of wheat, which in 1623 was equal to L. 3 : 4s. was, in 1627, equal to only L. 2 : 11 : 2 of present money; and the prices of other grain in proportion.

The long interval of parliament, after the session in which the above law was passed; and the confusions which soon followed the meeting of the next parliament, in 1640, probably prevented any further attention to this matter, during the remainder of this reign.

1660.

Although by connecting the corn laws with revenue, the wise institutions of the reign of Elizabeth, and her two immediate successors, had been, in a great measure, defeated, agriculture had been otherwise treated by the laws as an object of high importance; not only on account of the numbers employed in it, and the intrinsic value of its produce, but also for the support that would be given to the navy, by the exportation trade, which would arise from it; but upon the restoration of Charles II. it was thoughtlessly abandoned as a mere object of revenue.

* 3 Cha. I. c. 5. § 24, 25.

Without taking any particular notice of agriculture, or giving any reason for the alteration of the corn laws, we find the following section in the act of tonnage and poundage:

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful, immediately after passing of this act, for any person or persons, to ship, carry out, and transport, by way of merchandise, these several sorts of goods following, that is to say, gun-powder, when the same doth not exceed the price of L. 5 the barrel; and wheat, rye, pease, beans, barley, malt, and oats, beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheefe, candles, when the same do not exceed in price, at the ports from whence they are laden, and at the time of their lading, these prices following, that is to say, wheat, the quarter, 40s.; rye, pease, and beans, the quarter, 24s.; barley and malt, the quarter, 20s.; oats, the quarter, 16s.; beef, the barrel, L. 5; pork, the barrel, L. 6 : 10; bacon, the pound, 6d.; butter, the barrel, L. 4 : 10; cheefe, the hundred, L. 1 : 10; candles, the dozen pounds, 5s.; paying the respective rates appointed by this act, and no more; any former law, statute, prohibition, or custom to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding*.

So that corn came to be just enlisted in the same roll with other articles, upon which duties were made payable.

The prices limited for the exportation of wheat, being 40s. was equal to L. 2 : 8s. of present money; 24s. for the quarter

* 12 Cha. II. c. 4. § 11.

of rye, pease, and beans, was equal to L. 1 : 8 : 10; 20s. for the quarter of barley and malt, was equal to L. 1 : 4s.; and 16s. for the quarter of oats, was equal to 19s. 2d. And by this law the duties, payable upon exportation, were 20s. (equal to L. 1 : 4s.) for the quarter of wheat; 10s. (equal to 12s.) for the quarter of rye, pease and beans, barley, malt, and buck wheat; and 6s. 8d. (equal to 8s.) for the quarter of oats: which behaved to operate equally to a prohibition.

By the rates inward, adjoined to the same law, the importation duties were fixed as follows:

For the quarter of wheat, when the price, at the place of importation, did not exceed 44s. (equal to L. 2 : 12 : 10), the sum of L. 2 (equal to L. 2 : 8s.); and when it exceeded that price, 6s. 8d. (equal to 8s.)

For the quarter of rye, when the price, at the place of importation, did not exceed 36s. (equal to L. 2 : 3 : 2), the sum of L. 1 : 6 : 8, (equal to L. 1 : 12s.); and when it exceeded that price, 5s. (equal to 6s.)

For the quarter of beans, barley, and malt, when the price, at the place of importation, did not exceed L. 1 : 6 : 8, (equal to L. 1 : 12s.), the sum of L. 1 : 6 : 8, (equal to L. 1 : 12s.); and when it exceeded that price, 5s. (equal to 6s.) of present money.

So that until the price of wheat was above L. 2 : 12 : 10, of present money, per quarter, and of other grain in proportion, the importation high duties were, in like manner, equal to a prohibition; and the exportation being, in fact, prohibited, the

prices would soon rise, and prepare the country for importation, at the low duties.

And this accordingly happened; for, in 1660, the quarter of wheat sold at L. 2 : 16 : 6, equal to L. 3 : 7 : 9, of present money; in 1661 it rose to L. 3 : 10s. equal to L. 4 : 4s.; and, in 1662, to L. 3 : 14s. equal to L. 4 : 8 : 10, of present money*.

These laws, besides raising grain to an extravagant height, had ruined many of the farmers; agriculture declined; and a great part of the lands lay without tillage.

These circumstances induced the parliament again to take the corn laws under their consideration; and, from the preamble to a law of this year, made for the encouragement of trade, the ruinous situation of husbandry is clearly pointed out. It mentions, 'Forasmuch as the encouraging of tillage ought to be, in an especial manner, regarded and endeavoured; and the surest and effectualest means of promoting and advancing any trade, occupation, or mystery, being by rendering it profitable to the users thereof; and great quantities of land, within this kingdom, for the present, lying in a manner waste, and yielding little, which might thereby be improved to considerable profit and advantage (if sufficient encouragement were given for the laying out of cost and labour on the same), and thereby much more corn pro-

1663.

* Vide Appendix, No. 1.

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duced, greater numbers of people, cattle, and horses employed, and other lands rendered also more valuable*.' It was therefore enacted as follows:

' Be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in this present parliament assembled; and by the authority thereof, be it enacted, That from and after the first day of September 1663, and from thence-forward, when the prices of corn and grain, Winchester measure, do not exceed the rates hereafter following, at the havens and places where the same shall be shipped and laden, viz. The quarter of wheat, 48s. (equal to L. 2 : 17 : 7 of present money); the quarter of buck wheat, barley, or malt, 28s. (equal to L. 1 : 13 : 7); the quarter of oats, 13s. 4d. (equal to 16s.); the quarter of rye, pease and beans, 32s. (equal to L. 1 : 18 : 5) current English money; that then it shall be lawful for all and every person and persons, to ship, load, carry, and transport, any of the said corns or grains, from the havens and places where they shall be of such prices, unto any parts beyond the seas, as merchandise, any law, statute, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding; paying such rates for the same, and none other, as are to be paid when the same might have been transported by one act passed this present parliament, entitled, "A subsidy granted to the King of tonnage and poundage."

' And it is hereby further enacted, by the authority afore-

* 15 Cha. II. c. 7. § 1. 2. 3. 4.

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' said, that when the prices of the aforefaid corns and grains do not exceed the rates above-mentioned, respectively, Winchester measure, at the havens and places, into which any of them shall be imported, from any parts beyond the seas, there shall be paid for the custom and poundage of every quarter of wheat, 5s. 4d. (equal to 6s. 5d. of present money); and for every quarter of rye, 4s. (equal to 4s. 10d.); and for every quarter of barley or malt, 2s. 8d. (equal to 3s. 2d.); for every quarter of buck wheat, 2s. (equal to 2s. 5d.); for every quarter of oats, 1s. 4d. (equal to 1s. 6d.); and for every quarter of pease and beans, 4s. (equal to 4s. 10d.) of present money.

' And it is hereby further enacted, by the authority foresaid, that when the prices of corn or grain, Winchester measure, do not exceed the rates following, at the markets, havens, or places where the same shall be bought, viz. The quarter of wheat, 48s.; the quarter of rye, 32s.; the quarter of barley and malt, 28s.; the quarter of buck wheat, 28s.; the quarter of oats, 13s. 4d.; the quarter of pease or beans, 32s.; that then it shall be lawful for all and every person and persons (not forestalling and selling the same in the same market, within three months after buying thereof) to buy in open market, to lay up and keep in his or their granaries or houses, and to sell again, such corn or grain, of the kinds foresaid, as without fraud or covin shall have been bought at or under the prices before expressed, without incurring any penalty; any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.'

We have every reason to think, from the preamble to this law, that the encouragement of trade in general, and agriculture in particular, was its chief object; and there can be no doubt but these were the intentions of the legislature; and yet, by the insertion of a single monosyllable, probably done infidiously in the ingrossing, and afterwards passing unobserved, the whole law was reduced to a mere solecism in terms.

By this law the exportation prices were extended beyond the former bounds; but the exported grain was still loaded with near 50 per cent. of duties, which was equal to a prohibition.

Upon the other hand, the high importation duties were taken off; and when the prices of grain did not exceed the same rates limited for exportation (or, in other words, when grain was at the lowest price), importation was allowed, upon payment of about 9 per cent. of duties *ad valorem*; being much lower than the low duties fixed by the act of tonnage and poundage.

The word *not*, in the importation clause of the law, perverts the meaning of the whole. It never could have been the intention of the legislature to permit importation at low duties, until grain had risen above the exportation prices; for until that rise, the prohibition to ingross was taken off, and the same reasons operated in both cases.

We can hardly place this to inattention; and we are the more inclined to this opinion, that by a law of the same year passed in Scotland, where the policy of England was very much attended to, and often followed, although importation of grain had been, by the laws of that kingdom, before this period, permitted without limitation or duties, they now permitted the exportation of grain, when it did not exceed certain prices; but they laid a duty of about 40 per cent. *ad valorem*, upon all grain to be imported, when the prices were under those stipulated by the act*.

An abstract of this Scots law may be useful and entertaining. It proceeds thus: 'Our Sovereign Lord, considering how necessary it is for the encouragement of the tillage of this country, which is subject to so much toil and expence, though the improvement thereof be most advantageous to the whole kingdom, that liberty be granted for the exportation of corns, after the natives are sufficiently provided for; Therefore the King's majesty, with the advice and consent of his estates in parliament, statutes and declares, That it shall be lawful to export corns, of all sorts, when they are under the prices following, at the ports or respective places of exportation, viz. Ilk boll of wheat, under L. 12 (equal to L. 1 : 4s. of present money); bear and barley, under L. 8 (equal to 16s.) the boll; oats and pease, under 8 merks, (equal to 10s. 8d.) the boll; notwithstanding of any former acts, laws, or practise to the contrary, they paying the usual

* Cha. II. par. 1. sess. 3. c. 12. 14.

‘ custom and bullion as formerly (6d. of present money per
 ‘ boll); with this provision, that when the Lords of his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s secret council shall judge it necessary, for the good of
 ‘ the kingdom, and preventing of dearth, they may discharge
 ‘ the exportation of victual, of all sorts, for so long a time as
 ‘ they shall think fit. As also for the improvement of the
 ‘ pasturage of this kingdom, and for encouragement of the
 ‘ breeders of the bestial thereof, It is statute and ordained,
 ‘ with advice and consent foresaid, that the exportation, by
 ‘ sea, of all sorts of bestial, either milt, sheep, or swine, and
 ‘ barrelled fleshes, of all sort, shall be free of custom, bullion,
 ‘ and all other impositions, for the space of nineteen years
 ‘ next, after the date hereof.

‘ The estates of parliament, considering what great sums
 ‘ of money are carried out of the kingdom, by persons im-
 ‘ porters of corn hither from Ireland; who, having sold their
 ‘ corns, export the money, without bartering any of the com-
 ‘ modities of this kingdom, whereby the whole nation, those
 ‘ near adjacent parts of the kingdom, are much impoverished
 ‘ of money; and that it is just and reasonable that the said
 ‘ corns should bear custom, toward the increase of his Majesty’s
 ‘ revenue, proportionally with other imported commodities;
 ‘ especially when the corns of this kingdom are sold at easy
 ‘ rates: Therefore the King’s majesty, with advice and con-
 ‘ sent of his estates of parliament, doth hereby impose L. 3
 ‘ Scots (equal to 6s. of the present money) of custom, upon ilk
 ‘ boll, Linlithgow measure, of corn imported into this king-
 ‘ dom, from Ireland, after the first day of September next:

‘ And appoints 30s. Scots (equal to 3s. Sterling) to be raised
 ‘ upon ilk boll already imported, and not yet retailed, con-
 ‘ form to an act of the committee of estates, made there anent
 ‘ anno 1660. But lest the more indigent sort of people might
 ‘ be prejudiced, by heightening the prices of said corns in the
 ‘ time of dearth, under pretence of the said custom: Therefore
 ‘ the King’s majesty, with advice and consent foresaid, doth
 ‘ hereby give power to the Lords of his privy council, to re-
 ‘ mit and discharge the exacting of the said custom, when
 ‘ they shall find the prices of the victual of this kingdom,
 ‘ meal and barley respective, to exceed L. 8 the boll; and ap-
 ‘ points the Lords of his exchequer to cause put this act to full
 ‘ execution, and cause the foresaid custom be exactly levied;
 ‘ with power to them to allow such fees to the collectors
 ‘ thereof as they shall think fit.’

Here the Scotch parliament clearly took the lead in the liberal and wise exercise of their powers, for the encouraging of agriculture, and thereby procuring plenty and cheapness of provisions of all kinds.

They permitted the exportation of all sorts of grain, when the prices at home were moderate, upon payment of a small duty; and, as long as the prices remained in that situation, the duties payable upon importation were equal to a prohibition: and they gave unlimited powers to export cattle, and barrelled fleshes of all kinds, without the payment of any duty: While, in England, importation was permitted, when the price of corn at home was at the cheapest rate, upon payment

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of a low duty; and the duties upon exportation, when the price of corn was in the same situation, amounted to a prohibition.

1669.

And the parliament of Scotland, upon re-considering the subject, and finding the exportation of corn had been obstructed, by the duty payable upon the same, they now removed all duties, except a merk the chalder (equal to 1s. 4d. present money), payable upon corn exported, when the prices at home did not exceed those stated in the above law, anno 1663*. And for preventing any debates that might arise anent the respective prices of victual, when the same were under or above the rates expressed in the said act, they recommended to, and authorised the Lords of the privy council to determine the same; and declared, that it should be lawful to his Majesty's subjects to export corns of all sorts, unless by a proclamation or public intimation from the said Lords of council they be prohibited and discharged to do the same.

1670.

The constant drain upon England, for payment of the price of the great quantities of grain imported, brought on a revision of the corn laws; and by a law now passed, entitled, An act for improvement of tillage and the breed of cattle, for the common good and welfare of the kingdom, it was enacted, That it should be lawful for every person, native and foreigner, at any time, to transport, as merchandise, all sorts of corn, although the prices exceeded the rates in the act of

* Cha. II. par. 2. sess. 1. c. 14.

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the 15th of the present reign; paying for the same the rates contained in the act of tonnage and poundage. And when the prices of corn, at the places where the same should be imported, should not exceed the rates following, there should be paid for custom these rates, viz. For every quarter of wheat, when the same should not exceed 53s. 4d. (equal to L. 3 : 4s. of present money), the sum of 16s. (equal to 19s. 2d.); when the same should exceed 53s. 4d. and not exceed L. 4 (equal to L. 4 : 16s.), there should be paid 8s. (equal to 9s. 7d.); for every quarter of rye, when the same did not exceed 40s. (equal to L. 2 : 8s.), the sum of 16s. (19s. 2d.); for every quarter of barley, malt, or buck wheat, when the same did not exceed 32s. (equal to L. 1 : 18 : 5), the sum of 16s. (19s. 2d.); for every quarter of oats, when the same did not exceed 16s. (19s. 2d.), the sum of 5s. 4d. (equal to 6s. 5d.); and for every quarter of pease and beans, when the same did not exceed 40s. (L. 2 : 8s.), the sum of 16s. (19s. 2d.): And when the prices of corn should exceed the rates foresaid, there should be paid the former custom and poundage. Supposed to have been intended by the act 1663 to be 5s. 4d. (equal to 6s. 5d.) for wheat; 4s. (equal to 4s. 10d.) for rye, pease, and beans; 2s. 8d. (equal to 3s. 2d.) for barley and malt; and 1s. 4d. (equal to 1s. 6d.) for oats*.

This law was certainly intended to encourage the exportation of English corn; and to check, if not to prohibit, the importation of foreign grain.

* 22 Cha. II. c. 13. § 1. 2.

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But exportation was effectually prevented by the high duties continued upon it; and, similar to the operation of the word *not* in the former law, the check intended for importation was rendered nugatory, by having no rule laid down for ascertaining the price of grain, at the time or place of importation; so that this trade continued to be carried on upon payment of the low duties, agriculture languished, the merchants found their account in feeding the people with foreign grain, and the prices continued high; the average price of the quarter of wheat, for the ten years preceding this date, having been L. 2 : 8 : 10, equal to L. 2 : 18 : 8 of present money.

A farmer knows little about laws; he seldom hears of them; if he did, he probably would not understand them, or if he did understand them, his cry is at too great a distance to be heard; but he feels his situation, when he finds himself unable to maintain his family, and pay his landlord, by the raising of corn. By these laws, the poorer farmers came to be ruined, the richer were weakened, and obliged to turn their attention from corn to cattle, sheep, or any other object by which they could support their families; the price of corn rose upon the manufacturers and labourers, and an importer of foreign grain came to be a great man, raised upon the ruins of the landholders, the farmers, and the manufacturers.

This picture, may, with great propriety, be held up to the present day.

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The landholder, however, comes to feel in his turn; his tenants fail, and his rents are not paid. Necessity calls forth exertion, he discovers the cause of the evil, and his situation enables him to apply for redress.

These operations, however, are generally very slow. We have seen a single monosyllable pervert the meaning and beneficial intentions of a very material law, and remain for seven years without alteration; and, in the present case, things remained as they were now placed, during the remainder of this thoughtless reign, which continued for 15 years after the present period. The price of grain of course continued high; the average price of a quarter of wheat, for the 20 years, from 1660 to 1680, having been L. 2 : 9 : 9, equal to L. 2 : 19 : 9, of present money.

Upon the accession of James II. the evasion of the duties payable upon grain imported, and the distress brought upon England by the immense importation of foreign grain, were brought before the parliament of that kingdom, and the following law was made, entitled, 'An additional act for the improvement of tillage *.'

1685.

'Forasmuch as (by an act made in the 22d year of the reign of his late Majesty, of ever blessed memory, entitled, 'An act for the improvement of tillage, and the breed of cattle,' it is, amongst other things provided and enacted, that from and

* 1 Ja. 2. c. 19.

after the 29th day of June 1670, and from thence forward, certain rates should be paid for the custom and poundage of foreign corn and grain, imported into this kingdom, according to the prices of English corn, at the towns, havens, and places, when and where the same should be imported, as by the said act particularly appeareth :

And inasmuch as no provision was made by the said act, for ascertaining and determining the said prices, by reason whereof several great quantities of foreign corn and grain have been imported, without paying the respective duties by the said act appointed, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said act :

Now for supplying the said defect) be it enacted, by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That from and after the feast of St Michael the archangel, next, and from thence forward, it shall and may be lawful to, and for all and every the justices of the peace for the several and respective counties, within his Majesty's kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, wherein foreign corn or grain shall or may be hereafter imported; and they and every of them are hereby enjoined and required, at their next respective quarter-sessions, after Michaelmas and Easter-day yearly, by the oaths of two or more honest and substantial persons of the respective counties, being neither merchants nor factors

for the importing of corn, nor anyways concerned nor interested in the corn so imported; and each of them having a freehold estate of L. 20 *per annum*, or a leasehold estate of L. 50 *per annum*, above all charges and reprises, and being skilled in the prices of corn, (which oath all and every the said justices are hereby empowered to administer) and by such other ways and means as to them shall seem fit, to examine and determine the common market prices of middling English corn and grain, of the respective sorts in the said act mentioned, as the same shall be commonly bought and sold, in the said respective counties into which any foreign corn or shall be imported, and to certify the same, with two such oaths made as aforesaid, in writing annexed, unto his Majesty's chief officer and collector of the customs for the time being, residing in the said respective ports or havens, where the said corn and grain shall be imported, to be hung up in some public place in the custom-house, to which all persons may resort, for their information.

And it is hereby farther enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the feast of St Michael the archangel, next, the custom and duty of foreign corn and grain, imported into any of his Majesty's said dominions of England, Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, appointed by the said act to be paid, shall be collected and paid according to the prices contained in such respective certificates as aforesaid, and not otherwise; any thing in this act, or in any other law or statute, contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

‘ Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all that by virtue of this act is to be done by the justices of the peace, at their quarter-sessions, in their severall counties, shall be done and performed in like manner in the city of London, in the months of October and April yearly, by the mayor, aldermen, and justices of peace there; and that the persons making such oath shall be no corn-chandler, mealman, factor, merchant, or other person interested in such corn so to be imported; but shall be some substantial house-keepers, living in Middlesex or Surrey, qualified as aforesaid.’

1686.

In Scotland, the importation of victual from Ireland had been prohibited under severe penalties; but reserving power to the Lords of the privy council to admit of it, for such times as they should think fit, when the price within the kingdom was at or above L. 8 Scots, (equal to 16s. of present money) for beer and meal; and L. 10 (equal to 20s.) for wheat, per boll*. And now a total prohibition to import victual from Ireland was enacted, and all victual that should be imported from thence was ordered to be sunk and destroyed †.

The average price of a quarter of wheat in England, for the ten years from 1650 to 1660, was L. 2 : 9 : 6, equal to L. 2 : 19 : 5 of present money; from 1660 to 1670, it was L. 2 : 8 : 10, equal

* Cha. 2. par. 2. sess. 3. c. 3.
 † Ja. 7. par. 1. sess. 3. c. 14.

to L. 2 : 18 : 8; from 1670 to 1680, it was L. 2 : 10 : 8, equal to L. 3 : 0 : 10 of present money; and the average price of the quarter of wheat, from 1681 to 1685, inclusive, was L. 2 4s. 3d. equal to L. 2 : 13 : 1 of present money.

The reader will be farther enabled to judge of the unfavourable system of the corn laws, which we have reviewed in this chapter, by the scale we shall annex of the prices fixed by those laws, for the exportation and importation of wheat, from the year 1360 to 1688*.

It is very singular, that the benefit which must arise to every nation, from raising as much corn as possible, and exporting such parts of it as the home consumption does not require, should have been so long misapprehended in Great Britain. The example of their neighbours, who wisely exchanged their excrement stock of corn, for the raw materials and money of England and Scotland, should have pointed out the benefit of that trade; for had it not been profitable they would not have continued it for so many centuries.

This importation trade cut many ways against the most material interests of Great Britain. Our agriculture decayed, a great part of the lands lay without tillage, population consequently decreased, the public revenue suffered a proportional diminution, and our remaining manufacturers came to

* Vide, Appendix, No 6.

be fed at a very high price, with the productions of the lands of other nations, often our enemies, who drew immense profits therefrom, and drained our country of its wealth.

Of the causes and effects of the several Corn Laws of Great Britain, subsequent to the Revolution in the year 1688.

HAVING traced the corn laws of Great Britain, for near five hundred years prior to the Revolution; and having, to the best of our ability, recognised the wisdom, and pointed out the errors or defects of those laws, it is with pleasure we now approach to that period, when the same daring and enlightened spirit, that could dart through and reform the errors of government, appears to have cut asunder those chains, in which the agriculture of these kingdoms had been fettered for so many ages.

This happy change was not effected by amending or reforming the old laws, or simply, by lessening the duties upon grain exported; but boldly, by relinquishing every idea of revenue from corn raised at home, and establishing a new system, which would both invigorate agriculture, and give a new spring to trade and navigation.

In a numerous, and well regulated society, the efficiency of laws points out, to the legislature, the study, the care, and the attention, with which they ought to be constructed.

Their operations are immediate, the consequences are soon felt; and the effects of those laws, which we are now about to investigate, will, it is hoped, afford instruction to future generations, as well as to the present.

1688. Soon after the accession of William and Mary, the following law was made, entitled, 'An act for encouraging the exportation of corn.'

'Forasmuch as it hath been found by experience, that the exportation of corn and grain into foreign parts, when the price thereof is at a low rate in this kingdom, hath been a great advantage, not only to the owners of land, but to the trade of this kingdom in general:

'Be it therefore enacted, by the King's and Queen's most excellent majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and of the Commons now assembled in parliament, and by the authority of the same, That when malt or barley, Winchester measure, is and shall be at 24s. per quarter (equal to 28s. 10d. of present money), or under; rye, at 32s. (equal to 38s. 5d.) per quarter, or under; and wheat, at 48s. (equal to L. 2 : 17 : 7) a quarter, or under; in any port or ports of this kingdom, or dominion of Wales; every merchant or other person, who

'shall put on ship board, in English shipping, the master and two thirds of his mariners, at least, being their majesties subjects, any sorts of the corn aforesaid, from any such ports, where the rates shall not then be higher than as aforesaid, with intent to export the said corn to parts beyond the seas, every such merchant, or other person, shall bring a certificate, in writing, under his or their hands, containing the quantity or quality of corn, so shipped, to the farmers, commissioners, collectors, or other persons appointed, or to be appointed, for the time being, to collect the duties and rates, arising by customs within any such port; and, upon proof made of any such certificate, by one or more credible person or persons, upon their oaths, which oaths the said commissioners, or other persons, are hereby authorized and required to administer; and upon bond given, by every such merchant, or other persons, in the sum of L. 200 at least, for every 100 tons of corn so shipped, and so proportionably, that the said corn (danger of the seas excepted) shall be exported into parts beyond the seas, and not be again landed in the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, or town of Berwick upon Tweed: Every such merchant, so shipping off any of the aforesaid corn, and giving certificate and bond as aforesaid, shall have and receive from such farmers, commissioners, and collectors, or other persons, in any port respectively, where the same corn shall be so shipped, for every quarter of barley or malt, ground or unground, 2s. 6d. (equal to 3s. of present money); for every quarter of rye, ground or unground, 3s. 6d. (equal to 4s. 2d.); for every quarter of wheat, ground or un-

‘ ground, 5s. (equal to 6s.); which sum or sums, every such
 ‘ commissioner, farmer, or other persons, are hereby autho-
 ‘ rised and required, upon demand by such exporter, to make
 ‘ present payment of accordingly; without taking or requi-
 ‘ ring any thing for custom; or any fee or reward for corn so
 ‘ laden to be exported; or for so much grain as shall be ex-
 ‘ ported in any ship, wherein any other goods shall be shipped;
 ‘ any law, statute, or usage, in any wise to the contrary not-
 ‘ withstanding: And upon certificate returned, under the com-
 ‘ mon seal of the chief magistrate, in any place or places be-
 ‘ yond the seas; or under the hands and seals of two known
 ‘ English merchants upon the place, that such corn was there
 ‘ landed; or upon proof, by credible persons, that such corn
 ‘ was taken by enemies, or perished in the seas, the examina-
 ‘ tion and proof thereof being left to the judgment of such
 ‘ commissioners, farmers, collectors, or other persons; which
 ‘ proof being made, or certificate delivered, to such person or
 ‘ persons, respectively, as took bond as aforesaid; the said
 ‘ bond shall be delivered up to such exporter, or his order,
 ‘ to be cancelled, without any fee for the same: And the
 ‘ monies, by any such commissioners, farmers, collectors, or
 ‘ other person, so paid, in obedience to this act, shall be ac-
 ‘ cepted of in his or their accounts, as so much paid to their
 ‘ Majesties; and he and they is, and shall be, discharged
 ‘ therefore accordingly*.’ And when grain was at or under
 ‘ the above prices, the above bounty was extended to corn ship-
 ‘ ped at Berwick †.

* 1 Will. & Mary, c. 12.

† Ibid. c. 24, § 18.

This policy was soon after followed in Scotland, by a law
 entitled, An act for encouraging the exportation of victual, in
 these words: ‘ His Majesty, and estates of parliament, confi-
 ‘ dering that the grains of all sorts, are the greatest product
 ‘ and commodity of this nation; and considering how neces-
 ‘ sary it is for the promoting of tillage, and improvement of
 ‘ trade, to the best advantage of the kingdom, that an effec-
 ‘ tual encouragement be granted for exportation of corns and
 ‘ victual forth thereof: Therefore his Majesty, out of his royal
 ‘ bounty, with consent of the estates of parliament, statutes
 ‘ and ordains, That all sorts of grain, exported out of the
 ‘ kingdom, after Martinmas 1696, shall be free of any dues
 ‘ formerly payable upon exportation: And that for encoura-
 ‘ ging export, after the said term, there shall be given out of
 ‘ the customs, to the exporter, upon his oath of verity of the
 ‘ numbers of the bolls exported, subscribed with his hand,
 ‘ and attested by the collector of the next adjacent custom-
 ‘ house, eight merks for ilk chalder of grain that shall be ex-
 ‘ ported, by sea or land, when they shall not exceed the prices
 ‘ following, viz. When wheat is at or under twelve pound the
 ‘ boll, (equal to L. 1 : 4s. of present money); bear, barley,
 ‘ and malt, at or under eight pound, (equal to 16s.) per boll;
 ‘ pease, oats, and meal, at or under six pound, (equal to 12s.)
 ‘ per boll; all the said grains being of Linlithgow measure:
 ‘ With this provision always, that the said exportation shall be
 ‘ by Scotsmen, or in Scots ships, and that the master and
 ‘ three-fourth parts of the seamen of the said ships shall be
 ‘ Scotsmen: As also with this provision, that when the grains
 ‘ exceed the foresaid rates, the Lords of his majesty’s secret

‘ council may discharge the exportation of victual of all sorts, ay and till the grains fall to the prices foresaid *.’

1700.

But the subsidies and duties, payable upon corn exported from England, not having been given up by the former act, these were now finally removed by the following law: ‘ And, for the greater encouragement of tillage, be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the 30th day of March 1700, the subsidy, and all other duties whatsoever, payable for, or upon the exportation of wheat, rye, barley, malt, beans, pease, and other sorts of corn and grain whatsoever, ground and unground; and for, and upon the exportation of bread, biscuit, and meal, or any of them, out of, or from the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, as to so much of the said commodities, or any of them, as shall be so exported, after the said 30th day of March, shall cease, determine, and be no longer due or payable to his Majesty, his heirs, or successors; any law, statute, usage, or prescription to the contrary notwithstanding †.’

1706.

Thus the great, and new system of corn laws was finally established, both in England and Scotland; and these kingdoms having soon after been thoroughly incorporated, their corn laws were in like manner united by the following section of the 6th article of the act of Union: ‘ That all the parts of the united kingdom for ever, from and after the Union, shall

* William, parl. 1. c. 32. † 11 & 12 Will. 3. c. 20. § 4.

‘ have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations of trade, and liable to the same customs and duties on import and export; and that the allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations of trade, and the customs and duties on import and export, settled in England, when the Union commences, shall, from and after the Union, take place throughout the whole united kingdom; excepting and reserving the duties upon export and import of such particular commodities, from which any persons, the subjects of either kingdom, are specially liberated and exempted by their private rights; which after the Union are to remain safe and entire to them, in all respects, as before the same: And that from and after the Union, no Scots cattle, carried into England, shall be liable to any other duties, either on the public or private accounts, than those duties to which the cattle of England are, or shall be liable, within the said kingdom. And seeing, by the laws of England, there are rewards granted upon the exportation of certain kinds of grain, wherein oats, grinded or ungrinded, are not expressed, That from and after the Union, when oats shall be sold at 15s. Sterling (equal to 18s. of present money) per quarter, or under, there shall be paid 2s. 6d. Sterling (equal to 3s.) for every quarter of the oatmeal exported in terms of the law; whereby, and so long as rewards are granted for exportation of other grains, and that the beer of Scotland have the same rewards as barley. And in respect the importation of victual into Scotland, from any place beyond the sea, would prove a discouragement to til-

lage; therefore, that the prohibition, now in force, by the law of Scotland, against importation of victual from Ireland, or any other place beyond the sea, into Scotland, do, after the Union, remain in the same force as now it is, until more proper and effectual ways be provided by the parliament of Great Britain, for discouraging the importation of the said victual from beyond the sea*.

And, by another law of the same year, it was enacted as follows: 'And whereas, by the foresaid articles of Union, it is provided, that from and after the Union there shall be certain allowances for all oatmeal, and grain called beer, exported from Scotland: Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that for all oatmeal, and grain called beer, *alias* bigg, which, from and after the said first day of May 1707, shall be exported from any port of this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, to parts beyond the seas, by any merchant, or other person or persons whatsoever, there shall be the like premium given upon the exportation thereof, as is to be given upon exportation of oatmeal and beer from Scotland; such merchant, or other person, first bringing a certificate, in writing, under his or their hands, containing the quantity of such oatmeal, or beer, *alias* bigg, so shipped, to the collector or other persons appointed, or to be appointed, for the time being, to collect the duties or rates arising by customs within any such port; and making proof of such certificate, by one or more cre-

* 5 Anne, c. 8. art. 6.

dible person or persons, upon their oaths, (which oaths the said collector or other person is hereby authorized and required to administer), and giving bond in the sum of L. 10 at least, for every ton of oatmeal so shipped, consisting of 20 hundred weight; and for every forty bushels of beer, *alias* bigg, so shipped; and so proportionally for a greater or lesser quantity; that the same shall be so exported to parts beyond the seas, and not to be reloaded: which premium, every merchant or other person, so shipping off any such oatmeal, or beer, *alias* bigg, and giving certificate and bond as aforesaid, shall have and receive, from the collector or other person, as aforesaid, in any port respectively, when the same shall be so shipped, out of her Majesty's revenue of the customs; and upon certificate returned, under the common seal of the chief magistrate, in any place or places beyond the seas; or under the hands and seals of two known English merchants upon the place, that such oatmeal, or beer, *alias* bigg, was there landed; or upon proof, by credible persons, that such oatmeal, or beer, *alias* bigg, was taken by enemies, or perished by the seas: which proof being made, or certificate delivered, to the collector or other persons, who took bond as aforesaid, the said bond shall be delivered up to such merchant or other person, or his order, to be cancelled, without any fee for the same.

And whereas, by an act of parliament, made in the first year of the reign of the late King William and Queen Mary, of blessed memory, entitled, 'An act for the encouraging the exportation of corn, it was, among other things, thereby

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enacted, that every such merchant, by the said act described, shipping any malt or barley, rye or wheat, and giving certificate and bond, as the said act directs, shall have and receive from the farmers, commissioners, collectors, or other persons appointed, or to be appointed, for the time being, to collect the duties and rates, arising by customs, within any such port where the said corn shall be shipped off, for every quarter of barley or malt, ground or unground, 2s. 6d.; for every quarter of rye, ground or unground, 3s. 6d.; for every quarter of wheat, ground or unground, 5s.: And whereas, since the making of the said act, there have been divers quantities of malt made of wheat, some part whereof hath been exported; and some doubts having arisen touching the bounty money to be paid upon the exportation thereof, to the discouragement of the exportation of corn; and for clearing thereof, and for preventing future disputes touching the same, be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That every merchant, or other person, exporting malt made of wheat, from and after the said first day of May 1707, shall have and receive of the said farmers, commissioners, or persons aforesaid, 5s. for every quarter of malt made of wheat, or wheat malt, ground or unground, to be paid by the respective persons, in the said recited act mentioned*.

In Scotland, some time before the Union, (anno 1703) an act of parliament was passed, confirming the former laws of 1672 and 1686 against the importation of victual and cattle.

* 5 Anne, c. 29. § 10. 15.

from Ireland; and to render the prohibition more effectual, it was, besides other penalties, statuted and declared, That all importers of Irish victual, as well masters and seamen of the vessels wherein it is imported, as also the refetters, sellers, retailers, and buyers thereof, or any part thereof, wittingly, shall not only be liable to the pains and penalties of the act 1672, but likewise all under the degree of heritors, shall be delivered to any Scots officer, serving her Majesty's allies abroad, and to be transported by them for recruits, when once discovered and convicted, &c. And, by the same law, all importation of victual, by sea or land, from any country whatsoever, into Scotland; and all buying and selling, retelling and retailing, wittingly, of victual imported, is expressly prohibited, except that wheat, pease, and beans, for seed, might be imported into England, upon payment of 40s. (equal to 4s. of present money) more than the ordinary custom, per boll; if fairly imported and entered, &c.: Provided always, that when, by reason of dearth, the prices of victual exceeds the rates aftermentioned, viz. wheat, twelve pound (equal to L. 1 : 4s. of present money) the boll; bear, barley, malt, and meal, eight pound (equal to 16s.) per boll; and oats and pease, six pound (equal to 12s.) per boll; the Lords of her Majesty's privy council shall have power, after due trial by them taken, to suspend and discharge the execution of the said prohibitory acts, for such space and time as the exigence of the said dearth shall require, and no longer*.

* Anne, par. 1. c. 9.

These were the laws which received the sanction of the 6th article of the Union, above ingrossed.

In all countries, laws, particularly those of bounty or revenue, receive an uncertain execution, where there is any material word either wanting or supernumerary, or any clause which can receive an equivocal explanation by persons interested.

The prices and duties of corn, imported, were fixed by the act 1670; but, as has been already observed, the duties were evaded, by the act having laid down no rule for ascertaining the prices, at the times and places of importation.

This defect was supplied by the act 1685, by which the justices of peace of the several counties were enjoined and required, at their respective quarter sessions, to inquire into and determine the prices of grain, at fixed periods; and to send certificates thereof to the several custom-houses, within their jurisdictions, to be hung up there, in a public place, for the direction and rule of all parties concerned.

But as, by this law, neither the trouble of the execution of it was to be compensated, nor the neglect of it to be punished, it was, in many places, not attended to; and, as no method or rule had been substituted, in the event of this defect, importers availed themselves of the opening; and, in the years 1728 and 1729, they introduced a great deal of foreign corn into Great Britain, without payment of the duties.

Some difficulties had also arisen, from the methods which had been practised, in ascertaining the prices and quantities of corn exported.

A law was therefore now made, which, after narrating, in the preamble, the two laws above noticed, proceeds thus:

‘ And whereas the justices of the peace, in some of the counties of this kingdom, have, notwithstanding the last mentioned act, omitted or neglected to settle the price of corn, at their quarter sessions, after Michaelmas last, and to return certificates thereof to the chief officer and collector of the customs, residing in the respective ports, where the said corn has been, or may be imported; by means whereof the said officers were at a loss how to charge the custom and duty due for such corn, which has been, and may be a great loss to the revenue, and a detriment to the farmers and fair traders.’

The justices therefore, who had omitted their duty, were enjoined and required, at their then next quarter sessions, or any adjournment thereof, to inquire into and determine what the common market prices of middling British corn, or grain, were, at or about Michaelmas then last, in their respective counties, by such ways as were directed by the act 1670, and to grant certificates thereof; according to which the officers of the customs, and all other persons concerned, were to govern themselves.

And in all cases, where any corn or grain had been import-

1729.

ed since the first day of Michaelmas quarter sessions then last past, if the importers or proprietors thereof had neglected to pay the respective duties for the same, or should neglect to pay the same upon demand, such importers or proprietors should forfeit and lose all such corn and grain, or the value thereof.

And in case the justices of peace should thereafter omit or neglect to examine and determine the prices of corn and grain, and to certify the same to the officers of the customs; then, and in such case, the collector of the customs, at the respective ports of importation, was empowered to receive the several duties, according to the lowest price of the several sorts of corn and grain, mentioned in the foresaid act 1670.

And for the better ascertaining the quantity of corn or grain, to be shipped for exportation, which, by the act 1688, is no otherwise ascertained than by the certificate to the exporter, attested upon oath, it was enacted, that the proper officers of the customs should be empowered to admeasure all corn and grain, whereon there is an allowance, payable upon the exportation thereof, by a tub, or measure, containing four Winchester bushels; and if such corn or grain, intended to be exported, should be brought to be shipped off, in sacks, they were empowered to make choice of any two of these sacks, out of twenty, and from them to compute the quantity of corn to be shipped, according to which the bounty was to be paid.

And that the like powers, certificates, and regulations, should be extended to the ascertaining the prices and quantity of beer,

alias bigg, oatmeal, and malt, made of wheat, or wheat malt, intended for exportation*.

Still, however, the remissness of the justices, or some other debility of the laws, had left an open door, through which considerable quantities of foreign grain were introduced into the kingdom, although the prices, at home, were exceedingly low: And, to prevent that abuse, another law was made, mentioning that, 'Whereas by an act made in the first year of the reign of his late majesty King James II. entitled, *An additional act for the improvement of tillage*, provision was made for examining and determining the common market price of English middling corn and grain, which nevertheless hath been found ineffectual: Therefore, for the better ascertaining the same, and for preventing the fraudulent importation of foreign corn and grain, it was enacted, That it should be lawful for all and every the justices of peace, for the several and respective counties within that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, wherein foreign corn or grain should or might be imported; and they were thereby enjoined and required, at every their quarter sessions, to give in charge, in open court, to the grand jury, to make inquiry and presentment, upon their oaths, of the common market prices of middling English corn and grain, of the respective sorts and quantities mentioned in an act made in the 22d year of the reign of King Charles II. entitled, 'An act for the improvement of tillage, and breed of cattle,' as

1732.

* 2 Geo. II. c. 18. § 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

the same should be commonly bought and sold, in every such county; which inquiry and presentment, the said grand jury were thereby impowered and required to make.

That such presentment should be made in open court, and should be certified by the said justices, in writing, to his Majesty's chief officer and collector of the customs, for the time being, residing in every such port or haven, where such corn and grain should be imported; and should be hung up in some public place in the custom-house, belonging to every such port or haven, to be referred to by all persons, for their information.

That the custom and duty of foreign corn and grain, imported into England, Wales, and Berwick, as aforesaid, appointed to be paid by the said act of the 22d Charles II. should be collected and paid according to the prices contained in such certificates as aforesaid, and not otherwise; any thing in the said act of King James II. to the contrary notwithstanding.

But nothing in this act to affect the authority given by the said act of James II. to the city of London. It was also enacted:

That no warrant, sufferance, coast-cocket, transire, or let-pafs, whatsoever, should be granted or allowed for transporting, conveying, or carrying forth, to the open sea, in any ship or vessel, from any port in England, Wales, or Berwick, to any other port or haven of the same, any foreign corn or grain,

after the importation thereof; and that no person, or persons whatsoever should, directly or indirectly, transport, convey, or carry forth to the open sea; or cause or procure to be transported, conveyed, or carried forth to the open sea; or from any port, haven, creek, or road, or member thereof, in England, Wales, or Berwick, in order to be landed or discharged in any other port or place within the same; or lade, or cause or procure to be laden, in any ship or vessel, in order to be landed or discharged in any other port, haven, or place within the same, any foreign corn or grain, mixed with English corn and grain, after the importation thereof, under the severe penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned*.

Agriculture had now recovered its strength, and the exertions of our farmers had become vigorous and constant.

1738.

For several years preceding this period, the price of grain had been very reasonable; a great export trade of corn had been carried on from Great Britain; and proper attention had been paid to the execution of those laws which guarded against fraudulent importation.

The average price of a quarter of wheat, for the 5 years from 1731 to 1735 inclusive, was only 34s.; the price of the quarter of wheat in 1736 was 40s.; in 1737 it was 38s.; and, in the present year 1738, it was only 35s. 6d.

* 5 Geo. 2. c. 12.

CHAP. III.

Yet in the midst of this plenty, the common people had been stimulated to violence from motives, or by persons, not now known. They rose in mobs in different parts of the kingdom; they seized horses and carriages on the way to the ports with corn for exportation, destroyed the horses and carriages, beat the drivers, and scattered away the corn.

In some places they pulled down granaries, and damaged or carried off the contents; they entered ships, and threw away and destroyed the cargoes of corn that had been shipped for exportation.

To repress these disorders, a law was made for the severe punishment of such offenders, and subjecting the inhabitants of the hundred, in which such offences should be committed, to the payment of the damage*.

1741.

Hitherto the prohibition to import foreign grain into Scotland, or to buy, sell, or retail such, had rested upon the act 1703, and the two preceding acts therein referred to, by which it was provided, that if, by reason of dearth, grain in Scotland should exceed certain prices, the Lords of her Majesty's privy council should have power, after due trial by them taken, to suspend and discharge the said prohibitory acts, for such space of time as the exigency of the dearth should require, and no longer. And, as is already noticed, by the 6th article of the Union, these prohibitory laws were declared to remain in force

* 11 Geo. 2. c. 22.

CHAP. III.

until more proper and effectual ways should be provided, by the parliament of Great Britain, for discouraging the importation of victual from beyond sea.

Things, however, had remained in this situation, without any such provision having been made; and, as by act of the 6th Anne, c. 6, it had been determined, that the Queen, her heirs and successors, should have but one privy council for Great Britain; the privy council of Scotland came thereby to be annihilated.

The prices of grain, in Scotland, having risen in the year 1740, after a very severe winter, some importations of foreign grain were made, although against law, as no power then existed to suspend the prohibitory acts in that part of Great Britain.

To obviate this difficulty, without entering into any new system, a temporary expedient was adopted, and a law was now made, by which the powers originally committed to the privy council of Scotland, for suspending these prohibitory laws, when necessary, and removing such suspension, when the exigence of dearth no longer required it, were vested in the Courts of session, judiciary, and exchequer, in Scotland; and rules were laid down for their procedure*.

Some difficulties having arisen with respect to the computa-

1751.

* 14 Geo. 2. c. 7.

tion and admeasurement of wheat meal, and other ground corn and grain, whereon a bounty was payable upon exportation; in order to reconcile all disputes and differences that might arise thereanent, the officers of the customs, by a law now made, were impowered to allow the same bounty, and no more, upon the exportation of 224 pounds weight of wheat meal, or other ground corn or grain, whereon there was a bounty, as was allowed upon the exportation of four bushels of wheat, or other corn or grain, unground, and so in proportion for any greater or lesser quantity; and, for the greater expedition in the business, the officers were allowed to make choice of two sacks out of twenty, when the wheat meal, or other ground corn or grain, were brought in sacks; from whence they were to compute the weight of the meal, according to which the bounty was to be paid*.

These salutary laws had increased the export trade of corn to an amazing extent, while plenty remained at home, and the prices continued moderate. The average exportation for the four years, from 1748 to 1751 inclusive, amounted to 1,212,686 quarters yearly; and, the average price of wheat, for these four years, was 36s. 3d. per quarter.

The revenue applicable to the payment of the bounty upon corn exported, having been also chargeable with other payments, came to be insufficient to discharge the monies due upon these great exportations; and a law was now made, by

1753.

* 24 Geo. 2. c. 56. § 1.

which the debentures for these bounties were to carry interest at the rate of 3 *per cent. per annum*, to commence six months following the day when they should, or might have been produced to the commissioners of the customs at London, according to the directions of the act of the 12th and 13th of King William*.

The crop of this year having been weak, and of course the prices of grain having risen, the common people, long accustomed to plenty and cheapness, did not attribute the rise in the prices, to the shortness of the crop, but to the arts of the farmers, dealers, millers, &c. and got into mobs, committed many outrages in different parts of the kingdom, and destroyed mills with the grain in them, as if they had been the chief accessories to the dearth.

1756.

The advanced prices of corn, however, brought forward laws, by which all sorts of corn, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, or starch, were prohibited to be exported before the 25th December 1757; only malt, made for exportation, and declared to be so before the 4th December 1756, was allowed to be exported; and vessels cleared out, before the 25th December 1756, were allowed to proceed on their voyages: But it was provided, that in case his Majesty should, at any time, before the said 25th December 1757, judge it to be most for the benefit and advantage of the kingdom, to permit the exportation of the corn, and the other commodities aforesaid, or

1757.

* 26 Geo. 2. c. 15.

any of them, that then it should be lawful for his Majesty, by proclamation, to be issued by and with the advice of his privy council, or by his Majesty's order in council, to be published in the London Gazette, from time to time, to permit and suffer all and every person and persons, natives and foreigners, (but not any particular person or persons) at any time or times, before the said 25th day of December 1757, to export or carry out all or any of the commodities aforesaid*.

All customs, subsidies, and duties, rates, or impositions whatsoever, upon corn or flour imported, or upon corn, grain, meal, bread, biscuit, and flour, taken from the enemy, and brought into the kingdom, were discontinued until the 24th August 1757; and the same might be also carried coastways, without duty †.

Importation of corn, duty free, was allowed in ships of other nations, in amity with Great Britain, from any port or place whatsoever ‡.

And from and after the 11th March 1757, no low wines or spirits whatever were to be extracted or distilled within the kingdom, from any wheat, barley, malt, or any other sort of grain, or from any meal or flour, for and during the space of two calendar months ||.

* 30 Geo. 2. c. 1.

† Ibid. c. 7.

‡ Ibid. c. 9. § 14.

|| Ibid. c. 10.

And this prohibition was afterwards continued to the 11th December 1757; but with power to his Majesty, by proclamation, to be issued with the advice of his privy council, or by an order in council, to be published in the London Gazette, to suspend this act, and to allow the distillers to proceed*.

These laws effectually checked the exportation of corn; about 80,000 quarters had been exported, before the prohibition took place, and about 150,000 quarters of foreign corn were brought in.

The Exportation trade, however, was restored and recovered in the year 1759, and went on as formerly, with little or no importation of foreign grain; but the crop 1762 having failed a little, the importers found, that upon a very small start in the prices, they could afford to pay the low duties, to come in competition with the market at home; and, consequently, a very considerable importation took place for that, and the three following years. Indeed, in the last of these years, some panic had seized upon the kingdom, and an embargo was laid, the 26th September, upon all ships laded with corn for exportation, which, having been done against law, an act of indemnity was made for it the following year †.

1766.

There does not, at present, appear to have been any good

* 30 Geo. 2. c. 15.

† 7 Geo. 3. c. 7.

reason for those measures; for, in the year mentioned, there were above 300,000 quarters of grain exported, and less than 250,000 imported.

1767.

Laws were now made, prohibiting, for a limited time, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and also the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat, and wheat flour. And allowing, for a limited time, the importation of wheat and wheat flour, oats, and oat-meal, rye, and rye-meal, free of duty*.

1768.

These laws were renewed this year, with some additions; and it was enacted, that they should continue until twenty days after the commencement of the next session of parliament. The exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and also the extraction of low wines and spirits, from wheat and wheat flour, was prohibited (except to some British dependencies). An importation, not only of wheat, wheat flour, barley, barley-meal, pulse, oats, oat-meal, rye and rye-meal, from any part of Europe; but Indian corn, or maize, and rice, from North America; and wheat and wheat flour from Africa, were permitted, duty-free †.

1769.

This year the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and also the extraction of

* 7 Geo. 3. c. 3. 4. 5. 8.

† 8 Geo. 3. c. 1. 2. 3.

low wines and spirits, from wheat and wheat flour, was prohibited, until twenty days after the commencement of the next session of parliament; and the free importation of rice from North America was permitted.

1770.

This year the former law of last year, prohibiting the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and also the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat, and wheat flour, was continued in force, until twenty days after the commencement of the next session of parliament; providing that the said continuation might be abridged or shortened, and this act, or any part thereof, might be altered or varied, by any other act or acts to be made in the present session of parliament*.

And accordingly, by another law of this session, so much of the former acts as prohibited the exportation of malt, was removed and repealed †.

This year also an act was made for registering the prices at which corn is sold in the several counties of Great Britain, and the quantity exported and imported ‡.

1771.

Laws were now made prohibiting the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and also

* 10 Geo. 3. c. 1.

† Ibid. c. 10.

‡ Ibid. c. 39.

the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat, and wheat flour (except for victualling ships, and to British dependencies), until the twentieth day after the commencement of the next session of parliament*.

1772.

Upon the commencement of the session of parliament, this year, a law was made, prohibiting the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and also the extraction of low wines from wheat, and wheat flour, was prohibited, until the twentieth day after the commencement of the next session of parliament. And afterwards an act was made, allowing the importation of wheat, wheat flour, rye, rye-meal, and Indian corn, free of duty, until the first day of December 1772 †.

All this would appear to have been done without any solid reason; for the price of grain was not very high, and the quantity of grain exported, from the year 1760, to the year 1770, considerably exceeded the quantity imported.

1773.

Immediately upon the meeting of the parliament, this year, laws were made allowing the free importation, before the 1st day of January 1774, of any wheat, wheat flour, rye, rye-meal, barley, barley-meal, oats, oat-meal, pease, beans, tares, calivancies, and all other sorts of pulse, from any part of Europe, or Africa, without the payment of any subsidy, cus-

* 11 Geo. 3. c. 1.

† 12 Geo. 3. c. 1. 33.

tom, duty, or imposition whatsoever; and permitting the same to be carried coastways, under such regulations as the wheat, wheat flour, &c. of the growth of this kingdom, were allowed to be carried coastways, provided that due entry should be made, as was practised before the making of this act; and the importation of wheat, wheat flour, Indian corn, Indian meal, biscuit, pease, beans, tares, calivancies, and all other sorts of pulse, from North America, was also permitted for the same time, duty free, upon making entry as aforesaid.

By another law, passed at the same time, the exportation of corn, grain, pease, beans, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and also the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat, and wheat flour, (except for victualling ships, or to British dependencies), was prohibited until the said 1st day of January 1774*.

These laws, however, although destructive of our own agriculture, were only temporary, and their consequences might have been recovered, as they did not trench upon the general system.

But we now come to a law of this year, by which the venerable old code, so beneficial to manufactures and industry, and so salutary to the kingdom in general; that code, which had raised the agriculture of Great Britain, from the lowest state

1773.

* 13 Geo. 3. c. 1. 2. 3.

of depression, to the highest degree of prosperity; which had produced plenty, at reasonable prices, for so great a number of years, at home; and had brought such immense sums of money for the excrement stock of corn, from abroad, was now torn up by the roots, and scattered in the winds*.

This falubrious code had not been the work of a day; it came to be reared by slow degrees, and was the result of the experience of many generations; although the multiplicity of its component parts had rendered the distinct knowledge of it a matter of considerable labour. The introduction of this new law, so similar in terms, and so adverse in principle, to the former laws, involved the corn laws in greater perplexity than ever; and it need not be matter of surprize, that persons of the best understanding should be unwilling to enter upon a study so dark, and so intricate.

The nearest road to conviction, in such cases, is to place the objects to be compared parallel before the eye; to exhibit them in their first principles; to study their operations; and to determine according to their consequences and effects.

With this view we shall lay before the public a comparative statement of both systems, in order that we may, by contrasting them in this manner, be the better enabled to judge of the difference between the old system, which had been esta-

* 13 Geo. 3. c. 43.

blished, by the laws of 1670, 1688, and 1706; and the new system, (for we must consider it as such) which was now introduced, by the law of 1773.

Comparative Statement of the Laws for the Importation of Grain into

1670.

Table of Importation Prices and Duties, by the Old Laws.	Money of the time.				Present Money.					
	Prices.		Duties.		Prices.		Duties.			
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
For every quarter of wheat, when the price did not exceed	2	13	4	0	16	0	3	4	0	0
when above that price and not exceeding	4	0	0	0	8	0	4	16	0	0
when above that price	0	0	0	5	4	0	0	0	0	6
For every quarter of rye, pease, and beans, when the price did not exceed	2	0	0	0	16	0	2	8	0	0
when above that price	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
For every quarter of barley, when the price did not exceed	1	12	0	0	16	0	1	18	5	0
when above that price	0	0	0	0	2	8	0	0	0	3
For every quarter of oats, when the price did not exceed	0	16	0	0	5	4	0	19	2	0
when above that price	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	1

Remarks on the system established by the old laws. By the old laws, particularly that of 1670, importation was not permitted until the prices at home, were very high, and even then the duties upon importation were considerable, so that foreign grain could only be brought in to supply necessitous times, but could never stand in competition with the home produce.

The law of 1688 did not mention importation. It was made entirely for the encouragement of our own agriculture, by providing a new market for our excrement corn, and thereby stimulating the people to cultivate the waste lands. It left importation to the preceding laws, by which it was thought to be sufficiently guarded, if not prohibited.

When those laws were enacted, and until the year 1714, money carried interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, and consequently was proportionally of more value than it is at present, with the interest at 5 per cent. per annum.

The spirit of the old laws did not permit the importation of flour, or manufactured grain, at any time; but only the grain at particular places where the prices should be very high. Nor did they give permission either to carry imported grain by sea, coastways, or to transport it to any other place but that to which necessity called it. And these restrictions appeared so necessary, that they were enforced by the act of the 5th George II. under very severe penalties.

Great Britain, according to the Old, and to the New System.

Table of Importation Prices and Duties, by the New Law.	Prices.			Duties.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
For every quarter of wheat, when the price was at or above	2	8	0	0	0	6
100 weight of wheat flour	0	0	0	0	0	2
For every quarter of rye, pease, or beans, when the price was at or above	1	12	0	0	0	3
barley, beer or bigg, when the price was at or above	1	4	0	0	0	2
oats, when the price was at or above	0	16	0	0	0	2

1773.

Remarks on the system introduced by the new law. The law of 1773 begins with importation, and enacts, that whenever the price of middling British corn and grain shall be at the prices above stated, at the ports and places where the same should be imported; then all customs and duties, formerly payable upon wheat, wheat flour, rye, pease, beans, barley, beer, big, and oats, imported into this kingdom, should cease, determine, and be no longer payable, during the respective continuance of these prices. And that, in lieu of the former duties, there should only be paid the duties stated in the above Table.

And it was also enacted, that it should be lawful to import oat-meal from Ireland, or from any other part beyond the seas, into any port or place in Scotland, where the price of oat-meal does exceed 16s. per boll, weighing 8 stone, Troy.

By the new law importation is permitted, when the prices of grain, at home, are so low, that foreign grain may, at all times, come in competition with our home produce, in our own markets; and this has been the case ever since this law was passed.

By this law too, wheat and other grain, imported, may be carried coastways, and entered and landed in any other ports of the kingdom, at which the prices of middling British corn, grain, or flour, are at, or above the respective rates afore said, under such regulations as wheat, wheat flour, rye, pease, beans, barley, beer, bigg, or oats, of the growth of this kingdom, are allowed to be carried coastways.

And any person importing corn, grain, or flour, and paying the duties, if the same shall be again exported, within six months, the duties are to be drawn back and repaid.

CHAP. III. Comparative Statement of the Laws for the Exportation of Grain from

	Money of the time.				Present Money.					
	Prices.		Bounties.		Prices.		Bounties.			
Table of Exportation Prices and Bounties, by the Old Laws.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
1688. Upon every quarter of wheat, ground or unground, when the price was at or under	2	8	00	5	0	2	17	70	6	0
Upon every quarter of rye; when the price was at or under	1	12	00	3	6	1	18	50	4	2
Upon every quarter of barley or malt, when the price was at or under	1	4	00	2	6	1	8	100	3	0
1706. Upon every quarter of oatmeal, when the quarter of oats is at or under	0	15	00	2	6	0	18	00	3	0

General Remarks.

We shall now take a view of the old laws, and of the new law, with respect to exportation.

The laws of 1688 and 1706, have been already recited, and to which we shall refer for any particulars that are not again stated in the above Table.

By the new law, it was enacted, That when the price of the quarter of wheat should be at, or above 44s. ; rye, pease, or beans, 28s. ; barley, beer or bigg, 22s. ; and oats, 14s. no person should transport, or carry out of the kingdom, any such corn or grain, under penalties.

That, after the 1st day of January 1774, the bounties formerly allowed, by law, upon corn exported, were to cease; and instead and in lieu thereof, when the prices of corn and grain should be under the rates aftermentioned, at the ports

Great Britain, according to the Old, and to the New System. CHAP. III.

Table of the Exportation Prices and Bounties, by the New Law.	Prices.			Bounties.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Upon every quarter of wheat, or malt of wheat, when the price is under	2	4	00	5	0	0
rye, when the price is under	1	8	00	3	0	0
barley, beer, or bigg, or malt made thereof, when the price is under	1	2	00	2	6	0
oats, when the price is under	0	14	00	2	0	0
And for every quarter of oat-meal, consisting of 276 pounds, avoirdupois	0	0	00	2	6	0

1773.

and places in this kingdom, from whence the same should be shipped, there should be allowed upon the exportation of such corn or grain, either ground or unground, being the growth of this kingdom, and put on board in British shipping, the master, and at least two thirds of the mariners, of such ships, being his Majesty's subjects, the following bounties, that is to say, when the price of middling British wheat, per quarter, should be under 44s. there should be paid a bounty, for every quarter of wheat, or malt made of wheat, 5s. ; when the quarter of rye was under 28s. a bounty of 3s. ; when the quarter of barley, beer, or bigg, should be under 22s. a bounty, for every quarter of these, or of malt made of them, of 2s. 6d. ; and when the quarter of oats should be under 14s. a bounty of 2s. upon every quarter of oats, and 2s. 6d. upon every quarter of oat-meal, consisting of 276 pounds, avoirdupois*.

* By the act 1751, the same bounty is allowed upon 224 pounds weight of wheat.

By the old laws, the method of ascertaining the prices was left to the justices of peace, at their quarter sessions; and it was, by the present law, continued for England in the same way; but, for Scotland, it was committed to the sheriffs of the several counties, to ascertain the prices four times in the year; and to send certificates thereof to the respective custom-houses within their jurisdictions, to be the rule of export and import, and for the payment of the bounties and duties.

1774.

But with respect to exportation, these rules were now altered; and it was enacted, that the prices of corn and grain, and oatmeal, exported, should be regulated and governed by the average prices, at which such corn and grain, and oatmeal, should be respectively sold in the public market, at or nearest to the port or place from whence such corn or grain, or oatmeal, should be intended to be exported, on the last market day preceding the shipping of such corn or grain, and the bounties payable accordingly.

The different principles and operations of the old laws, and of the new law, will be readily comprehended, on a comparison of the statements exhibited in the above Tables; the old laws having been clearly made for the encouragement of agriculture, at home, and prohibiting the importation of fo-

meal, or other ground corn or grain, as was allowed for 4 bushels of the same sort of grain; so that, by the one act, 276 pounds of meal, is declared to be a quarter; and, by the other, it requires 448 pounds.

reign grain, except in cases of necessity; and the new law, encouraging the importation of foreign grain, whether there be necessity or not. For instance, while the foreign farmer is permitted to import his flour into Great Britain, without any duty but a mere trifle, the bounty upon flour, or meal made from wheat, is repealed*.

Thus have we endeavoured to give a just idea to the Public, of the old, and of the new system of Corn Laws; for the law of 1773 must be considered as a new system. The comparison we have made, will, we trust, be found to be both accurately, and fairly stated. We write for no topical or partial purposes, nor for or against any man, or set of men. It is for the benefit of the public, in general, that our agriculture should be restored to its former efficiency; and that our children and manufacturers should be fed with the bread of our own lands. It is the only bread that can be eaten in plenty, and with safety; for if we shall be brought to depend upon the bread of foreign nations, our

* To facilitate the observation of the several laws, enumerated in this and the preceding chapter, and the duties and bounties payable in consequence, we have made up an abbreviation of them. *Vide Appendix, No 7.*

manufactures will soon be buried in the ruins of our agriculture*.

* The reader will be pleased to recollect that this Inquiry was written, while the Corn Law of 1773 was in force; and it appears to have been a chief object in the author's view, in undertaking this Work, to shew the impolicy of that law, and to induce Parliament to revert to the former system. Since that time, the Corn Law of 1791, by which all the former laws are repealed, has been enacted; and, on comparing it, in this manner, with the laws of 1670, 1688, and 1706, it will appear, that the legislature have already, in some degree, reverted to the old system. Edit.

Recapitulation of the principal heads of the several Corn Laws of Great Britain, and a deduction of principles from their effects.

LIBERTY was given to export corn, upon payment of customs and duties.

1393.

Which law was confirmed; reserving power to the King and council to restrain exportation, when they should judge that to be necessary.

1425.

Liberty was given to export corn, when the prices at home did not exceed certain rates.

1436.

Which law was this year continued for ten years.

1442.

And was now made perpetual.

1444.

From the grievous damage suffered by the farmers and occupiers of land, by the importation of foreign grains, all im-

1463.

portation was prohibited, until the prices at home exceeded certain rates.

These form the true foundation of the corn laws. All importation of foreign grain was prohibited, until the prices were high at home; and the exportation of our own grain was allowed, when the crop was abundant, and the prices reasonable; reserving power to the King and council, at any time, to put a stop to exportation, when they should judge that to be necessary for the good of the kingdom at large. And the above act of 1463, is the first act made in England to prohibit, or regulate, the importation of foreign grain.

1552. But the beneficial purposes of the former laws were lost for want of execution; and the system was totally overturned by a law of this year, which, in effect, prohibited all kind of trade in corn, until the prices were far below the expence of raising it.

1554. Which law was enforced by another act of this year.

1562. Exportation was again allowed, when the prices were higher than those limited by the acts 1552 and 1554, provided the grain was carried abroad in ships owned by English born subjects. This was the dawn of the Navigation Laws.

1570. Exportation was allowed, without limitation of prices, out of such ports and creeks, where had been placed a customer, or collector of the subsidy of tonnage and poundage, to any

part beyond seas, in amity with England, when not restrained by proclamation; providing the exportation was made in ships owned by English born subjects, and residing in the English dominions, at such times as the several prices of grain should be so reasonable and moderate, where such exportation should be intended, as that no prohibition should be made by the Queen's proclamation, or by the presidents of the North, or of Wales, within their several jurisdictions; or of the justices of assize, at their sessions, in other shires out of the jurisdiction of the said two presidents and councils; or by the major part of the justices of peace of the county, at their quarter sessions, as follows.

These several magistrates were to have yearly conference with the inhabitants of the county, about the cheapness or dearth of the several sorts of grain within their respective jurisdictions; and should, by their discretion, determine whether it would be meet, at any time, to prevent any grain to be carried out of the realm, by any port within their jurisdictions or limits; and should, by a writing under their hands and seals, make a determination, either for permission or prohibition, and should cause the same be published by the sheriffs of the several counties; which was to continue in force until the same should be altered by the said presidents and councils, or other powers respectively; except the same should, in the meantime, be countermanded by the Queen, her heirs or successors; or by some order of the justices of peace, in the counties situated out of the jurisdiction of the said two councils, in their quarter sessions to be holden in the meantime, or the greatest

part of them, should find the determination of the justices of assize to be hurtful to the country, by means of dearth, or to be a great hindrance to tillage, by means of extreme cheapness; which determination was, in like manner, to be published, and to continue in force until a new regulation should be made; except the same should, in the meantime, be altered by the Queen, her heirs or successors: provided always, that these presidents, &c. should not publish their determinations, until the same was first notified to, and approved by, the Queen, or her privy council, and that the custom or poundage should be paid upon exportation: provided also, that the Queen, her heirs and successors, might, at all times, by proclamation, prohibit exportation, either generally from all parts of the realm, or from particular parts only.

1593. The exportation prices were considerably increased, but the duties payable upon grain, exported by force of the statute, was doubled; and an unlimited importation having been permitted, the law was thereby rendered nugatory, and the price of grain continued at an extravagant height.

1604. The exportation prices were considerably increased, provided the grain was carried abroad in ships owned by English born subjects; and reserving to the King, his heirs and successors, by proclamation, to restrain exportation from the realm generally, or from particular places; but exportation having been still, by this law, loaded with duties, the full operation of the act must have been retarded.

The exportation prices were still farther extended, under the same terms with the former law; but the duties upon exportation having been still kept up, the law could not have its proper effect; and it would appear that it had been made entirely for an extension of the revenue.

1623.

And it was this year renewed in the very same terms.

1627.

This year the exportation prices were still extended; but the duties were raised so high, as to be equal to a prohibition. Importation was also allowed; but the duties, in like manner, amounted to a prohibition.

1660.

The exportation prices were still extended, but the duties were continued; and, by the insertion of the word *not* in the importation clause, full liberty was given to import foreign grain, when the prices, at home, were at the lowest or cheapest rate, upon payment of lower duties, than the low duties fixed by the act of tonnage and poundage.

1663.

By a law of Scotland, of this same year, the powers of exportation were extended, reserving to the King and privy council, to restrict or to prohibit it, when they should judge it necessary; but a duty of 40 *per cent. ad valorem*, was laid upon grain, imported, when the prices did not exceed the export prices; with power to the King and council to remit the duties, if the prices should rise.

This year the Scotch parliament removed all duties upon

1669.

CHAP. IV.

exportation, except a mere trifle of about a penny per boll; and they authorised the privy council to determine the prices, from time to time, according to which every person was to have liberty to export corn, of all kinds, unless prohibited by proclamation.

1670.

The prices of grain, for exportation, were still extended, but the duties laid on by the act of tonnage and poundage, amounted to a prohibition; and heavy duties were laid upon corn imported, when the prices did not exceed certain rates; but no rule having been laid down, by this law, for ascertaining the prices, importation was still carried on at the former low duties.

1685.

This defect was attempted to be remedied; and, in England, it was remitted to the justices of peace, in the several counties where foreign grain might be imported, at their quarter sessions, after Michaelmas and Easter, by the oaths of two or more substantial persons, being neither merchants nor factors for the importation of corn, nor any wife concerned or interested in the corn to be imported, and each having a free estate of L. 20 *per annum*, or a leasehold estate of L. 50 *per annum*, to determine the prices of the several kinds of grain, which they were to certify to the chief officer of the customs, in the several counties, for his rule.

In Scotland the importation of victual from Ireland had been prohibited, under severe penalties; reserving to the Lords

of the privy council power to remove the prohibition when the prices rose to a certain extent.

CHAP. IV.

This year, a total prohibition was made; and such grain as should be imported from Ireland, was ordered to be destroyed.

1686.

Exportation was permitted from England, when the prices at home did not exceed certain rates, providing it was made in English shipping, whereof the master, and at least two thirds of the mariners, were English subjects; and upon the exporter producing a certificate, under his hand, of the quantity of corn shipped, to the collector of the customs at the port where the corn had been shipped, and proving the said certificate by the oaths of one or more credible persons; and, upon bond, that the said corn should be exported to parts beyond seas, and not again relanded; the exporter should receive a bounty; and producing a certificate, under the common seal of the chief magistrate, in any places beyond seas, or under the hands and seals of two known English merchants, that such corn had been actually landed; or, upon proof, by credible persons, that such corn had been taken by enemies, or perished in the seas, the exporter's bond was to be delivered up; and the money, paid by the collector or commissioner of the customs, was to pass in his account.

1688.

This act was followed in Scotland. All export duties were taken off; and a bounty was granted upon corn exported, when the prices did not exceed certain rates; provided the exportation was made in Scotch ships, and by Scotsmen, and

1695.

that the master and three-fourths of the seamen should be Scotsmen; but reserving power to the Lords of the secret council, when the prices exceeded the rates fixed, to discharge exportation.

1700. And in England, this year, the subsidy, and all other duties payable upon grain exported, whether ground or unground, were totally given up, and taken away.

1706. By the articles of Union, the same bounties granted upon grain, exported from England, by the above act 1688, were extended to grain exported from Scotland; and bounties were also given for oatmeal, and for beer or bigg, exported from either kingdom.

1729. The justices of peace, in many places, having neglected to determine the prices of grain, whereby the duties upon corn, imported, was to be regulated, it was again recommended to them to do it, in time coming, as directed by the act 1670; and if they should omit or neglect to do so, the collector of the customs, at the respective places of importation, were empowered to demand and receive the duties, according to the lowest price of the several sorts of grain mentioned in the said act 1670. And, in order to ascertain the quantity of grain shipped, for which bounty was allowed, the officers of the customs were appointed to admeasure the same.

1732. Still, however, neglects had been made in determining the prices of grain, according to which, the duties payable upon

importation, were to be levied; and therefore, *for better ascertaining the same, and preventing fraudulent importation*, it was now again recommended to the justices of peace, at their quarter sessions, in the several counties where grain might be imported, to give in charge, in the open court, to the grand jury, to make inquiry and presentment, upon their oaths, of the corn-market price of middling English corn and grain; which presentment should be certified by the said justices, in writing, to the chief officer or collector of the customs, at the port or place where importation should be made, and should be hung up in some public place in the custom-house, for general information; and that the duty upon foreign grain, imported, should be collected and paid according to the prices contained in such certificate. And, after importation, no foreign corn or grain was to be exported, or in any shape laden on ship board, or put to sea, for transporting it from one port of the kingdom to another, either by itself, or mixed with English grain, under severe penalties.

To repress mobbish disorders, and lawless attempts, to interrupt the free exportation of grain, when the same is encouraged by law, the inhabitants of the hundred in which such offences were committed, were subjected to the damages.

In Scotland, the power of suspending the laws which prohibited the importation of foreign grain, having been formerly vested in the Privy council of that kingdom, was now conveyed to the Courts of Session, Exchequer, and Justiciary; and the judges of these courts were, according to the prices of

1738.

1741.

grain in the county of Edinburgh, to determine whether exportation or importation should take place. By the same law the duties payable, in England, by the act of the 22d Charles II. were to be paid upon the importation of grain into Scotland; and the whole clauses and provisions of that act, and of the 2d George II. entitled, An act to ascertain the custom payable for corn imported, were extended to Scotland.

1751.

To obviate some difficulties anent the admeasurement of wheat meal, and other ground corn, whereon a bounty was payable, upon exportation, the officers of the customs were empowered to allow the same bounties upon the exportation of 224 pound weight of wheat meal, or other ground corn or grain, as was allowed for four bushels of the same sort of grain; and for the better expediting the business, they were allowed to make choice of two sacks out of twenty, and from thence to compute the weight.

1753.

Debentures for the bounty upon corn exported, when not paid within six months, were to carry interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum.

1757.

Exportation, having been prohibited, by law, for a limited time, power was reserved to the King to take off the prohibition, by proclamation, and to allow all persons, natives or foreigners, (but no particular person or persons), to export grain.

1773.

The exportation prices of grain were altered and brought

down; the prices for importation were also brought down; and the duties upon importation were reduced to a trifle.

The rules for ascertaining the prices of grain, in England, were left with the justices of peace; but, in Scotland, they were taken from the superior courts, and committed to the sheriffs of the several counties.

The rules for exportation of grain were totally altered; and it was enacted, that the prices of corn, grain, and oatmeal, exported, should be regulated and governed by the average prices, at which such corn, grain, and oatmeal, should be respectively sold in the public market, at or nearest to the port of shipping, on the last market day preceding such shipping.

1774.

We have now recapitulated the principal or leading features of the several corn laws that have ever been enacted in England and Scotland, or in Great Britain, since the accession of William I. of England, and Malcolm III. of Scotland; and upon the whole it would appear, that the chief outlines, or foundation of them, was laid down by the English laws of 1393, and 1463, and the four intervening acts. These indeed laid subsidies and duties upon grain exported, which in those days, when commerce was in its infancy, were indiscriminately laid upon every article, whether exported or imported; and such is the power of habit, that the duties were continued to a very late period. The experience of 300 years at length not only detected this error, but pointed out to a dif-

tinguishing administration, the beneficial consequences that would follow the opposite conduct of giving bounties upon corn exported. From which it appears, that the doctrine inculcated by experience, is unquestionably orthodox, although slow in its operation; for the duties and subsidies, payable upon the exportation of the manufactures of Great Britain, were only removed in the year 1721*.

No records have been preserved, respecting the exportation and importation of corn, prior to the year 1697; or, probably the act 1688 not having removed the subsidies and duties payable upon grain exported, little or no business of that kind had been carried on; besides, the seasons from 1690 to 1700 were, in general, very unfruitful; and agriculture not having yet become vigorous, there was probably little corn to spare.

The average price of the quarter of wheat, from 1690 to 1700, was L. 2 : 16 : 10, equal to L. 3 : 8 : 3 of present money. We find, however, that during the four years from 1697 to 1700 inclusive, the exportation of the several kinds of grain amounted to 331,223 quarters, while the importation amounted to only 8,948 quarters †.

Upon the removal of the subsidies and duties, payable upon the exportation of grain, in the year 1700, the seasons also

* 8 Geo. 1. c. 15. § 7.

† Vide, Appendix, No 2.

having become more favourable, the face of affairs was entirely changed; and a certain market having been opened by the bounties, for grain in all seasons, the implements of husbandry were seized upon with avidity; and, from that period, the diligence and emulation of our farmers, were rewarded by increasing success.

During the ten years, from 1701 to 1710 inclusive, the average yearly exportation amounted to 248,945 quarters, while the average importation came only to 442 quarters; and the average price of the quarter of wheat fell to L. 2 : 3 : 2, equal to L. 2 : 11 : 10 of present money. In one of these years (1709) above half a million of quarters; and during these ten years no less than 2,849,446 quarters were exported, and only 4,442 quarters imported.

The money, brought into the kingdom by this large exportation, enabled the farmers to extend their operations; and we accordingly find that for the ten years, from 1711 to 1720 inclusive, the average yearly exportation had risen to 449,193 quarters; the average yearly importation was only 71 quarters; and the average price of the quarter of wheat continued comparatively low, having been only L. 2 : 4 : 10½ per quarter.

The exportation of these ten years had nearly doubled that of the former ten years, having amounted to 4,491,933 quarters, while only 714 quarters had been imported.

It may be asserted, that we had now above 53,000 more

Q

people employed in husbandry, than had been at any time before this period *; and the yearly exportation of the grain had given employment for 90,000 tons of shipping, and a proportional number of failors, for one voyage †.

Of the ten years from 1721 to 1730 inclusive, two of these years had carried shorter crops than usual; and, upon a small start of the prices, the importers, always watchful of their interest, however hurtful it might be to the country, introduced considerable quantities of foreign grain to the kingdom, in the years 1728, 1729, and 1730, without payment of the duties; upon the old pretext, that the justices of peace had not fixed the prices of grain, according to which the duties were to be levied.

Our exportation, however, kept up nearly to that of the preceding ten years; but the importation of foreign grain was greatly increased, and the price of wheat continued nearly the same it had been for twenty years past; the average price of it having been L. 2 : 2s. per quarter. There were in all exported, during these ten years, 4,479,683 quarters; and there were imported 732,692 quarters of the several kinds of grain.

The act 1729 having given a check to the importation of

* Reckoning twelve people, old and young, to be employed in raising every hundred quarters of grain. Vide chap. I. p. 19.

† A ton of wheat, in London, commonly weighs between 2200 and 2500 lbs avoirdupois; rye, between 2100 and 2240; and barley, between 1709 and 1800 lbs avoirdupois. Five quarters are commonly reckoned to a ton, in freight.

Poſtlethwaite's Diſt. of Trade and Commerce, art. England.

foreign grain, our agriculture again got forward, and the average yearly exportation, for the ten years from 1731 to 1740 inclusive, got up to 549,447 quarters, while the average importation amounted only to 4,690; and the average price of wheat fell to L. 1 : 17 : 6 per quarter.

There were in all exported, during these ten years, 5,494,471 quarters; and there were imported only 46,909 quarters of the several kinds of grain.

Such was the spirit of our farmers, when they were freed from the trammels of prohibitory and improper laws, that for the ten years, from 1741 to 1750 inclusive, the average yearly amount of our exportation, rose to the amazing quantity of 848,660 quarters; the importation amounted only to 15,193 quarters; and the average price of wheat fell to L. 1 : 13 : 8 per quarter.

At this time there must have been above 100,000 people more employed in agriculture, in Great Britain, than there were at the time of the Union, to raise this excrement stock of grain, the exportation of which would employ about 170,000 tons of shipping, for one voyage *.

Where then can be the necessity of importing foreign grain, when, with proper laws, upon the chance of a foreign sale only, we have raised, upon an average of many years, a quantity of corn, over our home consumption, equal to maintain

* Vide Notes, p. 122.

near 450,000 people; and, in some particular years, quantities equal to maintain near double that number?

In the year 1748 there were exported 1,123,953 quarters; in 1749 there were 1,250,306 quarters; and, in 1750, the immense quantity of 1,667,778 quarters were exported. There were exported, in all, during these ten years, no less than 8,486,602 quarters; and there were only imported 159,437 quarters of the several kinds of grain.

Is it not clear from hence, that Great Britain, under proper laws, is capable to increase her growth of corn, to any degree for which demand can be obtained; and that, as her quantity increases, the prices, at home, fall, and come to be, one year with another, nearly equal?

The direct contrary state may be expected from improper laws; and, indeed, will be woefully proved from the effects of the later laws, which have checked exportation, and facilitated importation.

During that prosperous period of agriculture, a labourer or manufacturer, and every other person, had the bread of every one of his family at least 20s. in the year cheaper, than in the present days*.

For the ten years from 1751 to 1760 inclusive, our exporta-

* Written in the year 1786.—Vide Exp. Table, Appendix, No 8. Art. 7.

tions fell, upon an average, to 582,837 quarters; the importation was, upon an average, 37,397 quarters; and the average price of wheat rose to L. 2 : 2 : 6 per quarter.

This was entirely owing to the failure of the crops 1756 and 1757; particularly the former, which yielded far less corn than any crop since the commencement of the century. Instead therefore of continuing an exportation of 848,660 quarters of corn, which was the average of the ten years from 1741 to 1750, or even 815,943 quarters, the average of the exportation of the five years immediately preceding, there was an importation, in the year 1757, of 167,301 quarters, and there were only 80,656 quarters, chiefly of malt, exported; so that there was a deficiency of this crop, compared with the average of the fifteen preceding crops, of near 700,000 quarters of grain.

Here we have a fresh and a separate proof, of the immense benefit arising to a nation, in the practice of raising more grain than it consumes; for if, in the year 1757, which depended upon the crop 1756, Great Britain had been accustomed to be supplied but in a small degree with foreign grain, this additional demand of 700,000 quarters, must have brought on famine, or must have raised the prices so high, as to have bordered upon famine; yet, by the prosperous state of agriculture, and the accustomed exertion of the farmers, although there was little to export, there was nearly a sufficiency to serve the inhabitants; the importation having exceeded the exportation only about 87,000 quarters; the price of wheat

in 1757 advanced only to L. 3; and, in 1758, it fell to L. 2 : 10s. per quarter.

But we have now finished the bright side of the picture. In the year 1763 the great importation of foreign grain was begun, and it has been continued ever since. The importation of 1763 and 1764 were chiefly oats; but, in 1765, there were imported 218,031 quarters of foreign grain, of different kinds, chiefly wheat, while our exportation of the several kinds of grain amounted to no less than 457,730 quarters; and it is not easy to find out a good reason for permitting so large an importation of foreign grain, when we had so much corn of our own to spare. But the importers were, by degrees, justling our farmers out of the market; and, in the year 1767, the immense quantity of 907,420 quarters of foreign grain were brought in, of which about 500,000 quarters were wheat; and upon the average of the twelve years from 1761 to 1772 inclusive, our yearly exportation had fallen to 370,703 quarters; the yearly importation had risen to 251,279 quarters; and the average price of wheat amounted to L. 2 : 7 : 10 per quarter.

Here we must make a pause, to give place to the act 1773; an act entitled, 'An act for regulating the importation and exportation of corn.' But to carry the spirit of this law into its title, it ought to have been called, An act to facilitate the importation of foreign corn into Great Britain, and to restrain the exportation of corn the growth of that kingdom;

for such it certainly is, and its operations have justified the title, which it ought to have assumed.

In the year 1774, there were imported, under the sanction of this law, no less than 926,174 quarters of foreign grain, about a third part of which was wheat, and wheat flour; while our exportation was no higher than 51,099 quarters. In 1775 the amazing quantity of 1,163,407 quarters of foreign grain was imported, the one half of which was wheat, and wheat flour, while our exportation amounted only to 191,007 quarters; and, upon the whole, during the twelve years from 1773 to 1784 inclusive, the average yearly importation rose to 578,358 quarters, and our exportation fell to 267,182 quarters; and the average price of wheat continued as high as L. 2 : 5 : 1 per quarter; and for the last four years the average price of the quarter was L. 2 : 8 : 6.

There were imported, during these twelve years, no less than 6,940,293 quarters of foreign grain; and only 3,206,184 quarters of our own grain exported: A melancholy reverse of circumstances since the commencement of the year 1763.

These particulars will be more readily observed, from a scale of the yearly prices and averages of wheat, and of the general exportation and importation of grain, from the year 1697, to the year 1784 inclusive; from which it is evident, that the prices of grain fell gradually, as our exportation took place, and rose again as our exportation decreased; and propor-

tionally as the importation of foreign grain came to be permitted*.

There must be something very seductive, or very profitable, in the importation of foreign grain; for all the laws, that hitherto have been made to prevent it, have been evaded; and yet, except the importer, it is clearly against the interest of every other person in the kingdom: for it is destructive of our own agriculture, and we have seen, from certain evidence, that it raises the price of grain upon the consumer.

We have also learned, from the experience of past times, that no laws, nor any dictates of human authority, can oblige people to cultivate the lands, to build houses of husbandry, or to labour in that, or any other vocation, by which they cannot earn a reasonable subsistence.

In many other countries, where the soil and climate are more favourable, and the productions of the earth more easily reared, but the government despotic, it is with indifference, that the inhabitants, in general, cultivate the lands, and even see the convulsions of the state; they have no share in the government, and a change of masters does not alter their condition; but, in Great Britain, where more industry may be necessary, labour is sweetened by freedom, and nothing but improper laws will check the spirit of the people.

* Vide Appendix, No 4.

While the ancient laws laid the country open to the importation of foreign grain, by injudicious duties, or restrictions, upon our own produce, our farmers were dispirited; a great part of the soil lay without culture; the price of grain was consequently high; and population was restrained.

When the restrictions were not only removed, but bounties given upon the exportation of our excremental stock, by the acts of 1688 and 1700, the happiest effects were immediately experienced: these laws acted like magic; our agriculture immediately rose as from the dead; population increased; and, instead of eating the bread of foreign nations, we not only maintained all our own people, at a lower rate than was ever known before, and considerably lower than at present (1786) but the kingdom received an immediate addition of riches and strength, from the money brought in, from the increase of shipping, and from the people employed in raising and exporting the surplus of our produce: A state of prosperity which continued, without interruption, for above half a century after the Union.

No sooner was importation again encouraged, than our agriculture languished; our exportation declined; the prices of grain rose; and we have the mortification to receive, and possibly now to need, an immense importation of foreign grain every year.

Next to agriculture, the woollen trade may be considered to be the chief manufacture of Great Britain; and is protected by the most anxious laws, to prevent the competition of fo-

reigners with our manufacturers at home: yet, if by some fabricated terror, or other arts of designing men, a persuasion should go forth, contrary to fact, that our own manufacturers could not clothe the people, the legislature might, for similar reasons, be induced to permit the importation of foreign cloth: Or, if by mistakes or inaccuracies in the laws, made for this purpose, or by a failure in the execution of them (all which have happened with respect to corn) foreign woollen cloth should be introduced to the kingdom, at a price below that for which our own manufacturers could afford to sell cloth of the same quality, we should soon stand in real need of foreign cloth, from the check given to our own industry, and from the number of manufacturers, that, in the mean time, would be ruined and dispersed.

This case is perfectly applicable to the Corn trade. Great Britain is certainly capable to maintain, from the produce of her own lands, an immense number of more people than have ever existed in it; but there are several nations around her, in Europe, and extensive countries in America, where neither the rent of the lands, nor the expence of raising corn, are so high as in Great Britain.

Several of the nations, in Europe, have adopted the wise laws of our King William III. by giving bounties upon the exportation of this excrement stock of grain. And, from mistakes, or other failings of our laws, these nations have been permitted to introduce their corn into Great Britain, and to dispute the market at home with our own farmers.

By these means many of our smaller farmers have been ruined, and their families dispersed; and whenever country people are driven from their ordinary employment, and habitations, to the trading or manufacturing towns, without any other means of subsistence than bodily labour, they soon melt away, and are lost to the community.

To vouch these observations, we have only to look around us, and observe the immense increase of the poors' rates, and the vast quantity of landed property which has been brought to market, and sold under its former value, within these twelve or fourteen years past*. And nothing but the great capitals, and the uncommon and continued exertion of many of our farmers, could have possibly kept the agriculture of Great Britain in any shape afloat, under the pressure of so many discouraging laws.

Perhaps no better laws can be made than those of 1688, and 1700, respecting exportation; and those of 1670, and 1732, respecting importation: although much more vigour and care, than have been hitherto exercised, seem to be necessary for the execution of them.

The former of those laws not only relinquished all subsidies and duties payable upon corn exported, but granted a liberal bounty upon the exportation of wheat, when the price did not exceed 48s. the quarter, which was equal to L. 2 : 17 : 7

* This alludes to the period preceding the year 1786.

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of present money, and upon other grain in proportion; and they took no notice of foreign grain to be imported, as that was considered to have been sufficiently guarded against by the law of 1670, by which no importation could take place until the prices at home were considerably higher, than those to which the bounties upon exportation were limited.

The bounty upon the exportation of wheat, afterwards extended to wheat flour, and malt made of wheat, was continued until the price, at home, rose to L. 2 : 8s. equal to L. 2 : 17 : 7 of present money; but, by the act 1670, if wheat was imported, when the price, at home, did not exceed L. 2 : 13 : 4, equal to L. 3 : 4s. of present money, it was loaded with a duty equal to a prohibition; and this duty was only lowered as the prices rose at home.

The bounty upon the exportation of rye was continued until the price, at home, rose to L. 1 : 12s. equal to L. 1 : 18 : 5 of present money; and, by the above act of 1670, if rye, pease, or beans, were imported, when the price, at home, did not exceed L. 2, equal to L. 2 : 8s. of present money, the duties, in like manner, were equal to a prohibition; but were lowered as the prices rose.

The bounty upon the exportation of barley and malt, afterwards extended to beer or bigg, was continued until the price, at home, amounted to L. 1 : 4s. equal to L. 1 : 8 : 9 of present money; and, by the act 1670, if barley, malt, or buck wheat, were imported, before the price exceeded L. 1 : 12s.

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equal to L. 1 : 18 : 5 of present money, the duties were equal to a prohibition; but were lowered as the price at home rose.

The bounty upon the exportation of oatmeal, was continued until the price of oats, at home, rose to 15s. equal to 18s. of present money; but, if oats were imported before the price came to 16s. equal to 19s. 2d. of present money, the duty was equal to a prohibition; but was lessened when the prices rose. These and other such circumstances, will be readily seen from the abbreviation of the exportation and importation laws*.

Those laws were strongly enforced by the act 1732, made to prevent the fraudulent importation of foreign grain, by which corn or grain, once imported, was prohibited to be again shipped, to be re-exported; or to be carried coastways, from one port to another, under severe penalties. It would appear, from this law, that discoveries had been made, that, under various pretences, corn imported, had been carried on shipboard to other places, and from thence exported, and the bounty paid for it, as if such corn had been of British growth; and, from some late publications, it would appear that this practice has not yet fallen into disuse.

The beneficial consequences to the kingdom, which these wise laws brought about, have already appeared; and it is difficult, even for the imagination, to fancy any reason for reverting them, except the misrepresentations of interested and designing men.

* Vide Appendix, No. 7.

The melancholy reverse, occasioned by the act 1773, has however taken place, and we have seen the miserable consequences of it; a striking evidence that people may be wearied of the best situations, and even cloyed with happiness.

It is impossible to imagine that the legislature had any intention to injure the best interests of the kingdom by this act; and, perhaps, there is not a worthier character in it, than the very man to whose lot it fell to frame this law—*sed humanum est errare* *.

The law, however, has had its effect; exportation has been restrained, and agriculture of course repressed; importation has been facilitated, and the trade laid open to fraud, by permitting the re-exporting, and carrying coastways, from one port to another, grain imported.

For fifty-five years after the Union, our exportation of grain counted as 1 to 21 of our produce; and the yearly average of the importation of grain, during that period, amounted only to a 475th part of our produce †; and a great part of that importation was clandestinely brought in upon us, without necessity, and contrary to law. The ten years, from 1741 to 1750 inclusive, were the most prosperous. During that period our

* The person here alluded to is probably Governor Pownall, who, in 1773, laid a Memoir before the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, relative to the Corn Laws, and may have been employed to frame this act. Mr Arthur Young gives a copy of that Memoir, and some able Strictures on the act of 1773, in his Political Arithmetic, published in 1774. *Edit.*

† Vide Appendix, No 8. Art. 5.

yearly average exportation amounted to 848,660 quarters, and the yearly importation only to 15,943 quarters; so that our exportation was as 1 to 14, and the importation only as 1 to 742 of our produce *.

But these were our halcyon days, and we have seen the melancholy reverse.

During the twelve years from 1773 to 1784 inclusive, there were imported of foreign grain, upon an average yearly, 578,358 quarters, and our exportation amounted only to 267,182 quarters; so that the importation has encreased to the proportion of 1 to 18, while our exportation is reduced to that of 1 to 40 of the produce; and the balance of importation against us amounts yearly to 311,176 quarters †.

In the year 1775, there were imported no less than 1,163,407 quarters of foreign grain, and only 191,007 quarters of our own grain exported, which brought the importation, that year, as high as 1 to 8 of the produce, and the exportation fell as low as 1 to 53 ‡.

It is a hazardous situation, to be dependent upon the production of the lands of other nations for our bread, one day in every week; and it is a drain, which even the power and riches of Great Britain cannot long supply.

* Vide Appendix, No 4.; and No 8. Art. 5.

† Ibid.

‡ Vide Appendix, No 2.; and No 8. Art. 5.

Importation of foreign grain, acts like a mole under ground; we know nothing of its operations, but by the heaps which it raises; and when these heaps come to cover an 8th, an 18th, or even a 475th part of our own soil, it is high time to turn them down.

In whatever point of view we consider this act, it has every appearance of having been surreptitiously obtained, or having been what is commonly called a job; and certainly great must have been the address, on the part of the suitors, and no less the supineness on the part of administration, when such a measure was carried into effect.

In all cases of commerce, and more particularly in those where the best interests of the kingdom are concerned, the trade ought to be put upon a footing as solid and permanent as possible.

The former laws appointed the exportation and importation of grain, upon which bounties or duties were payable, to be regulated according to the prices, at the respective places of exportation or importation; and, in England, it had been committed to the justices of peace at their quarter sessions; and, in Scotland, to the Courts of Session, Justiciary, and Exchequer, to ascertain the prices.

By the act 1773, the prices of grain, in England, were left to be fixed by the former rules; but, in Scotland, these powers were taken from the superior courts, and vested in the sheriffs

of the several counties, and their substitutes, who were appointed to take proof of the price of grain within their several jurisdictions, four times in the year, which was to be the rule both for exportation and importation from, and to, the harbours within the several counties.

But there was no compulsory clause in this act to oblige either the justices of the peace in England, or the sheriffs in Scotland, to execute this part of their duty; and an incongruity occurred, from which, indeed, the former laws were not free, that many of the counties, upon the sea coast, both in England and Scotland, were divided by the stream of a river falling into the sea, the mouth of which formed a harbour for both counties; so that if the prices of grain in such adjoining counties differed, exportation might be going on upon the one side of the river, and importation upon the other.

Still, however, the jobbers were not satisfied; for the job was not yet completed. Exportation, as well as importation, was still limited from three months to three months, by which their hands were so far tied up.

Another law was therefore procured, in 1774, by which the exportation of grain was appointed to be regulated, and the bounties to be paid according to the prices at the nearest market-place to the port of exportation, on the last market-day preceding the time of shipping; so that, in the very time of importation, a trader, who had a parcel of grain, upon hand, which he could sell to more profit abroad than at home, could

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There is doubtless some plausibility in that part of the act of 1773, by which it would appear to mean, that if a trader imports corn to supply the necessities of the country, it would be hard not to allow him to re-export it, if he could not find a sale for it in the country; and it would be still a greater hardship upon him, after having supplied the place of importation; and also unjust to the poor of other places, where the prices were high, not to allow the remainder to be transported, in shipping, coastways, to the places where it was so much wanted. But this illusory pretence is totally exploded, by the spirit and strong sense of the former laws, which tell the trader: You are at liberty to supply the wants of any part of the kingdom, where scarcity may happen to be, and which will be known from the prices of grain, while such scarcity continues, upon payment of a certain duty, which will be lowered if the prices rise at home; but you are not to hoard up quantities of imported grain, to be a check upon the sale of the next crop of our own lands; nor will you be allowed to re-export such grain, if you cannot find your own price in the country; because that would be making a free port of the whole kingdom for grain, to the utter destruction of our own agriculture; neither will you be permitted to send your imported grain coastways, from one place to another; for besides, that such a measure would be

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These appear clearly to have been the sentiments of our former legislators, with respect to the importation of foreign grain; for whatever specious arguments may be used in favour of importation, for lowering the price of grain, in times of scarcity, the true principle to proceed upon, is, to prevent scarcity, by giving every possible protection and encouragement to our own agriculture, which we have seen, from the experience of more than half a century, is a certain way of procuring plenty, at reasonable prices.

It has been already clearly evinced, that the importation of foreign grain, has invariably raised the prices at home; nor is it to be imagined, that an importer will let them down, if he can keep them up; for he has nothing in view but his own profit.

In an unfruitful season, when deficient crops oblige our farmers to raise the prices, and thereby, in some measure, to put the consumer upon short allowance, an importer purchases corn in a neighbouring country, where the season has been

more favourable, or where corn is raised at less expence than in Great Britain; or where perhaps the country gives a bounty upon corn exported; and by bringing it over, duty free, he is enabled both to drive our farmers out of the market, and still to keep up the prices.

To confirm this assertion, we need only have recourse to the evidence already before us, founded upon the experience of near a century; and we shall see, from the Table of the yearly general exportation and importation, and the yearly price of wheat, from 1697 to 1784, that the price came down gradually, as our exportation advanced, and rose again as it declined, and as the importation of foreign grain took place*.

It cannot therefore be doubted, but that sound policy should direct us, to lay such a duty upon foreign corn, imported, as will balance the advantages which the foreign farmers have over our own; that, if there must be a competition, both parties may start equally at market; and, if there must be high prices given, it is more for the interest of the kingdom, in general, that they be paid for the produce of our own lands, than for that of other nations.

There may be, no doubt, such barren seasons, as may render a supply of foreign corn absolutely necessary, to prevent famine; and in such events, powers ought to be vested in the King in council, to lessen, or to suspend altogether, the duties upon corn to be imported; but, in all other cases, respect-

* Vide Appendix, No 4.

ing importation, perhaps we cannot recur to a better rule than the act 1670. But to do this with propriety, will require great circumspection and care. We are near the brink of a precipice, at the same time that our retreat to a place of safety, is not without hazard.

Upon the supposition that there are eight millions of people in Great Britain, whereof two millions and a half are farmers and cottagers, or people entirely employed in the business of manufacturing grain, and that the other five millions and a half fill up the other departments of the community; and, reckoning that two quarters of the different kinds of grain, overhead, are necessary for the support of each person, the amount of the annual consumption, exclusive of the maintenance of the people employed in agriculture, is eleven millions of quarters*.

If we shall suppose a year, in which Great Britain can just maintain herself and sow the ground, without receiving or sending out any grain, the eleven millions of quarters would be the amount both of the consumption and of the produce, being the exact quantity raised, after supporting the people and cattle employed in the manufacture; and the exact quantity necessary for the other branches of the community.

But, in years when we export more than we import, our produce must be greater than our consumption; and in years when we import more than we export, it must be proportionally less.

* Vide Chap. I. Page 21. and Appendix, No 8. Art. 4.

	<i>Quarters.</i>
For the ten years from 1741 to 1750 inclusive, our exportation, at an average *, amounted yearly to	848,660
And deducting our yearly average importation of	<u>15,943</u>
There remained of clear yearly exportation	- 832,717
To which being added our yearly consumption of	<u>11,000,000</u>
These together made up our produce, amounting to	11,832,717

	<i>Quarters.</i>
In the other point of view we must first state our yearly consumption of	- - - 11,000,000
And our average yearly exportation from 1773 to 1784 inclusive	<u>267,182</u>
Amounting together to	- - - 11,267,182
And from thence deducting our average yearly importation	<u>578,358</u>
Our produce is reduced to	- - - 10,688,824

	<i>Quarters.</i>
Now, stating again our produce, in the times of the prosperity of agriculture, amounting to	11,832,717
And our present produce of	<u>10,688,824</u>

The difference is 1,143,893 quarters of grain less, raised in Great Britain now, than formerly, which is about 1 to 9 of our present produce.

* The amount of the exports and imports, in this statement, will be seen in the Appendix, No. 4.

This amazing difference, allowing twelve people for raising every hundred quarters of grain, cuts off from Great Britain, the employment of 137,256 persons, old and young, who would have been employed in raising this corn, and transfers the occupation and profit of the manufacture to the lands and people of other nations.

Had Great Britain kept this branch of business to herself, if we compute five quarters of the different kinds of grain over-head, to make a ton weight, the exportation of the grain would have afforded employment to 228,778 tons of shipping for one voyage *.

And, for the same voyage, allowing five mariners, young and old, for the navigation of every hundred tons, it would have given employment to 11,435 sailors, besides labourers and boatmen, in loading, piloting, &c.

And, if we shall suppose this voyage to take up only one eighth part of the year, this navigation would have been equal to the constant support of above 1400 seamen, or to the manning of two ships of the line; all which, with many other beneficial consequences, which would attend such an extensive branch of commerce, have been totally lost to Great Britain.

It appears, by an extract from the Corn Register, that, for

* Vide Note, p. 122.

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the fourteen years from 1771 to 1784 inclusive, the average prices of the quarter of the different kinds of grain, were as follows, viz.

		L.	s.	d.
The quarter of wheat	-	2	8	0
barley	-	1	3	8
oats	-	0	16	0
rye	-	1	10	3
beans	-	1	8	4

which makes the average price of the quarter of these different kinds of grain, over-head, to be L. 1 9 3.

If Great Britain had continued, as formerly, to raise and export at the rate of 832,717 quarters of grain, she would have received, besides the advantages already stated, for the price of the grain yearly - L. 1,217,848 12 8

But instead of that receipt she has yearly to pay for 311,176 quarters of foreign grain imported, over the amount of all her exportation, which comes to - 455,094 18 0

Which makes a yearly balance against Great Britain of - L. 1,672,943 10 8

These facts merit the most serious consideration*.

* In the supplies for the year 1796, no less than a million Sterling is voted, to pay bounties on the importation of foreign grain. This sum, at the rate of seventeen

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Having seen our average yearly produce brought to nearly twelve millions of quarters, when Great Britain enjoyed the export trade; and again reduced to little more than ten millions and a half, when that trade was lost; there can be nothing more clear than that the quantity of corn sown, will, at all times, be proportioned to the demand; and that, as our agriculture shall be extended, the number of our people will be increased.

It is, however, to be considered, that we have now, for a considerable period, been accustomed to receive a yearly importation of near 600,000 quarters of grain, or about an eighteenth part of our own provision, from foreign countries; and if we shall cut off or lose that supply, before our agriculture shall be so far extended, as to be sufficient to support the kingdom, at reasonable prices, without it, the flock might be ruinous.

The great increase of population in Great Britain, during the present century, would appear to have taken place chiefly from the year 1708 to 1763, when agriculture flourished, and when the great trade, of raising and exporting corn, felt the

shillings per quarter, being the average of the different rates of bounty for wheat, may produce an importation of 1,177,064 quarters; which, if reckoned to sell at L. 4 per quarter, would, together with the million for bounties, amount to L. 5,708,256; and although it may not be possible to procure even half that quantity of wheat, yet, from the vigorous measures taken to prevent dearth, the rest of the sum may be applied to the purchase of other grain. Allowing that the odd seven hundred thousand pounds may remain with our own merchants, as their profit; the drain of money, from Great Britain, for foreign grain may, and probably will, amount to five millions Sterling in one year! Edit.

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same protection and enjoyed a like success with our other manufactures. For, since that time to the year 1784, emigration, colonization, and war, have drawn so largely from the number of our inhabitants, that the alarming increase of importation, in so short a period as these twenty years, cannot be ascribed to an additional consumption, from advancing population; nor does it appear, that it can be entirely accounted for in a satisfactory manner, by any other cause, than the discouragement occasioned by the change of system in the Corn Laws, which has turned the industry of the people, from the raising of corn, to objects of less importance to the prosperity of the kingdom.

From the result of experience, during a period of seven hundred years, we have found, that the principles of the Corn Laws ought to be calculated to encourage the people to improve their lands, and to raise as much corn as the soil and climate will admit: An object which can only be attained, by securing a certain and steady market to the farmer for his produce; not only by preventing importation, but also, whenever it shall appear, from the moderate price of grain at home, that a greater quantity has been raised, than is required for the annual supply of the inhabitants, by giving such a bounty on exportation, as shall ensure a ready vent for our excrement stock in foreign countries. It is not enough that a nation raises, in general, a sufficiency of corn for the consumption of its inhabitants: It must be accustomed to raise considerably more, in order to afford plenty in bad seasons; and its annals ought to be distinguished by a greater or

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lesser *exportation*; but, on no occasion, ought it be reduced to the necessity of *importation*, and having recourse to foreign countries, for an expensive and precarious relief.

In the course of this Inquiry, it has appeared, that those happy effects have been best promoted by the laws of 1670, 1688, 1706, and 1732; and, in order that the principles of those laws may be clearly understood, we shall exhibit a Table, shewing the prices, bounties, and duties, by which the Corn Trade was regulated, under the old system*.

* To enable the reader to compare these with the prices, bounties, and duties, by which the Corn Trade is *now* regulated, under the law of 1791, a similar Table of them is given along with that referred to by the Author. *Edit.*

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TABLE of the Prices, Bounties, and Duties, upon the Exportation and Importation of Grain, according to the Laws of 1670, 1688, and 1706.

Bounties per Quarter. Money of the time. £. s. d.	EXPORTATION.	Price of Grain per Quarter. Money of the time. £. s. d.	IMPORTATION.	Duties per Quarter. Money of the time. £. s. d.
0 5 00 6 0	1. Wheat, Wheat Flour, when the price did not exceed - when the price was not above - when above that price, and not above and when above that price -	-	or Malt made of Wheat.	
0 3 60 4 2½	2. Rye, Peafe, when the price did not exceed - when the price was not above - and when above that price -	2 8 02 17 7 2 13 43 4 0 4 0 04 16 0	there was payable upon importation - there was payable - Beans, Buck Wheat.	0 16 00 19 2 0 8 00 9 7 0 5 40 0 5
0 2 60 3 0	3. Barley, Beer, when the price did not exceed - when the price was not above - and when above that price -	1 12 01 18 5 2 0 02 8 0	there was payable upon importation - there was payable - Bigg, Malt.	0 16 00 19 2 0 4 00 4 9½
0 2 60 3 0	4. Oats, For the quarter of oatmeal, when the price of oats did not exceed - when the price was not above - and when above that price -	1 4 01 8 9 1 12 01 18 5	there was payable upon importation - there was payable - Oatmeal.	0 16 00 19 2 0 2 80 3 2½
0 2 60 3 0		0 15 00 18 0 0 16 00 19 2	there was payable upon the importation of oats - there was payable -	5 40 6 5 0 1 40 1 7

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TABLE of the Prices, Bounties, and Duties, upon the Exportation and Importation of Grain, according to the Law of 1791.

Bounties per Qr. £. s. d.	EXPORTATION.	Prices of Gr. per Qr. £. s. d.	IMPORTATION.	Duties per Qr. £. s. d.
0 5 00 6 0	1. Wheat, Exportation prohibited, when at or above - when under - when at or above - but under - when at or above -	2 4 0 2 6 0 2 10 0 2 10 0 2 14 0 2 14 0	Wheat. there is payable upon importation - ditto - ditto -	1 4 3 0 2 6 0 0 6
0 3 00 6 0	2. Rye, Exportation prohibited, when at or above - when under - when at or above - but under - when at or above -	- 1 8 0 1 10 0 1 14 0 1 14 0 1 17 0 1 17 0	Peafe and Beans. there is payable upon importation - ditto - ditto -	1 2 0 0 1 6 0 0 3
0 2 60 3 0	3. Barley, Exportation prohibited, when at or above - when under - when at or above - but under - when at or above -	1 2 0 1 3 0 1 5 0 1 5 0 1 7 0 1 7 0	Beer, or Bigg. there is payable upon importation - ditto - ditto -	1 2 0 0 1 3 0 0 3
0 2 60 3 0	4. Oats, Exportation prohibited, when at or above - when under - when at or above - but under - when at or above -	0 14 0 0 15 0 0 17 0 0 17 0 0 18 0 0 18 0	Oats. there is payable upon importation - ditto - ditto -	0 6 7 0 1 0 0 0 2

N. B. Flour, Meal, and Malt, are regulated in proportion to the several forts of grain. The importation of Malt is at all times prohibited. * The Bounty, by the Tables in the Act of Parliament, appears to be given only upon Rye, and not also upon the exportation of Peafe and Beans.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING TABLES.

From this comparison, it will appear, that although the legislature have raised the import prices and duties higher, in a small degree, than the low state to which they were reduced by the law of 1773, and have, in so far, reverted to the old system, still the encouragement given to agriculture, by the law of 1791, is far inferior to what it enjoyed under the old laws.

Without including the difference between the value of money, in the present and in former times, it is sufficient to remark, that the bounty of 5s. upon wheat, is now withdrawn, when it rises to 44s.; and exportation is stopped, when it rises to 46s. per quarter; whereas, by the old laws, exportation, with the bounty, was continued till the price rose to 48s.

With respect to importation, it is now permitted, on low duties, when the price of wheat rises to L. 2 : 10s.; whereas, the duties, by the old laws, were equal to a prohibition, till the price rose to L. 4; and even then, the duty was considerable, instead of being reduced to a trifle, as it now is, before wheat reaches a price that can repay the farmer in a bad season.

In short, the law of 1791, appears to be liable to all the material objections that have been stated by the author of this work, against the law of 1773; and the continuance of our agriculture, in any degree of prosperity, seems to arise rather from the impossibility of obtaining adequate supplies from foreign countries (our farmers thereby retaining, in a great measure, the monopoly of our own markets) than from any protection, or encouragement, it has received from our late laws. *Editt.*

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If we shall return to the system established by the old laws, it is to be hoped that we may soon recover the happy situation in which our agriculture flourished for more than half a century after the Union; and, taking those laws for our basis, we may thence deduce the following *theorems*:

1st, That, whenever the prices of grain, at home, are such as indicate plenty, a bounty ought to be given upon exportation; and that bounty ought to be continued, until the prices rise to a certain height.

2^d, That, when the prices rise to the *first degree*, the bounty ought to cease; but exportation should still be permitted, until the prices rise to a second degree.

3^d, That, when the prices rise to the *second degree*, exportation ought to be prohibited.

4th, That, when the prices rise to a *third degree*, importation ought to be permitted, upon payment of duties; and those duties should be lessened, if the prices increase.

5th, That, no flour, or ground-grain, ought to be allowed to be imported.

6th, That, corn, once imported, ought not to be again exported; nor carried coastways, from one port to another.

7th, That, as either exportation or importation may be

carried to excess, powers ought to be vested in the King in Council, to restrain or prohibit exportation, or importation; and that either generally, or in particular places, as may appear to be most beneficial to the kingdom at large*.

* The power here proposed to be vested in the King in Council, for suspending the operation of the laws, might render them too uncertain to be fully depended upon by the Public; especially by that part of the community, who are engaged in raising corn: a business of itself so precarious, as to require both a fixed and permanent system for its encouragement. This objection is obviated in the following Chapter, where it is proposed that the suspending power, vested in the King in Council, should be exercised upon the recommendation of an Executive Board, by which the state of the grain in the country would be constantly ascertained; and, by whose reports, exportation and importation would be regulated. Edit.

Arrangements proposed for carrying into execution, and giving effect to the Corn Laws.—Conclusion of the Work.

ALTHOUGH the true spirit and construction of the Corn Laws have already been conveyed to us, by our forefathers, they have not been equally successful in the rules laid down for the execution of those laws.

A national object of this importance would require to be put under the direction of persons of the first consideration; and the laws, for its encouragement and protection, ought to be executed with the utmost precision. We have seen the agriculture of Great Britain flourishing under the benign influence of the former salutary laws; and we have seen it blasted by the hasty application of contrary rules.

If we shall suppose the principles, stated in the seven theorems, which concluded the foregoing chapter, to be the foundation of our Corn Laws, we may consider how far the exe-

cution of them may not be rendered more prompt and certain than heretofore, and fraud more effectually prevented.

Although England and Scotland be politically incorporated, and that, in the present case, the same prices, bounties, and duties, and the same rules, will answer for both countries; yet, from their being under a separate jurisdiction, as well as from a diversity of climate and crops, it appears necessary that each should have a separate institution for the execution of the laws.

Let us suppose the three junior Judges of the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with a secretary or clerk, with suitable appointments, to be formed into a Court for the *Conservation of the Agriculture of England*; and two of the Judges to be a quorum*. And the three junior Judges of the courts of Session, Justiciary, and Exchequer, in Scotland, with a secretary or clerk, and suitable appointments, to be formed into a Court for the *Conservation of the Agriculture of Scotland*; and two of these Judges to be a quorum.

Let us suppose England to be divided into ten districts, and Scotland into five; and, to avoid the confusion and irregularity arising from exportation and importation going on at the same time, in the same harbour or creek, let the divisions be made, as much as possible, from headland to headland, or places

* The three junior judges are mentioned, as they are supposed to be at a more vigorous time of life than their seniors, and of course more capable of bearing the additional fatigue of this office.

where there are no harbours or creeks; and let the neighbouring counties form the district, as follows*:

ENGLAND.

From Berwick to Redcar, comprehending the sea coasts of the counties of Northumberland and Durham; and these counties to form the district. 1st District.

From Redcar to Spurn-head, comprehending the sea coast of Yorkshire; and that county to form the district. 2d District.

From Spurn-head to Orfordness, comprehending the sea coasts of the counties of Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and the navigation of the Humber; and these, with the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Warwick, Leicestershire, Rutland, Derby, and Nottingham, to form the district. 3d District.

From Orfordness to Dungeness, comprehending the sea coast of Essex and Kent, with the navigation of the river Thames; and these, with the counties of Surry, Berks, Oxford, Buckingham, Middlesex, Hertford, and Bedford, to form the district. 4th District.

From Dungeness to the Easter limit of Dorsetshire, comprehending the sea coast of Sussex and Hampshire; and these, with Wiltshire, and the Isle of Wight, to form the district. 5th District.

* The division of the districts, in the act 1791, not being made from headland to headland, appears to be liable to the objections, which the author has endeavoured to obviate in his arrangement. *Edit.*

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6th District.

From the Eastern limit of Dorsetshire to Minehead, comprehending the sea coast of Dorsetshire, and that of Devonshire and Cornwall; and these counties to form the district.

7th District.

From Minehead to Pen Kenny's Point, comprehending the sea coast of Somersetshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire, Caermarthenhire, and Pembrokehire, with the navigation of the Severn; and these, with the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, and Brecknock, to form the district.

8th District.

From Pen Kenny's Point to Great Orm's Head, comprehending the sea coasts of Cardiganshire, Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, with the Isle of Anglesea; and these, with Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire, and Shropshire, to form the district.

9th District.

From Great Orm's Head to Rossal Point, comprehending the sea coast of Denbighshire, Flintshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire; and these, with Staffordshire, to form the district.

10th District.

From Rossal Point to the bottom of the Solway Firth, comprehending the sea coast of Westmoreland and Cumberland; and these counties, with the Isle of Man, to form the district.

SCOTLAND.

1st District.

From the bottom of the Solway Firth, to the bottom of Loch Long, comprehending the sea coast of the counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, Air, Renfrew, and Dum-

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barton, with the navigation of the east side of Loch Long, and the navigation of the Clyde; and these, with the county of Lanark, to form the district.

2d District.

From the bottom of Loch Long to Arderfeer, comprehending the sea coast of the counties of Bute, Argyle, Inverness, Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, and Caithness, Shetland, and Orkney, with the whole islands that belong to these counties, and the navigation of the Murray Frith, upon the north side as far as Arderfeer, and upon both sides, above Arderfeer; and the above counties to form the district.

3d District.

From Arderfeer to Mather Point, southward of John's Haven, comprehending the sea coasts of the counties of Nairn, Moray, Banff, Aberdeen, and Mearns; and these counties to form the district.

4th District.

From Mather Point, south of John's Haven, to the Bridge of Stirling, comprehending the sea coast of the counties of Angus and Fife, with the navigation of the Tay to the Bridge of Perth, and of the north side of the Forth; and the above counties, with those of Clackmannan, Kinross, and Perth, to form the district.

5th District.

From the Bridge of Stirling to Berwick, comprehending the sea coast of the counties of Stirling, Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Haddington, and Berwick; and these counties, with Peebles, Selkirk, and Roxburgh, to form the district.

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These are the divisions which occur to us to be the most convenient and proper, according to the best of our information and judgment; but we are far from laying them down as unexceptionable. In a work of this nature, it is sufficient that a reasonable plan be proposed, leaving it to be canvassed at the county meetings in the several districts, and the particulars to be afterwards arranged and fixed by the legislature.

Now, supposing these courts to be constituted, and the districts to be fixed.

At Michaelmas, yearly, when the harvest will be generally over in England, let the sheriffs call a jury of twenty-four grave substantial people, such as are ordinarily called upon grand juries, in every county; and, in Yorkshire, in every Riding; and let this jury declare, upon oath, from their own knowledge, or from such evidence as they shall think proper to call before them, their opinion of the state of the crop, and of the prices which the several kinds of grain may be worth for the ensuing season, within their respective counties.

Let these verdicts be immediately sent to the Secretary of the Court of Conservation, who, from thence, is to make out an average account of the several prices of grain within the respective districts; which is to be laid before the Court, and, by their authority, published in the Gazette, and to stand as the rule for exportation and importation within the several districts, until another general report shall be published, unless

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the same shall, in the mean time, be altered by the King's proclamation.

At Ladyday, when the seed, in England, will be mostly in the ground, let juries again be impanelled in every shire, and in every Riding of Yorkshire; and let them declare, upon oath, from their own knowledge, or from such evidence as they may think proper to call before them, their opinion of the value or prices which the several sorts of grain, within their several counties, may be worth until harvest; which verdicts are to be immediately reported to the Secretary of the Court of Conservation, from whence he is to make out an average account of the prices of the different kinds of grain, within the several districts, which is to be laid before the Court, and, by their authority, published in the Gazette; and to stand as the rule for exportation and importation within the several districts, until another general report shall be published, unless the same shall, in the mean time, be altered by the King's proclamation.

Let a weekly account be kept in one or more towns in each county, and in each Riding of Yorkshire, where corn or meal markets are usually held, and if more than one, at least twenty miles distant from each other, of the prices of the several kinds of corn, grain, or meal, per quarter, allowing pounds avoirdupois, for the quarter of meal in those markets; which accounts are, immediately after the markets, to be sent to the Secretary of the Court of Conservation, from whence he is to make up an average account of the prices of the dif-

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ferent kinds of grain, within the several districts, to be laid before the Court once every week*.

Thus the Court of Conservation, being in possession of the general state of the crop, and of the value of the different kinds of grain, in the several districts, twice every year, and of the weekly state of the markets, in the event of any sudden rise of the prices of grain, either from known or unknown causes, or from the appearance of a late or a bad harvest, or in the case of any considerable fall in the prices, the judges have it in their power to lay the case before the King in Council, in order to procure such an alteration in the exportation or importation, as they shall judge most for the good of the kingdom at large.

In executing this part of their duty, it is not to be doubted that the judges will act with sufficient caution and circumspection, to frustrate any artifices for raising or falling of markets.

And here it may be proper to observe, that the western coast, both of England and Scotland, from the difference of climate, is not so well adapted to the production of corn, as the eastern coast, and consequently that the prices of grain must, in general, be higher in the one side of the island than the other; besides, there are other populous grazing and manufacturing counties, which never raise corn sufficient for their own con-

* The act 10 Geo. 3. cap. 39. with some amendment might answer this purpose.

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sumption; and, upon the eastern coast, some of the districts may enjoy a plentiful harvest, while others, from a less favourable season, have reaped but a scanty one.

In such cases it is well worthy of the attention of the legislature to consider, how far it would not be proper to give some bounty equal to the freight, for transporting grain from one district to another, or even from the one side of the island to the other, rather than to import foreign grain; for it should be never out of view, that for every hundred quarters of foreign grain, which we bring into the kingdom, we cut off the bread and employment of twelve of our own people, old and young; or, more properly speaking, we prevent the existence of such a number of additional people, with the proportional production of cattle, horses, &c. by employing the lands and labour of other nations*. At any rate it would appear to be necessary to give every ease possible to the transmission of our own corn from one part of the kingdom to another, by permitting it to be shipped and carried coastways, or by inland navigation, without any custom-house dispatch, or any other detention whatever. And to prevent frauds, by carrying such corn abroad, it may be declared, by a law, to be highly penal to load any corn for exportation, without entry at the custom-house: And all restraints upon buying and selling of corn, except those upon forestalling and regrating the particular markets, ought to be removed.

The same rules for carrying on the business of the Court of

* Vide Appendix N° 8. Art. 9.

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Conservation in England, will apply to that of Scotland, and they need not therefore be repeated.

We shall now proceed to mention what occurs to us, with respect to the particular business of exportation and importation; what the probable expence may be attending the execution of the laws; and in what manner the funds may be raised for that purpose.

The business of importation will be much circumscribed, by the general plan for ascertaining the prices; but still this branch of the trade, ought, for reasons already enumerated, to be attended to with the utmost precision.

It is not to be doubted, that the reports of the juries, at Ladyday and Michaelmas, will establish the general state of the prices of the several kinds of grain throughout the kingdom; and these being the index of the trade, will guard it against improper importation; and, if any fraud shall be attempted, by the artificial raising or falling of particular markets, the general, as well as the particular, state of the prices, over all the kingdom, being constantly in the view of the Courts of Conservation, the judges will thereby be enabled completely to prevent such attempts from having any effect; at the same time that the community at large, may safely repose such confidence in these courts, as to believe that the judges, upon due consideration, will, from time to time, when they shall see it proper, by their representations to the King in Council, soften the necessary rigour of the laws to be

made against importation, until the agriculture of the kingdom shall furnish grain sufficient for its consumption.

With respect to exportation, the law gives the bounty to the farmer, for enabling him to send his crop abroad, and to dispose of it in another country, when he cannot find a market for it at home; and by that means to continue his trade of raising corn, preferably to other productions of the soil, which are not so necessary nor so profitable to the kingdom.

It no doubt answers the same purpose to give the bounty to the merchant who exports the grain, because he is thereby enabled to pay a proportionally higher price to the farmer; and, from his knowledge and correspondence in the trade, he may find a market for it, when the farmer cannot.

But to guard against fraud has been always the chief difficulty in the execution of the Corn Laws; for where profit is to be obtained, there will be people ready to break through, or to evade the strictest laws, even those most beneficial to the kingdom.

On the plan recommended, it will be the object of the laws to provide, that the corn and meal to be exported, upon which a bounty is to be paid, is really and truly of British growth; that it is neither corn of foreign growth, nor mixed with foreign corn; that it is not corn ground, or malt made from corn of foreign growth, nor mixed with foreign grain; and

that it is not corn of British growth which had been formerly exported, and afterwards reloaded.

To obviate these difficulties, as far as possible, it may be proposed, that the exporter shall make oath, that the corn intended to be shipped by him, for exportation, was purchased by him, or by persons immediately employed by him, from British farmers, or raisers of corn; and that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, it is not of foreign growth, nor mixed with corn of foreign growth; and that it is not corn of British growth, which had formerly been exported, and afterwards reloaded, nor mixed with such corn.

It may be objected, that such niceties would be a restraint upon the trade, and a bar to the transference of property; but where bounties are to be given for the general good, upon as easy terms as is consistent with a proper guard against fraud, the receivers are not entitled to scrutinise, or to find fault with the rules prescribed by the generous benefactor.

Fair dealers will find no fault with proper restrictions, nor can these rules in the smallest degree obstruct exportation. In all countries there are people who tread upon the heels of the fair trader; and, in cases of this kind, where penalties must be affixed to transgressions, such people might name persons as exporters, to qualify their cargoes, as had neither character nor property to lose.

Exportation of corn, according to the former laws, ought

to be made in ships owned by British born subjects, residing in the British dominions, and whereof the master, and at least two thirds of the mariners, are also British subjects; and the exporter ought to give bond, under the penalty of L. 10 per ton, that the corn shipped, shall be carried abroad, and not reloaded in Britain; but the bounty should be payable, although the grain should perish at sea, or be taken by enemies; and the bond ought to be given up, upon producing proper certificates that the corn was really landed in a foreign country, or that it had perished at sea, or had been taken by enemies.

The dispatch of business is of great consequence; and the laws have allowed the officers of the customs to make choice of two sacks out of twenty, and from the quantity of corn contained in these, to compute the quantity shipped.

If we could expect the long wished for equalisation of the weights and measures of Great Britain, we would propose, that the bounties should be made payable according to the weight of the quarter of well dressed middling British grain. This rule, while it deals out justice to the public, would tend greatly, in a short time, to stamp a superior value upon British grain, at foreign markets. But, if this cannot be the case, the farmer is much safer to sell his grain to the merchant by measure, than by weight; because his own measures will be some sort of check, and there is probably less opportunity of deceit, in the diversity of the measures, than in that of the weights.

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which at present are to be found in every part of Great Britain.

By the act of the 24th George II. when ground corn is shipped, the same bounty is to be allowed upon 244 pounds weight of wheat meal, or other ground corn or grain, whereon there is a bounty, as was allowed upon the exportation of four bushels of wheat, or other grain or corn unground; and, for the dispatch of business, when such ground corn should be brought in sacks to be shipped, the officers of the customs were authorized to make choice of two sacks out of twenty, and from thence to compute the weight of the meal to be shipped, for which the bounty is to be paid.

By the act 1773 the bounties payable upon corn ground (except oatmeal*) are taken off, while the foreign farmer is permitted to import his flour, upon payment of a mere trifle of duties.

It is not easy to discover a reason for this part of that law; for if our farmers are to be allowed a bounty upon the ex-

* By the act 1773, the quarter of oatmeal is fixed at 276 pounds avoirdupois, upon which a bounty of 2s. 6d. is payable. By the former laws, the bounty upon 244 pounds of meal, made from wheat or other grain, upon which a bounty was payable, was the same as was allowed for four bushels of the grain from whence the meal was made; which brings the weight of the quarter to 448 pounds. The weight of the quarter of all kinds of meal, ought to be the same; and a bounty of 4s. upon 448 pounds of oatmeal, will be equal to 2s. 6d. upon 276 pounds.

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portation of wheat in body, they are much better entitled to it, in sound policy, when, by the manufacture of it into flour, they add 10 per cent. of the value of it, to the common stock of the industry of the kingdom; and 10 per cent. more, for the cloth used in sacks for it. It is therefore to be hoped, that this bounty, and the clause for dispatch in the business of exportation, will be replaced.

The bounties upon exportation should be paid according to the certificates of the officers of the customs, at the port of shipping, within six months after the certificate shall be presented to the commissioners of the customs at London or Edinburgh respectively; and, failing such payments, the money to bear interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, until paid, agreeable to the act of the 26th George II.

Having mentioned what occurs to us respecting this proposed law, and the execution of its different branches, we shall now take under consideration the expence and funds necessary for carrying on the external and internal business of the proposed Court.

It may be presumed, that the jurymen will attend the several meetings upon their own expences, for the public good; but to call them together, to ingross the several steps of their procedure, and make the reports to the Court of Conservation, must be attended with some expence, and this being an additional piece of duty to be fixed upon the sheriffs, they

ought to have a reasonable allowance for their trouble and expences*.

By the act of the 10th George III. for registering the prices of corn, the persons to be appointed to take up the prices of corn, at the several markets, and to transmit the same, were to be rewarded according to the determination of the justices of the peace, and to be paid quarterly out of the county rates; but, in counties where there were no county rates, this part of the law could not be executed †. Besides, this law extends only to the prices of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans, in England, and only to beer or bigg, in Scotland: And, to answer the present purposes, the prices of all kinds of grain in use for the food of mankind, and the prices of meal, made from such grain, must be returned.

Reasonable salaries must be made to the judges, and to their secretaries or clerks, and a proper allowance for the contingent expences of the courts.

As every plan, suggested to the public consideration, ought to be made as complete as possible, we shall here specify cer-

* Hitherto, when such duty was committed to the justices of the peace, in many places it was not executed; and, as a law of the proposed kind, cannot have the wished-for effect, without prompt and distinct execution, it would appear to be necessary to convey the power to the sheriffs, as an indispensable part of their office.

† Although provision may be made for the payment of the person who takes up and transmits the market prices, still it would appear necessary to have a penal clause inserted to insure the execution of his duty.

tain articles, which it appears to us may form the principal heads of the expence of executing this law.

In England there are 51 counties, beside Yorkshire, in which there are 3 Ridings, each of them larger than many counties; and as we have proposed a jury in each county, and in each of these ridings, there would be in all 54 juries in England.

In Scotland there are 34 counties, but as 6 of these are very small, and are, at present, severally conjoined with other counties, under the jurisdiction of one sheriff; 28 juries will serve for Scotland.

The number of market towns, from whence the weekly return of the prices are to be made, ought to be regulated according to the numbers of people, and extent of the counties or ridings. We shall propose these to be arranged as follows:

IN ENGLAND.

No	COUNTIES.	MARKET TOWNS.	No
1	Cornwall		
2	Devonshire		
3	Dorsetshire		
4	Somersetshire		
5	Wiltshire		
6	Hampshire		
7	Suffex		
8	Surry		
9	Kent		
10	Glamorganshire		
11	Monmouthshire		
12	Gloucestershire		
13	Berkshire		
14	Oxfordshire		
15	Buckinghamshire		
16	Middlesex		

No	COUNTIES.	MARKET TOWNS.	No
17	Hertfordshire		
18	Essex		
19	Pembrokeshire		
20	Caermarthenshire		
21	Brecknockshire		
22	Cardiganshire		
23	Radnorshire		
24	Herefordshire		
25	Worcestershire		
26	Warwickshire		
27	Northamptonshire		
28	Bedfordshire		
29	Huntingdonshire		
30	Cambridgeshire		
31	Suffolk		
32	Montgomeryshire		
33	Merionethshire		
34	Shropshire		
35	Staffordshire		
36	Leicestershire		
37	Rutlandshire		
38	Norfolk		
39	Carnarvonshire		
40	Anglesea		
41	Denbighshire		
42	Flintshire		
43	Chehire		
44	Derbyshire		
45	Nottinghamshire		
46	Lincolnshire		
47	Lancashire		
48	Westmoreland		
49	Cumberland		
50	Durham		
51	Northumberland		
52	Yorkshire, E. Riding		
53	Ditto, North Riding		
54	Ditto, West Riding		

No	COUNTIES.	MARKET TOWNS.	No
1	Edinburghshire		
2	Haddingtonshire		
3	Berwickshire		
4	Roxburghshire		
5	Perthshire		
6	Mearns		
7	Aberdeenshire		
8	Invernessshire		
9	Selkirkshire		
10	Peebles		
11	Lanark		
12	Dumfriesshire		
13	Wigtonshire		
14	Ayrshire		
15	Dumbartonshire		
16	Renfrewshire		
17	Stirling and Clackmanan		
18	Linlithgow		
19	Argyleshire		
20	Bute		
21	Fife and Kinross		
22	Forfarshire		
23	Banffshire		
24	Caithness and Sutherland		
25	Elgin and Nairn		
26	Orkney and Shetland		
27	Ross and Cromarty		
28	Kircudbright		

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Let us suppose the salary of the three Judges in
 England to be L. 300 each - - L. 900 0 0
 To their secretary or clerk - - 250 0 0
 Contingent expences - - - 60 0 0

L. 1210 0 0

Salary of the three Judges in Scotland, suppo-
 sed to be L. 200 each L. 600 0 0
 To their secretary or clerk - 200 0 0
 Contingent expences - 40 0 0

840 0 0

Expence of calling 108 juries in England yearly,
 and of engrossing their procedure, and ma-
 king their reports, at L. 10 each jury - 1080 0 0

Expence of calling 56 juries in Scotland yearly,
 and of ingrossing their minutes of procedure,
 and making their reports, at L. 10 each jury 560 0 0

Expence of the weekly returns from
 market-towns in England, and in
 Scotland, in all , at L. 5 yearly each

Total L.

The above being the probable amount of the expences at-
 tending the establishment of the proposed Court of Conserva-
 tion, we shall proceed to state the probable means by which
 these expences may be defrayed.

For the forty-four years, from the 1741 to 1784 inclusive,
 there have been, upon an average, imported and exported

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yearly, to and from Great Britain, 737,697 quarters of grain,
 of which more than one third has been wheat, or wheat flour,
 or malt made from wheat, and the remainder of other grain.

It may be presumed, that the amount of importation and
 exportation together, will rather exceed than fall short of this
 quantity in future, as we have seen, that for many years,
 when the exportation trade was entirely in the possession of
 Great Britain, the quantity yearly exported, upon an average,
 amounted to 848,660 quarters.

Taking, therefore, the average of the importation and ex-
 portation, as above, and fixing an executive premium of on-
 ly 2d. upon the quarter of all wheat, wheat flour, or malt
 made of wheat, imported and exported; and 1½d. upon the
 quarter of every other kind of grain: this premium, upon
 245,899 quarters of wheat, &c. at 2d. per quarter,

will amount to L. 2049 3 2

And upon

491,798 quarters of other grain, at 1½d. per
 quarter - - - 3073 14 9

737,697 In all L. 5,122 17 11

Having, for many years, bestowed great attention upon the
 subject which gave rise to this Work; and, feeling it the duty
 of every member of the community, to suggest such ideas as
 may in any way contribute to the public good; we have, with
 the utmost deference, stated the measures that have occurred
 to us, by which the Agriculture of Great Britain may be pro-

Conclusion.

moted, with the most certain prospect of success; and by which, the export trade in corn may, in a reasonable time, be revived in this country: a branch of commerce, the extension of which is the surest index of national prosperity, and of an increasing population, such as adds effectually to the strength and power of the state*.

It were to be wished, that the community at large would view Agriculture, as the first object of national importance; because, unless it prosper, all other pursuits are visionary: Yet, such is the fluctuation in the minds of men, that sometimes it has been treated as of the first consequence to the state, and, at other times, cast off as unworthy of consideration.

Perhaps the time may be yet to come, when, amidst the multiplicity of other pursuits, Agriculture shall be enabled to press

* So great is the difference between the population produced by the extension of Agriculture, and that arising from a premature encouragement of Manufactures and Commerce, that it is remarked by Mr Arthur Young, in his Tour through France, that such was the wretched state of the lower classes of the people, in that country, in consequence of the depressed state of Agriculture, and the scarcity of provisions, that the nation would at that time, in 1789, have been in a far more flourishing state with four or five millions less of inhabitants. See vol. 1. chap. 17. page 469, on Population, and chap. 20. page 510, on Manufactures.

In the whole of this able Work, particularly in these two chapters, the important deductions, drawn from facts of great magnitude, shew, in the clearest and most convincing manner, the preference due to Agriculture in every country.

Edit.

through the crowd, and claim the attention of the Public. To become its patrons would do honour to the highest characters in the state; and, in any essential effort made for its advancement, we might look up with confidence to the protection of our Sovereign, the beneficent promoter of whatever can tend to increase the happiness of his people, and the prosperity of his kingdom.

THE END.

SUPPLEMENT.

LETTER I.

From Mr Mackie, Farmer in Ormiston, to the Editor, containing a Review of the Corn Laws, and an Account of the Corn Trade, from the periods to which they are brought down in the preceding Inquiry to the year 1793; with farther Suggestions for the Improvement of the Corn Laws.

*Ormiston, in East Lothian,
10th December 1795.*

DEAR SIR,

IN consequence of your desire, I have perused, with attention, your late Father's Inquiry into the Corn Laws of this country, and agree with him in opinion, that a judicious system of regulation, restricting the *free* importation of foreign corn, and affording a bounty on the exportation of our own produce, when low priced in the home market, is absolutely necessary for preserving the agriculture, prosperity, and independence of Great Britain; and for securing that decided superiority of internal resource, which at present she so happily enjoys, even in times of necessity, over the surrounding nations.

LETT. I.

Previously to assigning my reasons in support of the principles laid down in the preceding Inquiry, it may be necessary

Z

LETT. I.

to remark, that they stand in opposition to the theory of one of the first political writers in this or any country, (Dr Adam Smith on the Wealth of Nations) who asserts, that the restraining laws are hurtful, and that a free importation and exportation of Corn would at all times be beneficial to the state. I shall therefore, first, take a view of your Father's sentiments, contrasted with those of Doctor Smith, on the Corn Laws; and afterwards, by way of Supplement, bring down his account of the Import and Export trade in Corn to the present time; giving, at the same time, a short account of the particular statutes which have been enacted by the Legislature of this country, for regulating this essential branch of national policy, since he finished his Treatise on that subject.

The intention of your late Father's Work is to establish this principle—That a judicious system of laws, prohibiting the importation of foreign corn, except in cases of absolute necessity, and giving a bounty on the exportation of our own produce, when low-priced in the home market, gives a permanent impulse to the exertions of the husbandman, so as regularly to promote agriculture, and afford uniformly a more plentiful supply of grain in the home market, and at more moderate prices, than if no such laws were in force; by which means the necessaries of life being more easily procured, population and active industry are greatly promoted, on which the power of a state chiefly depends.

In support of this opinion, he brings forward the well authenticated fact, that since the 1670, when the national policy

LETT. I.

of prohibiting the importation of foreign corn assumed a more settled form, and particularly since 1688, when the bounty on our own produce was established by a permanent law, for near a century after these periods, the average prices of corn, in the home market, were not only considerably cheaper than in the one immediately preceding, but also an immense sum was brought into the country, for the surplus quantity of corn exported, after liberally supplying the inhabitants.

The author of the Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, admits that the average prices of grain were higher in the last than in the early part of this century, after the bounty took effect; but he denies that it proceeded from this cause. 'The bounty (he says) was granted for the express purpose of raising the price of corn in the home market;' and he attributes the fall which afterwards took place, to the demand for money, now necessary for representing the accumulating capitals, arising from the increasing industry of the different European states, in almost every country, even where no bounties were established, particularly in France, where, so far from any bounties being allowed, corn of all kinds was then totally restricted from being sent out of the kingdom, to find a foreign market, exportation being rigorously restricted by the laws of that despotic government. Allowing, however, that the fall in the price of corn proceeded from the cause which Dr Smith has here assigned, I shall afterwards endeavour to show the danger that would result to Great Britain, in her present situation, from relaxing

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the force of those salutary laws that have hitherto supported the agriculture of this country; but which, from the accumulating burdens that now repress the industry of the farmer, will in future, it may be feared, be unable to keep pace with the growing consumption arising from the increasing population, the opulence, and luxury of the inhabitants; unless the wisdom of the legislature remove those obstructions which prevent the improvement of the waste lands, and the adoption of a more perfect mode of cultivation on the fields already under the management of the husbandman.

The inhabitants of this country may be divided into two classes, known by the appellation of the landed and mercantile interest, viz. those who draw their immediate support from the produce of the soil, and the manufacturers and merchants, who are consumers of the produce. Although the welfare of these two classes depends, in a great measure, on each other's prosperity, yet, at first sight, their interest appears diametrically opposite. The manufacturers, and those who live in towns, being daily supplied from the country, with provisions for themselves and those employed in their manufactures, are greatly alarmed at the smallest advance in the price; being regularly informed from the newspapers, and other vague authorities, of the most abundant crops, which they pretend every year cover the face of the country. If, notwithstanding this regular prediction, a bad crop ensues, and the prices of corn get up in consequence of a real scarcity, it is attributed only to a manœuvre of the farmers, and corn dealers; they are liberally branded with the epithets

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of forestallers and regraters, and loud complaints are raised, that by keeping up the corn from market, the high price of provisions will put a stop to manufactures, and involve the country in ruin. Open the ports, is the general cry; allow us to bring in corn from the Baltic, where we can purchase it for half the money it costs us at home, and then our drooping manufactures will revive, and our country reassume its wonted prosperity. To such language, the government of this country has always lent a willing ear, when strengthened with the united importunities of the manufacturing and mercantile interest; men whose sole occupation, is to seize every favourable opportunity to improve their fortunes; and who, living in towns, know the force of combination, and of acting in concert. Whilst, on the other hand, gentlemen of landed property, whose revenue, arising from the productions of the earth, without any particular efforts of their own, cannot perceive with the same acuteness, when their general interest is attacked, nor be brought to act with unanimity and spirit in warding off the blow. Let me add, also, that this apathy or indolence of the landed interest, on every subject respecting agriculture which is brought before the legislature, has of late become more conspicuous, since rents were wholly paid in money, which prevents them from feeling the immediate bad effects of those regulations on the agriculture of this country, which proceed from the repeated complaints of the mercantile interest. Accordingly we find government, on many occasions, interfering in favour of that interest, and abrogating the laws respecting the export and import of corn; but it was not till the year 1773, that a new law was framed, repeal-

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ing a number of ancient statutes, made at and prior to the Revolution, and putting the corn trade under an entire new code of regulations.

When we review the growing prosperity of Great Britain, in the period above mentioned, and the immense wealth and capital *acquired* by this country in 1773, when compared with that in 1688, and the consequent fall in the value of money, we should imagine, that if any alteration in the Corn Laws had been necessary, it would have been to raise the rates at which foreign corn was allowed to be imported, in order to protect the agriculture of Great Britain, by removing every impediment which might obstruct the value of home produce from keeping pace with the advance in the price of labour, and of every manufactured commodity. But there was no occasion for such an alteration; the ancient laws had been framed with sufficient wisdom to protect and cherish agriculture, for a great length of time, (one error excepted, which I shall afterwards take notice of) and they would have continued to have done so, if they had not been altered by the new code, framed for the evident purpose of lowering the price of corn in the home market, thereby sinking the revenue of the landed interest, and depressing the industry of the husbandman.

Although it was the express intention of the original instigators of this law (1773) to reduce the prices [of corn in the home market, to a par with what they had been at, in the period of forty years immediately preceding; it, however, produced no such effect. The large addition to the national

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capital now in circulation, arising from the increase of the public debt, from the revenue and internal trade of India, and the rapid advances which the country had made in manufactures and commerce, since the peace of 1763, counteracted the intended effect of the law. It, nevertheless, repressed agriculture, by encouraging the importation of foreign corn, and sunk the profit on the stock employed in the cultivation of the soil, below that which was embarked, during the same period, in trade and manufactures; thereby preventing the additional capital necessary for producing a return, to supply the growing consumption of the country, from being invested in agriculture, and even endangering the drawing out of part of that already engaged in this most productive branch of human industry. The impolicy of such a system is evident; and accordingly it is to this law that your Father ascribes the loss of the export trade of corn to Great Britain. I, however, do not go this length; I admit its evil tendency, but am of opinion, it was only one of the causes that have produced this effect; the others, I shall endeavour afterwards to explain. Previously to the passing of this act, the export trade of grain was rapidly declining, and verging towards that period, when the balance began to appear on the other side of the account, and to stand against this country. We must not therefore be surprized, after the legislature had thus given way to the solicitations of the mercantile interest, in lowering the import rates of foreign corn, to find, that a regular system of importation was immediately formed by the corn merchants, under the sanction of this established law, which could not before be carried into execu-

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tion, the bringing in of foreign corn being almost prohibited, on account of the high importation rates and duties then in force, and being only allowed by the authority of partial and temporary statutes.

I must here observe, that in years of plenty, the farmer is in general best paid for his corn; the low price, which follows from the abundance of the crop, naturally occasions want of attention, and consequently prodigality and waste in the consumers; and the increased consumption, arising from this cause, has the effect to raise its money price above its real value. On the other hand, when the price gets high in consequence of a deficient crop, every purchaser becomes of necessity an œconomist, the consumer is stinted to a bare sufficiency, and the diminished consumption, of course, sinks the price below its real value, that is, its prime cost, or expence bestowed in rearing and bringing it to market*. In this situation, how distressing must it be to the husbandmen of Great Britain, to have the prices of grain still lowered by the importation of foreign corn; which, when once brought into the country, being lodged in the warehouses of opulent

* I know the contrary is alledged, viz. That a certain deficiency in the crop produces an advance in price in favour of the farmer. I cannot, however, admit the fact; in the natural course of things, the price of every commodity is regulated by the demand and quantity at market. We must, however, except any interference of government, which impedes the regular course of circulation; whereby an alarm is excited in a country; witness the maximum and paper money in France, and the effect of the laws and regulations, proposed by the legislature of this country, for lowering the price of corn.

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merchants, in the populous towns, where the grain is chiefly consumed, they are therefore always at hand to push a sale, and supply every demand, in which they are aided by bank accounts, and discount of bills, to give long credits to purchasers. From these causes, the corn merchants have a decided superiority in the market over the farmers; and they actually dispose of their foreign corn from 10 to 15 *per cent.* dearer than the farmer can procure for grain of the same quality, and the produce of our own soil.

I have observed above, that the act of 1773, by lowering so considerably the import rates and duties on the introduction of foreign corn, gave rise to an established system of importation, and opened the door to speculation, of which the corn merchants wished at all times to keep the key, i. e.—The prices of corn in the foreign markets being generally much lower than in Britain, they were therefore always ready, by artifice, to open the ports, before the price of British corn in the home market, rose to the rate at which the law allowed the importation of foreign grain: It was therefore found necessary, from time to time, to pass acts for counteracting these insidious designs, in order to render the general law more effectual. Of these particular statutes, the following were enacted, after your Father finished his Treatise on the corn laws:

By the act, 21 Geo. 3. cha. 50, so much of the acts of 1st Jas. 2.; 5 Geo. 2.; 6 Geo. 3.; and 14 of Geo. 3. as respects the determining the prices of middling English wheat and other

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grain, in the port of London, and counties of Kent and Essex, are repealed; and in lieu thereof, by this act, an inspector is appointed, to ascertain the weekly average prices, made out from the actual sales in the port of London, which are to regulate exportation, and the bounties paid thereon. An average price is also directed to be made up from three months weekly returns, on the first day of the sessions in London, held in January, April, July, and September, to regulate importation, and the duty paid thereon, for three months, in the port of London, and counties above mentioned.

1783.

The Corn Law was suspended, importation at low duties was allowed, and exportation prohibited, till 25th August 1783, in England; and 25th September in Scotland*.

1789.

The act 29 Geo. 3. chap. 58. improved and extended the act 21 Geo. 3. chap. 50. Every corn factor in London and suburbs, was obliged to give in weekly returns of his sales to the inspectors. Importation was allowed into London, Kent, and Essex, when the prices of middling British grain rose to the rates prescribed in act 1773, as taken by the six last weekly returns in the port of London, immediately preceding the quarterly sessions, oats excepted, which continued to be regulated by twelve weekly returns, as formerly. The act was extended to the maritime counties of England, which are divided into eleven districts. Inspectors of corn returns are to be appointed by the justices of the peace in each county, to make weekly returns of the prices of corn, from not more than twelve, nor

23 Geo. 3. chap. 1. 23 Geo. 3. chap. 53. 23 Geo. 3. chap. 81.

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fewer than eight market-towns in each county; the average prices arising from the weekly returns, are to be sent to the collectors of the ports in the district for regulating exportation; and the average prices for the whole district, made up from the six weekly returns, immediately preceding the 1st day of February, May, August, and November, are to regulate the importation of foreign corn, and duties paid thereon.

1790.

30 Geo. 3. chap. 1. is an act of indemnity, for abrogating the Corn Laws, in pursuance of orders from the Privy Council, dated 11th and 18th November, 23d December 1786, 2d and 8th January 1790. By this act, the above orders are confirmed, and the Corn Laws suspended; no kind of British grain being allowed to be exported, except the particular quantities specified for the use of the sugar colonies; and all sorts of foreign grain freely allowed to be brought into every port in Great Britain at the low duties; the act to continue in full force till 29th September 1790.

30 Geo. 3. chap. 43. The execution of the corn laws further suspended, till 28th February 1791; but full powers given to the Privy Council, to permit the exportation of all sorts of British grain, or stop the importation of foreign grain, whenever the Privy Council judged it necessary.

31 Geo. 3. chap. 4. The above two acts amended, and by a clause in the general Corn Law, which passed this session, they are continued in force till its commencement on the 15th November 1791.

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It will be observed, that none of these acts for rendering the law of 1773 more effectual were extended to Scotland; the consequence of this was, that owing to the average prices not being ascertained by the actual sales, whenever the ports were opened for the importation of foreign grain into Scotland, it always took place, when the current price of our produce was considerably below the reduced rates, at which even the law of 1773 allowed the bringing in of foreign grain, viz. wheat at 48s. the Winchester quarter, &c. And, on the other hand, when the surplus quantity of grain was so abundant, as to admit of exportation, the ports in Scotland were always shut, before the price of home produce got up to the limit at which exportation ends; both cases militating against the Agriculture of this country.

1791.

I shall now proceed to give an account of the new general Corn Law, viz. 31 Geo. 3. ch. 30. which commenced on the 15th November 1791. It repeals 1 Jas 2. ch. 19; 1 Gul. and M. ch. 12; 5 Geo. 2. ch. 12; 10 Geo. 3. ch. 39; 13 Geo. 3. ch. 43; 21 Geo. 3. ch. 50; 29 Geo. 3. ch. 58; and so much of the 15 Cha. 2. ch. 7th as prohibits the buying of corn to sell again, and laying it up in granaries, when above certain prices.

As you have already had occasion to give a Table shewing the prices, bounties, and duties, by which the Corn trade is regulated, under this act*, I shall refer to it, and proceed to give an account of the general regulations, contained in the act.

* Vide p. 149.

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The maritime counties of England are divided into 12 districts, and Scotland into 4 districts, in all 16 districts. The prices of grain at the Corn exchange in London, are made to regulate export and import in the first district, containing the port of London, and the counties of Kent, Essex, and Suffex. In the other districts, the act mentions the particular market towns, at which the prices and quantities of grain actually sold are collected. All dealers in grain are to give in, upon oath, weekly accounts of their actual sales made during the week, to an officer called the inspector of returns; who, from these returns, makes out an account of the general weekly average price of the whole district, and transmits the same to the collectors of the customs at the different ports within the district; which regulates the bounties to be paid on exportation.

Four times in the year, viz. within seven days after the 15th of February, 15th May, 15th August, and 15th November, the receivers of corn returns, in each district, make up the average prices of corn within the same, taken from the last six weekly returns; (excepting that of oats which is made up from twelve weekly return) this quarterly average is transmitted to the collectors of the customs at the different ports within the district, at the periods above mentioned, which regulates importation, and the duties payable thereon, for the ensuing quarter.

In Scotland, the average prices of grain are not ascertained by the actual sales. Once in the month, the sheriffs of the different counties convene juries to determine the average price at which it is generally selling; but the witnesses examined,

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produce no account of their actual purchases, or sales; they only depon, to what they believe from their own experience, and the opinion of others, to be the current prices; and there is great reason to think, that either from carelessness or design, this is often done in an erroneous manner*. The sheriffs of the different counties in Scotland make up monthly accounts of the average prices of grain within each county, (ascertained in the inaccurate manner above mentioned) which they send up to the receiver of corn returns in the port of London; from these, the receiver makes up an average account for each district, and transmits it to the collectors of the ports within the same, which regulate the bounties upon exportation; and, at the quarterly terms above mentioned, he makes up average prices, from the two last monthly returns; which regulate the duties upon importation for the ensuing quarter.

Foreign corn may be imported and landed at any time, without payment of duties, provided it is warehoused under certain regulations; but it cannot be taken out of the warehouse for home consumption, before first paying the low duties, and any other duty payable at the time, in the district in which it is intended to be consumed; nor corn of any kind, either foreign or of home produce, can be carried coastways,

* Upon enquiring at a considerable corn dealer, who is frequently adduced as a witness, he acknowledged that the corn dealers gave themselves very little trouble about the matter; and added, that the last time he was examined, he and other dealers whom he mentioned, made up their minds, by copying off the prices from the newspapers immediately before going into Court. Let me add, that these prices are not inserted in the newspapers by any authority.

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from the port of any district, when exportation is not allowed at the time of shipping to the ports in any district where exportation is allowed.

When the general average of the whole kingdom, exceeds the rates of import at the low duties*, in that case, the parliament not being sitting, his Majesty, with the consent of the Privy Council, can suspend the execution of the corn law, so far as to prohibit all exportation, and allow importation at the low duties, which permission must continue in force for three months; but the power does not extend to the prohibiting the exportation of foreign grain formerly warehoused.

The above contains a short abstract of the general regulations of the Corn law of 1791. The following laws have been enacted for further regulating the trade in corn:

33 Geo. 3. ch. 3. Act of indemnity for stopping the execution of the general Corn Law, by an order of Council dated 9th November 1792, prohibiting the exportation of home produce, and granting liberty to import foreign corn, until 1st March 1793; and further suspending the said law, by granting power to his Majesty and Council, at any time during the sitting of parliament, to allow importation and prohibit exportation.

1793.

33 Geo. 3. ch. 65. General Corn Law of 1791 altered, by repealing the clauses for ascertaining the average prices of

* Vide, p. 149.

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grain in England, and adopting others of the same tendency, with certain variations in their place. Further altered, by granting liberty to his Majesty and Council, when parliament is not fitting, to allow the importation of grain, and prohibit the exportation of home produce, when the general average of the whole kingdom exceeds the prices at which grain can be imported at the low duties from Ireland, and the colonies of North America, viz. wheat 48s. rye 32s. barley 24s. oats 16s. Further altered, when oat-meal is under 13s. per boll, exportation to be allowed, with a bounty of 1s. 6d: When above 14s. per boll, exportation to foreign countries prohibited.

1795.

35 Geo. 3. ch. 4. 13th February 1795. Suspends the general Corn Law of 1791, by empowering his Majesty, with consent of the Privy Council, to prohibit exportation, and allow the importation of all kinds of foreign grain, without payment of any duties whatever. The act to continue in force till six weeks after the next meeting of parliament.

Having thus gone through the whole of the laws relating to corn which appear on the statute book, up to the present meeting of parliament, I must observe, that the leading features of the act 1791, bear a striking resemblance to the amendments on the Corn Laws proposed by your Father in his Treatise, inasmuch, that it would appear his sentiments, on this important subject, had been communicated to the framers of the bill*. The plan

* The Author of the preceding Inquiry corresponded with several Members of Parliament, and with other persons conversant in this subject, for some time before his death; and it is very possible that some of his suggestions may have been found deserving of notice. *Edit.*

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of sending up the average prices of corn in Scotland to London, before the ports in this country can be opened or shut, is certainly an idea of his; if not that of dividing the whole kingdom into large districts, which in a great measure prevents the mistakes in shutting and opening the ports in the different counties for the importation of foreign grain, when there was no absolute necessity for it, and thereby allows the produce of the contiguous counties, united in the district, to find a more general and certain demand. It is somewhat surprising, that none of these salutary regulations, for ascertaining the average price of corn, from accounts of the actual sales, were ever extended to Scotland. Mr Chalmers in his excellent estimate of the strength of Great Britain, says, 'had these laws produced no other benefit to the country, than establishing an effectual mode for ascertaining the average price of corn, and thereby preventing causeless alarm, they had merited the praise of most useful regulations.' It is true, Scotland is also divided into districts, but in no part of this country, is there a clerk to the market, or any officer appointed to ascertain the prices of corn, by an average of the actual sales. By the act of 1791, the sheriffs of the different counties, once a month, appoint a jury, who examine dealers in corn as to the current prices; but these dealers, as mentioned before, do not produce, or depon to the quantity and prices of the respective purchases, from which alone, a just average can be formed; they only swear to what they judge to be the current prices of corn within the county. The interest of the corn dealers leads them to make the prices of corn appear as high as possible, first by con-

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concealing the profits on their sales, which every person wishes to keep, or be secret; and secondly, with a view to bring up the prices to the rates at which exportation ceases, or importation begins, thereby to check the brisk demand for corn from the farmer, and occasion dull sales, on which the profits of the corn dealers trade very much depend. Let me add to this, that in many counties of Scotland, there are no public markets for corn established. In the county of Mid-Lothian, and city of Edinburgh, the metropolis of the kingdom, in particular, there is no public market for either wheat or barley, nor officer appointed to form a fair average from the account of actual sales. It is partly owing to these causes, that in the city of Edinburgh, where the grinding of wheat is performed at from 1s. to 1s. 8d. per quarter, where fuel is cheap, and the price of labour in baking is moderate, the price of bread to the inhabitants, is often considerably dearer than in London, where the grinding of wheat costs from 4s. to 6s. per quarter, where the prices of fuel and labour, and the public burdens, are considerably higher than in Scotland. It therefore appears, that in Scotland, unless this important branch of the corn law is executed in the same manner as in England, particularly in the city of London, and the average prices of grain fairly calculated from the price of actual sales, the average prices will always be returned higher than they ought to be; of course the public will be imposed upon, in fixing the assize and price of bread, and the ports will always be shut against the exportation of home produce, and opened for the importation of foreign grain, before the average prices of British corn, in the home market,

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get up to the rates prescribed by the statute, as happened under the law of 1773. The evidence produced of the current prices of corn in Scotland is now equally defective as under that law, when many errors were committed; for what greater accuracy can accrue from the average prices being fixed by a jury in place of the sheriff, when the evidence of the facts, on which they found their verdict, is equally defective.

It appears, by the ancient laws and practice, both of England and Scotland, that the Crown could suspend the execution of the Corn laws, without the consent of parliament, a privilege which it frequently exercised. This was a dangerous power, as it rendered the laws in some degree nugatory, and counteracted their good effects. In every free country, agriculture, an object certainly of the greatest national consequence, ought at all times to be under the sacred protection of standing laws; for if these are to be set aside occasionally, it may be feared that the cultivators of the soil will not have sufficient protection for encouraging their industry. In ancient times, the relative situation of Britain, as to agriculture, commerce, wealth, and population, was nearly upon a par with the other countries in Europe, and the expence of raising corn would be nearly equal every where; the British husbandmen of course could not be underfold in the home market, and foreign corn would only be imported in cases of absolute necessity. At present, when the expence of cultivation is so much increased in Britain; when a nation of merchants, (if I may use the expression,) with overflowing capi-

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tals, are always on the watch to open the ports and speculate in bringing in foreign grain, importation ought never to be allowed, but with the greatest caution, nor exportation prohibited, contrary to the established laws, unless in cases of absolute necessity, such as would be sanctioned by all the branches of the legislature. If the executive power judge it expedient, at any time to act otherwise, let the ministers stand accountable to their country; and if it is found that they have acted wisely, they will be acquitted by an act of indemnity.

By the law of 1773, all power was taken from the Crown, of abrogating the Corn laws; but that of 1791 gives liberty, to his Majesty, with the advice of the Privy Council, when parliament is not sitting, to suspend the execution of the law, by stopping exportation, whenever the general average price of the whole kingdom exceeds the rate at which grain is allowed to be carried to a foreign market; although, in any particular district, the price is so low as to admit of it: A power which as already mentioned is further extended by the 33 Geo. 3. When the Privy Council prohibits the exportation of home produce, or allows the bringing in of foreign corn, in the particular instances above mentioned, or in any other, which would require an act of indemnity, the witnesses they summon before them, on the spur of the occasion, are generally merchants or meal men, members of the mercantile interest, who are ever anxious for importation on the pretext of lowering the price of corn; an expedient on which they are always ready loudly to assert, that the welfare of the state depends. As a balance to the influence of this class, your Father

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proposes in his Treatise, that a court of conservation shall be formed, composed of the chief Judges of England and Scotland, who, when it appears necessary to them, should recommend to his Majesty, to suspend the Corn laws, or apply to the legislature for alterations or amendments. Some institution of this kind seems absolutely necessary, to watch over the agriculture of this country, and combine the landed interest in its support; and the Board of Agriculture, lately established, appears of all others the best suited to accomplish this end, because of its possessing ample information on every branch of agriculture, from an extended correspondence throughout the whole kingdom. Every deviation from the established system of Corn laws might either originate with this Board, or be submitted to their consideration, before the Privy Council gave orders for putting it in execution.

The barriers, which the wisdom of our ancestors had so judiciously erected to prevent the importation of foreign grain, being thus broke through, by repealing the ancient laws, and lowering the import rates, an alteration in the Corn laws, which was first established by the statute of 1773, has certainly been the principal cause of Great Britain not being able to supply herself with corn of the growth of her own soil. In proportion as the country advanced in prosperity, the surplus quantity, after supplying the inhabitants, which used formerly to be exported, was gradually absorbed by the increasing population and luxury of the nation; and the law in question, amongst other causes, giving a check to the further extension of agriculture, necessary to counterbalance the addi-

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tional consumption, the tide at last turned against the country, and a regular influx of foreign grain became expedient to supply the growing wants of the inhabitants.

After the year 1784, the period to which your Father has brought down an account of the Corn trade, Great Britain has exported, and imported, from foreign countries, in nine years from 1785 to 1793 inclusive, the following quantities of grain.

An Account of the Corn of all kinds Exported from, and Imported into, Great Britain from 5th January 1785 to 5th January 1793.

Great Britain.		Cr.	
	Dr.		
	Quarters.	Price. s. d.	Quarters. Price. s. d.
1785 To foreign Wheat imported	—	—	132,685 41 10
1786	110,863 41 10	—	205,466 38 10
1787	51,463 38 10	—	120,336 41 2
1788	59,339 41 2	—	82,971 45 0
1789	148,710 45 0	—	67,868 51 2
1790	107,324 51 2	—	229,754 53 2
1791	216,374 53 2	—	71,346 47 0
1792	439,490 47 0	—	310,684 42 2
1793	22,131 42 2	—	81,755 48 4
Average price of the above 9 years 45s. 9d.	1,635,305 45 9	L. 3,740,760 3 9	1,303,265 45 9
Balance received by Great Britain for foreign Wheat, per annum, 80,199 7-9th quarters—L. 78,027 4 5 1/2.	1,635,305 45 9	L. 3,740,760 3 9	332,040 1,635,305 45 9
			L. 2,980,831 1 3 759,929 2 6

(199)

Great Britain.		Cr.	
	Dr.		
	Quarters.	Price. s. d.	Quarters. Price. s. d.
1785 To foreign Barley imported	—	—	166,4 8 24 0
1786	67,212 24 0	—	111,598 24 4
1787	62,374 24 4	—	135,089 22 8
1788	43,244 22 8	—	212,811 22 0
1789	11,479 22 0	—	344,631 22 10
1790	12,295 22 10	—	51,163 15 6
1791	30,117 25 6	—	41,590 25 10
1792	61,352 5 10	—	47,555 26 8
1793	118,527 26 8	—	4,403 31 8
Average price of the above 9 years 25s.	147,169 31 8		1,115,348 25 0
Balance received by Great Britain in the above 9 years for Barley exported, 80,199 7-9th quarters—L. 78,027 4 5 1/2.	553,552 25 0	L. 691,940 0 0	L. 1,394,185 0 0
	561,796	702,245 0 0	
		L. 1,394,185 0 0	L. 1,394,185 0 0

0493

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I have noticed before, that the greatest mistake which government appears to have committed, in passing the act 1773, was in attempting, by lowering the import rates of foreign grain, to sink unduly low the money price of corn, which had only advanced with the price of labour, and with the growing wealth and prosperity of the country; and which cannot be reduced by any act of the legislature, without shackling the industry of the husbandman, and diminishing the annual produce of the soil. Your Father has justly censured this policy, as a deviation from the wisdom of our ancestors; and he recommends the returning to the ancient rates established in 1670 and 1688, for regulating exportation and importation, as the means of encouraging agriculture, securing abundance in the home market, and recovering to the country the advantage of a favourable balance, on the export and import of corn. Agreeably to this idea, indeed, the legislature, in 1791, has somewhat heightened the importation rates, and so far discouraged the bringing in of foreign corn. This statute, however, is still far from being perfect: A material error had found its way into the formation of the Corn Laws, at their institution in 1670, which has never yet been rectified: It is obvious, that the rates, which regulate the exportation and importation of the different sorts of grain, ought to have been relatively fixed, in proportion to their real values, the labour and expence they cost the farmer in rearing and bringing them to market; and that in particular, if the import rate of any of the grains was fixed under the prime cost, or its relative value, the British farmer would be obliged to abandon, in a great measure, the cultivation of that grain; for the corn merchant would, in consequence of the low import rate, obtain an al-

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most complete command of the home market, as he could supply it cheaper from foreign countries, than the article could be raised for in Britain; our farmers would, of course, turn their skill and attention to the raising crops of the other grains, which, being higher rated in the table of importation, would thereby give them a better chance of profit.

That this is now the case in England, with respect to oats, I shall endeavour to prove from the following statement. It must be allowed, that the great accumulation of wealth, and the immense quantity of money in circulation in this country, when compared with what was the case in any former period, have raised the price of labour, and augmented, in an astonishing manner, the rents of land, and the expences of cultivation in Britain, whilst, at the same time, these have not much advanced in the countries that supply us with corn. It is therefore obvious, that the English farmer, must now in a particular manner be underfold, when he attempts to raise and bring to market, any kind of grain, to the culture of which, the soil and climate of the northern countries in Europe are peculiarly adapted; and he will at last be obliged to abandon the cultivation of that grain, if the importation-rate continue so low as not to allow the price in the home market to get up, so as to indemnify him for the expence of raising it, and leave a sufficient profit on the capital employed; or even if it does not afford him an equal profit with the other grain of the most general consumption. That this is the case at present, with the cultivation of oats in England, is obvious from the following state of facts: By the ancient law, established in 1670, for regulating the import and export of corn, foreign wheat could not be imported at the low duty,

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till the price got up to L. 4 per quarter; and even then, a duty of 5s. 4d. per quarter was imposed on importation. Mr King who wrote about the same period, and who is celebrated by Davenant as a good political arithmetician, whose calculations, he says, cannot be controverted, computes the average price of English wheat at 28s. and oats at 12s. per quarter. By a medium of the average prices of grain upon record, in the county of Edinburgh, for 84 years, from 1628 to 1712, the price of wheat, reducing the measure to the English quarter, amounts to 28s. 8d. and of oats to 12s. 5d. which corresponds with surprising exactness with Mr King's calculations. If the import rate of oats had therefore been originally regulated, in proportion to their current values, in 1670 and 1688, when the present system of corn laws was first enacted, it ought to have been fixed by law in the following proportion: As 28s. the average price of wheat is to 85s. 4d. the import rate of wheat, including the duty, so is 12s. the average price of oats to 36s. 6d. being the relative import rate at which oats ought to have been imported, including the duty: whereas this law allowed foreign oats to be imported at 17s. 4d. including the duty.

Upon turning up Mr Young's Annals of Agriculture, vol. 18. page 431, wherein he gives an account of the agriculture of a district in Essex, we find he mentions that the course of crops there is, turnips, oats, clover, wheat; and that the wheat produces $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, and the oats $4\frac{1}{2}$ quarters per acre. Upon putting the following question to an intelligent farmer in this parish; If from fields, which after being summer fallowed, manured, and sown with wheat, 10 bolls per acre is produced, what quantity of oats might have been expected, if they had been

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sown with that grain? his answer was, 12 bolls per acre. This produce, allowing for the difference of the measure, is nearly in the same proportion to the quantities mentioned by Mr Young, viz. as 5 is to 9. I shall however admit, that in any situation, where wheat is sown, double the quantity of oats would be produced. The real value of oats therefore, being the labour and expence incurred by the farmer in raising and bringing them to market, may at the lowest be estimated at one half of the value of wheat.

The rate at which foreign wheat could be imported at the low duty by the act of 1773 was 48s. per quarter; and the equivalent rate to insure the farmer an equal chance of profit, when he sows oats, should of course have been 24s. per quarter; whereas the law allowed the importation of foreign oats when the price in the home market got up to 16s. per quarter, a price at which the English farmer is at present by no means indemnified for the expence of cultivation: It is therefore obvious, that the present system of Corn laws, from their original establishment in 1670, has always been defective, in allowing the importation of oats at too low a rate, when compared with that of the other grains; and that the legislature, when it passed the act 1791, in place of amending the error, made matters worse, by increasing the import rates of the other grains, more than they have done that of oats, and thereby sinking the relative value and money price of that grain. Its price was, in fact, much too low before the law was altered, and had occasioned the English farmer so far to abandon the culture of that grain, as to require a large annual importation of foreign oats, to supply the great number of horses now

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used in luxury, and in transporting the extended manufactures of this country. By the law of 1791, the import rate of wheat, at the low duty, is now fixed at 54s. per quarter. As it has been shown, that the real value of oats, is at present, to the real value of wheat, as 5 is to 9, the import rate of oats in proportion to that of wheat ought to have been fixed, by law, at 30s. per quarter, in order to give the farmer an equal chance of profit, and to encourage him to go on with the cultivation of this grain; but the law of 1791 allows foreign oats to be imported, when the price in the home market gets up to 18s. per quarter. The effect of these low rates has been, that in the 9 years from 1785 to 1793, of which I have given an account of the corn trade, the average price of wheat was 45s. 9d, while the average price of oats was only 17s. 10d; whereas, in proportion to the price of wheat, and the expence they cost the farmer, it ought to have been 25s. 5d. The price of oats being thus reduced, by the low import rate, no less than 7s. 7d. per quarter below their relative value, the natural consequence has been, that the cultivation of this grain has been neglected, and Great Britain, in the 9 years above mentioned, has been obliged to import oats from foreign countries to the amazing amount of 5,362,921 quarters, value L. 4,863,599:6:4.

The oats which are imported from abroad, growing chiefly in the northern countries of Europe, are of a very inferior quality to the growth of Great Britain; but being imported into England, and chiefly given to horses, their imperfection is never properly ascertained. In Scotland, however, where the value of oats is immediately

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known by the meal they produce, the inferior quality of the foreign oats is readily detected, and consequently none are brought into this country, except in cases of absolute necessity. Upon making inquiry into the quality of the oats imported from the Baltic, in consequence of the very defective crop in 1782, at a reputable meal maker, he informed me, that upon inspecting his books, he found those oats were about 22s. per cent. worse in quality, than the oats of the growth of the Lothians, and Northumberland, of the same defective crop; a circumstance the more deserving of notice, as the season of that year was even more unfavourable in this island than in the north of Europe.

It is in vain perhaps to look for our recovering soon a favourable balance to any considerable extent from the exportation of corn, till the expences of the husbandmen, in the different countries in Europe approach nearer to a par, as was the case in the early part of this century, unless that object be attained by an adequate bounty. But Great Britain may, and ought undoubtedly to cancel the unfavourable balance paid to foreigners, and supply herself with corn, the produce of her own soil. This supply, however, must become deficient, whenever foreign corn is allowed to be imported at cheaper rates than it can be raised at home. From like causes, Rome, when mistress of the world, by pursuing an impolitic system, destroyed the cultivation of Italy, and was at last reduced to tremble for her existence, at every blast of adverse wind; on the other hand, check the importation of foreign corn, and the more that wealth and luxury abound, so much the more will an addi-

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tional capital be invested in agriculture, for carrying on rural improvements, to supply the increasing consumption. Let it therefore be the care of the legislature, by wise laws, to restrain the importation of corn, except in cases of absolute necessity; cases which then indeed would but seldom occur. If Great Britain is to continue to support the conspicuous character she at present displays in the eyes of Europe, she must not stoop to depend for sustenance upon any nation. It is also to be considered, that Poland, which formerly at all times opened its granaries, to supply the deficient crops of every country in Europe, cannot now be depended on; its government being destroyed, and the kingdom dismembered by aspiring nations, who formerly united in a formidable combination to distress us, when involved in a tedious and expensive war; and who, although some of them are at present in amity with this country, are nevertheless jealous of our naval power. Were Great Britain to depend on the ports in the Baltick, or on America, for a regular supply of corn, they might tell us with impunity; you shall not have a bushel, till you alter your navigation laws, and allow our ships to participate in your trade. The decided part, which the different nations of Europe took in the contest with our colonies, clearly proves, what we are to expect from them in the time of distress: if Great Britain had stood in need of a considerable supply of foreign corn at that period, she must have made peace on the most humiliating terms.

It used to be the boast of the mercantile interest, that whilst we preserved our navy and commerce, corn would flow in

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from other countries, at a cheaper rate, than it could be purchased at home; the danger, however, of trusting to this supply, is at present obvious; for we are informed from high* authority, that the different countries in Europe are now raising no more corn than what is barely sufficient to supply themselves.

Seeing therefore our dependence on foreign nations for corn is every day becoming more critical, let us hope that the British legislature will, by wise laws and judicious regulations, take every measure in its power to encourage agriculture at home. The requiring an annual supply of foreign oats, or indeed of any other grain, is the more to be lamented, whilst such large tracts of waste land, to the extent of many millions of acres, remain uncultivated in Great Britain. Oats being the crop, which at first can be raised to the greatest advantage on these waste lands, it would be necessary that the legislature should give such encouragement as might ensure the cultivators a suitable price for their produce, so as to indemnify them for the expence of cultivation, and leave a profit on the capital employed, in some degree adequate to that which is invested in trade and manufactures. And for securing this, in carrying on improvements on the waste lands, the raising the import rate of oats to a par with that of other grain, in proportion to their real value, appears to be one of the most essential regulations.

* See the Representation on the Corn Trade, by the Privy Council, in 1789.

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It may be objected, that this measure would be pernicious, as it might tend, by increasing the cultivation of oats, to diminish the quantity of wheat or barley: on the contrary, it would encourage the British farmer, gradually to extend cultivation over three or four millions of acres of waste land, and to pursue a more perfect system of husbandry, on a more extensive field. Nature delights in variety; the seldomer a crop of any particular sort of grain is sown upon a field, the more bountiful is her return for the seed and labour; repeat it often, and at last, in general, you will not reap a produce equal in quantity to the seed. Any regulation, therefore, that renders the rotation of crops more various, increases the productive powers of the soil. Less wheat would be sown on the land at present under culture, but more might be brought to market: and when we take into the account the cultivation which would be extended over the immense tracts which at present lie waste, there is not a doubt, but that the supply of wheat would be much more abundant, and fully adequate to answer the consumption of the inhabitants. The decided preference given, for many years past, to the raising of wheat in Britain, owing to the high price it brings in the market, in proportion to other grain, stimulates the husbandmen to sow too much, and repeat that crop too often on the soil; the consequence is, that the plants, not receiving a sufficient supply of nourishment necessary for perfecting their seeds, which nature digests and stores up in the soil, by a slower process, than the rapid succession of the crop admits of, they of course become weak and sickly, and in adverse seasons, blight, smut, mildew, and disease, attack the crop. I have not a doubt, but that the deficiency of

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the wheat crops in England, has, of late years, in part proceeded from this cause; and that in the end, repeating it seldomer on the land, from a more various and judicious system of cultivation being adopted, would not diminish the quantity brought to market. That raising considerably the import rate of oats would produce the salutary effects above-mentioned, cannot be denied: It would also increase the consumption of beans, as provender for horses; which, containing three times more meal than oats, is a much heartier food for that useful animal; and as a crop of beans is an excellent preparation for a crop of wheat, increasing the consumption of the one would promote the cultivation of the other. In this point of view, it seems no small defect in the Corn Laws, that a bounty is not given on the exportation of pease and beans; an encouragement that ought to be equally extended to all sorts of grain, in proportion to their real value. These kinds of pulse are a nourishing food for the negroes in our colonies; and by a simple and cheap process, they can be stripped of their skin or hull, and split, when they become a palatable dish, even on the tables of the opulent.

The frequency with which the Corn Laws have been set aside, with respect to sending grain to our colonies, plainly evinces, that the present system is erroneous, and that a free exportation, at all times, should be allowed from the mother country; more especially, as our ships go out without a full loading, and the produce they bring back has an almost complete monopoly of the British market. The old government of France adopted the policy of a free export to their colonies in

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the West Indies; and before the present disturbances broke out, its colonies were certainly the most flourishing, and its colonial trade the most extensive of any nation in Europe.

All the writers on the national policy of regulating the export and import of corn, whom I have read, seem to think, that a permanent law is necessary for perfecting the system. Such an idea appears to me extremely erroneous, especially during the very unequal division of wealth, population, and national expenditure, that subsists amongst the different nations, at present connected by the extended commerce of Europe, which gives such a decided superiority in point of expence, to one country over another, in the raising of corn. Although the agriculture of Great Britain was never carried on with so great a capital, skill, and industry, as at present, it has, nevertheless, relatively sunk. Formerly a large surplus quantity of grain was annually exported, now corn is not raised to support the increasing consumption of the inhabitants, and a large supply of foreign grain is annually imported to make good the deficiency. This appears to arise from our agriculture being depressed by various burdens, which shackle the industry of the husbandman, and particularly by Corn Laws, injudiciously framed, which allow the importation of foreign grain, at prices below what the farmer can at present afford to raise it; occasioned by the immense capital in circulation, and the increasing demand for our manufactures, which have raised the price of labour, the expence of cultivation, and of every article of consumption in the kingdom.

Seeing the wealth of nations varies considerably at different

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periods, so ought the rates which regulate the export and import of foreign corn; if these affect the money price of our own produce in the home market, and tend to sink its relative value below the current price of labour, with which it must always bear a just and necessary proportion, the rates must consequently be raised in order to preserve agriculture, the only solid basis on which the real wealth and lasting prosperity of a state can be founded. Should the industry and capital of Great Britain continue to increase for 30 years, in the same proportion it has done since the peace of 1783, money in circulation, the price of labour, and expence of cultivation, may be double what it is at present; the price of corn will naturally rise in the same proportion: And if the rates, at which the importation of foreign corn is then allowed to be imported, tend to obstruct this rise, they must either be heightened, or Great Britain will lose her agriculture; a striking instance of which has already taken place in the article of oats. On the other hand, was the prosperity of this country to decline, so as to diminish the demand for labour, or the floating capital one half, the price of corn ought to fall in proportion to the reduced price of labour, and the importation rates be lowered, if they were the means of preventing the necessary reduction.

Should these principles be found just, a permanent law to regulate the export and import of corn, is incongruous with sound policy; it ought therefore to expire regularly at stated periods, suppose at the end of every twenty or thirty years, when the wisdom of Parliament, taking the then situation of the country under its serious consideration,

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should regulate the Corn Law, in conformity with the price of labour; the most certain index of the growing prosperity, stationary situation, or declining state of the nation.

From what I have stated, I hope it will be allowed, that the reason why Britain does not now supply her consumption of oats, with the growth of her own fields, (from which cause, the permanent balance, that now stands against this country in the foreign trade of corn, most generally arises,) is the low rate at which the importation of foreign oats is allowed; thereby preventing the English farmer from receiving an adequate price to indemnify him for the expence of raising them, especially of late years, since the charges on cultivation, from a variety of causes, have been so much increased.

This circumstance alone may convince every friend to his country, of the necessity of a well regulated system of Corn Laws. If, from the importation price of foreign oats being too low rated, we are yearly losing the cultivation of that grain, what could we expect from the total abolition of these laws, which a celebrated author so warmly contends for: most assuredly the consequences would be, that Great Britain, like ancient Italy, would gradually lose her agriculture, and depend at last on foreign countries for every species of corn; of course, the immense consumption of manufactures used by three or four millions of inhabitants, who derive their support from the immediate labour of the fields, would be lost to this country, and a most complete check be given to that busy circulation of wealth and industry, on which the strength

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and energy of this nation chiefly depend. As she could not, like the empire of Rome, be supplied with the spoils of conquered provinces, and the plunder of the industrious husbandman; a rapid current would therefore perpetually be carrying out the riches of the country, till gradually falling from the exalted station she at present occupies in Europe, her wealth and resources would at last fail, and sinking below the level of the surrounding nations, she would be reduced to the present feeble and abject situation of Spain, and exhibit to the world, another melancholy picture, of the downfall of a great nation, by withdrawing her capital and industry from the cultivation of her own fields, and embarking it in the improvement of distant colonies and foreign commerce.

I shall be happy, if these observations serve to elucidate your late Father's Treatise on the Corn Laws of this country, and am,

Dear Sir,

Your most Obedient

Humble Servant,

WM MACKIE.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Dirom of }
Mount Annan, Edinburgh. }

L E T T E R II.

Containing an Examination of Dr Adam Smith's Theory on the Corn Trade: An Inquiry into the Cause of the present Scarcity of Grain, in Great Britain; with Suggestions for promoting Agriculture, and particularly the Cultivation of the Waste Lands; and for rendering the produce equal to the increasing consumption of the Kingdom.

DEAR SIR,

Ormiston, 13th February
1796.

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I N my former Letter, my endeavours were used to enforce the arguments contained in your late Father's Inquiry into the Corn Laws, and to shew, that to preserve the agriculture of Great Britain, whilst she possesses such a decided superiority in point of wealth and circulating capital over the surrounding nations, it becomes absolutely necessary to restrain the importation of foreign corn, by laws judiciously framed, so as to secure to the cultivators of our own soil a sufficient value for their produce, corresponding with the current wealth and prosperous situation of the country; a principle, in political oeconomy, which appears to be fully exemplified at present by the deficiency in the culture of oats, as stated in my former Letter; and to which perhaps the cultiva-

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tion of wheat is also fast approaching in some parts of England. LETT. II.

This being an object of the first national consequence, it certainly merits the fullest discussion, particularly at a period when this country, labouring under an alarming scarcity, is even threatened with an absolute famine. I shall therefore proceed to investigate the causes that now render our corn crops inadequate to supply the demand, and point out the means which, in my humble opinion, will remedy the evil.

As my sentiments coincide with the general tendency of your late Father's Treatise, that a well regulated system of Corn Laws is absolutely necessary for encouraging agriculture at home, on which every nation that wishes to preserve its wealth and independence ought only to rely; I find myself under the necessity of examining and combating the opinions of a justly celebrated political writer Dr Adam Smith, in his Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. The arguments of this author tend to prove, that the free importation of foreign grain should at all times be allowed, in order to lower or keep down the money price of corn in the home market, which he says will encourage agriculture, promote the interest of the proprietors of land and cultivators, and finally prove of the greatest advantage to the state. His own words are: 'If importation was at all times free, our farmers and country gentlemen would probably, one year with another, get less

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‘ money for their corn than they do at present when importa-
 ‘ tion is at most times in effect prohibited; but the money
 ‘ which they got would be of more value, would buy more
 ‘ goods of all other kinds, and would employ more labour:
 ‘ Their real wealth, their real revenue, therefore, would be
 ‘ the same as at present, though it might be expressed by a
 ‘ smaller quantity of silver; and they would neither be dis-
 ‘ abled nor discouraged from cultivating corn, as much as
 ‘ they are at present*.’ In another part of his work, where
 he argues in favour of the monopoly of the home market,
 and bounties granted on the exportation of manufactures,
 which raise their price in the home market, he says, ‘ You
 ‘ thereby increase, not only the nominal, but the real profit,
 ‘ the real wealth, and revenue of those manufacturers, and you
 ‘ enable them either to live better themselves, or to employ a
 ‘ greater quantity of labour in those particular manufactures.
 ‘ You really encourage those manufactures, and direct towards
 ‘ them a greater quantity of the industry of the country,
 ‘ than what would probably go to them of its own accord.
 ‘ But when, by the like institutions, you raise the nominal or
 ‘ money price of corn, you do not raise its real value; you
 ‘ do not increase the real wealth, the real revenue, either of
 ‘ our farmers or country gentlemen; you do not encourage
 ‘ the growth of corn, because you do not enable them to
 ‘ maintain and employ more labourers in raising it†.’ The
 truth of these assertions is founded on the position which he
 lays down, that the money price of corn regulates the money

* Book 4. chap. 5. p. 311. 7th edit.

† Ibid. p. 277.

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price of all things: he says, ‘ By regulating the money price
 ‘ of labour, it regulates that of manufacturing art and indus-
 ‘ try; and by regulating both, it regulates that of the com-
 ‘ plete manufacture. The money price of labour, and of
 ‘ every thing that is the produce either of land or labour,
 ‘ must necessarily either rise or fall in proportion to the mo-
 ‘ ney price of corn*.’

I readily agree, that the money price of corn may produce
 this effect in a nation where the state of society is stationary,
 or declining, such as China or Hindostan; but when applied
 to Britain, or any country advancing in wealth and popula-
 tion, the argument appears to me to be unfounded. In
 China, where wealth and population are stationary, the pro-
 duction and consumption of the country are so exactly balan-
 ced, that it is with the utmost difficulty the great mass of the
 people can drag on a wretched existence; Dr Smith himself
 draws a melancholy picture of their miserable situation in the
 8th chap. of his 1st book, to which I refer. It is obvious, that
 in this state of society, the money price of corn must regulate
 the money price of labour, and every other commodity what-
 ever. The wretched labourer, or mechanic, whose con-
 sumption corresponds so exactly with his gains, is frequently
 under the necessity of destroying his offspring, in order to
 narrow his expences, as he can see no prospect of relief
 from any additional demand for his labour, to increase his
 wages and add to his gains. Thus, from dire necessity, is one

* Page 259.

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of the universal laws of nature dissolved, the most engaging tie with which she binds the whole animal creation broken, and the most necessary duty imposed upon a government disregarded. If therefore at any time the necessaries of life advance in price, in consequence of bad crops, numbers of the miserable inhabitants are starved to death, till the price of corn is again reduced, and arrives at its former stationary equilibrium with the price of labour and every other necessary commodity. Even in China, were the government to interfere, and reduce the price of corn below this standard rate, either, if possible, by promoting the importation of foreign corn, or by fixing a maximum, it would afford no relief to the great mass of inhabitants; for the price of labour would still fall in proportion, till it sunk to the lowest rate at which the labourers could afford to work; on the contrary, it would make their situation worse, by depressing agriculture, part of the capital employed in cultivation would be dissipated, and the cultivators which it had kept in employ being thrown idle, would regorge upon the rest of the inhabitants and add to the general distress. In this state of society, therefore, it appears to be extremely impolitic in a government to establish a system of policy which favours the importation of foreign grain, in order to sink the price of corn in the home market below the natural rate arising from the wealth and situation of the country. But as Dr Smith has recommended this system as proper to be introduced into the political œconomy of the present European states, and particularly into that of Great Britain, a country where the situation of the inhabitants is diametrically opposite to what I have described, and where

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the population, and particularly the wealth, industry, and capital of the state are increasing with a rapidity unknown in any age or country; it will therefore be necessary particularly to enquire if the principles are just, on which this celebrated œconomist has formed his theory, of allowing the free importation of foreign grain, for the purpose of keeping down the price of home produce, by which he maintains the agriculture of this country would be encouraged. Upon perusing his chapter on bounties, and digression on the corn laws, it will be found, as I mentioned before, that he grounds his arguments on the supposition that the money price of corn regulates the money price of labour, and every other commodity. I have shown, that in China, where society is stationary, and directly the reverse of every thing in this kingdom, the price of corn produces this effect: But in countries where industry, population, and wealth, going on in a progressive state of improvement, are constantly increasing the national capital, and continually adding to the general consumption, these causes alone operate to raise the money price of labour, and every other commodity, without being, in the smallest degree, affected by the money price of corn. For instance a demand comes to Manchester, Leeds, and Glasgow, which raises the price of goods 4d. per yard, and the profits on stock 10 per cent. Every manufacturer anxious to share an additional profit, in order to procure an additional number of workmen to supply the increasing demand, offers them one penny per yard advance on their work: they, in their turn, finding three or four shillings per week added to their earnings, increase their con-

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sumption; in place of brown bread, they can now buy wheaten, and in place of dining upon bread and beer, they can now afford to add a few pounds of beef, or a quarter of mutton: these articles rise in their price with the demand, and the farmers, finding more profit in fattening beef and mutton, turn their attention from the raising of corn till its price is also advanced in proportion. On the other hand, a gentleman returning from abroad, or retiring from trade or public employments, with a large fortune, purchases an estate in the country, and to adorn and improve it is to be the future object of his life; the labourer is bribed by higher wages to quit the plough, and the mechanic his former master: The husbandman now finds difficulty in procuring hands to cultivate the earth, and, in his turn, must raise the price of labour before he can get ploughmen to engage in his employ: Every article, either of rude material or manufactured commodity, which he has occasion for, he finds also encreased in price, and the expence of raising corn, advancing with a rapidity which threatens to wrest from him his capital employed in the cultivation of the fields; but, on the other hand, the natural effect of the same cause, universally diffusing itself through every rank of society, operates in favour of the husbandman. When he goes to market with his corn, and other rude produce of the soil, he finds a competition amongst the purchasers, who offer him higher prices in consequence of the increasing consumption. The landlord, in his turn, requires an additional rent, this is again expended in manufactures, and other articles of luxury, and an additional ca-

pital is thus put in circulation, for encouraging population, and the industrious exertions of every member of the state.

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It is obvious that in this natural course of events, whenever the wealth of Great Britain is so much accumulated as to increase the expences of cultivation, and advance the real value of British grain above what it can be raised and brought to market from foreign countries, the bringing in of foreign corn, for the purpose of reducing the money price of home produce, or even rendering it stationary, would neither sink nor render stationary the money price in this country. As long as it continued to advance in prosperity, every addition to the capital and consumption of the nation would infallibly increase the money price of labour, and every manufactured commodity, even although the importation rate of corn from foreign countries should not allow the money price of that article to rise in the same proportion. The consequence of this would be, that the capital employed in agriculture would be gradually dissipated, the revenue and consumption of the landed interest and cultivators much diminished, and of course, a check would be given to the internal circulation of industry, and the prosperity of the country; although perhaps its bad effects might not be immediately felt on the power and resources of the state, if the gradual extension of foreign commerce made good the deficiency. Nevertheless, as foreign commerce is the most precarious source of wealth and prosperity, if at any time, it happened to be cramped by war, or any other cause whatever, enervated by the constant drain for foreign corn, and the languid circulation of internal indus-

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try, the state would become feeble, like a soldier fainting with the loss of blood after a severe conflict with the enemy. Disastrous in the extreme, would it prove to this country, if, by any combination amongst the naval powers, we lost our superiority at sea; being then cut off from our supply of bread corn, famine and pestilence would follow in the train of our misfortunes.

In order to try Dr Smith's theory by the test of experience, and to prove that the money price of corn does not regulate the money price of labour, and other commodities in countries, that are in a progressive state of improvement, but which rise in price solely from the quantity at market not being sufficient fully to supply the increasing demand, it is only necessary to compare the money price of corn, with the price of labour in different countries, and at different periods. I shall begin with the American States: There the demand for labour is so great, that, although corn and other kinds of rude produce, sell in general for half the money they do in Britain; nevertheless, the price of labour, from the excessive demand, is three times higher than in England. In the accurate account which Mr Young has given us of the agriculture and commerce of France, in his Tour through that kingdom, immediately before the breaking out of the revolution, he informs us that provisions are as dear in France as in England, that labour is 76 per cent. cheaper, and the price of manufactured commodities dearer than in England. Here are effects produced totally different from what Mr Smith's theory points at, that the money price of corn regu-

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lates the money price of all things, on which he founds his arguments for a free importation of foreign corn, whilst, at the same time, he argues for prohibiting foreign manufactures.

It must, however, be observed, that the account, which Mr Young has given us of the average price of provisions and labour in France, seems to contradict the idea I have thrown out, that the money price of labour, in a country advancing in improvement, regulates the money price of corn. The discerning eye, however, which runs over Mr Young's work, will soon discover that the kingdom of France, even under the old government, appears not to have been advancing in prosperity, and if not declining, was at least stationary, having followed, for upwards of a century, the destructive policy of foreign conquest, and diverting the capital which ought to have been invested in agriculture, into the cultivation of distant colonies, and encouragement of foreign commerce. We must not therefore be surpris'd, that although of late years, the commerce of France had advanced with greater rapidity, than even that of England, nevertheless, her power and resources have declined, with her agriculture and internal industry. This cannot be doubted by any person, who considers the erroneous system of husbandry, carried on in France, where two white crops, following a fallow in constant rotation, must destroy the productive powers of any soil. Were the lands in Great Britain to be cultivated in the same manner, for a series of years, I have not a doubt, but that the annual produce of the soil would be diminished one half

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of what it is at present. The wretched policy of France has hitherto prevented her manufactures and commerce from affording aid to her agriculture, whilst the luxury introduced into the cities has raised the price of corn without advancing in proportion the price of labour, and the consumption of the cultivators. Hence the torpor and languid state of internal commerce and intercourse in France, for want of the rapid interchange of the productions of labour so conspicuous in England, which, like the circulation of the blood, gives strength and vigour to the whole system.

Were Great Britain to adopt Mr Smith's system of a free importation of foreign grain, she would certainly be reduced to the political situation of France, immediately before the revolution as described by Mr Young. But the prices of corn and labour in France, during the last and present century, demonstrate, in the clearest manner, the fallacy of Mr Smith's arguments in favour of his theory. / Of this we have accurate information, in the excellent speech of M. de Carraduce, de la Chalotois, Procureur General to the Parliament of Brittany, made before that Court, on the 20th August 1764, when the edict for allowing the free commerce of grain was registered, when he gave the following account of the then situation of the agriculture of France. 'It is manifest, that for about an age past, the price of labour and merchandise is considerably raised in France, there are none that for fifty years past hath not experienced this. The price of corn, which is the measure of the whole, should then have risen in proportion. In the mean time, it hath not only not increased; but it is a certain fact, that it hath fallen

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considerably, and that it would, an age ago, require a greater weight of silver to pay for a setier, than it doth at present. In 1649, the deputy of M—, Procureur General at the Chatilet, said in his requisition of the 6th March to the police, as a known fact, that wheat was at 15 livres the setier, a moderate price, (these are his words) but the same setier, hath, this present year, 1764, been at Paris at 14 livres, and 14 livres 10 s. It was of less value in the neighbouring cantons, and of necessity in the country. What shall we think, Gentlemen, of so great a difference, when we reflect that the mark of silver was, in 1649, at 28 livres 13 s. 8 deniers, that is to say, at almost one half less than at this present day*.' Here is complete evidence, that the price of corn has no effect on the price of labour; but that it is regulated like every other commodity, by the demand and quantity at market. For 50 years, previous to 1764, the price of labour and manufactured commodities in France, had risen considerably, when, at the same time, wheat had fallen one half; and at no period, within these hundred years, does that country discover any strong marks of general prosperity, which no great nation can attain, unless agriculture is encouraged by prices for the produce of the soil, proportioned to the price of labour, and of every manufactured commodity. The bad effects of the low price of corn in France, M. de C. describes in the following manner: 'If the farmer does not gain all his expences, and wherewith to satisfy all charges, the earth will remain untilled, as more than the moiety of this province doth. The starving proprietor will be forced

* Vide Corn Tracts, page 216.

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‘ to sustain bankruptcies and losses; the farmer ruined, badly
 ‘ clothed, and badly fed, will sell his little property; he will
 ‘ take up, with his indigent family, the art of begging, too
 ‘ common, and which is a disgrace to the nation: The state itself
 ‘ will suffer, the taxes will not be collected, but with extreme
 ‘ difficulty, and with the greatest rigour. And it must be
 ‘ acknowledged, that this hath been the state of the kingdom
 ‘ of France, for more than an age. In every province, the
 ‘ earth shews, in an infinity of places, the marks and vestiges
 ‘ of a deserted cultivation; houses unroofed proclaim a de-
 ‘ sertion and depopulation; the cities, and even the capital,
 ‘ are peopled with poor, whilst those who have ruined so many
 ‘ families, and enriched themselves with their spoils, make
 ‘ a parade of luxury, which is an insult on public misery*.’
 I must here remark, that, in the last century, France exported
 considerable quantities of corn, and some of the old English
 writers complained that what was brought into England, sunk
 the value of home produce, and cramped the agriculture of
 this kingdom.

I shall next proceed to give an account of the effect of
 the money price of corn, on that of labour and manufactured
 commodities in Britain. / Dr Smith informs us, in the 11th
 chapter of his 1st book, that the average price of wheat in the
 Windsor market (which Mr Young has proved to be nearly
 the average price of wheat in England) for sixty years, end-
 ing in 1790, amounted to L. 2 : 11 per quarter, that the a-
 verage price of the first 64 years of this century amounted to
 L. 2 : 6d. and during a series of the cheapest years from 1731
 to 1750 (in which one year of scarcity intervened) to only

* Vide Corn Tracts, p. 215.

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L. 1 : 13 : 9 per quarter; but it is well known, that the low
 price of corn in the early part of the century, and particularly
 in the period of remarkable cheapness, produced no effect in low-
 ering the price of labour, or of any manufactured commodity :
 On the contrary, they were gradually on the rise. The prospe-
 rity of Britain had been advancing from the Revolution, when
 the surplus produce of her land and labour only amounted to
 4 millions, till at the latter period of 1750, when it had
 reached to 12 millions*. This advance however had not much
 increased the price of country labour and expence of cultiva-
 tion, and the farmers, by puring a more judicious mode of
 cultivation, and probably by extending it over lands that had
 lain uncultivated during the civil wars in England, increased
 the annual produce of the soil so as not only to counterbalance
 the growing consumption of the country, but also to afford
 a considerable quantity of corn for exportation.

The husbandry of this country continued much in the
 same situation till the peace of 1763, which may be looked
 upon as a new epoch in the annals of agriculture, and every
 species of British industry. After that period, the number of
 hands which had been diverted from the channel of produc-
 tive industry, to supply the army and navy during the war,
 the increasing demand for our manufactures, our extended
 commerce to every quarter of the globe; the large fortunes
 that had been made by individuals during a prosperous
 war; the increase of the public debts and taxes; all conspir-
 ed to raise the price of labour and cultivation; and had

* Vide Chalmer's Estimate of the comparative strength of Great Britain. Table
 fronting page 234; new edition in 1794.

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not the rapid circulation of industry pervaded all ranks, and by an increasing consumption raised the money price of corn, and other articles of the rude produce of the soil, in proportion to the growing wealth and prosperity of the country; the agriculture of Great Britain must have declined, like that of France, where land of a better soil, and situated in a better climate, is far less productive than in England.

The wealth and capital of Great Britain having increased with an amazing rapidity of late years, so has the demand and money price of labour. In the year 1792, when the surplus produce of the land and labour of Great Britain, exported, amounted to near 25 millions*, in the same year did the farmers find the greatest difficulty in procuring hands to carry on the cultivation of the fields; the wages of labour and price of every manufactured commodity rapidly advanced, and agriculture, as well as manufactures, was encouraged by an additional consumption increasing the money price of corn. Dr Smith himself bears testimony to this material progress of industry in a country advancing in improvement like Britain. The whole tenor of his first book tends to prove it, where, amongst other arguments, he says 'the demand for those who live by wages therefore necessarily increases with the increase of the revenue and stock of every country, and cannot possibly increase without it. The increase of revenue and stock is the increase of national wealth, the demand for those who live by wages, therefore naturally increases with the increase of national wealth, and cannot possibly increase without it†. And finally, 'The money price of labour in

* Vide Chalmers' Estimate of Great Britain, *ibid.*

† Book 1. chap. 8. p. 104.

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'Great Britain has indeed risen during the course of the present century. This, however, seems to be the effect not so much of any diminution in the value of silver in the European market, as of an increase in the demand for labour in Great Britain, arising from the great and almost universal prosperity of the country*.'

It is somewhat surprising, that Dr Smith should afterwards abandon his own arguments, founded in truth, and the experience of this country, and endeavour to establish a theory, framed on the supposition, that the money price of corn regulates the money price of all things; principles totally different from what he himself had laid down, as mentioned above, and incompatible with the political situation of this country, for the purpose of overturning the established national policy respecting corn, by allowing the free importation of foreign grain, which, as it would have the effect of lowering the price of corn, and every article of produce, would thereby, in his opinion, encourage agriculture, and promote the interest of the proprietors and farmers. In support of this theory, he advances some extraordinary arguments; for instance, he says, in Book 1. ch. 8. 'In years of plenty, servants frequently leave their masters, and trust their subsistence to what they can make by their own labour: But the same cheapness of provisions, by increasing the fund which is destined for the maintenance of servants, encourages masters, *farmers especially, to employ a great number. Farmers, upon such occasions, expect*

* Chap. 11. p. 313.

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‘ more profit from their corn, by maintaining a few more labouring servants, than by selling it at a low price in the market. The demand for servants increases, while the number of those who offer to supply the demand diminishes; the price of labour, therefore, frequently rises in cheap years.’ The first observation is certainly just; but that agriculture will be encouraged, and carried on with greater spirit from cheapness of price, owing to farmers expecting greater profits by employing more servants, and consuming their corn at home; rather than selling it at a low price in the market, will not be admitted by any farmer of common sense. The assertion is founded on two positions: 1st, That the money price of corn regulates the money price of every commodity, which I have proved does not apply to the present state of society in this country; and 2^{dly}, that in agriculture, as in manufactures, the produce of a farm is increased in proportion to the number of hands employed, which is by no means the case; nothing, therefore, will give encouragement to farmers hiring a greater number of servants, and extending cultivation, but actually receiving a high price for their corn, in the same manner as a manufacturer is encouraged to hire more hands, and extend his operations, in consequence of receiving high prices for his fabrics. As a farther proof that Dr Smith’s ideas, on the state of agriculture in Britain are erroneous; it may be observed, that he does not allow that the high prices of corn, which followed the peace of 1763, proceeded from an influx of wealth, occasioning an increase of luxury and consumption, but ascribes it entirely to bad crops; and whilst he views the high price of corn as a public calamity, he looks upon the high price of butcher

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meat, cheefe, butter, wool, hides, tallow, and every sort of rude produce, corn excepted, as the forerunner and attendant on the greatest of all public advantages, imagining that the high price of those articles will be followed by the low price of corn, potatoes, and every vegetable production; a conclusion which he draws from erroneous principles, and in which it is now evident he has been mistaken.

When we recur to first principles, and the immutable laws of nature, in judging of Dr Smith’s opinion on the free importation of foreign corn into Britain, and the proposed monopoly in favour of manufactures, we shall find sufficient cause for drawing opposite conclusions; and that whilst agriculture requires to be protected by a monopoly, manufactures may be left free. In order to shew this in a clear point of view, I shall point out the different principles on which the productive powers of agriculture and manufactures are founded. And shall first begin with manufactures.

It is obvious that the Supreme Disposer of all things has given to the general mass of mankind, in every country, nearly an equal share of bodily strength, and faculties of mind susceptible of cultivation and improvement. This being the case, as manufactures are performed by the labour of the body, facilitated by the inventions of art, in this point of view all nations are nearly on a par for carrying on manufactures; if, however, one nation advances considerably in population beyond the other, their wants increase in proportion, and a spur is given to their ingenuity, in order to supply them. In

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the boundless progress of improvement, new wants multiply with every refinement of art, and manufactures are carried on to a degree of perfection, to which it is impossible for a society more rude and with fewer wants to attain; and though from the wealth accumulated by the industrious nation, in this state of refinement, the price of labour should be raised so high, as to allow another nation, less advanced in wealth, to bring manufactured articles to market at a cheaper rate, yet the rich nation will still maintain its superiority, by availing itself of the superior capital it possesses, and of its superior skill in the division of labour, of which manufactures are susceptible. If, again, the division of labour is not found adequate to answer the end, renewed exertions of skill and capital, by calling in the aid of machinery, so far reduces the effect of the high price of manual labour on the articles manufactured, as to give a decided superiority to the rich and ingenious nation, over all others less advanced in wealth and refinement. Hence the manufactures of Britain are found superior to those of every country in Europe, and are even rivalling the factories of Bengal, where the money price of labour is about only a tenth part of what it is in England*. It being therefore obvious, that the industrious country, whilst it preserves its superiority in wealth and ingenuity over other nations, has an evident advantage in carrying on its manufactures; there seems to be no necessity for the manufacturers of Great Britain obtaining a monopoly against those of other nations, less advanced in wealth, ingenuity, and refinement; and the decided superiority which the manufacturers of this country

* The wages of a weaver in Bengal are only two and a half rupees, equal to 5s. 7½d. a month.

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maintain over those of every country in Europe, in the free American market, is a proof of the fact.

Having thus finished the proposed sketch of the progress of manufactures, I shall proceed to describe the principles on which the productive powers of agriculture are founded.

Although the Author of Nature has given to man, in the different countries of the world, an equal share of strength of body, and faculties of mind, so as to enable him to perform nearly equal portions of productive labour, when these powers are alone employed; yet, for wise purposes, He has formed the soils and climates of the different countries of the earth, with that astonishing diversity which universally pervades the face of nature, from the fertile fields of Sicily, Flanders, and England, to the frozen regions of Norway, Lapland, and Kamtschatka. As the success of agriculture, depends, in a great measure, on the productive powers of soil and climate, it is obvious that an equal portion of skill and capital, may produce a much greater quantity of corn in one country than it can do in another. This being the case, let us suppose that the soil and climate of Poland, for instance, is so much superior to that of Britain, that the exertion of an equal portion of labour and skill, will produce double the quantity of corn, or of other sustenance in Poland, that it will do in Britain. As nothing could counteract this physical difference, corn in Britain would sell at double the price it did in Poland, as it would require double labour and capital to produce an equal quantity. Thus, it is obvious, if Poland could supply Britain with

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a considerably quantity of grain, at one half or two thirds of the price it could be raised at home, the agriculture of Britain must either be protected, by granting to the cultivators a monopoly of the home market, or if left free, agriculture would decline in the last mentioned country. On the other hand, let us suppose that the soil and climate of Poland and Britain are equally good and fertile, and that two hundred years ago, the wealth, population, and industry of the two countries were exactly similar, and that only one fourth of the lands in each country, being kept under the plough, was sufficient to support their respective inhabitants. In this situation, both countries would be upon a par for raising corn, and a free intercourse in grain could not hurt the agriculture of either country. If, however, from the blessing of a free government, or any other cause, Great Britain should, in the course of two or three hundred years, by extending every branch of national industry, quadruple her population and wealth, so as now to require seven-eighths of the land to be kept in constant cultivation, for supplying food for the inhabitants; the improvement of the productive powers of agriculture, not depending entirely on capital and ingenuity, as in manufactures, but being in a great measure influenced by the good or bad qualities of the soil and climate, no skill or capital possessed by the cultivators could prevent the money price of corn in Britain from rising very considerably above the money price of corn in Poland: for two reasons, *first*, the fall in the value of money; and *secondly*, the additional labour and expence that must now be bestowed in raising and bringing it to market. To prove the last position, I must revert to the œconomy of

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nature, and its effect upon agriculture. Nothing is more certain, than that the fertility of the soil is exhausted by too constant a succession of crops of corn, and restored by allowing it to remain for a certain time in pasture. It is therefore obvious, that in a country only so far advanced in population, as to require but one fourth of the land being kept in cultivation for supporting the inhabitants, the other three fourths remaining in pasture, more abundant crops of corn will be then raised, with less labour and expence than can afterwards be produced on the same soil, by any exertion of skill and capital, when a more extensive population requires perhaps seven eighths of the lands being kept constantly under the plough. This progress in the œconomy of nature is fully exemplified in this country, by the rich crops raised on the ploughing up of old pastures. The luxuriant crops that grow on new soils are also found to decline and to be rendered less certain, being more affected by the influence of bad seasons in proportion to the length of time the land has been kept under the plough. Hence in England, and in other countries advanced in wealth and population, corn is raised at a greater expence of manure and cultivation, and the crops are more precarious, than in countries thinly peopled, such as America or Poland, where a simple plowing, or rather scratching and throwing in the seed, are frequently sufficient to secure a good crop.

As a testimony of the above mentioned progress in agriculture, and the effect of wealth and population in advancing the price of corn, I shall add that Mr Young, in his 13th volume of the

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Annals of Agriculture has given us the expence to the farmer of raising a crop of wheat in some of the counties in England at this present day, the prime cost amounting to from 5s. 10d. to 7s. 10d. *per* Winchester bushel. In vol. 15th he has also given the selling price of grain in the Bannat on the river Tybiscus, viz. wheat at 1s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. rye at 1s. barley at 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. *per* bushel, and hay at 3s. *per* tun. No skill nor industry could enable the farmers in England to raise corn at as cheap rates; but notwithstanding the amazing low price of corn, which Dr Smith says regulates the price of all things, allow the free importation of British manufactures into the Bannat, and they would not only rival but annihilate every manufacture in that country.

From every view of the subject, in the preceding discussion, it plainly appears, that agriculture and manufactures are established on very different principles, and that whilst wealth and population raise considerably the money price of corn, and other rude produce of the soil, they have not an equal effect in advancing the price of manufactures. Thence, although contrary to Dr Smith's opinion, we may fairly deduce the following political maxim: That agriculture, in rich and populous countries, stands more in need of a monopoly for its support than manufactures; and that the farther a nation advances in prosperity, it becomes the more necessary to secure its agriculture, not only by restraining the importation of foreign corn, but also by removing every impediment which may prevent, and by giving every encouragement, which may promote.

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the extension of cultivation and improvement over the whole face of the country.

From a review of the arguments of this justly celebrated author, I can see nothing that overturns the principle laid down in my former Letter, that if Great Britain wishes to preserve her present superiority in wealth and resources over the surrounding nations, agriculture must be protected by allowing to the husbandmen prices for their produce proportioned to the internal wealth and prosperity of the country; and that if, at any time, the bringing in of foreign corn tends to sink the money price of British grain below the corresponding value of labour and other commodities, the importation must be checked by judicious laws, altered from time to time, at different periods, to correspond with the prosperous or declining state of the country. In the investigation of Dr Smith's opinions, I have no other intention than, by fair discussion, to search out the truth; and to his theory of free importation, founded as I think on erroneous principles, I have lastly to oppose the favourable effects of a contrary system, on the agriculture and prosperity of this country, as clearly shown in the preceding Inquiry into the Corn Laws, and fully ascertained from the profitable experience of more than one hundred years.

It no doubt will prove a matter of surprise, and a just cause for alarm to find, that, at present, in the most flourishing æra of British industry, when agriculture is carried on with a larger capital than at any former period, and when the skill and industry of the husbandmen were never

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so conspicuous, the quantity of corn raised in this country is gradually becoming more and more inadequate to the consumption and maintenance of the inhabitants, and that in place of having a large annual surplus quantity of grain to spare, we are now every year becoming more and more dependant on foreign nations, for subsistence; a fact which is incontestibly proved by the accounts of the exports and imports of grain. In pursuing the inquiry into the cause of this deficiency, it will be found to proceed, *1st*, From the accumulating wealth and luxury of the country, which will tend to elucidate the principles which I have laid down, when examining Dr Smith's theory; and, *2^{dly}*, From our agriculture being cramped by such restraints as prevent the opening up a more extensive field for cultivation, and which might render the supply equal to the increased consumption of the kingdom.

It has been shown, in the former part of this Letter, that it is generally from countries thinly peopled, and having a considerable portion of their good land in pasture, that considerable quantities of corn can be exported at a low price. But this surplus quantity also arises from the state of society in those countries at the time; the inhabitants being cultivators with few wants, and living with simplicity, chiefly on vegetable food and the produce of their herds, a larger surplus remains after supplying their frugal necessaries. If, however, the population of the country increases, and the inhabitants still retain their simple manners, and continue to live on vegetable food, it is astonishing how great a number of inhabitants the soil will maintain, if it possesses a moderate degree of

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fertility. The population of Hindostan when under an efficient government, and the present state of China, are a striking proof of the observation. It is obvious, however, that if these nations were to alter their manner of life, and subsist in a great measure on animal food, like the people in England, the countries could not afford provision for their numerous inhabitants; and that if they could not procure an additional quantity from other countries, their population would soon be considerably diminished.

In order to show the effect which living on vegetable or on animal food will produce on population, or the abundance or scarcity of subsistence which it may occasion to the inhabitants of a country, their numbers remaining stationary, I shall calculate the population, which a farm of 504 acres of fertile land will maintain, when under a judicious mode of cultivation, the inhabitants living entirely on vegetable food; and the numbers which can be supported on animal food by the produce of a like farm when in pasture.

With a view to ascertain this point with as much precision as the nature of the calculation will admit of, I called at the families of several labourers and mechanics in this place, who live entirely on vegetable food, to learn if possible the exact amount of their consumption, which I knew, that, out of policy, they are always at pains to exaggerate. In the first house I entered, I luckily found the kettle full of potatoes, just ready to be put upon the fire, to be boiled for dinner; the family consisted of one man, his wife, and one child, a remarkable stout boy

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of eleven years of age. I was informed, they regularly dined and supped upon them every day, and that the quantity in the kettle served them for both the meals. I immediately weighed the potatoes in the kettle, and found that they amounted to nine pounds Avoirdupois, and was informed that eight pounds of oat-meal served them for breakfast, in pottage, a week. The second family I entered was composed of three men, one woman, and six healthy children, three of whom were born at one birth: this family also dined and supped upon potatoes; the quantity they had prepared to dress for dinner weighed thirteen pounds, and I was informed it required near four pounds oat-meal each day for their breakfast. After examining the consumption of several families that had two meals of potatoes per day, I found, to my astonishment, that about $2\frac{2}{3}$ lbs. Avoirdupois raw potatoes, and $5\frac{1}{3}$ ozs. good oat-meal, when made into pottage, did actually maintain, for one day, in good health and condition for labour, on an average, each individual of a family, composed of two parents and three children, as long as their stock of potatoes lasted. Having thus ascertained the length which potatoes and oat-meal will go as food, when a vegetable diet only is used, I shall proceed to calculate the *quantum* of population that the farm of 504 English statute acres, fertile land, well cultivated, will maintain, under the following mode of cropping.

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Produce after deducting Seed.

No		<i>lbs. Potatoes.</i>
I.	84 acres of potatoes, average produce of Lancashire 250 bushels per acre, at 90 lbs. deducting 18 bushels for seed	1,753,920
II.	84 acres wheat, at 30 bushels per acre, at 58 lbs. per bushel, deducting 3 lbs. per bushel rough bran, product 2520 bushels of meal, at 55 lbs.* per bushel	138,600
III.	84 acres pease and beans, at 24 bushels, 2016 bushels, one half eaten by the horses on the farm; one half 1008 bushels, at 40 lbs. meal per bushel	40,320
IV.	84 acres barley, at 36 bushels, 3024, at 46 lbs. meal per bushel	139,104
		<i>lbs. Bread.</i>
		Pounds meal 31 ^o ,024 or 397,530
V.	84 acres clover consumed by cattle.	
VI.	84 acres oats, at 60 bushels, 5040 bushels, 13,440 pecks of oat meal, at 8 lbs. per peck.	
	504 acres	Meals.
	{ 1,753,920 lbs. potatoes, at $1\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. per meal to each individual	1,312,940
	{ 397,530 lbs. bread, at $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per meal to ditto	530,040
	{ 13,440 pecks oat-meal, at 24 meals per peck to ditto	322,560
* Garden ground.	26* 530 acres.	
	365 days, at 3 meals per day,	1095)2,165,540(1977

In this manner, 504 acres of fertile land, the garden ground not included, will maintain, when well cultivated, 1977 people old and young; and if the population of Great Britain amounts to nine millions, it would require only 2,412,746 fertile acres, well cultivated to maintain them when living on the same portions of vegetable food as the common people do in Scotland.

* This is the quality of the flour, of which the bread presently used in my own family is made. Upon comparing it with Sir George Young's experiments, *vide* page 259, I find it to correspond pretty accurately, only coarser, principally from being made of wheat of an inferior quality.

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I shall next proceed to inquire into the number of people which the same farm of 504 acres in pasture would maintain when living entirely on animal food.

This branch of rural œconomy, of determining the quantity of animal-food which land will produce, although of considerable importance, has never been properly attended to. Mr Young, indeed, has begun the investigation; but as yet it has been confined to ascertain the fattening quality of different animals and vegetables. Upon consulting several intelligent farmers, it seemed to be their opinion, that an acre of good grafs might, in the season, increase the weight of the animals fed upon it twelve stone, at 14 lbs. to the stone; which at 5s. per stone, would afford a good rent, and leave a handsome allowance for management and profit on the capital employed. Fixing therefore upon 12 stone as the *quantum* of animal food, which an acre of our farm will produce; upon this data, the 504 acres will give 6048 stones, or 84,672 lbs. I have not been able to learn what proportion of weight the bones in the carcase of an ox bears to the flesh; but allowing three quarters of a lb. of bones and flesh on an average to a meal for each individual, at 3 meals per day, 84,672 lbs. will support an individual 37,632 days; or, in other words, the produce of the farm will support a population of 103 individuals throughout the year; dividing these into 20 families, and allowing one fourth of an acre of garden ground to each family, it amounts in all to 509 acres. Upon calculating from these data, it will be found that it would require 44,475,728 fertile acres, to maintain the population of Great Britain, each individual, upon an average,

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consuming $2\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. of butcher meat per day; but the same number of acres would support a population of 165,921,725 individuals of all ages, if the inhabitants lived on the same portions of vegetable food, which at present subsist the common labourers in Scotland.

I have calculated these two extremes of the produce of land under the plough, or in pasture merely for fattening cattle, without including a dairy in either case, in order to place this object in a strong point of view, and to show the different effects which living on vegetable or animal food will have, in supporting an increased population, or in rendering sustenance plentiful or scarce in a country. Hence it may be inferred, that it was to encourage or preserve the immense population of the eastern nations, the original lawgivers of India discharged the eating of animal food, and ingrafted this political maxim upon the ancient stock of superstition in the country. The abstaining from animal food, however, seems best suited to these countries, situated under a burning sun, where water alone renders the soil perpetually fertile, in producing vegetable food for supporting the inhabitants. In more temperate climates, the soil cannot be kept in a constant state of producing bread for man, without materially injuring its fertility. The beasts of the field are also the children of nature; she wills to support them, and the land must be allowed to afford grafs for their sustenance, which restores, at the same time, its fertility for raising corn; and man being formed to live on a mixture of animal and vegetable food, avails himself of this œconomy of nature, to add to his enjoyment.

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From this cause agriculture, in temperate climates, will be carried to the greatest perfection in those countries where the inhabitants add a certain portion of animal to their vegetable food. But there is a certain proportion from which, if, in the progress of luxury, they deviate, by increasing the quantity of their animal food, they will certainly feel the want of bread corn, which appears to be one of the principal causes that, of late years, there is an evident deficiency in the growth of corn in Britain, or rather in England, to supply the inhabitants; and that we are every year becoming more and more dependent on foreign nations for our daily support, in place of being able, as formerly, to spare a large surplus quantity annually for exportation.

In order still farther to elucidate this important object, and to show, in the clearest manner, the effect of an increased consumption of animal food, in diminishing the quantity of corn raised in Britain, I shall sketch out a scheme of cultivation suited more nearly to the average consumption and population of the country.

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Produce of a Farm of 504 acres, very fertile land, and in a high state of cultivation.

Nos.				
I.	72 acres pasture, to be ploughed up in rotation, reckoned to produce 12 stones beef or mutton per acre,	Pounds.		Meals.
			Being in all 12,096 at $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. per meal	16,128
II.	4 } Potatoes, 250 bushels per acre,			
	68 } 90lb. per bushel -	90,000 at $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. —		67,500
	68 } Turnip, at 24 stones beef or			
		22,848 at $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. —		30,464
III.	72 acres barley, consumed in ale and spirits.			
IV.	72 acres clover and hay, consumed by the horses.			
V.	72 acres wheat, at 32 bushels, at 60lb. bread per bushel	148,240 at $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. —		197,653
VI.	72 acres pease and beans, consumed by horses.			
VII.	72 acres oats, at 60 bushels,	4,320		
	of which one half consumed			
	by horses	2,160		
	one third in pottage	1,440	3,840 pecks oat-meal	
			at 24 meals	92,160
	one sixth in bread		720 bushels, or 19,200 lbs. bread at $\frac{3}{4}$ per meal	25,600

* Garden ground, allowing about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre to each family.

504		
10*		
514 acres.	Meals in the year	1,095,429,505 (392 $\frac{2}{5}$)

In this manner, a farm of 504 acres of very fertile land, in a high state of cultivation, could maintain 392 people, old and young, living on a mixture of animal and vegetable food,

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of which the above quantities would afford to each individual for daily consumption

Of animal food			* 4 oz.
Of vegetable food	Bread Wheaten	1 lb.	} 2 lb. $\frac{1}{4}$ oz.
	Ditto Oaten		
	Oat-meal in Pottage		
	Potatoes	10	

And to maintain the inhabitants of Great Britain, computing the number at nine millions, and each individual to consume daily, on an average, the quantity of animal and vegetable food mentioned above, there would be occasion for 11,793,799 acres of very fertile land, in a high state of cultivation; of which it would require

- 3,212,318 acres for fattening animal food, producing nearly 18 stones per acre.
- 91,780 — for potatoes.
- 1,652,050 — for barley.
- 1,652,050 — for clover hay.
- 1,652,050 — for wheat.
- 1,652,050 — for pease and beans.
- 1,652,050 — for oats.
- 229,451 — for garden ground.

11,793,799 total acres.

From the above statement it appears, that it would require 3,212,318 fertile acres, to afford four ounces of animal food

* The daily consumption of each individual in Paris, is pretty accurately ascertained from the tax on cattle paid at the Barriers, to be about 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ oz.; in London it is probably more than double.

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per day, to every individual in Britain. But if, at any time, from the increase of luxury in the nation, every inhabitant was to consume one ounce more per day; in that case it would require an additional 803,079 acres of fertile land, one half in rich pasture, and nearly the other half in turnip, to fatten and produce the necessary quantity; four-sevenths of which, or 458,900 acres, were annually carrying luxuriant crops of corn. But even, computing these crops at the low average of two quarters per acre, it would occasion an annual failure of 917,800 quarters, which will account for the difference between the most flourishing period of the Corn Trade, and the deficiency of latter times. Whoever, therefore, considers with attention the increased consumption of animal food in Britain, within these fifty years last past, and particularly since the peace of 1763, will see good cause for the growing scarcity of corn.

Before I leave this part of my Inquiry, I must mention another effect of luxury, in adding to the scarcity both of animal and vegetable food, viz. the great degree of fatness to which the people in England now require to have their beef and mutton fed, till, as Milton describes the cattle in Paradise,

On the grass,
Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture, gazing fat,

they can hardly stand on their legs, or travel a few miles to be slaughtered. There is reason to believe, that half the quantity of land would feed cattle moderately fat, that is required to put them in condition for slaughtering in England; and it

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is more than probable, that the great noise that has been made, of late years, about increasing the size of live stock, is a species of quackery which is a real loss to the nation. Small animals certainly take on more fat, in proportion to their food, than large ones, for two obvious reasons: 1st, The surface of small animals is much greater, in proportion to their weight, than large ones; and as the fat is mostly laid on the surface, they have consequently a larger space to lay it on, 2^{dly}, The muscular fibres of small animals are less tense than those of large ones, and admit more easily that portion of the fat which is insinuated, in the process of fattening, into the interior vesicles of the muscular flesh. I knew an experiment that was tried on the fattening of large and small oxen with turnips and hay: The large oxen ate double the quantity of the small ones while fattening; they were all sold at the same time, each large ox brought L. 12 Sterling, but two small ones, which consumed no more food, were sold for L. 16. Thus, it is probable, that a considerable waste is occasioned in the nation, from increasing the size of the domesticated animals, and certainly not a little also from rendering them extremely fat before they are slaughtered.

Nor is the increased consumption of animal food the only cause of the scarcity of corn; the immense number of horses now trained for war, or luxury, or kept for the more necessary purpose of carrying on the largely extended internal commerce of this country; in transporting the rude materials to the site of manufactures, and returning the manufactured articles to the different markets and ports in the kingdom, in

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carrying the stone, brick, wood, and iron, necessary for erecting the numerous buildings throughout the nation. All these branches of industry must demand a great number of horses, that will not only require a very considerable quantity of corn, but also a large portion of land must be withdrawn from cultivation for supplying them with hay and grass, either to enable them to endure hard labour, or to put on the pampered sleek appearance necessary for show and luxury. In order to form an idea of this consumption, I submit the following calculation.

From the statement already given, it appears, that it would require near 12 millions of fertile acres, in a high state of cultivation, to support the population of Great Britain. But it is more than probable that it actually requires 24 millions of acres, of the average quality of arable land; and allowing 5 horses to every 100 acres in cultivation, that gives of

Horses used in agriculture	-	-	1,200,000
Do kept for pleasure, which pay tax	-	-	214,000
Do supposed not entered	-	-	50,000
Do Cavalry, including levies of all descriptions	-	-	30,000
Do posting horses, mail, and hackney coaches, colts and fillies, not taxed	-	-	250,000
Do employed in the carriage of rude materials and manufactured commodities	-	-	256,000
		Total,	2,000,000

Supposing each horse, on an average, to be fed 200 days in the stable, at 20 pounds hay and $\frac{3}{4}$ pecks Scotch per day, equal

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to 4000 lbs. of hay, and $56\frac{1}{4}$ Winchester bushels in 200 days, but, with extra feeding, suppose 60 bushels, the produce of 1 fertile acre 4000 pounds of hay, or $35\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. the produce of 1 fertile acre At pasture, 165 days, when he eats the grafs of 1 fertile acre

A horfe therefore confumes the produce of 3 fertile acres; and 2 millions of horfes will require 6 millions of fertile acres to maintain them. Upon this calculation, Great Britain will confume on horfes annually, 15 millions of quarters of grain, of which, about one million is now imported from foreign nations; besides, the produce of 4 millions of acres of fertile land in hay and pasture.

In the period from 1730, to 1750, when Great Britain was exporting the greateft quantity of furplus corn, after fupplying the inhabitants, the tunnage of her fhipping amounted, upon an average of that period only to 475,940 tuns, whereas it now amounts to near three times as much, being in the year 1792, 1,396,003 tuns*. The revenue arifing from the poft-office in the year 1754 amounted to only L. 210,663: it was in 1793, L. 607,268 †; from which it may be fafely inferred, that the internal commerce of Great Britain has been tripled fince the period that the largeft quantity of furplus grain was exported; the increafe of wealth and luxury has alfo been very great, and if we allow that the number of horfes kept for pleafure have increafed in the fame proportion, the additional numbers now employed may be eftimated thus.

* Vide Chalmers' Estimate of Great Britain.

† Ibid.

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Horfes kept at prefent for pleafure	-	264,000
For the carriage of goods, &c.	-	250,000
For pofting, and for mail and hackney coaches	-	86,000
		<hr/>
		600,000
Deduct one-third in the former period	-	200,000
		<hr/>
Increased number of horfes highly fed.	-	400,000

Allowing three acres of fertile land for the maintenance of each horfe, this addition to the number of horfes will withdraw 1,200,000 acres of fertile land, from affording fufenance to the inhabitants of Great Britain. Here alfo is fufficient caufe for a great deficiency in the production of corn; and when we alfo take into the account the amazing effect of an increafe in the confumption of animal food, we need not be furprifed at the prefent fcarcity of bread corn, nor at the annual deficiency of one million of quarters of grain, when comparing the quantity now brought into the kingdom, with the quantity formerly exported, even although the population of the country had continued the fame, or had even declined; notwithstanding the induftry and the capital of the cultivators of the foil have been greatly increafed fince the period when the large furplus quantity of corn was annually exported.

The great increafe of grafs land rapidly extending over the kingdom is obferved by many of the agricultural reporters. I fhall, however, confine myfelf to one fentence, taken from the improved report of the agriculture of the county of Lancafhire: "at this period (1795) the diminution of arable land is likely to

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'become a serious calamity to the nation at large.' It is not by giving an immense bounty on the importation of foreign corn, that the legislature of Great Britain will make up for the annual deficiency in the produce of grain; for what is this but resorting to the weekly distribution of ancient Rome, under another form, to relieve the wants of the inhabitants. But it must be by removing every obstruction to the extension of cultivation over the waste lands, and every bar to the raising crops of corn, by the most productive modes of husbandry on the fields already improved. As also by adopting every judicious regulation which will reduce the price of bread, and encourage the consumption of vegetable food. To effect these desirable objects, I humbly submit the following regulations to the consideration of the legislature, as the principles on which laws may be founded; for encouraging agriculture; for promoting the interest of proprietors, cultivators, and manufacturers; and finally for adding to the wealth, capital, and resources of the state.

Regulations for promoting the improvement of the Waste Lands, for encouraging Agriculture, and for rendering the lands more productive, which are already in a fit state for cultivation.

1st, A general law for dividing commons in England, a measure now under the consideration of Parliament.

2^{dly}, By heightening the import rate of foreign oats, the crop which can be first raised to the greatest advantage on Waste Lands, in order to secure to the cultivators, a sufficient return

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for the labour and capital employed.—*Note.* This regulation would operate as a tax on horses, in favour of agriculture, by raising a little the price of oats, without materially increasing the price of the food of the inhabitants. As the same advance in luxury, which increases the consumption of oats in the feeding of horses, lessens the consumption of oatmeal as the food of man, by the gradual introduction of wheat as bread corn. The expence of cultivating Waste Land, from the present high price of labour and every article of consumption, must now be very great; and on the Waste Lands in Scotland, and a great part of those in England, it is by cultivating oats, that a great share of the expence may be indemnified.

3^{dly}, By a law for settling on the clergy a fixed revenue in corn, (as grain will always rise in price with the increasing demand for labour, in countries advancing in wealth and prosperity under well regulated governments, and when stationary, it becomes the exact measure of the real value of every commodity,) and freeing the cultivators from every species of tythe. *Note.* Whilst tythes are drawn, cultivation can never be carried on with spirit, or approach towards perfection; and as the country advances in wealth, the paying of tythes will occasion more land being withdrawn from raising corn, and will prevent old pastures from being ploughed up for cropping, as it now requires greater capitals and exertions of skill in the cultivators, to replace the rent, expence of cultivation, and profit on stock, than formerly. Therefore, tythes now fall more heavy on the industry of the husbandman, and prove a greater check to his activity.

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4thly, By a statute to amend the poor laws* in England, which prevent labourers, mechanics, and manufacturers, who cannot find employment in one parish, from removing to another, where they can get work, and burden the farmers with a variable arbitrary tax for their support, to the number frequently in country parishes, of one half of the whole inhabitants, and to the amount perhaps of one half, or three fourths of their rent. Where is this evil to stop? farmers must discourage population, and turn their farms into grafs, out of fear of being ruined by poors rates? The rent of land ought to be precisely ascertained, for tythes and poors rates operate, like the *taille* under the former government of France, and most materially discourage cultivation.

5thly, A tax on all lands held by farmers without a lease, or any regulation that will encourage landlords to grant leases to their tenants; otherwise, no spirited exertions in agriculture can be carried on in Britain: holding land from year to year may suit the cultivation of the vineyards in France, where only labour and a few sorry tools are necessary, but is destructive of good husbandry in this country, where a large capital must be invested in agriculture.

6thly, A tax on all lands occupied by tenants when restricted from cultivation by the landlord. If the state be in want of bread-corn, or any other production which the soil affords, the proprietor, who ties up the hands of his tenants from con-

* Since writing the above, the poor laws have been brought under the consideration of Parliament.

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tributing a proportional relief, is certainly no friend to his country. Nothing can be more absurd than the modes of cropping prescribed by some landlords to their tenants; for instance, obliging them to fallow their lands every third year, preventing them from substituting turnips in place of the fallow; prohibiting them from planting potatoes, or from sowing wheat, after pease and beans, *restraining them from plowing hay or pasture lands**. Grant tenants leases for twenty years, and let all restrictions be abolished, at least till the last three or four years of the lease, allowing them to crop their farms in the manner most advantageous for their own and the public interest. Relieved from these fetters, they will give an advanced †

* Mr Arthur Young. In his Tour through France, recommends the allowing the husbandmen of that country unlimited power to sow and plant what they please, upon the land they farm, in order to render the soil more productive, for supplying the inhabitants. In his Account of a District in Essex, in the Annals of Agriculture, he says, 'While I was at Spain's Hall, Mr Ruggles offered to several neighbours a large field of standing grafs, ready to mow for hay, part of it for 25s. per acre, and part at 35s. and was refused by all. The ground being excellently good, and the crop large, I expressed my surprize at this, when I was assured sheep would not pay for hay; that they would eat 2cs. a-head in hay, and not be five shillings the better for it; that the same remark is applicable to cows, which will never, for any quantity, pay more than 1s. 6d. per cwt.; that there is not a meadow scarcely in the country, but would be ploughed up, if the landlords would allow it: whence it is sufficiently plain, that they esteem corn to be vastly more advantageous than grafs, even on land that shews signs of being singularly adapted to it.' Vide Annals of Agriculture, vol. 18. p. 410.

† Mr Arthur Young shews the advanced rents that are given by tenants, when freed from restrictions, even when pursuing the most injudicious modes of cultivation, in the following instance: 'After being pared and burned to sow three successive crops of white corn, in consequence of the benefits derived from the

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rent, agriculture will become more productive, and the state will reap the benefit of their exertions.

Regulations for lowering the price of Bread, and increasing the consumption of Vegetable food.

1st, By a law for lowering the duty on beer or ale of a certain description, to enable the labourer, manufacturer, and mechanic, to purchase a nourishing liquor at a moderate price, so as to encourage them to live more on bread and ale, and

operation, is to rack and exhaust the soil, and following these with rye grass, chiefly mowen the first year, and none that I saw close fed, is to continue cropping, when the land most needs repose. If, therefore, the practice is really or essentially bad, or ruinous, as so many think it, here is one district in which it should be found particularly so. But the facts I meet with will not justify such a conclusion: The rents of the lands, thus tortured, have risen in twenty years, from 50 to 100 per cent. The downs that were let at 2s. 6d. and 3s. an acre, are now at 5s. and 6s. Whatever the practice may be, therefore, it cannot materially have hurt the landlord, if it has, in any case, hurt him at all. *Annals of Agricul. vol. 23. p. 358.*

In this part of Scotland, where tenants hold their farms generally on leases for 19 or 21 years, they have hitherto been seldom restricted from sowing what they please, during the currency of their leases; but this liberty, so far from lessening the advanced rent given at the renewal of the lease, has certainly had the effect to raise it. Land here is higher rented than in England, in proportion to its quality. There has been lately given for a farm, on a lease for 21 years, L. 3 Sterling per English statute acre, which was severely cropped at pleasure by the preceding tenant, and where no manure can be procured for putting it in order, but from the produce of the farm: Also, for another farm of 140 acres in the same situation, only within reach of Edinburgh dung, which, however, will cost the tenant from L. 6 to L. 7 to manure an acre, there has been given yearly rent L. 100 Sterling in money, 63 quarters of wheat, 93 quarters of barley, and 105 quarters of oats.

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less on butcher meat, as well as to discourage the pernicious use of spiritous liquors.

2^{dly}, By a law for regulating weights and measures, particularly those by which corn is sold; although this is one of the most important branches of police it is shamefully neglected, owing to its being left to the management of incorporate bodies in towns. The corn measures are fraudulently increased from time to time, and are all of them much larger than the standard; the consequence that follows is, that in fixing the price of bread by the affize, it is always rated and sold at a higher price than the law allows in proportion to the real price of wheat by the Winchester bushel.

3^{dly}, By a law for regulating the affize of bread, after ascertaining the exact quantity of flour produced from wheat of different weights, and the exact quantity of bread produced from a given quantity of flour; not by taking the opinion of corn factors, millers, or bakers, in a committee room of the House of Commons, but after a number of actual experiments, repeatedly made by intelligent men not interested in the trade*.

* By the present mode of regulation, the law supposes a bushel of wheat to weigh 56 lbs. and to produce 42 lbs. of flour, only 3-4ths of the weight of the wheat. The law directs this flour to be divided in the bolting, into two equal parts, but of unequal fineness; of the fine half the wheaten bread is made, and of the coarse, the household: The law supposes, that there are only 12 quarter loaves made out of the produce of a bushel of wheat; but from Sir George Young's experiments, made in

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Atbly and lastly, By a law for regulating the allowance of millers; obliging them to grind for money, and return the weight of the grain in meal, after deducting the just proportion of waste. I have frequently known poor people take bread

the process of manufacturing wheat into bread, it appears, that a bushel of tythe wheat weighed 60 lbs. which produced 45 lbs. of flour of a medium fineness, of which 60 lbs. of standard wheaten bread was made, and also 9 lbs. of coarse flour, of which 13½ lbs. of bread was made, making in all 73½ lbs. per bushel: Whereas the law supposes there are only 52 lbs. 2 ozs. made from the bushel.—But this experiment of Sir George Young only points out part of the evil; it does not detect the frauds that are committed, wherever the assize of bread is regulated by the current prices of wheat, from its produce in flour being divided into a larger portion of fine flour than the law directs. I once sold a parcel of *fine* wheat, the produce of my own farm, the price of which was to be determined by the quantity of flour it produced. The return from the mill was 34 lbs. fine flour, and 20 lbs. household, per bushel, in all 54 lbs. the exact quantity obtained by Sir George Young. Supposing the wheat to be sold at 1s. 6d. per bushel, including the allowance to the baker, it would produce,

Of wheaten bread 9 quarters at 1s.	L. 0 9 0
Ditto 4 twopenny loaves	0 0 8
Of household 5 quarters at 9d.	0 3 9
Ditto 3 twopenny loaves	0 0 6
	<hr/>
	0 13 11
Legal allowance { 6 quarters wheaten at 1s. }	0 10 6
{ 6 ditto household at 9d. }	

Profit to the Baker L. 0 3 5

per bushel over and above the legal allowance. This extra profit is calculated on the legal estimation, that a sack of flour only produces 80 quartern loaves. But upon my enquiring some time ago, how much bread was made in London, from a given quantity of flour, at an intelligent young man, who had the management of a bakehouse in that city, he answered me, that his master never complained, when they made 86 quarterns out of the sack. Upon comparing this quantity with the propor-

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corn to the mill, and get one fifth of the weight abstracted by the miller for grinding.—*Note.* The bill introduced some time ago by Sir Francis Basset, on this subject, seemed well calculated to remedy the complaints of the poor people, and encourage the consumption of bread corn*.

My Supplement to your late Father's Work is now finished; in which I have ventured to suggest such farther regulations, as have occurred to me, to be necessary for improving the system of our Corn Laws, and for rendering the produce equal to the increasing consumption of the kingdom. It was also my intention to develop the causes, which, in addition to the errors in that system, have, of late years, occasioned a scarcity of bread corn in Great Britain; and I have endeavoured to prove, that, in a country rapidly advancing in wealth and refinement, the encouragement of Agriculture is not only necessary for securing the continuance of the national prosperity,

tional weight of standard bread, made from the weight of flour, in Sir George Young's experiment, I find them to correspond exactly, calculating, therefore, the actual produce of bread from the bushel of my wheat, by the *data* in Sir George's experiment, the baker's profit on the bushel amounted to 4s. 6d. over and above the legal allowance of 1s. 6d. and the value of the bran.

* Since the above sheet went to press, a bill has been brought into the House of Commons, from the Committee on Corn, for regulating the allowance to be taken by millers for grinding, &c.

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but is the only effectual means of promoting plenty, and of increasing the power and resources of the state.

If I have thrown any additional light on this important object, so as to tend in the smallest degree to the advantage of my country, it will prove a sufficient recompence to,

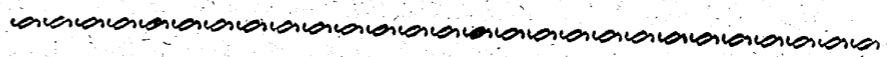
My dear Sir,

Your sincere Friend,

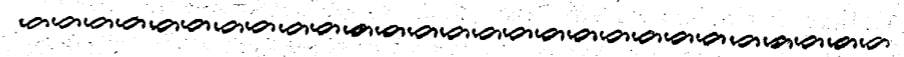
And obedient Servant,

WM MACKIE.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Dirom, of }
Mount Annan, Edinburgh. }



A P P E N D I X.



A P P E N D I X.

No I.

THE *Principles*, upon which the Ancient Money of England, and of Scotland, is converted into the present Sterling Money, are briefly as follows:

I. Tale or Denomination.

In England; and in Scotland; at the time of the Conquest, there were *twenty* shillings in the Coinage pound of Silver; which continued, with very little variation, in England, till the year 1347; and, in Scotland, till 1306: but now there are *sixty-two* shillings in the Coinage pound of Silver in both kingdoms; so that L. 100, at that time, were equal to L. 310. of the present money, in point of tale or denomination.

II. Interest, or Yearly Value.

Prior to the sixteenth century, the interest or yearly value of money, in both England and Scotland, was about *sixteen per cent.* but which is now reduced to *five per cent. per annum.*

EXAMPLE.—Money being raised or reduced in value according to the yearly legal produce of it, L. 100, bearing interest at *10 per cent.* is equal in value to L. 200, bearing only *5 per cent.* and other sums in proportion: So that L. 100 of ancient money, being equal in value to L. 310, in point of denomination only, and money being now worth only *5 per cent. per annum*; therefore, the L. 310, with the interest at *16 per cent.* was equal to L. 992 of the present money.

The following Tables will shew the value of Money, at different periods, from the Conquest to the present time, both in England, and in Scotland; and, by them, the ancient Money may be converted into the present Money, according to the variation in the tale or denomination *only*; or, *also*, in proportion both to the tale and the rate of yearly Interest of money, as done in this Work.

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TABLE OF THE VALUE OF MONEY IN ENGLAND.

Date of Mint Indentures and Monarchs' Reign.	Standard of the Silver Coin.		No. of Shillings coined from one pound of Silver.	Value of the ancient Pound in proportion to the tale or denomination only.		Interest or value of money per annum.	Value of the ancient Money, in proportion both to tale and yearly interest of money.		
	Fine Silver.	Alloy.		Value of one Pound.	Value of one Shilling.		Value of one Pound.	Value of one Shilling.	
A.D. Before Ed. 3.	oz. 20	18 20	20	3	1 20	16	9 18	4 80	9 100
1347 20 Edwd. 3.	11 20	18 22	62	15	1 33	16	8 16	4 80	8 82
1354 27 Edwd. 3.	11 20	18 25	62	9	7 20	16	7 18	7 20	7 93
1422 9 Henry 5.	11 20	18 30	62	1	4 80	16	6 12	2 40	6 61
1422 11 Henry 6.	11 20	18 37	61	13	0 80	16	5 5	7 20	5 28
1426 4 Henry 6.	11 20	18 30	62	1	4 80	16	6 12	3 20	6 61
1460 39 Henry 6.	11 20	18 37	61	13	0 80	16	5 5	7 20	5 28
1509 11 Henry 8.	11 20	18 45	61	7	6 66	14	3 17	0 30	3 85
1543 35 Henry 8.	10 02	0 48	0 1	5	10	14	3 12	9 60	3 64
1545 37 Henry 8.	6 06	0 48	0 1	5	10	14	3 12	9 60	3 64
1547 1 Edwd. 6.	4 08	0 48	0 1	5	10	12	3 2	0 20	3 10
1549 3 Edwd. 6.	6 06	0 72	0 0	17	2 67	12	2 0	2 40	2 21
1551 5 Edwd. 6.	3 09	0 72	0 0	17	2 67	12	2 0	2 40	2 21
1552 6 Edwd. 6.	11 10	19 60	0 1	0	8	12	2 9	7 20	2 48
1560 2 Eliz.	11 20	18 60	0 1	0	8	10	2 1	4 80	2 27
1601 43 Eliz.	11 20	18 62	0 1	0	0	10	2 0	0 0	2 0
1625 21 James 1.	11 20	18 62	0 1	0	0	8	1 12	0 0	1 70
1651 Ufurpation	11 20	18 62	0 1	0	0	6	1 4	0 0	1 20
1714 13 Anne	11 20	18 62	0 1	0	0	5	1 0	0 0	1 1

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TABLE OF THE VALUE OF MONEY IN SCOTLAND.

Date of Mint Indentures and Monarchs' Reign.	Standard of the Silver Coin.		No. of Shillings coined from one pound of Silver.	Value of the ancient Pound in proportion to the tale or denomination only.		Interest or value of money per annum.	Value of the ancient Money, in proportion both to tale and yearly interest of money.		
	Fine Silver.	Alloy.		Value of one Pound.	Value of one Shilling.		Value of one Pound.	Value of one Shilling.	
A.D. Before Rt. 1.	oz. 20	18 20	20	3	1 20	16	9 18	4 80	9 100
1306 1 Robt. 1.	11 20	18 21	21	2	19 0 57	16	9 9	0 9 54	9 45
Uncertain, & for a short time	11 20	18 26	4						
1366 38 David 2.	11 20	18 25	2	9	7 20	16	7 18	7 20	7 93
1367 39 David 2.	11 20	18 29	42	2	3 27	16	6 15	2 40	6 76
1393 3 Robt. 3.	11 20	18 32	0 1	18	9	16	6 4	0 6	6 20
1422 27 James 1.	11 20	18 37	61	13	0 80	16	5 5	9 60	5 29
1451 15 James 2.	11 20	18 04	0 0	19	4 50	16	3 2	0 3	3 10
1459 20 James 2.	11 20	18 96	0 0	12	11	16	2 1	4 80	2 27
1475 16 James 3.	11 20	18 144	0 0	8	7 33	16	1 7	7 20	1 38
1484 24 James 3.	11 20	18 140	0 0	8	10 28	16	1 8	4 80	1 42
1505 18 James 4.	11 20	18 140	0 0	8	10 28	14	1 4	9 60	1 24
1520 16 James 5.	11 01	0 192	0 0	6	5 50	14	1 4	0 0	1 0 80
1556 14 Mary	11 01	0 260	0 0	4	9 23	14	0 11	4 80	0 57
1565 23 Mary	11 01	0 360	0 0	3	5 33	12	0 8	2 40	0 41
1571 5 James 6.	9 03	0 334	0 0	3	8 55	12	0 9	0 0	0 45
1577 11 James 6.	8 04	0 334	0 0	3	8 55	10	0 7	4 80	0 37
1579 13 James 6.	11 01	0 440	0 0	2	9 82	10	0 5	7 20	0 28
1581 15 James 6.	11 01	0 480	0 0	2	7	10	0 5	2 40	0 26
1587 21 James 6.	11 01	0 480	0 0	2	8 0	10	0 5	2 40	0 26
1597 31 James 6.	11 01	0 600	0 0	2	0 80	10	0 4	2 40	0 21
1601 35 James 6.	11 01	0 720	0 0	1	8 67	10	0 3	4 80	0 17
1633 8 Chas. 1.	11 01	0 720	0 0	1	8 67	8	0 2	9 60	0 14
1651 Ufurpation	11 01	0 720	0 0	1	8 67	6	0 2	0 0	0 10
1659 Ditto	11 20	18 744	0 0	1	8 40	6	0 1	11 20	0 9 5
1714 13 Anne	11 20	18 744	0 0	1	8	5	0 1	8	0 1 1 2

APPENDIX, No I.

THE following Table contains an account of the price of Wheat, in England, with the value in the money of the times, and in the present money, calculated on the principles that have been stated, as far back as it can be obtained upon proper authority, that is from 1223, down to the year 1784.

Prior to the year 1646, the prices have been taken from the collection of Bishop Fleetwood, from the statute books, and other authentic documents.

From that period to the present time, we have certain and distinct accounts of the price of Wheat; which, from 1646 to 1706, have been also taken from Bishop Fleetwood's collection; and the Bishop has informed us, that they were collected from the audit books of Eton College*.

From 1706 to 1770 inclusive, the prices have been likewise extracted from the audit books of the same College; and the account is certified by Dr Roberts, the present Provost of the College.

These prices shew the rates at the market of Windsor, which determine the sum, or conversion in money, to be paid for Wheat to Eton College; they are made up twice in the year, at Lady-day and Michaelmas, and being joined, the medium is taken.

The Wheat payable to Eton College is of the best kind, and nine bushels are payable for the quarter; so that these prices must be higher than the general run of the markets of England.

From 1771 to 1784 inclusive, the prices of Wheat are taken from the Corn register established by law; and the account of them is attested by Mr Catherwood.

* Chron. prat. p. 101.

TABLE of the Price of a Quarter of Wheat, in the money of the time, and in the present money, from the year 1223 to 1784.

Table with columns: Changes in the value of money, Anno Dom., Anno Regis., Account of the price of the Quarter of Wheat in England at different periods, Money of the time (l. s. d.), Present Money (l. s. d.). Rows list years from 1223 to 1449 with corresponding prices and annotations like 'a great famine began this year' and 'famine'.

APPENDIX, No I.

Changes in the value of money.	Anno Dom.	Anno Regis.	Price of the Quarter of Wheat in England.	Money of the time. £. s. d.	Present Money. £. s. d.
	1691	4 W. & M.	Price of the quarter of wheat	1 14 0	2 0 10
	1692	—	Price of ditto	2 6 8	2 16 0
	1693	—	Price of ditto	3 7 8	4 1 2
	1694	—	Price of ditto	3 4 0	3 16 10
	1695	—	Price of ditto	2 13 0	3 3 7
	1696	—	Price of ditto	3 11 0	4 5 2
	1697	—	Price of ditto	3 0 0	3 12 0
	1698	—	Price of ditto	3 8 4	4 2 0
	1699	—	Price of ditto	3 4 0	3 18 10
	1700	—	Price of ditto	2 0 0	2 8 0
		—	Average of these 10 years	2 16 10	3 8 3
	1701	1 Anne	Price of the quarter of wheat	1 17 8	2 5 2
	1702	—	Price of ditto	1 9 6	1 15 5
	1703	—	Price of ditto	1 16 0	2 3 2
	1704	—	Price of ditto	2 6 6	2 15 10
	1705	—	Price of ditto	1 10 0	1 16 0
	1706	—	Price of ditto	1 6 0	1 11 2
	1707	—	Price of ditto	1 8 6	1 14 2
	1708	—	Price of ditto	2 1 6	2 9 10
	1709	—	Price of ditto	3 18 6	4 14 2
	1710	—	Price of ditto	3 18 0	4 13 7
		—	Average of these 10 years	2 3 2	2 11 10
	1711	—	Price of the quarter of wheat	2 14 0	3 4 10
	1712	—	Price of ditto	2 6 4	2 15 7
	1713	—	Price of ditto	2 11 0	3 1 2
Change this year of interest & tale.	1714	1 Geo. 1	Price of ditto	—	2 10 4
	1715	—	Price of ditto	—	2 3 0
	1716	—	Price of ditto	—	2 8 0
	1717	—	Price of ditto	—	2 5 6
	1718	—	Price of ditto	—	1 18 10
	1719	—	Price of ditto	—	1 14 9 1/2
	1720	—	Price of ditto	—	1 17 0
		—	Average of the last 10 years	—	2 4 10 1/2
	1721	—	Price of the quarter of wheat	—	1 17 6
	1722	—	Price of ditto	—	1 16 0
	1723	—	Price of ditto	—	1 14 9
	1724	—	Price of ditto	—	1 17 0
	1725	—	Price of ditto	—	2 8 0
	1726	—	Price of ditto	—	2 6 0
	1727	1 Geo. 2	Price of ditto	—	2 2 0
	1728	—	Price of ditto	—	2 14 6
	1729	—	Price of ditto	—	2 7 6
	1730	—	Price of ditto	—	1 16 6
		—	Average of these 10 years	—	2 2 0
	1731	—	Price of the quarter of wheat	—	1 13 0
	1732	—	Price of ditto	—	1 6 9
	1733	—	Price of ditto	—	1 8 4
	1734	—	Price of ditto	—	1 17 9
	1735	—	Price of ditto	—	2 3 0

APPENDIX, No I.

Changes in the value of money.	Anno Dom.	Anno Regis.	Price of the Quarter of Wheat in England.	Sterling Money. £. s. d.
	1736	10 Geo. 2	Price of the quarter of wheat	2 0 4
	1737	—	Price of ditto	1 17 9
	1738	—	Price of ditto	1 15 6
	1739	—	Price of ditto	1 17 6
	1740	—	Price of ditto	2 15 0
		—	Average of these 10 years	1 17 6
	1741	—	Price of the quarter of wheat	2 7 0
	1742	—	Price of ditto	1 12 1 1/2
	1743	—	Price of ditto	1 5 0
	1744	—	Price of ditto	1 4 11
	1745	—	Price of ditto	1 7 6
	1746	—	Price of ditto	1 19 0
	1747	—	Price of ditto	1 14 10
	1748	—	Price of ditto	1 17 0
	1749	—	Price of ditto	1 17 0
	1750	—	Price of ditto	1 12 6
		—	Average of the last 10 years	1 13 8
	1751	—	Price of the quarter of wheat	1 18 6
	1752	—	Price of ditto	2 1 10
	1753	—	Price of ditto	2 4 5
	1754	—	Price of ditto	1 14 9
	1755	—	Price of ditto	1 13 9
	1756	—	Price of ditto	2 5 3
	1757	—	Price of ditto	3 0 0
	1758	—	Price of ditto	2 10 0
	1759	—	Price of ditto	1 19 10
	1760	1 Geo. 3	Price of ditto	1 16 6
		—	Average of these 10 years	2 2 6
	1761	—	Price of the quarter of wheat	1 10 3
	1762	—	Price of ditto	1 19 0
	1763	—	Price of ditto	2 0 9
	1764	—	Price of ditto	2 6 9
	1765	—	Price of ditto	2 14 0
	1766	—	Price of ditto	2 1 6
	1767	—	Price of ditto	3 4 6
	1768	—	Price of ditto	3 0 6
	1769	—	Price of ditto	2 3 1
	1770	—	Price of ditto	2 9 0
		—	Average of these 10 years	2 7 8
	1771	—	Price of the quarter of wheat	2 7 2
	1772	—	Price of ditto	2 10 8
	1773	—	Price of ditto	2 11 0
		—	Exportation, when the quarter of wheat was under	2 4 0
		—	Importation, when the quarter of wheat is at or above	2 8 0
	1774	—	Price of the quarter of wheat	2 12 8
	1775	—	Price of ditto	2 8 4
	1776	—	Price of ditto	1 18 2
	1777	—	Price of ditto	2 5 6
	1778	—	Price of ditto	2 2 0

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APPENDIX, No I.

Changes in the value of money.	Anno Dom.	Anno Regis.	Price of the Quarter of Wheat in England.	Sterling money.		
				£.	s.	d.
	1779	19 Geo. 3	Price of the quarter of wheat	1	13	8
	1780	—	Price of ditto	1	15	8
			Average of the last 10 years	2	4	6
	1781	—	Price of the quarter of wheat	2	4	8
	1782	—	Price of ditto	2	7	10
	1783	—	Price of ditto	2	12	8
	1784	—	Price of ditto	2	8	10
			Average of these 4 years	2	8	6

APPENDIX, No II.

An ACCOUNT of the Exportation and Importation of Grain, from and to Great Britain, from the year 1697 to the year 1784*.

Years.	ENGLAND ALONE.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1697	—	{ Wheat and Flour — — Barley and Malt — — Oats and Oatmeal — — Rye — —	14,698	400
			84,666	211
			295	1
			2,596	—
			102,255	612
1698	—	{ Wheat and Flour — — Barley and Malt — — Oats and Oatmeal — — Rye — —	6,886	1,689
			77,575	150
			172	520
			1,343	3,622
			85,976	5,981
1699	—	{ Wheat and Flour — — Barley and Malt — — Oats and Oatmeal — — Rye — —	557	486
			1,586	—
			302	1,280
			405	350
			2,850	2,116
1700	—	{ Wheat and Flour — — Barley and Malt — — Oats and Oatmeal — — Rye — —	49,057	5
			63,468	—
			391	234
			27,231	—
			140,147	239
1701	—	{ Wheat and Flour — — Barley and Malt — — Oats and Oatmeal — — Rye — —	98,324	1
			72,400	—
			286	20
			43,917	—
			214,927	21
1702	—	{ Wheat and Flour — — Barley and Malt — — Oats and Oatmeal — — Rye — —	90,230	—
			88,137	—
			90	1
			51,710	—
			230,167	1
1703	—	{ Wheat and Flour — — Barley and Malt — — Oats and Oatmeal — — Rye — —	106,615	50
			194,815	—
			159	2
			58,439	—
			360,028	52

* The Author mentions, in the memorandum which he left along with his Manuscripts, that the accounts of Export and Import were made up from other documents, before he got the necessary vouchers from the Custom-houses of London and Edinburgh; and, although the difference be not material, he meant to have reformed them, according to the Custom-house vouchers, if he had kept his health. *Edm.*

Years.	ENGLAND ALONE.				Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1704	—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	90,314	2
			Barley and Malt	—	133,603	—
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	220	—
			Rye	—	29,285	—
				253,422	2	
1705	—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	96,185	—
			Barley and Malt	—	158,783	—
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	100	—
			Rye	—	24,060	—
				279,128	—	
1706	—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	188,332	77
			Barley and Malt	—	151,306	—
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	62	579
			Rye	—	49,892	—
				389,592	656	
1707	—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	74,155	—
			Barley and Malt	—	115,924	—
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	104	12
			Rye	—	34,032	—
				224,215	12	
ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.						
1708	England—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	83,406	86
			Barley and Malt	—	127,727	—
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	68	70
			Rye	—	4,720	—
1708	Scotland—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	563	—
			Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	16,263	—
			Oatmeal	—	6,099	—
			Hulled Barley	—	12	30
				238,858	186	
1709	England—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	160,680	1,552
			Barley and Malt	—	180,447	606
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	38	1
			Rye	—	166,513	—
Carried forward				516,678	2,159	

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.				Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1709	Scotland—	{	Brought forward	—	516,678	2,159
			Wheat and Flour	—	1,938	—
			Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	15,200	—
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	2,785	—
			Rye	—	6	—
			Hulled Barley	—	—	73
				536,607	2,232	
1710	England—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	13,924	400
			Barley and Malt	—	85,275	576
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	125	253
			Rye	—	12,216	—
1710	Scotland—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	2,683	—
			Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	7,569	—
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	689	—
			Rye	—	21	—
				—	31	
				122,502	1,260	
1711	England—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	76,949	—
			Barley and Malt	—	148,389	—
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	321	—
			Rye	—	37,957	—
1711	Scotland—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	3,992	—
			Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	26,990	—
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	8,595	—
			Rye	—	6	—
				—	19	
				303,199	19	
1712	England—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	145,191	—
			Barley and Malt	—	211,463	—
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	304	—
			Rye	—	17,735	—
1712	Scotland—	{	Wheat and Flour	—	3,348	—
			Beer, Beer Meal, Barley, and Malt	—	36,875	1
			Oats and Oatmeal	—	6,083	—
			Rye	—	83	—
				421,082	1	

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.			Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1713	England	Wheat and Flour	—	176,227	—
		Barley and Malt	—	270,518	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	1,376	—
		Rye	—	38,626	—
1713	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	3,742	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	37,867	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	8,058	—
		Rye	—	266	—
		Peafe and Beans	—	72	—
				536,752	—
1714	England	Wheat and Flour	—	174,821	16
		Barley and Malt	—	238,855	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	129	21
		Rye	—	20,455	—
1714	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	5,844	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	34,254	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	7,140	—
		Rye	—	23	—
				481,521	37
1715	England	Wheat and Flour	—	166,490	—
		Barley and Malt	—	108,445	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	304	—
		Rye	—	31,161	—
1715	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	6,747	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	28,851	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	7,423	—
		Rye	—	95	—
				349,516	—
1716	England	Wheat and Flour	—	74,926	—
		Barley and Malt	—	241,474	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	720	—
		Rye	—	40,123	—
1716	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	950	—
		Beer, Beer Meal, Barley, and Malt	—	33,388	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	11,714	—
		Rye	—	1,570	—
				404,865	—

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.			Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1717	England	Wheat and Flour	—	22,954	—
		Barley and Malt	—	269,519	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	404	62
		Rye	—	23,032	—
1717	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	2,683	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	38,019	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	8,850	—
		Rye	—	456	—
		Peafe and Beans	—	327	—
				366,244	62
1718	England	Wheat and Flour	—	71,800	—
		Barley and Malt	—	374,273	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	869	21
		Rye	—	49,417	—
1718	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	2,581	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	54,126	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	14,010	—
		Rye	—	306	—
				567,382	21
1719	England	Wheat and Flour	—	127,762	20
		Barley and Malt	—	367,148	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	219	300
		Rye	—	45,502	—
1719	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	2,771	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	49,970	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	11,763	—
		Rye	—	187	—
				605,322	320
1720	England	Wheat and Flour	—	83,084	—
		Barley and Malt	—	258,016	252
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	3,471	2
		Rye	—	49,241	—
1720	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	1,259	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	43,838	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	16,788	—
		Rye	—	353	—
				456,050	254

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APPENDIX, No II.

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1721	England	Wheat and Flour	81,632	—
		Barley and Malt	350,551	445
		Oats and Oatmeal	578	—
		Rye	69,698	—
1721	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,116	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	45,726	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	13,535	—
		Rye	802	—
		Peafe and Beans	50	—
			563,688	445
1722	England	Wheat and Flour	178,880	—
		Barley and Malt	404,257	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	324	—
		Rye	42,579	—
1722	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	35	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	22,258	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	5,905	—
		Rye	233	—
		Peafe and Beans	—	1
			654,471	1
1723	England	Wheat and Flour	157,720	—
		Barley and Malt	350,853	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	542	112
		Rye	12,738	—
1723	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	362	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	3,425	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	626	—
		Rye	1	—
		Peafe and Beans	—	150
			526,267	262
1724	England	Wheat and Flour	245,865	148
		Barley and Malt	252,194	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	516	61,630
		Rye	23,441	—
1724	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,297	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	2,004	10
		Oats and Oatmeal	621	—
		Rye	9	—
		Peafe, Beans, and Buck Wheat	—	10
			525,947	61,798

APPENDIX, No II.

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1725	England	Wheat and Flour	204,413	12
		Barley and Malt	307,808	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,447	2,152
		Rye	20,540	—
1725	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	6,762	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	27,943	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	8,986	—
		Rye	332	—
		Peafe and Beans	1	23
			578,232	2,187
1726	England	Wheat and Flour	142,183	—
		Barley and Malt	355,943	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,413	20
		Rye	18,835	—
1726	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,443	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	30,795	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	3,722	—
		Rye	1,335	—
			555,669	20
1727	England	Wheat and Flour	30,315	—
		Barley and Malt	250,117	100
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,205	16
		Rye	9,169	—
1727	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	715	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	50,052	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	7,042	1
		Rye	435	—
		Peafe, Beans, and Peafe Meal	33	—
			350,083	117
1728	England	Wheat and Flour	3,817	74,574
		Barley and Malt	195,539	11,745
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,388	70,070
		Rye	14	42,206
1728	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	118	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	16,547	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,371	—
		Rye	270	—
		Peafe and Beans	5	—
			219,064	198,595

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APPENDIX, No II.

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1729	England	Wheat and Flour	18,993	40,315
		Barley and Malt	135,394	17,202
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,541	184,092
		Rye	1,460	132,046
1729	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	9,177	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	6,868	—
		Rye	17	—
			174,450	373,655
1730	England	Wheat and Flour	93,971	76
		Barley and Malt	194,429	386
		Oats and Oatmeal	4,479	95,149
		Rye	12,394	—
1730	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	559	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	23,882	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,933	—
		Rye	165	—
		Peafe, Beans, and Buck Wheat	—	1
			331,812	95,612
1731	England	Wheat and Flour	130,025	4
		Barley and Malt	191,262	3,503
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,808	15,893
		Rye	21,090	—
1731	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	625	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	19,753	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,005	—
		Rye	308	—
		Peafe and Beans	202	—
			367,078	19,400
1732	England	Wheat and Flour	202,058	—
		Barley and Malt	174,950	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,275	12,044
		Rye	15,536	—
1732	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	554	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	15,633	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	691	—
		Rye	40	—
			—	—
			410,737	12,044

APPENDIX, No II.

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1733	England	Wheat and Flour	427,199	7
		Barley and Malt	240,713	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,467	9
		Rye	28,155	—
1733	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	206	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	18,349	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,631	—
		Rye	377	—
			719,117	16
1734	England	Wheat and Flour	408,197	7
		Barley and Malt	303,349	1
		Oats and Oatmeal	3,039	9
		Rye	10,735	—
1734	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	550	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	27,862	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	5,570	—
		Rye	253	—
		Buck Wheat and Peafe	—	2
			759,555	19
1735	England	Wheat and Flour	153,344	9
		Barley and Malt	277,302	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,921	6,439
		Rye	1,330	—
1735	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,936	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	26,991	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	27,841	—
		Rye	203	—
		Peafe and Buck Wheat	—	1
			490,868	6,449
1736	England	Wheat and Flour	118,171	17
		Barley and Malt	199,463	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,197	268
		Rye	1,221	—
1736	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	47	1
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	23,091	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	16,618	—
		Rye	90	—
		Peafe and Beans	—	—
			359,898	286

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APPENDIX, No II.

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.			Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1737	England	Wheat and Flour	—	461,602	32
		Barley and Malt	—	127,388	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	1,922	7
		Rye	—	7,849	—
1737	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	4,469	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	18,160	1
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	2,729	—
		Rye	—	40	—
		Peafe and Buck Wheat	—	—	2
			624,159	42	
1738	England	Wheat and Flour	—	580,597	3
		Barley and Malt	—	259,298	1
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	1,777	21
		Rye	—	36,159	—
1738	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	7,687	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	32,327	2
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	5,448	—
		Rye	—	166	—
		Buck Wheat	—	—	2
			923,459	29	
1739	England	Wheat and Flour	—	279,543	23
		Barley and Malt	—	246,324	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	1,116	32
		Rye	—	29,791	—
1739	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	5,949	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	24,685	1
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	7,927	—
		Rye	—	503	—
		Peafe, Beans, and Buck Wheat	—	—	24
			595,838	80	
1740	England	Wheat and Flour	—	54,391	5,469
		Barley and Malt	—	169,565	1
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	2,572	1,333
		Rye	—	8,980	1,090
1740	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	—	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	7,423	120
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	831	513
		Rye	—	—	—
		Peafe, Beans, and Buck Wheat	—	—	27
			243,702	8,553	

APPENDIX, No II.

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.			Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1741	England	Wheat and Flour	—	45,417	7,540
		Barley and Malt	—	129,972	15,132
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	1,107	84,822
		Rye	—	7,622	11,012
1741	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	—	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	23	374
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	255	35,722
		Rye	—	—	—
		Peafe, Beans, and Indian Corn	—	—	3,835
			184,396	158,437	
1742	England	Wheat and Flour	—	293,260	—
		Barley and Malt	—	201,008	1
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	1,380	25
		Rye	—	63,272	—
1742	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	2,438	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	31,337	1
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	7,238	—
		Rye	—	354	36
		Peafe, Beans, and Buck Wheat	—	—	13
			600,297	76	
1743	England	Wheat and Flour	—	371,431	—
		Barley and Malt	—	254,213	3
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	1,882	13
		Rye	—	88,273	—
1743	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	4,548	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	39,778	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	13,988	—
		Rye	—	361	—
		Peafe, Beans, and Buck Wheat	—	—	8
			774,524	24	
1744	England	Wheat and Flour	—	231,985	—
		Barley and Malt	—	239,953	2
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	1,658	68
		Rye	—	74,169	—
1744	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	2,289	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	38,089	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	7,534	—
		Rye	—	398	—
		Peafe and Buck Wheat	—	—	5
			596,075	75	

APPENDIX, No II.

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1745	England	Wheat and Flour	324,840	6
		Barley and Malt	315,234	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	9,770	5
		Rye	83,966	—
1745	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	509	—
		Beer, Barley, and Malt	21,840	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	30,737	—
		Rye	160	—
		Buck Wheat and Flour	—	13
			787,056	24
1746	England	Wheat and Flour	130,646	—
		Barley and Malt	440,744	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	20,203	—
		Rye	45,782	—
1746	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	459	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	1,001	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	—
		Rye	—	—
		Peafe and Buck Wheat	—	4
			638,835	4
1747	England	Wheat and Flour	266,907	—
		Barley and Malt	464,430	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,122	—
		Rye	92,718	—
1747	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	3,584	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	24,591	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	5,020	14
		Rye	4,010	—
		Peafe and Buck Wheat	—	13
			863,382	27
1748	England	Wheat and Flour	543,388	6
		Barley and Malt	423,220	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	3,769	—
		Rye	103,892	—
1748	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,852	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	39,151	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	8,377	—
		Rye	251	—
		Buck Wheat, Peafe, and Beans	53	14
			1,123,953	20

APPENDIX, No II.

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1749	England	Wheat and Flour	629,049	382
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,281	—
		Barley and Malt	408,091	40
		Rye	106,312	—
1749	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,958	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	79,669	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	23,833	—
		Rye	113	—
		Peafe and Buck Wheat	—	9
			1,250,306	431
1750	England	Wheat and Flour	947,602	280
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	555,255	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	4,283	20
		Rye	99,049	—
1750	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	2,881	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	50,264	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	8,203	—
		Rye	241	—
		Peafe and Buck Wheat	—	19
			1,667,778	319
1751	England	Wheat and Flour	661,416	3
		Barley and Malt	289,245	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,476	2,291
		Rye	71,048	—
1751	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,541	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	18,233	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	4,365	—
		Rye	—	—
		Peafe and Buck Wheat	—	14
			1,048,324	2,308
1752	England	Wheat and Flour	429,279	—
		Barley and Malt	393,910	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,590	260
		Rye	57,847	—
1752	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	838	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	3,128	56
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	14,090
		Rye, Peafe, Buck Wheat, and Hulled Barley	—	—
			120	223
			886,742	14,629

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1753	England	Wheat and Flour	299,609	—
		Barley and Malt	341,474	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	7,012	36
		Rye	24,836	—
1753	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,145	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	5,066	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	4,102	7,013
		Peafe, Beans, Buck Wheat, and Hulled Barley	—	17
			683,244	7,066
1754	England	Wheat and Flour	356,270	201
		Barley and Malt	369,771	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,330	52,422
		Rye	42,915	—
1754	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	511	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	15,134	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	8,766	4,409
		Peafe, Buck Wheat, and Hulled Barley	—	15
			795,697	57,047
1755	England	Wheat and Flour	237,459	—
		Barley and Malt	374,404	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,112	2,883
		Rye	43,442	—
1755	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	7	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	7,255	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,056	3
		Rye	4	—
			—	13
			665,739	2,899
1756	England	Wheat and Flour	101,936	5
		Barley and Malt	263,865	5
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,310	46,670
		Rye	29,969	1,695
1756	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	816	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	6,085	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	3,189	8,068
		Buck Wheat and Flour	—	18
			408,170	56,461

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1757	England	Wheat and Flour	11,226	130,343
		Barley and Malt	93,259	5,781
		Oats and Oatmeal	4,418	7,759
		Rye	907	7,862
1757	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	319	11,219
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	195	162
		Oats and Oatmeal	275	1,601
		Beans and Peafe	—	1,617
			—	957
			57	—
			80,656	167,301
1758	England	Wheat and Flour	9,234	19,040
		Barley and Malt	11,419	9,752
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,831	13,840
		Rye	—	—
1758	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	1,313
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	—	163
		Oats and Oatmeal	—	19,782
		Rye	—	365
			—	168
			—	138
			22,484	64,561
1759	England	Wheat and Flour	226,426	82
		Barley and Malt	188,942	42
		Oats and Oatmeal	3,135	335
		Rye	41,480	—
1759	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,215	80
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	19,855	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	3,802	1,125
		Peafe and Buck Wheat	32	24
			29	—
			484,916	1,688
1760	England	Wheat and Flour	390,710	—
		Barley and Malt	258,787	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,338	4
		Rye	52,776	—
1760	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	2,904	3
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	32,363	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	12,358	—
		Buck Wheat and Hulled Barley	—	5
			398	—
			752,434	12

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Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1761	England	Wheat and Flour	440,746	—
		Barley and Malt	376,949	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,840	21
		Rye	57,571	—
1761	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,210	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	36,942	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	8,450	37
		Buck Wheat and Flour	—	15
		Rye	411	—
			925,119	73
1762	England	Wheat and Flour	294,500	56
		Barley and Malt	385,303	942
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,369	17,400
		Rye	28,410	—
1762	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	885	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	37,761	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	14,623	—
		Rye	219	—
		Buck Wheat	—	34
			763,070	18,432
1763	England	Wheat and Flour	427,074	8
		Barley and Malt	203,884	3,228
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,664	218,474
		Rye	12,934	—
1763	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	2,464	64
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	11,797	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,378	16,425
		Rye	17	—
		Buck Wheat	—	49
			661,212	238,248
1764	England	Wheat and Flour	396,538	1
		Barley and Malt	232,439	5,110
		Oats and Oatmeal	1,101	134,370
		Rye	27,690	—
1764	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	319	—
		Rye	56	—
		Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	14,452	—
		Peafe and Beans	13	—
		Oats and Oatmeal	2,851	402
		Peafe, Buck Wheat, and Hulled Barley	—	48
			675,459	139,931

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1765	England	Wheat and Flour	167,036	101,009
		Barley and Malt	227,867	3,597
		Oats and Oatmeal	11,653	82,747
		Rye, Beans, and Peafe	26,209	5
		Wheat and Flour	90	3,538
1765	Scotland	Beer, Barley, Barley Meal, and Malt	24,060	1,014
		Oats and Oatmeal	729	25,830
		Rye	26	—
		Buck Wheat	—	41
		Peafe and Beans	—	250
1766	England	Wheat and Flour	163,908	9,230
		Barley and Malt	95,061	2,621
		Oats and Oatmeal	10,937	210,129
		Rye	6,045	140
		Peafe and Beans	25,048	363
		Indian Corn	—	195
1766	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	1,031	1,790
		Barley and Malt	54	1,125
		Oats and Oatmeal	696	20,510
		Peafe and Beans	14	1,352
		Buck Wheat and Indian Corn	—	63
			302,794	247,518
1767	England	Wheat and Flour	5,071	481,734
		Barley and Malt	18,654	64,895
		Oats and Oatmeal	10,593	209,403
		Rye	53	65,498
		Peafe and Beans	16,052	16,469
		Indian Corn	—	16
1767	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	—	16,171
		Barley and Malt	46	9,469
		Oats and Oatmeal	12	39,760
		Rye	—	259
		Peafe and Beans	—	3,746
			50,481	907,420

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Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1768	England	Wheat and Flour	7,433	333,576
		Barley and Malt	6,508	11,483
		Oats and Oatmeal	12,096	125,014
		Rye	150	57,073
		Beans and Peafe	13,982	5,287
1768	Scotland	Indian Corn	—	13,993
		Wheat and Flour	—	15,692
		Barley and Malt	79	8,998
		Oats and Oatmeal	8	69,725
		Rye	—	806
		Peafe and Beans	—	7,529
			40,256	649,176
1769	England	Wheat and Flour	49,892	4,171
		Barley and Malt	37,449	220
		Oats and Oatmeal	13,264	75,376
		Rye	21	22
		Peafe and Beans	16,160	43
1769	Scotland	Indian Corn	—	50
		Wheat and Flour	—	207
		Barley and Malt	2,376	1
		Oats and Oatmeal	28	34,090
		Rye and Buck Wheat	—	49
		Peafe and Beans	—	44
			119,190	114,273
1770	England	Wheat and Flour	75,401	34
		Barley and Malt	166,561	28
		Oats and Oatmeal	19,737	109,203
		Rye	642	—
		Beans and Peafe	19,508	9
1770	Scotland	Wheat and Flour	48	—
		Barley and Malt	3,848	1
		Oats and Oatmeal	9,115	14,941
		Peafe and Beans	6	—
		Buck Wheat	—	9
			294,866	124,225

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1771	England and Scotland	Wheat and Flour	10,089	2,510
		Barley and Malt	34,198	228
		Oats and Oatmeal	35,233	212,327
		Rye	—	2,179
		Peafe and Beans	17,053	131
			96,573	217,375
1772	England and Scotland	Wheat and Flour	6,959	25,474
		Barley and Malt	14,031	3,068
		Oats and Oatmeal	23,599	100,820
		Rye	—	4,799
		Peafe and Beans	17,096	490
			61,685	140,651
1773	England and Scotland	Wheat and Flour	7,637	56,857
		Barley and Malt	2,475	63,916
		Oats and Oatmeal	18,777	329,454
		Rye	—	9,255
		Peafe and Beans	15,181	61,116
			44,070	520,598
1774	England and Scotland	Wheat and Flour	15,928	289,149
		Barley and Malt	2,911	171,508
		Oats and Oatmeal	16,433	399,499
		Rye	2,260	41,427
		Peafe and Beans	13,567	24,591
			51,099	926,174
1775	England and Scotland	Wheat and Flour	91,037	560,988
		Barley and Malt	51,414	139,451
		Oats and Oatmeal	26,485	384,942
		Rye	2,722	33,574
		Peafe and Beans	19,349	44,452
			191,007	1,163,407
1776	England and Scotland	Wheat and Flour	210,664	20,578
		Barley and Malt	136,114	8,499
		Oats and Oatmeal	34,987	378,566
		Rye	10,999	3,415
		Peafe and Beans	56,037	38,843
			448,801	449,901

APPENDIX, No II.

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1777	England and Scotland—	Wheat and Flour —	87,686	233,323
		Barley and Malt —	142,725	7,981
		Oats and Oatmeal —	36,614	366,446
		Rye —	946	18,454
		Peafe and Beans —	47,156	63,829
			315,127	690,033
1778	England and Scotland—	Wheat and Flour —	141,070	106,394
		Barley and Malt —	103,930	42,714
		Oats and Oatmeal —	56,543	201,170
		Rye —	1,706	9,327
		Peafe and Beans —	37,675	57,933
			340,924	417,538
1779	England and Scotland—	Wheat and Flour —	222,261	5,039
		Barley and Malt —	85,777	7,085
		Oats and Oatmeal —	22,286	348,511
		Rye —	3,199	1,693
		Peafe and Beans —	44,593	43,745
			378,116	406,073
1780	England and Scotland—	Wheat and Flour —	224,059	3,915
		Barley and Malt —	191,563	352
		Oats and Oatmeal —	27,023	195,224
		Rye —	6,305	—
		Peafe and Beans —	22,941	25,125
			471,891	224,616
1781	England and Scotland—	Wheat and Flour —	103,021	159,866
		Barley and Malt —	150,468	56
		Oats and Oatmeal —	41,717	109,446
		Rye —	2,701	10,743
		Peafe and Beans —	19,344	17,753
			317,251	297,864
1782	England and Scotland—	Wheat and Flour —	145,152	80,695
		Barley and Malt —	127,744	13,592
		Oats and Oatmeal —	23,317	38,562
		Rye —	4,003	—
		Peafe and Beans —	26,128	8,558
			326,344	141,407

APPENDIX, No II.

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.		Exported Quarters.	Imported Quarters.
1783	England and Scotland—	Wheat and Flour —	51,943	584,183
		Barley and Malt —	54,065	144,926
		Oats and Oatmeal —	11,826	228,942
		Rye —	3,365	81,295
		Peafe and Beans —	12,960	31,614
			134,159	1,070,960
1784	England and Scotland—	Wheat and Flour —	89,288	216,947
		Barley and Malt —	66,889	77,182
		Oats and Oatmeal —	13,511	266,998
		Rye —	6,731	24,779
		Peafe and Beans —	10,976	45,816
			187,395	631,722

ABBREVIATION of the Corn Laws, reviewed in this Work, shewing the Prices, Bounties, and Duties, by which the Exportation and Importation of Grain have been regulated in England, and in Scotland, and in Great Britain, down to the year 1773.

Anno Dom.	Anno Regis.	ABBREVIATION OF THE ENGLISH EXPORTATION LAWS.
1360	34 Edw. 3.	Exportation prohibited.
1393	17 Richd. 2.	Allowed, upon payment of the ordinary subsidies and duties.
1425	4 Hen. 6.	The last law confirmed, but reserving power to the King and Council to restrain it.
1436	15 Hen. 6.	Allowed, when Wheat did not exceed 6s. 8d. and Barley 3s. per quarter.
1442	20 Hen. 6.	The last act confirmed for 10 years.
1444	23 Hen. 6.	And that act now made perpetual.
1552	5 & 6 Ed. 6.	Prohibited until the prices were at or under 6s. 8d. for Wheat, 3s. 4d. for Barley and Malt, 2s. for Oats, 4s. for Pease and Beans, and 5s. for Rye, per quarter.
1554	1 & 2 P. & M.	Prohibited, when the prices did not exceed 6s. 8d. for Wheat, 4s. for Rye, and 3s. for Barley, per quarter.
1562	5 Eliz.	Allowed, when the prices did not exceed 10s. for Wheat, 8s. for Rye, Pease, and Beans, and 6s. 8d. for Barley and Malt, per quarter.
1570	13 Eliz.	Allowed, under the direction of Presidents, &c. upon payment of duties.
1593	35 Eliz.	Allowed, when the prices did not exceed 20s. for Wheat, 13s. 4d. for Rye, Pease, and Beans, 12s. for Barley and Malt; upon payment of a duty of 2s. for every quarter of Wheat, and 16d. for every quarter of other grain.
1604	2 James 1.	Allowed, when the prices did not exceed 26s. 8d. for Wheat, 15s. for Rye, Pease, and Beans, and 14s. for Barley and Malt, per quarter; and upon payment of the same duties.
1623	21 James 1.	Allowed, when the prices did not exceed 32s. for Wheat, 20s. for Rye, 16s. for Pease, Beans, Barley, and Malt, per quarter; and upon payment of the same duties.
1627	3 Chas. 1.	Allowed upon the same terms with the last act.
1660	12 Chas. 2.	Allowed, when the prices did not exceed 40s. for Wheat, 24s. for Rye, Pease, and Beans, 20s. for Barley and Malt, and 16s. for Oats; upon payment of high duties.
1663	15 Chas. 2.	Allowed, when the prices did not exceed 48s. for Wheat, 32s. for Rye, Pease, and Beans, 28s. for Barley and Malt, and 13s. 4d. for Oats, per quarter; upon payment of the same high duties.
1670	22 Chas. 2.	Allowed, without limitation of prices, upon payment of the same high duties.
1688	1 W. & M.	Not only allowed, when Wheat was not above 48s. Rye 32s. and Barley and Malt 24s. per quarter, but bounties granted.
1699	10 Wm. 3.	Prohibited for one year, from the 10th February 1699.
	11 Wm. 3.	Bounty suspended, from 9th February 1699 to 29th September 1700.
1700	11 & 12 W. 3.	The subsidy, and all duties payable upon Corn and Grain, ground and unground, Bread, Biscuit, and Meal, given up and totally removed.

Anno Dom.	Anno Regis.	ABBREVIATION OF THE BRITISH EXPORTATION LAWS.
1706	5 Anne.	Union settled—English bounties adopted over all the kingdom, and extended to Oatmeal, Bigg, and Malt of Wheat.
1709	8 Anne.	Exportation prohibited, until the 29th September 1710.
1729	2 George 2.	Rules laid down for measuring Corn to be exported, and for ascertaining the prices, &c.
1732	5 George 2.	Grand Juries, at Sessions, to present the price of Corn; and Corn imported, not to be again exported, nor carried coastways.
1741	14 George 2.	Prohibited, until the 25th December 1741.
1751	24 George 2.	Bounties upon Corn exported in Meal, to be paid according to the weight, at the rate of 448 pounds for the quarter.
1753	26 George 2.	Money, due upon Debentures for Corn exported, to bear interest at 3 per cent. per annum, if not paid in 6 months after presenting the certificate.
1757	30 George 2.	Prohibited, until the 25th December 1757; but with power to the King and Council to take off the prohibition.
1757	31 George 2.	Corn Market established at Westminster;—and, the same year, an Affize made for Bread.
1766	6 George 3.	Exportation prohibited for a limited time;—and, same year, an Embargo laid upon ships loaded with Corn, for exportation;—and, same year, the Mayor and Aldermen of London impowered to determine the prices of Corn in January and July, as well as in April and October.
1767	7 George 3.	Exportation of Grain, and distilling from Wheat or Wheat Flour, prohibited from the 26th September to the 14th November 1767.
1768	8 George 3.	Exportation of Corn, and distilling from Wheat or Wheat Flour, prohibited until 20 days after the commencement of the next Session of Parliament.
1769	9 George 3.	5000 quarters of Bigg allowed to be exported from the Islands of Orkney, yearly;—and, same year, exportation of Grain, and distilling from Wheat or Wheat Flour, prohibited for a limited time.
1770	10 George 3.	Corn Register established; and Weekly Returns, from market towns in the several counties, to be made of the prices of Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, and Beans, in England; and of Bear or Bigg, in Scotland. Same year the exportation of Corn, and the distilling from Wheat or Wheat Flour, prohibited till 20 days after the commencement of the next Session of Parliament.
1771	11 George 3.	Exportation of Corn prohibited, and also the distilling from Wheat or Wheat Flour, until 20 days after the commencement of the next Session of Parliament.
1772	12 George 3.	Exportation of Corn, and distilling from Wheat or Wheat Flour, prohibited until 20 days after the commencement of the next Session of Parliament.
1773	13 George 3.	Exportation of Grain, and distilling from Wheat or Wheat Flour, prohibited until the 1st day of January 1774. Same year the former bounties and duties repealed, and a total alteration made in the Corn Laws.
1774	14 George 3.	Alteration of the method of ascertaining the prices of Corn to be shipped for exportation.

Anno Dom.	Anno Regis.	Abbreviation of the ENGLISH Exportation Prices.	Money of the time.			Present Money.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1436	15 Henry 6.	Exportation permitted, when the price of Grain, at home, did not exceed, per Quarter, for Wheat — — — — — Barley — — — — —	0	6	8	2	4	0
1554	1 P. & M.	Permitted, when the price did not exceed, for Wheat — — — — — Rye — — — — — Barley — — — — —	0	6	8	0	16	6
1562	5 Eliz.	Permitted, when the price did not exceed, for Wheat — — — — — Rye, Peafe, and Beans — — — — — Barley and Malt — — — — —	0	10	0	1	0	8
1593	35 Eliz.	Permitted, when the price did not exceed, for Wheat — — — — — Rye, Peafe, and Beans — — — — — Barley and Malt — — — — —	1	0	0	2	1	4
1604	2 James 1.	Permitted, when the price did not exceed, for Wheat — — — — — Rye, Peafe, and Beans — — — — — Barley and Malt — — — — —	1	6	8	2	13	4
1623	21 James 1.	Permitted, when the price did not exceed, for Wheat — — — — — Rye — — — — — Barley, Malt, Peafe, and Beans — — — — —	1	12	0	3	4	0
1627	3 Charles 1.	Permitted, when the price did not exceed, for Wheat — — — — — Rye — — — — — Barley, Malt, Peafe, and Beans — — — — —	1	12	0	2	11	2
1660	12 Charles 2.	Permitted, when the price did not exceed, for Wheat — — — — — Rye, Peafe, and Beans — — — — — Barley and Malt — — — — — Oats — — — — —	2	0	0	2	8	0
1663	15 Charles 2.	Permitted, when the price did not exceed, for Wheat — — — — — Rye, Peafe, and Beans — — — — — Barley and Malt — — — — — Oats — — — — —	2	8	0	2	17	7
1688	1 W. & M.	Permitted, when the price did not exceed, for Wheat — — — — — Rye — — — — — Barley and Malt — — — — —	2	8	0	2	17	7

N. B. Prior to the year 1346, the Exportation of all kinds of Grain, from England, was totally prohibited.

Anno Dom.	Anno Regis.	Abbreviation of the BRITISH Exportation Prices.	Money of the time.			Present Money.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1706	5 Anne.	Exportation of Grain permitted, when the price of the quarter did not exceed, For Wheat, ground or unground, or Malt of Wheat Rye, ground or unground — — — — — Barley, Beer or Bigg, or Malt, ground or unground — — — — — Oats — — — — —	2	8	0	2	17	7
1773	13 George 3.	Exportation permitted, when the prices were under For Wheat — — — — — Rye — — — — — Barley, Beer or Bigg, or Malt thereof — — — — — Oats — — — — —	0	0	0	2	4	0

Anno Dom.	Anno Regis.	Abbreviation of the ENGLISH Exportation Duties.	Price of the Quarter of Grain.		Duties per Quarter.									
			Money of the time.	Present Money.	Money of the time.	Present Money.								
1570	13 Eliz.	For Wheat, when not prohibited — — — — — Other Grain — — — — — Wheat, exported by licence — — — — — Other Grain, by ditto — — — — —	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	
1593	35 Eliz.	For Wheat, when the price did not exceed Other Grain, as per exportation prices	1	0	0	2	1	5	0	2	0	0	4	0
1604	2 James 1.	For Wheat, when the price did not exceed Other Grain, as per exportation prices	1	6	8	2	13	4	0	2	0	0	4	0
1623	21 James 1.	For Wheat, when the price did not exceed Other Grain, as per exportation prices	1	12	0	3	4	0	0	2	0	0	4	0
1627	3 Chas. 1.	For Wheat, when the price did not exceed Other Grain, as per exportation prices	1	12	0	2	11	2	0	2	0	0	3	2
1660	12 Chas. 2.	For Wheat, when the price did not exceed Rye, Peafe, Beans, Barley, Malt, Buck Wheat — — — — — Oats, when not above — — — — —	2	0	0	2	8	0	1	0	0	1	4	0
1663	15 Chas. 2.	For Wheat, when the price did not exceed Rye, Peafe, Beans, Barley, Malt, Buck Wheat — — — — — Oats — — — — —	2	8	0	2	17	7	1	0	0	1	4	0
1670	22 Chas. 2.	For Wheat, without limitation of price Rye, Peafe, Beans, Barley, Malt, Buck Wheat — — — — — Oats — — — — —	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	4	0

TABLE Explanatory of Sundry Articles in the preceding Work.

Article I.—ENGLAND.	Quarters of Grain overhead.
From the year 1700, when the old system of the Corn Laws was completed, until the year 1763, that the great importation of Foreign Grain commenced, the Corn Trade was entirely in the hands of Britain, and importation of Foreign Grain was little known*.	
For 55 years after the Union, that is, from the year 1708 to the year 1762 inclusive, there were exported of Grain from England,	
Of Wheat and Flour —	12,603,266
Rye, Pease, and Beans —	2,124,658
Barley and Malt —	14,617,646
Oats and Oatmeal —	122,106
Total Exportation from England, in these 55 years	29,467,676
By the above proportion of Grain exported, it would appear, that the general crop of England consists of about eight-twentieth parts of Wheat, and twelve-twentieths of inferior grain.	
Yearly average Exportation during these 55 years	535,776
Article II.—SCOTLAND.	
During the above 55 years, there were exported from Scotland,	
Of Wheat and Flour —	105,440
Rye, Pease, and Beans, —	16,433
Barley and Malt —	1,377,053
Oats and Oatmeal —	399,878
Total Exportation from Scotland, in these 55 years	1,898,804
Yearly average Exportation during these years	34,524
By the above proportion it would appear, that the general crop of Scotland consists of one-eighteenth of Wheat, and seventeen-eighteenths of inferior Grain.	
Article III.—GREAT BRITAIN.	
The Exportation from Great Britain, during the above 55 years consisted	
Of Wheat and Flour —	12,708,706
Rye, Pease, and Beans, —	2,141,091
Barley and Malt —	15,994,699
Oats and Oatmeal —	521,984
Total Exportation from Great Britain, in these 55 years	31,366,480
Yearly average Exportation, during these years	570,300

* Vide Particular and General Account of Exportation and Importation, Appendix No 2.

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TABLE Explanatory—continued.

Article III. Brought forward.	Quarters of Grain overhead.
During the 55 years mentioned, there were exported from Great Britain, of the several kinds of Grain overhead — — —	31,366,480
And there were only imported, during all that space, — — —	1,335,907
Balance in favour of exportation — — —	30,030,573
For the 22 years from 1763 to 1784 inclusive, there have been imported, of foreign Grain, into Great Britain, — — —	9,937,141
And, in that space, there have been only exported — — —	5,966,430
Balance in favour of importation — — —	3,970,711
Article IV.—CONSUMPTION.	
If eight millions of people make up the population of Great Britain, and if these require 16 millions of quarters of the several sorts of Grain overhead, yearly, for their subsistence, at the rate of two quarters for each person; and if, of that number of people, two millions and a half of them are employed in husbandry, the true consumption of the kingdom, is the quantity necessary for the support of the other five millions and a half, after maintaining the people and cattle employed in raising the Grain, amounting to — — —	11,000,000
Article V.—PRODUCTION.	
In years when Great Britain supports herself, without receiving or sending out any Grain, or when the quantities exported and imported are equal, the production and the consumption will also be equal, each amounting to — — —	11,000,000
But in years when Great Britain exports more than she imports, her produce must have an increase; and in years when she imports more than she exports, her produce must have suffered a proportional decrease.	
During the 55 years already enumerated, the average exportation having been yearly — — —	570,300
And deducting from thence the average yearly importation — — —	24,289
We have remaining a clear yearly exportation of — — —	546,011
Which makes the average yearly produce of these 55 years to be — — —	11,546,011
So that our exportation yearly then, was as 1 to 21 } of the produce. And the importation as — — — } 1 to 475 }	

TABLE Explanatory—continued.

	Quarters of Grain overhead.
Article V. Brought forward.	
In another point of view we shall again state the consumption —	11,000,000
For the 10 years from 1741 to 1750 inclusive, there were	Quarters.
exported yearly, upon an average, —	848,660
From which, deducting the yearly importation of —	15,943
	832,717
We have remaining a clear yearly exportation of —	—
Which extends the yearly average produce of these 10 years to —	11,832,717
And our exportation reached as far as 1 to 14 } of the produce.	
The importation amounted only to 1 to 742 }	
We shall again state the consumption being — 11,000,000	
During the 12 years from 1773 to 1784 inclusive, there	Quarters.
were imported, of foreign Grain, at an average yearly,	578,358
no less than — — —	
And our average yearly exportation, during these 12 years,	—
only amounted to — — —	267,182
This leaves a balance of yearly importation against us —	311,176
Which reduces our yearly average produce, these 12 years, to —	10,688,824
And now the average importation, yearly, is as 1 to 18 } of the produce.	
While our exportation comes only to 1 to 40 }	
In the year 1775, there were imported, of foreign Grain, no less than 1,163,407	
quarters, while there were only exported, that year, 191,007 quarters, which re-	
duced our produce to 10,027,600 quarters.	
This brought the importation nearly as 1 to 8 } of the produce.	
While our exportation was only as 1 to 53 }	

Article VI.—Of the Proportional Value of the several kinds of GRAIN.

From the experience of past times, the following appears to be as near the proportions as can be described, without entering into fractions, which in the present case is not necessary.

Wheat, as the superior Grain, must be the standard.
 Rye, Pease, and Beans, two-thirds
 Barley one-half
 Oats one-third } of the value of Wheat.

TABLE Explanatory—continued.

Article VI. Brought forward.	
According to which computation, Wheat is double in value to the inferior Grain over- head: For example—	
Price or value of a quarter of Wheat supposed —	L. 2 2 0
Two-thirds thereof for the quarter of Rye, Pease, and Beans —	1 8 0
One-half thereof for the quarter of Barley —	1 1 0
One-third thereof for the quarter of Oats —	0 14 0
	Amount of all L. 3 3 0
Which, divided by 3, makes the quarter of inferior Grain overhead —	1 1 0

Article VII.—MAINTENANCE of each Person.

According to the prices in the Corn Register, from 1771 to 1784 in- clusive, the average prices of the quarter of the several kinds of Grain, are —	
For Wheat —	L. 2 8 0
Barley —	1 3 8
Oats —	0 16 0
Rye —	1 10 3
Beans —	1 8 4

And the average price of these several kinds of Grain, overhead, per
quarter, is — — — — — 1 9 3

So that the price of two quarters, for the maintenance of each person,
now amounts to — — — — — L. 2 18 6

And the price of the quarter of Wheat is nearly double the average price
of the inferior Grain overhead.

These are all high prices, and clearly occasioned by foreign
importation taking place of our own cultivation; for when
our agriculture was in full prosperity, the average price of
the quarter of Wheat, for the 10 years from 1741 to 1750
inclusive, was only — — — — — L. 1 13 8

And computing the other Grain, according to the price of
Wheat, and in proportion to the above prices, they amount,
per quarter, — — — — —

For Barley	0 16 7
Oats —	0 11 2½
Rye —	1 1 2½
Beans —	0 19 10

The average price of all these several kinds of Grain, overhead, being
L. 1 0 6; the price of two quarters for the maintenance of each
person, in these years, only amounted to — — — — — 2 1 0

So that the yearly support of each person, for bread, beer, spirits, &c.
at present, exceeds the former expence in no less than — — — — — L. 0 17 6

TABLE Explanatory—continued.

Article VIII. Brought forward.

And if we consider that the prices of Wheat, prior to the establishment of the Corn Register, in 1771, are taken from the audit books of Eton, where the Wheat is of the very best quality, and the measure nine gallons to the bushel, the difference must be considerably higher.

Article VIII.—Comparative State of the Quantity and Value of the Crops of GRAIN of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.

From the state of the exportation of Grain, from England and Scotland, (Art. I. of this Table) for 55 years after the Union, it appears that the average yearly exportation, from England, was 535,776 quarters; and that the average exportation, from Scotland, was only 34,524, which is not quite a fifteenth part of the other.

If we are to judge of the production from this state of the exportation, we must conclude that England generally produces fifteen times as much Corn as Scotland.

From the same state it appears, that the crop of England generally consists of eight-twentieths of Wheat, and twelve-twentieths of the inferior Grain overhead; and that the crop of Scotland generally consists of one-eighteenth of Wheat, and seventeen-eightieths of inferior Grain.

By the state of the antient revenue of the Scots Clergy it would appear, that the crop of that kingdom consisted of about one-thirteenth of Wheat, and twelve-thirtieths of inferior Grain.

If we consider that the rents of the clergy were, in general, of better Grain than the ordinary payments of the other rents of the country, and that the exportation was chiefly of inferior grain; if we take the medium of the proportions of the Grain paid to the Clergy, and of that exported, we may conclude with some degree of certainty, that the crop of Scotland consists generally of one-fifteenth of Wheat, and fourteen-fifteenthths of inferior Grain.

Computing the quarter of Wheat at 40s. and that of inferior Grain overhead, at 20s. we shall find that, in England, they have

Eight-twentieth parts of Wheat, at 40s.	—	—	L. 0 16 0
And twelve-twentieths of inferior Grain, at 20s.	—	—	0 12 0
			Making L. 1 8 0

And, in Scotland, they have only

One-fifteenth part of Wheat, at 40s.	—	—	L. 0 2 8
And fourteen-fifteenthths of inferior Grain, at 20s.	—	—	0 18 8
			Making L. 1 1 4

Thus the quality being about one-fourth better in England than in Scotland, and the quantity being about fifteen times as much, the general value of the crop of England, will be about nineteen times as much as that of Scotland.

TABLE Explanatory—continued.

Article IX.—Of the Increase of POPULATION from the Extension of Agriculture.

Quarters of Grain overhead.

From the year 1741 to the year 1750 inclusive, the average yearly exportation of Grain amounted to	848,660
For the 12 years from 1773 to 1784 inclusive, the average yearly exportation of Grain has only been	267,182

The difference is 581,478 quarters of surplus Grain annually raised in Great Britain during that period.

And reckoning twelve people to the raising of every hundred quarters, we must have had 69,768 people then employed in husbandry, more than were necessary to furnish subsistence for the kingdom.

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E R R A T A.

Page 10. Line 3. for *are* read *were*.

— 24. — 12. for *a* read *an*.

— 26. Note † for *No 6*. read *No 8*.

— 116. Line 15. instead of *was* read *were*.

— 122. — 9. instead of *to* read *into*.

— 123. — 13. instead of 15,193 read 15,943.

— Do. — 15. reference wanted, *Appendix*, No 4.

— 196. — 24. read *mercantile*.

— 223. — 6. instead of *raisd* read *raised*.