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A
GENERAL VIEW
OF THE
CORN TRADE
AND
CORN LAWS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BY THE REV. GEORGE SKENE KEITH.

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A
GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

CORN TRADE, &c.

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

INTRODUCTION.

THE importance of the subject is generally acknowledged, and
the writer has no interested views in drawing up this paper.
His object is, to compress, within as narrow limits as possible, the
principal facts and arguments; to point out the defects of our
present corn laws, in the mildest, and to propose new regula-
tions, in the simplest language.

The last two unfruitful seasons occasioned our legislators to
pay particular attention to this subject; and a mass of valuable
information has been collected by the Corn Committees of
both Houses of Parliament, who merit the highest approbation
of their country. What in their reports, and in other public
papers printed by their order (particularly in that most valuable
paper, 'The Accounts of Corn, Flour, &c. from 1697 to
1800), is given in various articles of detail, will here be found
arranged under general heads. Where illustration appears to be
necessary, a few observations will be subjoined; and facts will
be stated, minutely, where any particular inference is to be drawn
from them. Where calculations are important, and the result
of them deserves to be remembered, this will be expressed in
round numbers, in words, and the precise sum will be also speci-
fied in figures.

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§ 1.

§ I. Of the Quantity of Corn, both exported and imported, from 1697 to 1801, inclusive.

The following table exhibits at one view our whole exports and imports during 105 years.

1. Kind of Grain.	2. No. of Qrs. exported.	3. Ditto imported.	4. Excess of exports.	5. Ditto of imports.
Wheat, flour, &c.	18,196,028	10,957,490	7,238,538	—
Barley, malt, &c.	20,341,389	2,042,448	18,298,941	—
Oats and Oatmeal	1,319,046	16,401,281	—	15,082,235
Rye and Ryemeal	2,709,761	1,323,120	1,386,641	—
Peas and Beans	692,060	1,194,058	—	501,998

From this table it appears, that we have exported much more than we have imported, in the course of the last 105 years; the balance in our favour being above seven millions of quarters, or nearly a year's supply of wheat; above eighteen millions, or nearly four year's supply of barley, and above one million of rye; while the only articles against us are about fifteen millions of quarters, or two years supply of oats, and half a million of quarters of peas and beans.

After computing both the quantity and value of the different kinds of corn, it will be found, that though we have imported about two years supply of oats, and nearly half a million of quarters of peas and beans, more than we have exported of these articles, yet, we have, in the course of 105 years, spared nearly a year's supply of wheat, and as much more than a year's supply of barley and rye, as was equal in real value to all the oats, peas, and beans, which we imported.

It deserves, however, to be noticed, that though we have exported much more than we imported, in a whole century, the balance has been against us for the last 35 years. It is necessary here to be more particular, and, by dividing the whole into periods of 35 years each, to show the rise, progress, and decline of the corn trade, formerly so beneficial to the nation.

From 1697 to 1731 inclusive, our corn trade rose to be very considerable. It stood as follows:

1. Kind of Grain.	2. No. of Qrs. exported.	3. Ditto imported.	4. Excess of exports.	5. Do. of imports.
Wheat - - - -	3,592,163	124,417	3,467,746	—
Barley - - - -	7,467,129	35,340	7,431,789	—
Oats - - - - -	217,490	432,514	—	215,024
Rye - - - - -	1,098,885	178,224	920,661	—
Peas and beans	690	185	505	—

Hence

Hence it appears, that, from 1697 to 1731 inclusive, we exported, more than we imported, nearly three and a half millions of quarters of wheat, seven and a half millions of barley, and a million of rye, peas, and beans; while we imported, more than we exported, only about two hundred thousand quarters of oats: So that the balance in our favour was nearly twelve millions of quarters of wheat, barley, and rye, with the deduction of only the above small quantity of oats.

Let it here be remembered, that this was a period of national œconomy, that our agriculture had a much inferior population to support, and that the bounty which had recently been given by Parliament, no doubt stimulated our exportation, which had formerly been loaded with a duty. British agriculture now began to flourish, and the exports, thus encouraged, became considerable. As the number of persons who used wheaten bread at that period, was much fewer than at present; as common brewers were not much employed, and distilleries were then scarcely known in Britain; it is probable, that when our population was so much less, and our œconomy so much greater than in the present age, our ancestors exported, in the first thirty-five years, as much as would have served them for a whole year's supply.

In the second period, from 1732 to 1766 inclusive, our corn trade became still more valuable, and, indeed, was one of the great articles of our commerce (although prices were lower than during the former period), as will be seen from inspecting the following table.

1. Kind of Grain.	2. No. of Qrs. Exported.	3. Do. Imported.	4. Excess of Exports.	5. Do. of Imports.
Wheat - - - - -	11,540,216	291,773	11,248,443	—
Barley - - - - -	10,259,675	49,270	10,210,405	—
Oats - - - - -	364,779	1,050,320	—	685,541
Rye - - - - -	1,437,727	22,205	1,415,522	—
Peas and beans	25,274	9,569	15,705	—

Hence, it is obvious, that we exported a great deal more than formerly, and more than we imported, by above eleven millions of quarters of wheat, above ten millions of barley, nearly a million and a half of rye, peas, and beans, with the deduction of less than seven hundred thousand quarters of oats; so that there was a balance of above twenty-two millions of quarters of different kinds of grain in our favour.

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A General View of the Corn Trade

This period, it may be observed, was distinguished by national industry, and also by œconomy, rather than by luxury. The population was not much increased; only a small quantity of oats was consumed on horses; very little wheat used in the distilleries; and not a great demand for barley, either by the distiller or common brewer. But the country was more opulent, was become more populous, and also had more luxury than in the former period; while the seasons in general had been more favourable, and crops more abundant. It may reasonably be estimated, that the twenty-two millions of quarters of different kinds of grain would have supplied the then population for one and a half years.

If we conjoin those two periods, in which our corn trade became at first considerable, and afterwards highly beneficial, from 1697 to 1766 inclusive, the excess of our exportation was nearly fifteen millions of quarters of wheat, eighteen millions of barley, and above two millions of rye, peas, and beans; in all, about thirty-five millions of different kinds of grain, from which not quite one million of quarters of oats is to be deducted for importation. So much for these two periods.

The corn trade, in the last period, or from 1767 to 1801 inclusive, appears to be much on the decline; the balance against us being very great. The exact quantities are subjoined in the following table:

1. Kind of Grain.	2. No of Qrs. exported.	3. Do. Imported.	4. Excess of Exports.	5. Do. of Imports.
Wheat - - - -	3,063,649	10,541,300	—	7,477,651
Barley - - - -	2,614,385	1,957,838	656,747	—
Oats - - - - -	736,777	14,918,447	—	14,181,670
Rye - - - - -	173,179	1,122,641	—	949,512
Peas and Beans	666,096	1,184,304	—	518,208

Hence it appears, that we have been obliged to import much more than we exported; viz. above seven millions of quarters of wheat, fourteen millions of oats, one million of rye, and above half a million of peas and beans; in all, about twenty-three millions of quarters of different kinds of grain; and have only exported about six hundred and fifty thousand quarters of barley—(indeed, even barley has failed since 1791.)

This period, it should be remembered, was distinguished by a great increase of population, a very improved mode of agriculture, and a high degree of national exertion, stimulated by a national spirit of enterprize, a great accumulation of capital, and also by our national luxury and profusion. Notwithstanding which, we have imported an immense quantity of corn, (nearly

and Corn Laws in Great Britain.

(nearly one year's supply), in the course of the last 35 years. Our corn trade is no longer beneficial, at any rate, in the way of exporting it to other nations. The causes of its decline shall now be considered.

§ II. *Causes of the late Scarcity, and Decline of the Corn Trade.*

The principal cause is a series of unproductive crops, and several calamitous seasons. During the first mentioned period, the greatest part of the foreign importation was in the years 1698, 1725 and 1728. Indeed, the seasons, in the end of the 17th century, were as unfavourable, as in the end of the 18th; and the scarcity, over all the island, was as great, in proportion to the population. We then had neither so much money, nor such extensive commerce, as we have at present; nor could we get much supply from other nations; so that many died by famine. During the second period, the seasons were generally very favourable, and the crops abundant. By far the greatest part of the importation was in the years 1740, 1757 and 1765; and the whole was not very considerable, if compared to what we have lately imported. But, during the last period, besides, the great increase of our population and our luxury, and of the greater consumpt of our corn, in two wars, in which Britain made greater exertions than ever were made by any nation, we have had only ten good crops in 35 years, six very unproductive, if not calamitous seasons, viz. 1782 and 1783, in Scotland, 1795 and 1796, in England, and 1800 and 1801, over all the island. The remaining 19 years have been rather deficient than otherwise, some of them very unproductive; so that our great importation need be no cause either of amazement or dependency. Indeed, nearly one half of the whole importation has taken place since 1795; that is, we have imported, in the last seven years, as much wheat as we did in the former 98 years; and, of these seven years, four have been extremely unproductive, and only one of them a good crop. In the course of human events, we are not to expect that such misfortunes will happen frequently; and when they do happen, good laws may greatly mitigate, but cannot altogether remove the evils which they occasion.

Independent of these unproductive seasons, the following are the secondary causes of scarcity, and of the decline of the corn trade.

First, An addition of at least one fifth part to the whole population of Great Britain. As this far exceeds any supply which the exportation of the two former periods could have afforded, it is a cause of the decline of the corn trade, and of the late temporary scarcity, which every friend to his country will contemplate

plate with pleasure. An addition to the number of inhabitants is the best support of a nation like Great Britain, which has sufficient extent of territory and soil, either fertile or improveable. If properly cultivated, it would support more than double even of our present increased population.

Secondly, An addition to our mode of consuming corn deserves also to be noticed. Nearly twice as many persons now eat wheat-bread, as formerly consumed this species of corn. The greatest part of the people of Scotland, and of the inhabitants of the four northern counties of England, lived formerly on oat-meal. The lower classes, in the midland counties, used barley-meal chiefly, at no remote period; and those of the maritime counties of England used a mixture of wheat and rye-meal. Now, a great proportion of the whole inhabitants subsist chiefly on wheat flour: And, in plentiful years, a considerable quantity of wheat has been used in the distillery. On all these accounts, a greater quantity of that species of corn has been necessary, than what was formerly consumed in Britain. Of barley, not less than a million and a half, probably two millions of quarters, are now consumed annually, in the brewery and distillery, more than what was formerly manufactured into ale, porter, or ardent spirits. This accounts for the decrease of the exportation of barley, which was formerly exported with a bounty, and commonly in the state of malt, along with all the rye that we could spare; and often returned to Britain, combined with that grain, in the shape of smuggled spirits. Of oats, more than double the quantity is now given to horses, that was consumed in this way thirty-five years ago. And a considerable quantity of peas and beans have been disposed of in the same manner. Not only farm horses are better fed; but we have more saddle and carriage horses, more carriers horses employed in conveying our extensive commerce and manufactures, besides a numerous cavalry (in our late wars), who required more food, both from their number and their employment, than was formerly requisite. Of both kinds of pulse imported, some part has been used in horticulture, from the increase of our luxury; and, for several years past, our brave and numerous sailors have no doubt used a great quantity of peas in the Royal Navy. The reader is, here, requested to remember, that if our agriculture had not been much improved, if grass and green crops had not assisted the white crops, and supplied us more abundantly with butcher-meat and vegetables, considering that we have had so many unfavourable seasons, so many ways of consuming our grain, and so great an addition to our population, we must have felt all the horrors of a famine, instead of the temporary misfortune of a scarcity. The principal evil attending this, is the high price of provisions. This shall next be considered.

§ III. Of the Prices of Corn at different Periods.

It is necessary, here, to give only the price of wheat, both as this is best ascertained, and as it is a standard for the proportional value of other kinds of corn. We can ascertain this for 600 years backward.

The following prices of wheat are calculated at a medium of all the known yearly prices, for the different centuries; instead of taking the medium of the prices of different years (as has been done by Dr Adam Smith, who generally takes the medium of only twelve years) for this average.

From 1202 to 1597, they are copied from Bishop Fleetwood's collection of prices; only reducing the money of those days to our present standard coin: From 1597 to 1697, they are calculated from the accounts of Eton College, according to a rule of the late Mr Richard Smith, author of the corn tracts: And from 1697, they are copied from a similar calculation, made by Mr Chalmers of the Board of Trade*, in that most valuable collection of the accounts of corn, flour, &c. which was mentioned in the introduction to this paper.

From 1202 to 1301, at a medium of 17 years, the quarter of wheat was	L. 2 10 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
From 1302 to 1401, also at a medium of 17 years prices, it was only	1 14 7
From 1402 to 1501, inclusive, at a medium of the prices of 27 years, it fell to	0 17 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
From 1502 to 1597, at a medium of 19 years, it rose to	1 7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
From 1202 to 1597, at a medium of 80 years (all that are known), it was	1 10 5
From 1597 to 1696, inclusive, at a medium of 96 years, from the accounts of Eton College, and computing 8 bushels of middling wheat, as above mentioned	1 18 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
From 1697 to 1801, computed from the public accounts, as given by Mr Chalmers, on the average of 105 years	1 18 9
A 4	From

* Though it was judged proper to follow so respectable an authority as Mr Chalmers, in adopting Mr Richard Smith's rule for calculating the price of middling wheat, yet that method of computation makes the price of corn one fifty-fourth part too low, when we compare this with the price of middling wheat taken from Mr Calderwood's tables, which must be held as authentic for the last 30 years, though Mr Chalmers has very properly, in the above paper, given us both prices since 1775.

From 1202 to 1801, inclusive, at an average of 281 years, viz. 80 from Bishop Fleetwood, and 201 as above, computed from the books of Eton College L. 1 16 1

By looking at the two last sums, it appears that the average price of wheat, during the last 105 years, is only fourpence per bushel more than that for 600 years back.

Farther, Distinguishing the prices of wheat, at an average of the three periods of 35 years each, above mentioned—

The price of wheat from 1697 to 1731, inclusive, was	1 15 4
From 1732 to 1766, inclusive, only	1 10 9
From 1768 to 1801, inclusive, it was	2 10 0

On the whole, there is not much reason for being alarmed at the high prices of corn in 1795 and 1796; nor even at the still higher prices of 1800 and 1801. Our extensive commerce both supplies our wants, and levels the price of corn. In 1270, wheat was as high as nineteen pounds four shillings per quarter, and there was a famine in England. In 1455, a year of very great plenty, a quarter of wheat was as low as two shillings and fourpence. The highest price, in a time of scarcity, (probably not so great as in 1800 and 1801, if England had possessed the same commerce and population as at present) was above 164 times its price in a time of great plenty. There can be no such inequalities now, owing to our extensive commerce. The highest price in 1800 is not quite six times as much as the lowest price that the same kind of corn would have given in the cheapest year since 1697. And the causes of that rise in the price of corn are not generally known. We shall now consider them.

§ IV. Of the price of Corn, as affected by various causes.

No doubt, unfruitful seasons, which occasion a scarcity, must necessarily raise the price of corn, as a succession of fruitful seasons must also lessen that price: But other causes may very considerably affect the price of corn; and some of these deserve to be mentioned.

First, In an age of luxury, and in an improved state of agriculture, there is a great demand for butcher meat. There must, therefore, be a constant competition between the farmer and the grazier. Besides this, our luxury occasions a great demand for oats to our saddle and carriage horses, as well as those employed in agriculture, or other productive labour; and that demand for oats, and also for peas and beans, must affect the price of the other kinds of grain. Nay, the brewer and the distiller will often raise the price of barley to such a height, as to make it the farmer's

farmer's interest to raise, on certain soils, but a small proportion of wheat; and though our agriculture be much improved with respect to the general produce of our lands, it is very doubtful whether the increase of our wheat and oat crops corresponds with the increase of our population. Our barley crops are more than double of what they were 105 years ago; and our green crops raise at least four times as much butcher meat, taking both quantity and quality into the account, as they did in 1697. But the great increase of luxury, and of the rise of animal food, has sometimes hurt our corn crops, from the decrease of tillage: For, as the price of labour, from the wages given to our manufacturers, is so high, the farmer often finds it his interest to rear cattle, or raise green crops, in preference to corn. No doubt, an excess of this cannot continue long, as the evil will correct itself. But the country must suffer in the mean time; and, in general, it may be remarked, that a very low price of corn is to be dreaded as a national misfortune; because this must produce a temporary decrease of tillage, and therefore, in a few years, the price of corn must be very high. On the other hand, an excessively high price of corn may induce a farmer to plough his lands injudiciously. The extremely high prices of corn in 1800 and 1801, will probably occasion such an excess of tillage, as may, at no remote period, produce very bad effects.

Secondly, A false taste in laying out, in perennial grass, large tracts of very fertile land surrounding noblemen and gentlemen's seats, has, in some degree, unnecessarily diminished the corn fields of England. Uvedale Price Esq., as a man of taste, has very properly exposed this fashionable error. A political philosopher must condemn this practice, as it diminishes the productive labour of the farmer and his servants, and the produce which, by a proper rotation of crops, a fertile field is capable of yielding. No fault is here meant to be found with having a proper proportion of perennial grass attached to a large farm; but a tax on such artificial meadows, or extensive fields of perennial grass, as are occasioned by this sickly or squeamish dislike of corn fields, would be a proper counterpart to that on farm horses, and might tend to check what is at present a too fashionable error. It occasions a diminution of agriculture, which is equally injurious to the picturesque and to the productive—equally offensive to the eye of a man of true taste, and to the mind of a true patriot.

Thirdly, The price of corn is affected, in some measure, by the plenty or scarcity of grain in other nations. The value of corn in Great Britain is so very different from what it is on the continent of Europe, that, even with all the aid of our bounties, there is often no demand for British corn, at any price at which

we can afford both to raise and to export it. We cannot, therefore, expect any considerable foreign demand, except when prices rise to be very high abroad, and when we have great abundance of corn, and low prices at home. If we allowed free importation in seasons of general plenty, the money price of corn might become so low in Great Britain, that our farmers would become graziers, or, at any rate, would raise but a small proportion of corn; which, in a short time, would occasion a great and sudden rise of the price, if not a great scarcity of provisions. It is very obvious, when we look at the tables of both exports and imports for 105 years, that our legislators should give a decided preference to British agriculture; not merely for the sake of encouraging the most valuable of all our manufactures, but for securing, as far as is possible, a sufficiency of food raised within our island. The surplus of other nations is but a small part of our national supply; and, in this age of luxury, there is a constant competition between the farmer and the grazier, as well as between British and foreign corn.

Fourthly, The price of corn is somewhat affected by the circumstance of our being at peace with other nations, or engaged in a war with any of them. A Highland shepherd uses less food, and especially less corn, while he stays at home, than what he requires when he becomes a British soldier, or sailor. The same thing holds true of our manufacturers, who are often obliged, in time of war, to enter into the army or navy. Nay, a numerous cavalry requires a considerable supply of oats. Indeed, wherever more labour is endured, more food is necessary. Besides, agriculture sometimes suffers in time of war, from the want of labourers, especially in critical seasons; and when corn must be imported in this situation, the great addition to freight and insurance must raise its price very considerably. It is but candid here to observe, that while some persons absurdly deny that war has any effect in raising the price of corn, others have greatly exaggerated the consequences of a war with respect to plenty or scarcity, to either high or low prices of grain. In the two last wars in which we have been engaged, and in which we have made so great exertions, it may be supposed that we have annually consumed about an hundred thousand quarters of the different kinds of corn, (about one half of this of wheat), more than we would have done, if we had not been engaged in war. And in the late calamitous seasons, the additional hundred thousand quarters must have tended considerably to raise the price of corn, yet, could not have had any such effect in occasioning a scarcity, or in raising the price of all sorts of grain, as some persons very improperly asserted.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, The passions of men, some of whom are under the dominion of avarice, and others under the influence of credulity and fear, tend often to raise or depress the value of corn, artificially, or far beyond the just proportion of either plenty or scarcity. Avarice, in some, begets a spirit of monopoly, when one great corn merchant has the command of the supply of a particular market or district. A monopoly can never exist among the immense multitude of British farmers; and even a combination cannot take place, to any extent, among those numerous corn merchants who supply the farmer with capital, and the manufacturer and citizen with British corn. It might subsist for a short time among the great importers of foreign corn; but opposition of interests would soon set them at variance. Nothing, however, has so bad an effect on the price of corn, as an alarm artfully raised by interested persons. Fear, in this case, is far more hurtful than avarice; and an alarm of a scarcity much more fatal than any danger from monopoly. In the two late calamitous seasons, a deficiency of one fourth of the crop raised the price of corn to nearly four times its average value for the whole century. In 1795 and 1796 there was a deficiency of about an eighth part; and the importation of these two years was nearly one half of what it was in 1800 and 1801; while the price of corn in general was little more than double of the average price for the last hundred years. From these two facts the philosopher can calculate, what was not supposed to be a subject of mathematical calculation, the effects of fear on the minds of men.

Lastly, With all deference to our legislators, let it be observed, that the price of corn may be affected considerably by human laws. We do not now, like our ignorant but well meaning ancestors, attempt to fix a direct price on all kinds of provisions; nor, like a mad assembly of French revolutionists, have we affixed a *maximum* price to every species of corn. But still that price may be considerably affected by our corn laws*; and whenever, by an injudicious mode of granting a bounty, our legislators drive more corn out of the country than Great Britain can spare; or when, by imposing a prohibitory duty, they prevent foreign corn from being imported in due time; or even when British corn is not allowed to be exported while we have abundance at home, merely because the prices are somewhat high, owing to a great demand from abroad, our corn laws are very hurtful to the nation. This subject merits a particular discussion.

* While I freely point out the defects of our corn laws, I by no means agree with Mr Dirom, that the loss of the corn market was owing to the discouragement thrown on our agriculture by the corn laws passed since 1773.

§ V. The defects of our present Corn Laws.

Not to speak of our old laws, that imposed a duty upon exportation, (which was a singular mode of encouraging British agriculture), the corn act of 1791 merits a particular consideration; because it was meant to be, not only a collection of all our corn laws that were thought worthy of being retained, but also to be a complete and permanent system. A few remarks are also necessary on the late corn acts for granting a bounty on importation of foreign corn, and on certain partial or occasional acts of Parliament.

First, As to a bounty upon exportation of British corn.

This bounty was originally granted soon after the Revolution; and its object was said to be, to gain the support of the landed gentlemen in Parliament, and their acquiescence in the land tax, which was then first imposed. The granting of a bounty on exportation, has been strenuously opposed by Dr Adam Smith, and has been as warmly supported by Dr Anderson and others. It may be doubtful whether the system of bounties be defensible on general principles; but it no doubt may, from the particular situation of Great Britain, be expedient, in very plentiful years, to grant a bounty upon exportation of corn; provided that bounty be properly proportioned to its necessity. For, considering the great load of our national debt, and the great difference between the value of money in this island, and that on the continent, a regular gradation of bounties, suited to the low prices of corn, would not only be justifiable, but, for some time at least, is even necessary. But, neither the granting of the same uniform bounty, in every case in which any bounty at all is allowed, nor the division of the kingdom into districts, and regulating the bounty according to the district prices, instead of the national average, appear to be justifiable, but to be great defects in our corn law. It is not against the system of bounties, if duly regulated, but against the above errors in our present system, that the following arguments, supported by unquestionable facts, are submitted to the reader.

These very improper regulations have occasioned more corn to be sent out of the country than Britain could conveniently spare. They have placed the speculating corn merchants between the fear of loss, and the hope of gain; and have tended to promote a number of dishonest practices in the corn trade; while, instead of producing plenty, and either low or moderate prices, they have, in various instances, occasioned scarcity, and high prices of foreign corn.

The following facts very clearly establish the impropriety, not of granting bounties in general, but of the allowing the same bounty

bounty in every case, and giving these bounties (the money of the whole nation) according to the average prices of particular districts, instead of the average price of the whole kingdom.

In 1697, the average price of wheat was 40s. 5d. By the injudicious mode of granting the bounty according to the county prices, when wheat was so dear, and of granting the same bounty as if it had been at half the price, not only about 27,000l. were thrown away improperly, before all bounties were prohibited in 1699, but the price of wheat rose in 1698 to 54s. per quarter, a great sum in those days; and the distress of England, in the end of last century, was much increased by the exportation of 700,000 quarters of different kinds of grain.

In 1709, the quarter of wheat was only 42s. 10d.; but it rose next year to 62s.; and it continued next year at 61s. 8d. Above 130,000l. had been thrown away on bounties, before Parliament interfered, and nearly 900,000 quarters of various kinds of corn had been exported, and that exportation much increased by the stimulus of a bounty. If the bounties had been duly proportioned, they would have been gradually withdrawn as prices rose; the exportation would have been less, and the price of corn moderate.

In 1726 and 1727, above 130,000l. were again expended on bounties. The large exportation stimulated by them, occasioned a rise of 10s. per quarter of wheat in 1728; and, by draining the country of its corn, an importation of above 530,000 quarters of different kinds of grain in that and the following year. And it deserves here to be remarked, that, even in the years 1728 and 1729, when we imported so much from other countries, above 47,000l. were most improperly expended for bounties on exportation in these two unfruitful years, owing to the same bounty being granted in every case in which any bounty was allowed. A gradation of bounties would have prevented those evils.

In 1740, when wheat was 40s. per quarter, and in 1741, before Parliament stopped the exportation of corn, nearly 58,000l. were expended on bounties; and 120,000 quarters of oats were imported in a season of intense frost and general scarcity.

In 1756, above 120,000l. were expended on bounties, before Parliament, in 1757, stopped all exportation; when above 140,000 quarters were imported, (perhaps, only brought back to England), with a rise of 12s. per quarter.

In 1766, above 140,000l. were expended on bounties, owing to these being paid at the district prices, though we exported very little more than we imported of all the different kinds of corn; and, by exporting so much as we did, owing to the stimulus of a bounty, the country was drained of its wheat, and the distress of 1767 and 1768 much augmented: so that, in these

two unfruitful seasons, we imported above 1,300,000 quarters of different kinds of grain.

In 1780 and 1781, when wheat was from 38s. to 47s., we expended an hundred thousand pounds on bounties for corn exported; and, what deserves particular notice, appeared to be so very anxious to get rid of our grain, though at no low price, that we allowed half the bounty to be given to neutral ships, that were thus encouraged to export it, in opposition to our navigation act. Before Parliament put a stop to this new mode of exporting British corn, nearly a million of quarters were sent out of the country; and we were obliged, in consequence of two unproductive seasons in England, which, in Scotland, were even calamitous, to import, in 1783, nearly eleven hundred thousand, and, in 1784, above four hundred thousand quarters of different kinds of corn.

In 1792, when wheat was above 42s. per quarter, we exported three hundred thousand quarters, and expended nearly seventy-six thousand pounds on bounties; and, by this excess of exportation, were obliged, next year, to import above five hundred thousand quarters. Even in the years 1793 and 1794, we expended above thirteen thousand pounds on bounties, owing to these bounties being payable at the district prices, and not the average rate of the kingdom. By this means, we drove away a considerable quantity of corn from the island, at the very time that we were importing about eighteen hundred thousand quarters of the different kinds of grain. We had also expended above forty-five thousand pounds on bounties in 1782 and 1783, owing to the same cause.

It cannot admit of a doubt, that the distress of 1795 and 1796 was much increased by our improper corn laws. Indeed, if the late ministry, who were most absurdly blamed for their judicious interference, had not prohibited, by an order of Council in September 1792, the farther exportation of corn, the prices of the following years would have been much higher; and we must have required as much more importation, as would have balanced the additional exportation that must otherwise have taken place.

The distresses of 1800 and 1801, must be ascribed chiefly to the calamitous seasons. But there is not a proposition in Euclid more clearly demonstrable than this, that the high prices of 1795 and 1796 were, in no small degree, increased by improper regulations in our corn laws, and that the timely interference of the ministry prevented still greater calamities arising from the high prices of provisions, than what actually happened in these two very unproductive seasons: for the balance of the corn trade, ever since 1792, has been uniformly against us; and if we had exported two or three hundred thousand quarters more, (when France was in great distress for provisions), considering the great scarcity that succeeded, and the still greater alarm that was raised, it is difficult to say how high the price of corn must have been ever since 1792.

The

The facts here stated, in order to shew the bad effects of our present laws, with respect to one uniform bounty in every case in which any bounty is granted, and the giving of that bounty according to the district prices, are taken from the public "accounts of corn, flour," &c.

By these accounts, it also appears, that the whole sums expended on bounties amounts to nearly seven millions; exactly to 6,873,445*l.*, from 1697 to 1797 inclusive, on corn exported. But as these bounties have been paid in annual sums during a whole century; as Great Britain has been in debt during all that period; and as every nation, as well as every individual that is indebted to others, and allows debt to accumulate, pays compound interest till that debt be extinguished, it appeared necessary to calculate the real loss sustained by this country from 1697 to 1802. And the reader, who has not studied how quickly all annuities accumulate, will no doubt be surpris'd, when he is inform'd, that the accumulated amount of these bounties, with interest at 5 *per cent.*, is above an hundred and eighty millions Sterling; more exactly, is 183,110,777*l.* This would purchase nearly three hundred millions of the 3 *per cents.*; and therefore, would pay off more than one half of our national debt. And the great lesson to be learned by our legislators, is to beware of expending sums, which recur annually, although they may very properly give a sum at once, or sums that occur only at the end of several years.

The reader is requested to consider, that if bounties had been progressive and properly regulated, a very small part of this sum would have done more real service to British agriculture, without occasioning great annual demands for bounties, or raising foreign corn, when imported, to so high prices. For it is not the system of bounties, but the defects of that system, which has produced so bad consequences.

Secondly, As to the prohibition of exportation.

By the present corn law, all exportation is prohibited, if wheat shall rise but two shillings per quarter above the price at which a bounty is granted on exporting it. Indeed, by our former laws, exportation was not permitted at all, except when a bounty was given for carrying it out of the island. The corn act of 1791 (in this respect better than our old laws) allows corn to be exported till it be about 4½ *per cent.* dearer than when a bounty is allowed on exportation. But this is by no means such a rise as should warrant the prohibiting British corn from being exported, when there is a demand from other countries. What would have become of Britain in the late calamitous seasons, if other nations had refused to sell us their corn, when it was 4 or 5 *per cent.* dearer than the medium price? It is necessary here to observe, that

that when there is abundance of corn in Great Britain, and a considerable demand from abroad, our farmers should be allowed to export their corn, though the prices were somewhat high, as long as we have a considerable surplus of corn in our own island. There surely can be no harm in allowing foreigners *sometimes* to pay a high price for British corn, especially when we are *never* permitted to import foreign grain, except when the price is very high.

Thirdly, As to the duties on importation.

The principle of imposing duties upon importation, may, no doubt, be defended from considering, as in the case of bounties, the situation of Great Britain, compared with that of the neighbouring nations, with respect to the value of money. But the sudden leaps from high to low duties, do not appear to be defensible.

The duties on importation, are three, viz. one high or prohibitory, and two low duties. The high duty is 24s. 3d. on the quarter of wheat, when this is below 48s., if imported from Ireland, or any British colony, or 50s., if imported from any foreign country. The first low duty is 2s. 6d. per quarter, when wheat rises to the above prices; and the second low duty is only 6d. per quarter, when wheat is two shillings dearer. The duties on other kinds of grain were probably meant to be proportional to those of wheat.

Here, it is to be observed, that if wheat be below 50s., no foreign corn is permitted to be imported, except on payment of a duty equal to half its value. If the price of wheat be but a single farthing more, this high or prohibitory duty falls at once to 2s. 6d. Nothing can be more improper in a country, in which there has been an excess of importation for the last thirty-five years, than thus to shut out foreign corn till the price is so high; and then to leap, at once, from a duty of 24s. 3d. to one of 2s. 6d. If, instead of one high, and two low duties, there had been a regular gradation of these, Great Britain had not felt all the bad effects of an injudicious corn law, by paying so high a price for foreign corn, when it was allowed to be imported; the country, on the one hand, would not have been so much drained of its superabundant grain, in plentiful or moderate seasons, if the injudicious regulation of a certain uniform bounty had not been adopted; nor, on the other, would it have been so empty of foreign corn, if a high prohibitory duty had not debarred such corn from entering our ports, till the rivers of the North were frozen—till an alarm was raised in Britain, and the prices of corn became exorbitant. In the years 1795 and 1796, we were obliged to grant a bounty on importation; and in 1800 and 1801, a bounty was also granted on the same account, though in a different mode. If there had been a regular gradation of duties, in-

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stead of a sudden leap from 24s. 3d. to 2s. 6d., there would seldom have been any necessity for such importation in any one year; and sufficient quantity of foreign corn would have been procured, without any bounty, and at a much inferior price. Owing, in some degree at least, to the defects of our corn laws, we have paid more money for the eleven millions of quarters of wheat, and fifteen millions of oats, which we imported since 1697, than what we got for the eighteen millions of wheat, two millions of oats, and twenty millions of barley we exported.

It was formerly remarked, that the accumulated value of the money paid on bounties, would purchase three hundred millions in the 3 per cents. and it may now be added, that the loss sustained by the British farmer, in being too early prohibited from exporting his corn, and by the manufacturer in imposing a high prohibitory duty on importation, accumulated at 5 per cent., would purchase as much stock as the other; so that the accumulated value of national loss, sustained by improper regulations in our corn laws, will be found, by any one who is conversant in the science of annuities, to be equal to that of our whole national debt. Let it be remembered, that this fact is stated from authentic documents, and fair calculation, by one who is a friend to the system of bounties and duties, while he points out the defects of our present corn laws, and while he has instituted several calculations, by which the quantity of error, or accumulated amount of national loss, has been ascertained.

On a general view of the different regulations respecting bounties and duties—exportation and importation, it is evident, that the present mode of granting an uniform rate of bounty, and that rate payable according to the district prices, has been very hurtful to the country, though a judicious gradation of bounties, payable according to the average prices of the nation, might be highly beneficial; that a gradation of duties on foreign corn, falling as the prices rise, would give a sufficient encouragement to British agriculture, but would not preclude such foreign corn, when really necessary, and would facilitate this importation, when it was requisite, without exciting any alarm, or raising the prices very high; that exportation should not be stopped, while we have plenty at home, though the prices happen to rise a good deal, owing to foreign demand; and that importation should be allowed gradually, so as to prevent a sudden leap from a high prohibitory, to a very low duty, and to admit foreign grain, without noise, when really necessary.

The corn act of 1791, contains several other obnoxious clauses; but it is only the general tendency of that act, which the limits of this paper permit to be here considered.

B

It

It is proper, in this place, to mention, that an old act of Parliament permits distillers to use one fourth part of wheat in distillation, when it is below 48s.; and that another act prohibits the malting of wheat, however low its price may be at any time. As the distillery lately used a considerable quantity of wheat, and wheat has of late years been imported to a great amount, no wheat should be allowed to be used in distillation, except the price be so low as that a bounty is granted on exporting it; and when it falls so low, the distiller should be permitted to use wheat in any shape, and in any proportion.

Though it be also proper to notice, it would be invidious to find fault with the late Ministry for the very high bounties granted, on importation, in 1795 and 1796, and also in 1800 and 1801; yet it deserves to be remarked, that the indemnification bounty of the two last years was granted on better principles, than the bounty of the two former years; and that it would have been still better that the indemnification had been proposed a little earlier, and that it had not extended to so very high prices. For this, in fact, was telling other nations what they should charge for their surplus grain. A gradual and moderate set of duties, falling as prices rose; free importation when they became very high; and when they became extremely high, a proposal, in due time, of indemnification to a certain extent, would probably have been more beneficial, though no blame is attached to those who offered a higher bounty. So much as to the defects of our present Corn Laws.

§ VI. *Sketch of the principal Regulations in any new Corn Law.*

The author of this general view, in 1792, published a pamphlet, entitled *Tracts on the Corn laws*—copies of which, he sent to the Members of the Corn Committees in Parliament. In 1796, he printed, at the request of the county of Aberdeen, some observations on the sale of corn by weight—which were also circulated. And, in 1800, at the request of two Members of Parliament, he drew up the heads of a new corn bill, which was given in to the Corn Committee of the House of Peers by Sir William Pulteney, Baronet. Making a general reference to these papers, he shall here briefly state the principal parts of his plan, and subjoin a table of progressive duties and bounties, constructed on its principles.

First, As to Bounties.

When wheat is below 45s. per quarter, and other kinds of grain are in proportion, he would propose a bounty of 1s. 6d. per quarter, or 7s. 6d. per tun. When it falls below 42s., he would propose a farther bounty of 1s. 6d.; in all, 3s. per quarter,

ter, or 15s. per tun. When it falls below 39s., he would next propose a bounty of 4s. 6d. per quarter, or 22s. 6d. per tun; and when it falls below 36s., or the medium price for the last 600 years, he would propose a bounty of 6s. per quarter, or 30s. per tun. The bounties on other kinds of corn, to be in proportion to those on wheat.

2dly, When wheat does not exceed 5rs. per quarter, (which is the average price of the last thirty years), it is proposed that a free exportation, without any bounty, should be permitted by law. Here the author requests the manufacturers to consider, that, when we have abundance of corn at home, and when there is a scarcity abroad, British corn should be allowed to be sold to foreigners, though it be somewhat high-priced, owing to a demand from abroad.

3dly, To secure always a preference to British corn, except when there is a real scarcity, and yet to prevent the inhabitants of cities and towns from paying too high a price for provisions, or suffering for want of importation in proper time, he would propose a gradation of duties; the lowest one a merely nominal duty of 1d. on the quarter of wheat, or 5d. on the ton, when the price of corn exceeds 54s.; rising gradually to 12s. per quarter, or nearly 3l. per ton, when wheat falls below 36s. per quarter. The British farmer is here desired to consider, that there is a decided preference given to him when the prices are low; but is requested to remember, that, when prices rise high, and corn cannot be had in Britain, it is but fair, that the importation of foreign corn be permitted, upon payment of a gradually falling duty, till free importation, or a duty merely nominal, takes place, when prices are very high.

These duties, it may here be observed, will be sufficient for defraying the expence of all the gradually increasing bounties, which, in times of plenty, are granted to the exporter. Therefore, instead of an immense expence to the nation, as these are at present, the bounties on exportation will, in some sense, be paid by foreigners—at any rate, by a countervailing duty on importation.

The imposing of duties, and granting of bounties, so as mutually to check each other, is peculiar to the system proposed by this author.

The reader is intreated now to attend to its effects.

By this plan, when corn is extremely cheap, or wheat below 36s., the British farmer gets 6s. of bounty, while foreign wheat pays 12s. of duty. When corn is a little higher, though still very cheap, or wheat below 39s., British wheat receives 4s. 6d. on exportation, while foreign corn pays 10s. 6d. on importation. When it rises somewhat higher, but is below 42s., the British farmer gets only 3s. of bounty, and the importer of foreign corn pays 9s. of

of duty. When wheat still rises higher, but is under 45s., only 1s. 6d. of bounty is allowed, and 7s. 6d. of duty is imposed. Thus, the preference is very decidedly in favour of British corn; though foreign grain is not expressly prohibited, or loaded with a very high prohibitory duty, as long as any bounty is allowed on exportation. But, as soon as the bounty is withdrawn, the duty on foreign corn is only equal to the highest bounty, or 6s. per quarter. This makes the preference somewhat less in favour of British corn. When wheat rises 2s. higher, or to 47s., the duty is reduced to 5s.; when it rises to 49s., the duty is only 4s.; and when it rises to 51s., all exportation is stopped, and a duty of only 3s. is imposed. That is gradually reduced to a nominal duty of 1d., when the price rises above 54s.; and, when no preference ought to be given to British corn, at a time when the great object is to supply the inhabitants with provisions, the duties on all these kinds of grain are proportioned to those of wheat, the lowest, or nominal duty of 1d. per quarter, only excepted.

4thly, It is proposed, that the above duties and bounties should be paid according to the average prices of the whole kingdom, and not of any county or particular district.

Lastly, In order to introduce the sale of corn by weight—in the following table, a small preference, both on the bounties and duties, is given to corn sold by weight. This, without any violence, will, in a short time, introduce and establish the sale of corn by weight only. These are the principal objects of

Manse of Keith-hall, 1. Apr. 1802. GEO. SKENE KEITH.

P. S.—In the table which is subjoined, the price at which free exportation is permitted, is 54s. per quarter of wheat. Considering the great alteration that has taken place in the real value of money, this might be extended to 57s., or even to 3l. per quarter. But, as a private individual, I did not feel myself at liberty to propose raising the price at which free importation should be permitted. For the same reason, I have not made any alteration on the proportion of the value of wheat to barley and oats, though these are, in all our corn laws, much underrated, when compared to wheat, whether we consider the real value, or the average prices of a quarter of wheat, compared with a quarter of oats or barley. But if a new corn law shall be brought into Parliament, it is hoped that those who have influence in the Legislature, will take all these things into their consideration: And from the moderation, and other estimable qualities of Mr Addington, a new corn law will be expected by every man who understands the subject, and is not warped by prejudice, nor influenced by interested motives. G. S. K.

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When the different kinds of Corn are under the following Prices, the following Bounties and Duties are to be paid.

WHEAT, FLOUR, &c.								BARLEY, BEAR, OR			
Sold by Measure.			Sold by Weight.			Flour or Biscuit.		Sold by Measure.			Sold by Weight.
Under per Quarter.	Bounty per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Under per Ton.	Bounty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Bounty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Under per Quarter.	Bounty per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Under per Ton.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.
36 0	6 0	12 0	9 0	30 0	56 0	38 0	72 0	18 0	3 0	6 0	5 10
39 0	4 6	10 6	9 15	22 6	49 0	28 6	63 0	19 6	2 3	5 3	6 0
42 0	3 0	9 0	10 10	15 0	42 0	19 0	54 0	21 0	1 6	4 6	6 10
45 0	1 6	7 6	11 5	7 6	35 0	9 6	45 0	22 6	0 9	3 9	7 0

When Corn does not exceed the following Prices, Exportation, without any Restriction, is to be permitted.

WHEAT, FLOUR, &c.					BARLEY,	
Sold by Measure.		Sold by Weight.		Flour, Biscuit.	Sold by Measure.	
Not above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Not above per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Not above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.
s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s.
45 0	6 0	11 5	28 0	36 0	22 6	3
47 0	5 0	11 15	23 4	30 0	23 6	2
49 0	4 0	12 5	18 8	24 0	24 6	2
51 0	3 0	12 15	14 0	18 0	25 6	1

When Corn exceeds the following Prices, it is proposed that the following Bounties and Duties be paid.

WHEAT, FLOUR, &c.					BARLEY, BEAR, OR	
Sold by Measure.		Sold by Weight.		Flour, Biscuit.	Sold by Measure.	
Above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Above per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.
s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
51 0	1 6	12 15	7 0	9 0	25 6	0 0
52 0	1 0	13 0	4 8	6 0	26 0	0 0
53 0	0 6	13 5	2 4	3 0	26 6	0 0
54 0	0 1	13 10	0 5	0 6	27 0	0 0

TABLE (A.)

When the different kinds of Corn are under the following Prices, the following Bounties are proposed to be given on British Corn Exported, and the following Duties to be Paid by Foreign Corn Imported.

WHEAT, FLOUR, &c.								BARLEY, BEAR, OR BIGG.						RYE, PEAS, BEANS.						OATS, AND OAT MEAL.							
Sold by Measure.			Sold by Weight.			Flour or Biscuit.		Sold by Measure.			Sold by Weight.			Sold by Measure.			Sold by Weight.			Sold by Measure.			Sold by Weight.			Oat meal.	
Under per Quarter.	Bounty per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Under per Ton.	Bounty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Bounty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Under per Quarter.	Bounty per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Under per Ton.	Bounty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Under per Quarter.	Bounty per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Under per Ton.	Bounty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Under per Quarter.	Bounty per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Under per Ton.	Bounty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Bounty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
36 0	6 0	12 0	9 0	30 0	56 0	38 0	72 0	18 0	3 0	6 0	5 10	18 0	32 0	24 0	3 8	7 4	6 6	20 0	36 0	12 0	2 4	4 8	4 10	16 0	28 0	28 0	52 0
39 0	4 6	10 6	9 15	22 6	49 0	28 6	63 0	19 6	2 3	5 3	6 0	13 6	28 0	26 0	2 9	6 5	6 16	15 0	31 6	13 0	1 9	4 1	4 17	12 0	24 6	21 0	45 6
42 0	3 0	9 0	10 10	15 0	42 0	19 0	54 0	21 0	1 6	4 6	6 10	9 0	24 0	28 0	1 10	5 6	7 7	10 0	27 0	14 0	1 2	3 6	5 5	8 0	21 0	14 0	39 0
45 0	1 6	7 6	11 5	7 6	35 0	9 6	45 0	22 6	0 9	3 9	7 0	4 6	21 0	30 0	0 11	4 7	7 16	5 0	22 6	15 0	0 7	2 11	5 12	4 0	17 6	7 0	32 6

TABLE (B.)

When Corn does not exceed the following Prices, Exportation, without any Bounty, is permitted; and the following Duties are proposed to be paid on Importation.

WHEAT, FLOUR, &c.					BARLEY, BEAR, OR BIGG.				RYE, PEAS, BEANS.				OATS, AND OAT MEAL.				
Sold by Measure.		Sold by Weight.		Flour, Biscuit.	Sold by Measure.		Sold by Weight.		Sold by Measure.		Sold by Weight.		Sold by Measure.		Sold by Weight.		Oat Meal.
Not above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Not above per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Not above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Not above per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Not above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Not above per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Not above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Not above per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.
s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.
45 0	6 0	11 5	28 0	36 0	22 6	3 0	7 0	16 0	30 0	3 8	7 16	18 0	15 0	2 4	5 12	14 0	26 0
47 0	5 0	11 15	23 4	30 0	23 6	2 6	7 6	13 0	31 4	3 0	8 2	15 0	15 8	2 0	5 17	11 8	21 0
49 0	4 0	12 5	18 8	24 0	24 6	2 0	7 12	10 6	32 8	2 5	8 8	12 0	16 4	1 6	6 2	9 4	17 0
51 0	3 0	12 15	14 0	18 0	25 6	1 6	7 17	8 0	34 0	1 10	8 15	9 0	17 0	1 2	6 7	7 0	13 0

TABLE (C.)

When Corn exceeds the following Prices, it is proposed that all Exportation should be prohibited, and Importation permitted, on the following low Duties.

WHEAT, FLOUR, &c.					BARLEY, BEAR, OR BIGG.				RYE, PEAS, BEANS.				OATS, AND OAT MEAL.				
Sold by Measure.		Sold by Weight.		Flour, Biscuit.	Sold by Measure.		Sold by Weight.		Sold by Measure.		Sold by Weight.		Sold by Measure.		Sold by Weight.		Oat Meal.
Above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Above per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Above per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Above per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Above per Quarter.	Duty per Quarter.	Above per Ton.	Duty per Ton.	Duty per Ton.
s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	l. s.	s. d.	s. d.
51 0	1 6	12 15	7 0	9 0	25 6	0 9	7 17	4 0	34 0	0 11	8 15	4 6	17 0	0 7	6 7	3 6	6 6
52 0	1 0	13 0	4 8	6 0	26 0	0 6	8 0	2 8	34 8	0 8	9 0	3 0	17 4	0 5	6 10	2 4	4 4
53 0	0 6	13 5	2 4	3 0	26 6	0 3	8 2	1 4	35 4	0 4	9 5	1 6	17 8	0 2	6 13	1 2	2 2
54 0	0 1	13 10	0 5	0 6	27 0	0 1	8 5	0 3	36 0	0 1	9 9	0 4	18 0	0 1	6 15	0 3	0 5

N. B. These Tables are double the Size they would have been, if the Prices, Duties, and Bounties had not been mentioned both in Weight and in Measure. The Bounties are somewhat larger, and the Duties a few per cents less on the Weight than on the Measure, in order to encourage the Sale of Corn by Weight, by making it the Merchant's Interest to buy and sell in that way only.—G. S. K.



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