96-32

AN

APPEAL

TO A

HUMANE PUBLIC,

FOR THE POORER

MILLERS and BAKERS,

RESPECTING THE HIGH PRICE OF BREAD;

AND THE INJURY SUSTAINED BY THEM EROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

London Flour, Meal & Bread Company.

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EFFECT THE INSTITUTION OF THIS

NEW CHARTERED COMPANY

HAD IN IMMEDIATELY

Raifing, instead of lowering, the Price of Corn.

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AN ATTENTIVE OBSERVER.

He takes my Life

66 Who takes the Means by which I live."

Shakespeare.

London:

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PRICE ONE SHILLING.

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ON THE PART OF THE

POORER MILLERS AND BAKERS.

The end of June 1800, when the quartern loaf was at seventeen pence halfpenny, which was then deemed a very extravagant price, a proposal was made in Parliament by way of remedy, to establish a Chartered Company, to be called "The London Company for the Manufacture of Flour, Meal, and Bread"; and the grounds for proposing that Charter were, abuses said to exist in the established mode of grinding and baking.—
In the Houses of Parliament numerous charges were publicly brought forwards, and a plentiful portion of abuse was poured on the Millers and Bakers; the existence of those charges

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was stoutly denied by them, and so well refisted, that not a shadow of proof appeared of misconduct on their parts, though their conduct was sisted into with a degree of severity bordering on rancour and malevolence, and although incredible pains were taken to criminate them.

Nevertheless Lord Liverpool in the House of Lords, and Lord Hawkesbury in the House of Commons, the Patrons of the Charter, persisted in bringing the bill forward; and after one solitary evening's debate in the House of Commons, the bill was carried there by a majority of one vote only.

In the House of Lords the Bill met a more vigorous resistance, the Millers and Bakers having there the aid of the Corn Merchants, whose arguments made so powerful an impression as to impede the progress of the bill in the Upper House for a month; and it was at last carried in what is deemed a full House of Lords by a majority of Proxies.—
Thus at the time of an active and enlightened commerce, a bill was passed to unite by Charter, what it has been the care and wisdom

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dom of ages to keep separate, viz. the three trades of Corn Merchant, Miller and Mealman, and Baker-a proceeding which the manhood of Commerce spurned and trod under foot, and which the dotage of Commerce alone would have fanctioned. This Charter got the name of Lord Liverpool's Scheme from the strenuous endeavours of his Lordship in the House of Lords, and the uncommon pains he took to carry the bill, in which he was not sparing of abuse of his opponents, the poor Millers and Bakers.-His Lordship stated abuses existing from the want of such an institution, which this Charter, he faid, would remedy; and quoted the high price of bread as a proof of some combination which this Charter was to destroy. He also exerted his eloquence in stating his commiseration for the poor, who were, he faid, to be materially benefited through this institution, by a confiderable reduction in the price of bread, and by the manufacture of an inferior quality, at a cheaper rate.

The arguments of the Corn Merchants against this novelty are detailed in the London Petition

Petition against the bill; and in the Liverpool Petition, which last was inserted in the Newspapers of the 17th and 18th of July, 1800, The general arguments of the Corn Merchants. Millers, Mealmen and Bakers were adduced by his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, Lord Westmoreland, Lord Hobart, and Lord Stanhope, in fundry speeches and debates of fingular eloquence and great precision; which made a deep impression on the public mind. Those arguments were supported by facts and proofs, and were found unanswerable; but a profit of 10 per cent. per annum to the parties concerned, carried a bill, which had many subscribers in both Houses. Great promises were made to the public on behalf of this new Company by its Patrons, Lord Liverpool and Lord Hawkefbury.

After the abuse those two Lords of Parliament poured so profusely on the Millers and Bakers, as if they were the cause that bread was at $17\frac{1}{2}$ d. the quartern loaf, it ought not to be deemed unreasonable on the part of the Millers and Bakers to enquire (7

into what benefits the public has received, and to state what injuries the Public and the Millers and Bakers have sustained, and do sustain, by the New Chartered Company.

The first injury the Public sustained from this New Chartered Company, was, an advance of 21s. per quarter in the price of wheat in August last; for so soon as the bill passed into a law and the Charter was established, the King of Prussia, alarmed at this novelty, and conceiving it intended as a British monopoly, which might produce some disagreeable effect on the grain trade, the chief trade of his dominions, laid a duty of 120 guilders per last on the export of wheat from thence, about 11s. 3d. per quarter British sterling, which had the effect to advance wheat immediately in England 21s. per quarter; which is a fact notorious on the corn exchange, and has fince cost the bread-buyers at least 500,000 pounds sterling.

The next injury the Public sustained on this account, was from the interruption of the commerce in the grain trade with Prussia, on account of this new duty, which occasioned

The next injury occasioned by this Company was this. The capital engaged in the Corn Trade, prior to this new Company of united Millers, Mealmen and Bakers, was not only sufficient for dealing in the first necessary of life, but it was more than sufficient, because it included not only the capital

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of the British, but it included also the Capital of the Foreign Corn Merchants, which united, had enabled them already by the ability of holding, not only to keep up grain to the utmost price a full market would allow, but empowered them in case of a brisk demand and lessened supply, then to withhold and so still further advance the price of bread, the first necessary, the staff of life. To the already too powerful capital employed in the Corn Trade, this Company has added a capital of £150,000, with all the weight of its credit; and fo has increased by every guinea employed, the competition in the purchase of grain, and thus enhanced instead of lessening, as Lord Liverpool afferted this Corporation would do, the price of corn and bread, which is proved by an advance of five pence in the quartern loaf.

In vain were they warned by the most experienced and enlightened Merchants in the Corn Trade of the effects which must follow such a Charter.

In vain were they warned in writing, in plain and precise terms, that if this charter

were established the King of Prussia would lay a protecting duty on the export of grain from his dominions, and so enhance its price in Great Britain, or perhaps prohibit the export in the needful hour.

In vain were they told, that in times of calamity they could do no good, but in doubtful times might do confiderable harm, by detering others at a needful period, from attempting the fupply; which experience had proved before in the year 1795 to be a national mischief.

In vain were they told, that the little Miller and the little Baker would be deeply injured or ruined by their operations. They nevertheless persisted—the consequences followed—the King of Prussia laid a duty on the export from Poland, the price of wheat and corn was enhanced, the supply was lessened at a needful moment, and the Bakers deprived of their customers are now in a fair way to ruin.

Lord Liverpool and Lord Hawkesbury afferted publicly that as the Company were to bake only inferior bread for the use of the poor and limited to a capital of only £150,000,

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that no prejudice could from thence result to either Miller or Baker.

But experience proves that the Bakers and Millers were right, when they afferted, that if this Company were established, it would materially injure the Millers and Bakers as Manufacturers; which is already matter within proof.

The new Chartered Company for the Manufacture of Flour, Meal, and Bread, has commenced its operations, and has with the usual eagerness for business, common to young traders, taken very great pains to get customers for the purchase of its Flour and Bread, and has already had the fuccess which might be expected from the powerful interest and influence engaged in its favor. This has already injured in some degree the little Millers and more materially injured the little Bakers in the Metropolis. The diminution of the confumption of Flour in wealthy families has reduced many Bakers from the manufacture of fifteen to eleven facks of flour per week, or in that proportion; and the deduction of the quantity of bread made by the new Company

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When a Baker fells fifteen facks of flour per week, he perhaps is doing well; when he is reduced to eleven facks per week, he perhaps may live; but reduce him to nine facks per week, and he may not be able even to exist and pay his rates and taxes; and may thus be conducted to ruin. So the little Miller, who can exist by his present share of grinding, may, in like manner, by a like interference equally suffer.

If the Company confined itself to supply the poor as a charity, at a lower price, and chose to suffer loss by its humanity; if it confined its manufacture of bread to that purpose, the injury to the Baker might be less; but at present the very reverse is the case. The Noblemen and Gentlemen concerned in the New Company, actually solicit customers for this plan, not among the poor, but among the highest, most opulent, and middling.

actually force an unnatural fale of their bread actually force an unnatural fale of their bread and flour, and thus deprive the Baker, not only of his customers, but his very best customers, whose ready pay and large demand have hitherto enabled him to trust his poorer neighbour; and thus his loss is aggravated, not only by his being deprived of his customers, but by the kind of customers he is deprived of who are his best, and whose custom is in many cases the capital of the Baker, on which he depends to pay for his weekly purchased stock.

When this Company was established bread was at $17\frac{1}{2}$ d. per loaf; it is now at $22\frac{1}{2}$ d. and therefore a larger capital is required by the Baker, and his risque increased in his trust of his poorer neighbour: how shall he meet this increase of capital but by the pay of the opulent and large customer? and if deprived of such, even in a moderate proportion, how shall he live?

The attention of the great and opulent in general, and even of the subscribers to the New Company, is reasonably requested to this

The Corn Merchants may laugh at the interference of great men in their business, and say, "We are aware of their operations, we know what monopoly did before to our ruin; we are able to take care that the interference of great men shall at least do us no harm, and we have hopes that we can turn it to our ad(15)

vantage; but the poor Millers and Bakers can only deplore any interference in their business, and say in bitterness of heart, " if this interference be continued, we shall be ruined!"

It was a feeling, a generous, a confiderate, and a noble reply of a person of exalted and illustrious rank when folicited to become a customer to the New Company by a nobleman a fubscriber, "I have no objection," faid he, " either to eat brown bread myself, or to " compel my fervants to eat it; but if I quit " my prefent Baker she will be ruined! - she " is a Widow, and has a large family, and " depends greatly upon my custom. They " must live, and if they cannot live by her " business, as they do at present, I shall be " called upon, and I think justly, to do " fomething towards their maintenance. I " applaud Charity, and you are at liberty to " give away as much as you pleafe of your " property, but I think it not only unjust but 66 foolish in opulent men, to enter into a com-" petition with poor individuals. If they fell " lower than a living profit, the individual is " ruined and comes on the parish; and that

It is merely but justice to the poor Millers and Bakers, respectfully to state these reasons to the public, in their defence, as they suffer materially at present, and are likely to suffer more; (17)

more; and to assure the Public that in a time such as the present, the custom of all their old friends is absolutely needful for the support of their families; and any diminution of their already reduced trade is a serious grievance. It is but fair to inform such Customers as have left their old Millers and Bakers of the injury thence arising, and earnestly to entreat their kind consideration of their case, and speedy return to their old shops, for if these be deserted, many Bakers must be injured and some must be ruined.

that the Bakers may cheerfully appeal to the Public on a subject so important to them as the maintenance of their families; and they may trust they are not mistaken in the opinion they may entertain, that a plain representation of their case may have a beneficial influence for them, not only with individuals unconnected with the New Company, but even with many who through motives of humanity are engaged in that design, and who may not be aware of the serious mischief their intended benevolence brings upon industrious.

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families, whom it never could be their inten-

tion to oppress or injure.

The Millers and Bakers have a right to obferve to the Public, that they more than any others are affected by the high price of corn, which so far from being beneficial, is to them a great detriment; and no person can wish more ardently than they that the loaf should. be fold as cheap as it used to be, for the advance in the price of corn is no benefit to them, but so far an injury, inasmuch as it obliges them at present prices to employ four times the capital they formerly have done, and every individual is well acquainted that the profits of the Baker are weekly limited by law. Lord Liverpool emphatically faid in the

House of Lords, "This scheme is patro-"nized by subscribers of the highest rank " and respectability, by noble Lords on both " fides the House, some in Administration; " by Members of the Commons, of whom " forty-eight are subscribers; by the Gover-" nors of the East India Company; by the " Heads of the West India Merchants, and by the Governor and Company of the Bank (19)

of England." Is it possible for the Bakers to contend with a Company possessing such high Rank, such powerful Interest, such extensive Influence, so large a Capital and Credit, and who unite by Charter the Three Trades of Corn Merchant, Miller and Mealman, and Baker, and of course unite three profits in one? Common Sense says it is not - possible; and to the Humanity and Justice of the Public, and of the Subscribers to this Institution, and in Pity to the Families of the poor Millers and Bakers, the Author for them makes this Appeal.

A CASE in Point—with general Observations.

THE Court of Lisbon, many years ago, prohibited the Importation of British Goods and Manufactures into Portugal. The prohibition was positive, decisive, and clear, and the infringement loaded with the severest penalties. The then British Ambassador demanded an audience of the Portuguese Monarch, and addressed him thus: "Sire, Nature, has wisely distributed her various gifts in different parts of the universe, and upon the exchange of commodities Trade subsists. To

your Majesty's dominions she has been prodigal of bounties. They produce diamonds, gold, spices, wines, oils, falt, &c .- to other countries she has not been so liberal; and the British Nation is obliged to supply in return for fuch goods as she can afford to buy from your Majesty's dominions the produce of the labours of her people in steel, iron, and brass, and the manufactures of her looms. Your Majesty, not contented with the riches of your own possessions, has determined that you will not fuffer the sale of the labour of Britain in your dominions; but that your subjects shall turn manufacturers, and fo keep your gold and filver yourself. I will tell your Majesty the confequences. So foon as your prohibition is known in England, 200,000 laborious men will be thrown out of employ-they must live—the King of England will then fit out forty or fifty fail of the line and five hundred transports; He will fill them with troops and fend them to the Brazils, and take them from you, and thus your Majesty will defervedly fuffer for attempting to invert the order of Nature, which is not done with impunity. I think your Majesty had better be contented

contented with the wealth you have at fo eafy a rate, and had better fuffer those laborious men to continue their occupations than force them, by depriving them of bread, to go armed with the steel they manufacture to obtain forcibly the possession of that wealth, of which you are not content to make a fair use. Your Majesty had better preserve at so easy a rate as you do at present, not only the quiet possession of your wealth, but also the friendship of a people who will bravely defend you in case of attack, so long as your Majesty does not interfere to prevent them from earning their daily bread by the supply of your necessities."____ This had its defired effect, the prohibition was withdrawn. It behoves all men of opulence on their own account at this moment well to ponder that speech and apply it.

"My labour," fays the poor man, " is my "existence; if I am deprived of that, and "purposely deprived of it by the Rich and "Mighty, what shall I then do?" Let the Rich and Mighty answer the question, and tell him what he shall do.—It behoves also all persons concerned in Trade and Manusactures to consider how they countenance such a

concern.—Brewing is nearly allied to Baking, and foon we may fee a Gigantic Company for Brewing, and fo for all the trades which lead to opulence by the employment of small capital and persevering industry, which if this fystem prevail will have no chance; and where will the mischief stop?

The experience of three centuries has proved that a Monopoly, or privileged Charter in one Country, has always generated a counter privileged Company, or Monopoly, or protecting Duty in another, by which both parties generally fuffer.

In fociety there are various ranks; the Rich, who do not labour, and who have no further trouble respecting property than to receive the fruits of other men's labour without any toil of their own; the Middling Ranks, who unite to a moderate portion of labour of body the various labours of the mind, and by their joint efforts subsist and frequently enrich themselves. The Poor, who labour with their hands for their daily bread. - While things go on in their natural course all is well, at least comparatively so; and to "let well alone," is the wisest maxim ever adopted by any statesman, but

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a maxim of the wisdom of which it generally takes years to convince them. By the interference of Government in the Corn Trade in 1794, the quartern loaf advanced in two years from 6d. to 15d. On their leaving the trade, it fell from 13d. to 71 d. The London Company found the quartern loaf at 171 d. it is now at $22\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The dread of Innovation has been a subject of great outcry and preparation on the part of the Rich, who have argued and armed ftrongly against every species of Change. The Poor have certainly as great a right to complain of Innovation, when it deprives them of their only and the whole of their possessions—their daily bread. If the Rich do not allow an Infringe_ ment of their Rights and Properties, let them be at least consistent; let them keep in their own sphere, and cease to practise that Innovation which they would themselves, more than any others, loudly and violently complain of and even refist, and let them cease to give ground or cause for retaliation.

Whoever feeks to invert the natural order of things, is certain to find that at last he has done harm, however good his intentions might porqoh '-

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be; for in the trading, as in the moral world, by the experience and attentive care of ages, the wisdom of man, which is his guide from the Almighty, establishes things in what may be called their natural course. Attempts to change this course cannot be made without great mischief, and generally speaking great danger, because the good which it is thence presumed may arise, is generally sound to be much less than the evil which springs from the Change, which the repeal of the Brown Bread Act has proved. To attempt to change the course of things well and long established, is to attempt to change the order of Nature, which is the law of God.

When Lewis the 14th of France was invited and pressed to take a share in an Accaparrement, which is a concern of the nature of this spoken of, he replied—"If I turn Tradesman, "who will turn King? I am content with my "own Trade, it is a good one; I will not in—

"terfere with Tradesmen, lest Tradesmen

" should think of interfering with Me."

Sat verbum Sapienti.

FINIS.

Allen, Printer, 15, Paternoster-Row.