A LETTER

TO

THE FARMERS OF ENGLAND,

ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF

MANUFACTURES AND AGRICULTURE.

BY ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

Author of Letters under that Signature in "The Morning Chronicle."

A plough as seen at work in Buckinghamshire, in 1843. The soil a stiff clay, unameliorated by science. The solid manures wasted in the sun; the liquid manures utterly neglected; fences bad; fields foul with weeds; as little economy in every department of the farm as in that of the plough. The farmer, a tenant-at-will, paying, in rent and tithe, £2 10s. per acre. Says he must have 6½s. a quarter for wheat, to give him a profit; and not less than 60s., to pay his expenses. Believes the repeal of the Corn Laws would ruin him.

A plough as used in the Lothians of Scotland. When the soil is a stiff clay, it is ameliorated by other materials. Manures are augmented by artificial means, and carefully preserved. Fences and corn-fields are kept in the best order; and economy is observed in all kinds of labour, while more people are employed for each acre than in England. The farmers have leases of nineteen years, and pay rents according to the prices of grain; in 1841, they paid from £4 to £9 per acre. If they paid the same rent for the same quality of land as in Buckinghamshire, they could sell wheat at 40s. a quarter, and have a good profit.

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1843.
TO THE

FARMERS OF ENGLAND.

Gentlemen,—The writer of this letter has recently visited and conversed with many of you in different counties; in your market towns, on your farms, at your dinner tables, and at your family firesides. He has heard you, whether corn-growers or graziers, lease-holders or tenants-at-will, Conservatives or Liberals, politicians or non-politicians, expressing your dissatisfaction with your present condition.

You are not dissatisfied without cause. Something has lowered the value of your live stock and harvest crops, and you know that though the season has been generally favourable, neither the superior quality of the stock nor the abundance of the harvest has caused this fall in prices. All of you, to a man, are agreed on this point.

Some of you say the new tariff has been the cause, and you argue that although the importations from foreign countries have not amounted to much, compared with your own supply, the mere fact of an importation has produced a panic, and this panic has unsettled the business of the grazier, and reduced his prices. Those of you who blame the panic are in some degree right: all of you should blame it. But panics will follow every change in the scale of protective duties; and so long as these duties exist there will be changes, no matter who may be prime minister.

Some of you, again, blame the sliding-scale which throws into the market a large quantity of foreign grain just at that period, when, of all others, you are most in want of protection, the period of taking your new crops to market to pay your Michaelmas rents.

Others, without taking due notice of the laws affecting your prosperity, and the causes of those laws, merely rail at certain men. One denounces Sir Robert Peel as a traitor to your interests; another defends him, and says, the fault lies with Lord John Russell and the Whigs, who, having dared to meddle with the protective duties, left behind them a legacy of popular discontent, which compelled Sir Robert Peel to do what otherwise he would not have done.

Gentlemen, put your faith in nobody. If possible, detach yourselves from all political parties, and attend to your own interests. Proceed at once to an investigation of those causes which have reduced the value of your live stock and corn, which have staggered you with cheapness, while the season has not overwhelmed you with plenty. You will find that neither the tariff with its panic, nor the large influx of foreign corn at harvest time, nor Sir Robert Peel, nor Lord John Russell, nor any other single circumstance, nor person, nor party, is exclusively the source of the present difficulties. Nay, all these combined are not the source. You will find the main cause of your present dull markets in the stagnation of our manufacturing trade, in the want of employment on the part of those millions who buy and consume your farm produce.
What do you, corn-growers of Kent and Essex, and other corn counties, do with your wheat? And you, graziers of Dorset, and Devon, and Cheshire, what do you do with your butter and cheese? You sell in the market towns; and dealers in market towns send your corn, and butter, and cheese to other towns, until we find that corn-growing and butter-making counties supply the food of cotton-spinning and cloth-making counties. Here, then, we come to your customers, to the consumers of your farm produce, corn, butter; cheese, beef, mutton and bacon. If these consumers of your produce are without work and wages, or if work and wages are reduced one-third, they must either be on workhouse diet or starving, or they must be consuming one half less of your corn, butter, cheese, beef, mutton, and bacon. This is so self-evident that you need not be told of it. But you need to be told the extent of the want of employment and the reduction of wages. Your local newspaper seldom gives you information on this point. It professes to be your best friend and guide, but if it is a paper in the interest of the landowners, it commonly conceals from you the extent of your dependence on the manufacturing-interests, and the extent of manufacturing poverty. At all events it hides from you the character and causes of that poverty. Nay, it will perhaps tell you that British agriculture would flourish, and Britain remain as great a country as she is, were her manufacturing towns, steam-engines, looms, and cotton warehouses swept into the sea. This might be, if you could sell your farm produce to some one who would pay you for it and throw it into the sea. Such ideas are monstrously absurd, yet they have found utterers in the persons of some who profess to be your friends. Let us

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Ashton-under-Lyne.—Eight mills standing idle. At least 2,000 persons out of work, and the wages of those employed reduced 17 per cent.

Accrington.—Population 8,719. Employment, calico printing and cotton trade. Number of workers, 3,738, of whom 1,359 are fully employed at an average of 8s. 8d. per week; 1,022 partly employed at an average of 4s. 10d. per week; and 727 unemployed and destitute. At one of the print works the following statement is made by the master:—In 1836 he paid 80 block printers 3s. 2d. 1d.; in 1840 he paid the same men 1s. 4d.; 1s. 6d.; averaging in 1838, 1s. 7d. each per week; in 1841, not quite 1s. each per week.

Need you be told, farmers of England, that with 17s. a week there would be loaf-bread, and butcher-meat, and cheese, and butter used, while with 6s. there can be little more than oatmeal gruel, potatoes and salt?

Aberdeen, a town in Scotland. Population about 60,000. Trade, flax-spinning, weaving, shipping, &c. Exports to America, in 1834, 5,221 tons; in 1840, 2,820 tons. In 1842 much shipping laid up; sea stores of beef and biscuit not required to the usual extent by one-third. Several mills stopped, hands thrown out of work; poor rates doubled in one parish; consumption of butcher-meat greatly diminished. Graziers and butchers send more meat, in consequence, to London to overstock the markets there, and compete with the farmers of the south.
Barnsley, a town in Yorkshire, in the linen manufacture. Since 1838, 16 masters have failed, whose united liabilities amounted to 296,500l. Ten more have retired from business, having lost 30,000l. In 17 shops, containing 60 looms, when trade was good, say from 1832 to 1835, each loom earned 7s. 7d. per week; now the earnings are 4s. 9d. per week; difference, 2s. 9d. In the years 1833, 1834, and 1835, the number of pieces finished at the principal calender was 168,441. In the years 1839, 1840, and 1841, the number of pieces finished at the same was 114,131. The other finishing calenders showing a similar deficiency.

Here again the farmer may see why his cattle and sheep, and butter and cheese, lie heavy on his hands.

Baildon, a township in Yorkshire. Trade, woollen cloth. Fifteen spinners; manufacturers and shopkeepers have failed within a short period. The consumption of animal food is considerably decreased; many substitute potatoes of inferior quality for bread. Small shopkeepers’ business is much reduced (these are the retailers of the butter, cheese, bread, and bacon produce of the English farmers), and they can with difficulty obtain payment for what they sell.

Barnard Castle, a town in Durham. Trade, carpet weaving. One half of operatives unemployed; the remainder paid reduced wages. Consumption of bread and butcher-meat reduced to a merely nominal amount.

Bradfor, a town in Yorkshire, in the woollen cloth and worsted trades. Thirty-six mills employing 1,500 horse power; 22 running full time, paying 30 per cent. less in wages than when trade was good; 10 running short time, and 4 standing. Forty per cent. of the working population of all trades out of work. Mechanics (employed by machine makers) formerly earning 24s. to 30s. per week, are now jobbing or breaking road stones. Handloom weavers are not half of them in full work. Nearly all the mills employed in worsted spinning are running short time, or have part of their machinery standing. Poor-rates are increasing at fully 1,300l. per quarter.

And, farmers of England, do you not see and feel that the bad trade in those towns throws a surplus population back on you to increase your poor-rates? This in addition to the non-consumption of your farm produce.

Bradford, a town in Wiltshire. Population, 8,309. Trade, woollen cloth manufacture. There are 402 broad cloth looms, of which 316 are idle, and only 11 fully employed. When trade was good, the quantity of meat and bread consumed was four times its present amount.

Bolton, a town in Lancashire, in the cotton trade. In December, 1841, out of 50 mills, which, when at full work, gave employment to 8,124 persons, 30 were either standing idle or working short time. In 1836, the number of iron-founders, engineers, millwrights, and machine-makers employed was 2,110; in 1842 the total number employed was 1,325. Difference of unemployment in these four trades 785, who, with their families, are either returning to the rural districts to swell the poor-rates paid by farmers, or are starving in towns, unable to buy food, and are preventing those young men who annually leave the country for a town life from leaving home, which young men will soon overcrowd the rural parishes, already full enough. In 1836 the number of carpenters employed in Bolton was 150. In 1842, 49 are employed, and 101 entirely idle. The number of bricklayers employed in 1837 was 120; at present 16; 104 idle. Stone masons employed in 1836, 150; at present 50; 100 unemployed and suffering severely. Tailors employed in 1836, 500; 250 unemployed at present, and the remainder only partially employed, at reduced wages. Shoemakers (of the society) 80 in 1836 employed; 40 at present, and these only partially, and at reduced wages. The entire loss to 5,000 factory hands, who are either wholly unemployed, or working short time, is computed at 1,250l. per week, which, with the loss to the trades already named, amounts to 3,300l. per week, or 171,600l. per year. Taking these trades at this sum, (which is rather under the actual amount,) and adding for those branches of industry not estimated 30,000l., we have a loss in wages in Bolton alone of 221,600l. Two hundred and one thousand six hundred pounds sterling! Two-thirds of which would have gone directly to the provision shops and the meat market, and most of the other third of which would have gone to pay rents, not now paid, and buy clothes, not now bought, to and from those who must at present eat their meat and bread and butter and cheese according to their reduced incomes. In the year ending March 1836, the sum paid for the relief of the poor in Bolton was 1,558l. 9s. 6d.; the year ending March 1841, it was 6,268l. 15s. 4d.
Can the farmers of England read such facts and be at a loss to account for their dull markets?

One word more about Bolton. It has been asserted by landed gentlemen, both in and out of Parliament, and by newspapers under their patronage, that the interests of agriculture and manufactures are distinct, and that the land would maintain its value if there were no manufactures. The land in the division of Bolton was rented 150 years ago, according to figures shown by the land-tax, at 5,127l. 16s. 8d. The present rental of this division was estimated and put down last year for the county rate at the sum of 491,695l., showing an increase which has chiefly arisen within these seventy years, through manufacturing skill and industry, of 9,589l. per cent. The Chorlton estate near Manchester is an extraordinary instance. In 1644 it was sold for 300l. In 1794, it was sold for 42,914l. Last year it was assessed at 137,651l. per annum, having increased in less than two centuries from 300l. to upwards of 3,000,000l. in net value!

Bury, a town in Lancashire, in the cotton and machine-making trade. Wages paid by one machine-making establishment in 1836, 45,454l., and in 1841, 28,994l., and the reduction is still going on. Difference, full one-half of which is lost to the English farmer, 21,460l. This is but in one establishment of one trade, in one town. The number of families visited in Bury for the purpose of acquiring these statistical facts, was 776, containing 3,982 persons; of these only 1,107 are employed, whose average earnings are only about 3½d. per day.

What a tale does this tell for beef and mutton, and bacon and butter and cheese. All the cattle imported under the new tariff, and all the salted provisions, do not amount to as much, up to the time of writing this statement (November, 1842) as the towns of Bury and Bolton consumed when their population was in full employment. But let us proceed.

BIRMINGHAM.—Population, 138,187. In the silver-working trade the men are not employed, on an average, more than three or four days a week, and their wages have fallen considerably since 1835. The coal and iron trade has fallen off one-half in most cases. In the most favourable cases it is not more than two-thirds as much as it was in 1835. The number of hands employed as brass-founders has been reduced one-half, and the wages of the remaining half who are at work have been reduced two-thirds.

Mark that, farmers of England; one half of the brass founders out of employment and the remaining half paid two-thirds less than the wages paid when the whole were employed working full time, and eating of bread, butcher-meat, butter and cheese full meals. Here is a town where manufacturing by machinery cannot be urged as a cause of over-production and a displacement of workmen, as is sometimes alleged, by those who do not know that an increase of machinery, taking the entire population of the country, has increased, to a vast extent, the employment of human hands.

In the plating trade there has been a reduction of one-third of the numbers employed, and their wages reduced 35 to 40 per cent. The screw-makers in 1835 and 1836 got 1s. 9d. for making the same article which now pays them 6d. only.

Brechin, a town in Scotland. Population, 5,097. Trade, flax-dressing and spinning. Wages of spinners reduced one-sixth since 1835 of flax-dressers reduced one-fifth in the same time. A reduction still going on, the whole of which falls on the consumption of the best kinds of food, such as butcher-meat.

Clayton.—In the Yorkshire woollen trade. Population, 4,347. Two out of three worsted factories unoccupied. Poor-rate for a cottage in 1836, 4s. 6d. per annum; in 1842, 15s. per annum.

Colne, a town in Lancashire, in the cotton trade. Population, 20,848. Money wages in 1841, 35 per cent. less than in 1831. There are fully employed 564 persons, earning 3s. a week; partially employed, 1,604; unemployed, 2,355. From an inquiry lately instituted by the Board of Guardians, it appeared that 8,688 persons had only an income averaging 1s. 4d. per week, including the parish relief, which averaged 3d. per head.
CARLISLE, the capital and principal market town of Cumberland, with several cotton factories. There are 309 families, comprising 1,146 persons, who have no ascertainable income; 434 families, comprising 1,465 persons, whose income is less than 1s. per head a week; 411 families, comprising 1,023 persons, whose income is less than 1s. 6d.; 157 families, comprising 692 persons, with an income of less than 2s.; and 140 families, comprising 636 persons, whose income is less than 3s. per head a week.

COVENTRY, a town in Warwickshire, in the ribbon trade. Two thousand five hundred are recipients of charity; many more are without employment, and the wages of those in work have been reduced 50 per cent.

DERBY, a town in the silk hosiery trade. Population, 35,015. In 1836 there were 760 silk frames fully employed; at present there are 346 but partially employed, and 392 standing. The wages in 1836 for a man and woman were 29s., at present 12s.

Is there any wonder that the beef and bacon and dairy produce of the farmers should meet a dull market?

DUNFERMLINE, a town in Scotland. Trade, damask weaving (flowered table-cloths, and such like): no power looms to compete with. Population, 13,323. Wages reduced 25 per cent. since 1836. Five hundred and eighty-five weavers unemployed in the spring of this year. In November, while this is being written, the unemployed are 1,780, and daily increasing, with some of the oldest masters becoming bankrupt.

DUNDEE, a large town in Scotland. Population 59,135. Trade, flax-dressing, spinning, sailcloth, shipping, &c. When shipping is laid up, and the demand for sail-cloth and rigging falls off, the farmer may be sure that the demand for provisions will fall off also. The consumption of animal food in Dundee was double in 1836 to what it was in 1841. But the large steamers which trade from Dundee to London have conveyed many more cattle and sheep, and carcasses of killed meat, to the metropolitan markets since the decay of trade than they did before. All that which is not consumed in Dundee is sent to London to compete with the southern farmer, whose Cheshire and Gloucester cheese the Dundee people cannot buy in return as they once did. Of factory hands, 1,319 are employed, 350 of them on government sail-cloth, the contracts for which are about made up, (this in the spring of 1842); 564 are partially employed; and 1,458 are without work or wages of any kind. Average number of mechanics employed by machine makers when trade was good, 1,638; total number now employed, 768; unemployed, 880. Number of stonemasons employed in neighbouring quarters by six of the most extensive contractors, 408; number recently employed, 60; unemployed, 339. All the other trades, slaters, plumbers, plasterers, shipwrights, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, &c., are in a similar condition, and all were consumers of butcher-meat when trade was good.

EDINBURGH, the capital of Scotland, which, with the shipping port of Leith, and other adjoining towns, contains about 200,000 inhabitants. The trades carried on are various; but in all branches the reduction of wages and the failure of employment has been great within the last two years. Small shopkeepers are becoming bankrupt, and the higher class of tradesmen are paying family expenses and rents out of capital, not from profits. Thousands of people who once used butcher-meat, are now restrained to the use of potatoes.

FIFE, a town in Scotland, with a population of 8,000, (within the parliamentary boundaries), chiefly connected with weaving. Of 1,402 families visited, comprising 5,122 individuals, 139 have only from 6d. to 9d. a day; 193 from 6d. to 5½d.; 305 from 4d. to 4½d.; 551 from 3d. to 3½d.; 1,033 from 2d. to 2½d.; 1,922 from 1½d. to 1¾d. a day; and 118 are dependent entirely on charity. In 1836 a weaver could earn 10s. 6d. a week; and now his wages for the same work are only 6s. 6d. In 1836 more than twice the number of cattle were killed than in 1841.

Mark that, graziers of England; the cattle not killed and consumed in Scotland find their way to Smithfield.

FOSBURY-OF-DEAN. This is a mining district. Workmen have lately had but half work; wages reduced 50 per cent.

FRANK, a town in Somersetshire. Population, 11,279, being a decrease since 1831 of 291. Trade, woollen cloth. Of 28 mills, 20 are partially employed, 5 standing, and 3 converted to other purposes. One-sixth of the houses uninhabited, and rents reduced 50 per cent. The consumption of butcher-meat, &c., reduced in like proportions.

HOLMFIRTH. The wages of the weavers of kerseys, &c., were in 1833, 1½s. 10d.; 1841 1½s. 6d.; 1835, 1½s. 7d.; 1839, 1½s. 9d.; 1840, 1½s. 1d.; 1841, 9s. 6d., and are still falling, and the consumption of farm produce falling with them.
HALIFAX, a town, in the Yorkshire woolen trade. Sixty-four families broken up and gone into lodgings. Nine hundred and forty-two persons unemployed; 743 partially employed, and wages reduced 25 to 30 per cent.

HINCKLEY, a town in Leicestershire, in the hosery trade. One-third of the workmen are wholly without employment, and 500 heads of families are in the workhouse.

KENDAL, a town in Westmorland. Population, 11,700. Trade, woolen manufactures. The number of pieces exported to America have fallen from 35,000 to less than 1,000 per annum. The reduction in the amount of wages paid since 1837 has been computed at 15,300 per annum, one half of which is a loss to the English farmer.

KIRRIEMUIR, a town in Forfarshire, Scotland. Population, 7,000, chiefly handloom weavers. The consumption of butcher-meat has fallen 60 per cent. In 1836, 10 cattle were killed for this market weekly, now there are only four killed.

Here is a difference of six cattle in a little town of which, probably nine-tenths of Englishmen never heard the name before. Were these six cattle, not now used in Kirriemuir, but sent to London from Dundee or Aberdeen, to come from some shipping port on the continent, we would have their arrival proclaimed in all the newspapers, and graziers would complain of the New Tariff; the panic would spread, and six fat cattle a week from one foreign port would be looked on as a serious inroad on the rights of the British farmer; at all events the fat six would fill a respectable place in the columns of the farmers' newspaper. Yet here they are from one little Scotch town, because the weavers cannot afford to eat them at home, and the English farmer knows nothing of the matter, neither of their arrival nor the cause of their coming. It is time he did know; and it is time he knew the cause, and the causes of that cause. He must see by this time that the manufacturing interests are his interests. Let us, however, proceed with the evidence.

KILMARNOCK, a town in the west of Scotland. Population, 19,398. The trade chiefly worsted manufacture. Nine hundred and four persons unemployed, on whom are dependant 1,117 others. Wages reduced 20 to 30 per cent.; poor-rates increased 50 per cent. during these last three years. The consumption of butcher-meat, butter, and cheese, has in like manner fallen off.

LEEDS, a great town in Yorkshire, in the woollen, flax, and machine-making trades. It may be proper to remark, that Leeds is the centre of a great district of towns, which for the sake of space we cannot particularly notice here. They are all in the same condition; therefore the description of Leeds is suitable for all. The consumption of butcher-meat and groceries has fallen off since 1836 full one-fourth. The managers of the Albion Mill Company estimate that if the wages and the amount of employment had been the same in 1841 as in 1836, they would have paid 11,860l. In wages, instead of which, they paid only 4,784l. During the last seven or eight years, 56 of the first class grocers have failed, or gone out of business, or died leaving no property behind them; and there are only 12 who have been in the trade upwards of eight years and who have not failed. Of the second class of grocers, 240 have either failed or gone out of business in the same period. The latter fact tells the condition of the working population, who run up accounts with the smaller grocers. From the year 1838 to 1841, 29 houses engaged in the woolen trade in the township of Leeds become insolvent, whose united liabilities amounted to 515,000l., and there have been in the same time 10 cloth-finishers and others in connexion with the woolen trade insolvent. In the flax and tow-spinning trade, 18 houses have become insolvent. Among machine-makers, 16 have failed. Of wool-staplers, only 3 failed from 1833 to 1837, and 3 went out of the trade; since 1837 to 1841, 16 have failed and 16 gone out of the trade. Of stuff houses and worsted spinners, 9 have failed. The liabilities of all these insolvent amount in the whole to 1,451,000l.; and if the failures in the towns adjoining Leeds are added, the sum will be upwards of 2,000,000l. Some capitalists may have prospered among the general wreck, but their gains cannot balance the general loss. Others who have not failed, have still been great losers by the loss of trade. The working classes who consume the produce of the barn and the dairy have been the greatest losers of all. Where 12s. per week was paid for wages to machine-makers, only 11s. 6d. is now paid; but the greatest loss is in the want of work, even at these reduced wages.

LIVERPOOL, a town in Lancashire in the cotton manufacture. Population, 26,588. Two factories unemployed; five working short time; 4,000 looms without work; and the wages of those employed reduced 20 to 25 per cent.
LONDON.—In the districts of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green the trade is chiefly silk weaving. Wages are reduced 25 per cent. since 1836. Seven thousand looms are unemployed, and the number of persons idle, with those depending on them, is 24,000. Of tailors, there are 9,000 out of employment. All other trades are in a similarly prostrate condition. In the parish of Marylebone the expenditure for the relief of the poor was in 1836, 44,575L.; in 1840, the sum was 76,584L.

LEICESTER.—A large town in the hosiery trade. Population 50,932. The distress and want of employment has increased within the last few months, and is rapidly increasing. The stocking frames are the same now as many years ago; steam machinery has had no influence in reducing employment. In 1815, there were 18,000 frames in Leicestershire, now there are only 14,000. Whereas in Saxony there were in 1815, not more than 4,500 frames, and now there are 25,000.

MANCHESTER.—The head-quarters of the Lancashire cotton trade. In one district 2,968 persons have been paid off in the last two years. Wool and cotton are now being paid off in the Lancashire cotton trade. In one street, 15 shopkeepers taken in succession, butchers, grocers, drapers, and other retail traders, state that their aggregate receipts previous to last two years were 53,560L. per annum. In 1835, seven bakers and flour-dealers effected sales to amount of 870L. weekly. In 1841, their sales were 700L. weekly. In 1835, their purchases amounted to 540 sacks, at 32s. per sack. In 1835, to 264 sacks at 53s. per sack, a falling-off of more than one half. In addition to the enormous reduction in the virtual wages, and the purchasing power of the operative classes, it has been calculated that the total amount of money-wages paid to the operatives engaged in the cotton manufacture throughout the Kingdom is 7,000,000 less per annum than it was five years ago. It has been satisfactorily proved that fixed capital, such as buildings, machinery, &c., has fallen in value more than one half since 1836.

NOTTINGHAM.—Population, 53,080. Trade, hosiery. The number of persons relieved in the week ending January 22, 1842, was 10,580, about one-fifth of the entire population. Wages have fallen 25 per cent. since 1836.

OLDHAM, a town in Lancashire, in the cotton trade. Population, 42,593; nine-tenths of whom are engaged in, or dependent on, manufactures. In 1836, the poor-rates were 2,968L.; in 1841, they were 7,582L., an increase of nearly 200 per cent. The number of persons fully employed, is 9,600; the number working half time, 5,000; and the number totally without work, 5,000. The number of untenanted houses is about 1,200.

PONTYPOOL, and the Iron Trade generally.—At Tallywean, near Pontypool, of fourteen furnaces, five only are in blast, and all the mills where the iron is manufactured have been stopped. In Pontypool, the population has been reduced, in two years, from 17,000 to about 14,000. The sum levied for relief of the poor has increased 100 to 150 per cent. At West Bromwich, the population is 43,902, and wages have been reduced 25 per cent. since 1836. In Scotland, out of 63 blast furnaces that were in operation in 1841, there are now only 63 at work. The number of hands thrown out of work is about 6,000. The reduction of wages to those employed amounts to above 10,000L. weekly. In all directions the Iron trade is suffering to the same extent.

POTTERIES.—A district of Staffordshire. Population upwards of 70,000, all depending on the china and earthenware trade. For the last two or three years the trade has suffered an unexampled depression. Although the manufacture is carried on almost entirely by hand-labour, thousands of workmen are reduced to short time, hundreds are absolutely without work. Shopkeepers are becoming bankrupt, and the consumption of the better kinds of food is fast declining.

PAPER TRADE.—The number of mills throughout the south of England is about 300, and of these only 120 are in operation.

Paisley.—Population is about 60,000, chiefly employed in the shawl manufacture and cotton-spinning, the shawls by hand labour. One-third of the population is now dependent on charitable contributions. In February, 19,035 were thus relieved; and while this is being written (November 1842), the distress is on the increase, trade on the decline, and charity all but exhausted. During three weeks last year, 30 houses failed, whose engagements amounted to 500,000L., and since last Midsummer two thirds of the manufacturers have become insolvent. The consumption of animal food and wheaten bread has entirely ceased, and the meanest kinds of diet resorted to. When trade was good, a Paisley weaver could earn from 20s. to 30s. a week.

Prescot, a town near Liverpool, in Lancashire. Population 6,000; chiefly employed in watch-making. Six years ago about 2,000 hands were employed in the watch trade; now there are not more than one-third of that number. Wages have been reduced within
that period about 50 per cent. No introduction of steam nor machinery has taken place in this branch of industry.

Rochdale.—A town in Lancashire, in the cotton trade. Population 24,423. The consumption of butcher-meat has fallen off one-half since 1836.

Ripon.—A town in Yorkshire, in the flax manufacture. One mill which lately employed 40 men, 20 women, and 100 boys and girls, is now closed; two others which employed 100 hands each are closed; and wages of people in work are much reduced. The consumption of butcher-meat less by one-half than in 1836.

Skegness.—In the West of England, bread cloth trade; and all the districts similarly employed in Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester are in a prostrate condition. The workpeople are either in the workhouse or living on food of the coarsest description. It is estimated that the capital invested in the woollen-trade is 10,000,000L., three-fourths of which is either lost, or at the present time realising no profits.

Stockport, a town in Cheshire engaged in the cotton trade. Out of 15,825 persons visited, there were 8,215 able to work, and of these 4,145 were unemployed; 2,866 partially employed, and only 1,204 fully employed. In July, August, and September 1835, the cattle sold in Stockport to the butchers were 814; in the same months of 1842, the numbers 194.

Sheffield, a town in Yorkshire. Population 85,076, chiefly employed in the hardware and cutlery trade. Wages have fallen 40 per cent. since 1836. Five-eighths of the goods manufactured in this town were for the United States; nearly one-half of that trade has been lost within the last few years. The consumption of flour, butcher-meat, butter and bacon has fallen off in the same time fully one-half among the working class, and has been considerably reduced among shopkeepers and other traders, to the great injury of our corn-growers and graziers.

Stourbridge, Warrington, St. Helens, and other places in the glass-trade, are in a fearful state of suffering.

Wigan, a town in Lancashire, in the cotton trade. Of persons visited 4,109 were incapable of labour; 981 in full employment; 2,572 partially employed; and 1,563 able-bodied and unemployed. The average wages of those in full employment were 7s. 0d. a week; of those partially employed, 4s. 3½d. a week. Deducting rents for looms, and adding the allowance of parish relief, the average income of the whole number was 1s. 7½d. per head a week, or 2½d. per day, which, at that time, if wholly laid out in bread, would be 1 lb. 6 oz. for each, and nothing more. There were 2,745 who slept three in a bed; 1,852, four in a bed; 830, five in a bed; 503, who slept six, seven, and eight in a bed; and there were many who had no beds at all. Of these beds a great many are very inferior, made up of straw, shavings, &c.; great numbers have no bed-clothes; some sleep in their clothes; others take them off for a covering at night, having been obliged to pledge their bed clothes for subsistence; great numbers have no change of linen, and many have no linen at all. Loaf-bread, butcher-meat, butter, cheese, or bacon, are entirely beyond the reach of this hunger-stricken people; yet at no distant time they were consumers of all these, and it is possible by certain changes in the laws affecting trade they may be so again.

Wolverhampton, a town in the hardware trade, near Birmingham. Prices have fallen 30 to 40 per cent. since 1836. During the last hundred years the consumption of iron in this town has increased from 17,000 tons a year to 1,500,000 tons; but owing to the depression of trade the iron-masters have reduced the manufacture 25 per cent., or 400,000 tons, throwing many people out of work, and reducing the wages of the others. The consumption of butcher-meat has greatly decreased within the last year.

Westbury.—A town in Wilshire. Trade, woollen cloth. Three hundred and twenty-two looms employed; 354 unemployed.

Yeovil, a town in Somersetshire, in the glove trade. Population 7,000. No steam nor machinery are employed. A large number of the population has been for some time without work. The sum levied for the poor is 100 per cent. higher than it was seven years ago. The consumption of the better kinds of food has materially fallen off within the last two years.

Such is the condition of the manufacturing towns from which accurate returns have been received. We have not mentioned Glasgow and its neighbourhood, where the manufacturing interests and the population are so great, and the blow which trade has received so stunning—laying prostrate the most prosperous and industrious of masters and men—that those employed
is collecting facts have not, at the period of printing the reports already quoted, been able to grapple with that great city's misery and misfortunes.

Neither have the great shipping interests of the ports of London, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Newcastle, Dundee, Aberdeen, Greenock, &c., been introduced separately; but we come now to a statement which relates to the shipping interests and also to the interests of the English farmer. The total number of registered ships belonging to the British empire on the 31st of December, 1838, was 26,609, and on the 31st of December, 1839, 27,745. These do not include the fishing craft nor barges, canal boats and such like with which our coasts and inland waters are swarming when trade is good. Nor does the number give a correct idea of our shipping trade, inasmuch as upwards of 9,000 foreign ships entered our ports during that year. But it shows an increase of 1,136 registered ships in one year of fair trade, to be contrasted with the present year, when shipbuilders are not only unemployed, but one-third of all the ships in our harbours are offered for sale without purchasers being found, in one case out of a hundred, to offer for them the prices of 1838. In the vast docks of Liverpool and London and Hull the vessels are crowded with a broom at the mast head (the signal of "for sale"), as was never seen since these docks were formed. If a British grazier and corn-grower will reflect for a few minutes on the non-consumption of sea stores, beef, pork, biscuit and flour, which this choking up of our docks with unemployed ships occasions, he will see an additional weight of evidence to explain the causes of his dull markets, which, if not speedily removed, will increase in weight until it falls upon him with the force of unavoidable destruction.

It is hardly possible that a farmer can have read the preceding details of stagnant trade without apprehending that therein is the cause of his decreased profits. But we must present another view of that relationship which exists between agriculture and general trade, between the manufacturers of corn, butcher-meat, butter and cheese, and the manufacturers of clothes, furniture, and ships.

It is a fact, clearly ascertained, that population increases in all nations according to the demand for human labour. So long as England was merely an agricultural country, her population, like her agriculture and the demand for labour, advanced very slowly. In 1696, just 146 years ago, the population of England was about 5,500,000. In 1760 it had only increased about one million. It advanced with greater speed, though still slowly, from that time to 1801, at which period it was 8,872,980, during which period manufactures had increased in the same proportion. In ten years afterwards, in 1811, the amount was 10,150,615. Ten years after that, in 1821, the amount was 11,978,875. Ten years after that, in 1831, the amount was 13,894,569. And ten years after that, in 1841, the amount was 15,906,829; Scotland and Ireland having increased in the same proportions. In the manufacturing districts the increase has been 22 per cent., while in the agricultural districts the increase has been but 10½ per cent. In 1831 it was calculated that one-third of the entire population of the united kingdom lived in towns containing upwards of 10,000 inhabitants each. But not only have our manufactures and trade caused our population to be doubled during the last forty years, but they have called for a productive power of machinery during the same period equal to fifty millions of men. Some of you may think, or thoughtlessly say, this increase of machinery is an evil. But you must not suppose that an additional fifty millions of working persons would have had employment had they, and not machinery, existed. It is the machinery that has called for the great increase we already have, which
great increase of consumers has increased the value of farm produce. In the year 1787, when the machine commonly called the spinning-jenny came first into common use, the manufacturers paid for their fine yarn twenty guineas per lb. Of late years when our trade was good, say in 1836, the same quality of yarn was sold for 15s. per lb. The cotton twist, which sold in 1786 for 17s. 18s. per lb, was sold in years when trade was prosperous for 3s. But this, instead of showing a decrease of national wealth, shows an enormous increase. If the price was twenty times higher seventy years ago than now for a certain article, that article is produced to several hundred times the amount now that it was seventy years ago. Were it not for overloading the mind and distressing the eye of the reader with figures, we might quote from tables furnished by the Board of Trade in proof of this. But it is needless to prolong this branch of evidence. Let us proceed to another; and lest some reader, already distressed with figures, should skip over them, we shall here give him the sums which affect the farmer’s profit and loss in words.

The cotton trade alone employs one million five hundred thousand persons. It is not easy to state what the average wages of the weavers are, the wages of the young varying from 1s. 6d. to 7s. a week, of women from 8s. to 15s., of men from 18s. to 25s. in the mills; while weaving by the hand is considerably lower priced. But if we include the wages of engineers, smiths, and others engaged in the works, who are of course included in the million and a half of hands, we shall be as nearly correct as we can be in stating a round sum, if we say the amount of wages paid by the cotton manufacturers is thirty-seven millions and a half sterling, a year! If from this we deduct only twenty per cent. (we might deduct more and be within the truth) for the reduction that has taken place since the years of manufacturing prosperity, we shall have a loss of seven millions and a half, leaving thirty millions for wages, supposing the whole of the factory people to have full employment. But to the loss of seven millions and a half, by wages reduced, we must add one-fourth of the remaining thirty millions, or twenty-five per cent. of that sum for workpeople unemployed; and as the fourth part of thirty is seven and a half, we have another loss of seven and a half millions, which with the former loss makes fifteen millions of pounds sterling. We shall be told, though not correctly, that the whole of the million and a half of hands were never all employed and receiving wages at once, and that overseers of mills, principal clerks, and so on, are in some cases receiving the same salaries now as formerly. But against this, were the objection truly founded, we have a set off, namely, that while we have stated the number of the unemployed to be one-fourth, or twenty-five per cent., or, more plainly speaking, twenty-five to the hundred, we would have been within the truth in stating it at thirty-five to the hundred, which would have shown an additional loss fully equivalent to the contingencies that may be urged against us.

Let us now examine into the expenditure of wages by those employed in the cotton-working districts.

A man, his wife, and four children, whose earnings amount only to 5s. 6d. a week, expend it in the following proportions, the averages are taken from a large number of families:—Bread and flour, 1s. 6d.; oatmeal, 1s.; potatoes, 10d.; milk, 11d.; butter, nothing; butcher-meat, nothing; bacon, 2d.; cheese, nothing; ale or beer, nothing. Total 4s. 8d. for articles directly furnished by British farmers. Of excisable articles, they purchase soap and candles to the value of 4d., which makes five shillings; they have still a sixpence, and this goes for coals, leaving nothing for sugar, treacle, tea, coffee, tobacco, snuff, medicine, clothing, education, sick societies, rent, or other expenses incidentals, and necessary to a family.
The next family we shall take contains the same number of persons, namely, husband, wife, and four children. Their earnings are 10s. a week. They give for bread and flour, 2s. 6d.; oatmeal, 1s. 10d.; potatoes, 1s. 6d.; milk, 6d.; butter, nothing; butcher-meat, nothing; bacon, 8d.; cheese, nothing; ale or beer, nothing. In all, for articles directly produced by our own farmers, 7s. 2d. a week, which is 2s. 6d. more than the other family pays. The remainder of their outlay is:—For sugar and treacle, 5d.; soap and candles, 6d.; tobacco, snuff, or other condiments, 2d.; clothing, 6d.; coals, 9d.; rent, 6d.

Next we have the same numbers in a family earning 15s. 6d. a week:—

They expend on bread and flour, 3s. 6d.; oatmeal, 1s. 6d.; potatoes, 1s. 9d.; milk, 9d.; butter, 10d.; butcher-meat, 9d.; bacon, 4d.; and cheese, 7d.; making in all for English produce, 10s., being 5s. 4d. more than the sum expended on the same by the first family; and 2s. 10d. more than the second. The remaining expenditure of this third family is:—For sugar and treacle, 11d.; tea and coffee, 7d.; soap and candles, 8d.; tobacco, snuff, or other condiments, 4d.; clothing, 9d.; sick societies, 6d.; coals, 9d.; rent, 1s.

Next, and lastly, we have a family earning 26s. 6d. a week. The expenditure here is, for bread and flour, 4s.; oatmeal, 2s.; potatoes, 1s. 8d.; milk, 10d.; butter, 1s. 4d.; butcher-meat, 1s. 9d.; bacon, 3d.; cheese, 10d.; and ale or beer, 6d. In all, for home produce, 13s. 2d.; being 3s. 2d. over the third, 6s. over the second, and 8s. 6d. over the first family. The remaining expenditure of this fourth family is:—For sugar and treacle, 1s. 9d.; tea and coffee, 1s. 2d.; soap and candles, 1s.; tobacco, snuff, or other condiments, 11d.; medicine and attendance, 4d.; clothing, 2s.; education, 6d.; sick societies, 6d.; coals, 1s. 4d.; rent, 2s. 6d.; savings, 1s. 4d.

When trade was in a thriving condition, by far the greatest proportion of families belonged to this fourth class, a smaller proportion to the third, and comparatively few to the second or first. Now, in 1842, when trade is prostrate, the greatest proportion of families belong to the first and second classes, and comparatively few to the third and fourth.

We shall present the difference to the farmer in another shape.

There are about 250,000 tenant-farmers in Great Britain; and there are 1,500,000 people employed in the cotton manufacture. Allowing to each of these persons, on an average, the burden of one individual not able to earn anything, we shall have three millions of a cotton-working population. This must be considerably too low, but we shall adhere to it. Divided into families of six persons each, this will give half a million of families; which gives two cotton-working families to each farming-tenant. Now, we have seen the difference expended in home produce between the four classes of families to be 2s. 6d.; 2s. 10d. and 3s. 2d.; we have seen that between reduced wages and unemployed people each family, to say the least, has come down two steps; the second and third classes being now in the first, and the fourth being down to the second, thus showing an average loss of 5s. 8d. for each family. But as there are two families to each farmer this must be doubled, which makes 11s. 4d. a week, or 29s. 11s. 4d. a year, or in the whole 7,366,666l. 13s. 6d. to the landed interest.

If it is objected that this does not come direct to the farmers, but that it comes through the hands of bakers, millers, butchers, cattle dealers, and so on, who each have a profit out of it, we must remind the objector in return that these intermediate dealers are themselves, with their families and servants, consumers of the produce in which they deal. But more especially we must state that there is still a sum of more than seven millions and a half
sterling, not now spent, but which, with wages in a healthy state, would be spent on excisable articles, as sugar, tea, coffee, soap, candles, tobacco, snuff, medicine, &c.; and on clothing, education, sick societies, fuel, rent, and other family necessaries. The consumption of which causes the employment of ships and sailors; insurance offices, merchants, clerks, porters and shopkeepers, who are all, with their families, and tailors, shoemakers, drapers, &c., whom they deal with, consumers of farm produce.

We have already mentioned the shipping trade as being depressed in an unexampled degree. We may now remark before quitting the cotton-trade, that in addition to the falling away of the consumption of those foreign commodities which make up the trade of our shopkeepers, and which, in better times employs so many ships, there is the greatest proportion of all the vessels usually bringing home raw cotton and taking away manufactured goods now laid up in the docks idle. The following account of one establishment in Manchester will give the rural reader some idea of the consumption of *raw material*, when a factory is in full work; we copy from an authentic statistical account of Manchester:

"The mill of Messrs. Birley and Co. consists of a group of buildings upon which, including machinery, several hundred thousand pounds have been sunk. The number of hands employed by this firm is 1,600, whose wages annually amount to the sum of 40,000l. The amount of moving power is equivalent to the labour of 397 horses. The number of spindles in the mill is about 80,000. The annual consumption of raw cotton is about 4,000,000 lbs. weight! The annual consumption of coal is 8,000 tons! It will, perhaps, excite surprise in a person unacquainted with the nature of machinery, when informed that the annual consumption of oil for the purpose of oiling the machinery is about 5,000 gallons, and the consumption of tallow for the same purpose 50 cwt. The annual cost of gas is 600. One room alone, belonging to this firm, contains upwards of 600 power-looms. Besides the hands engaged in the cotton department, the following description of workmen are employed in this mill—millsrights, mechanics, joiners, bricklayers, plumbers, painters, moulders, turners, and smiths. The establishment in which the fabric is manufactured for waterproof clothing, such as *Macintosh cloaks,* belongs to Messrs. Birley and Co. The number of hands employed in this business varies from 200 to 600. The immense amount of 250,000lbs. weight of India rubber is annually consumed in the process of manufacture, to dissolve which 100,000 gallons of spirits are employed."

Next to the cotton manufacture the woollen stands in importance. The reduced wages and unemployed people in this trade affect the farmers in the same way as those in the cotton trade. But the evil to the British farmer does not stop where that of the cotton trade stops. The raw cotton comes from America, Egypt, and India; the raw wool is *the produce, to a great extent, of our own country.* Six millions is paid annually for wool by our manufacturers when trade is thriving; when trade is dull much less wool is consumed and much less money paid. That such is the case this year our sheep farmers know to their serious loss. It therefore behoves them to consider how far they are dependant on a good manufacturing trade.

The silk manufacture may be reckoned next. After it the leather manufacture, then the iron, cutlery, and hardware. And lastly the earthenware, china, and glass; with many minor and miscellaneous trades too numerous to mention.

It only remains to be stated that to whomsoever the additional money for an increased consumption of agricultural produce may be paid in years of good trade; on whomsoever the loss by a reduced consumption may fall in years of bad trade, whether on tenant-farmers or landowning farmers, English, Scotch, or Irish, there is this year a sum paid for provisions of home produce less by forty millions sterling, than in a year of good trade. The entire value of our farm produce is estimated on an average of years at £236,600,000. But, in deducting this year's deficient consumption, it is not
enough to estimate the mere operatives in our manufacturing towns. Vast numbers of families there, and in every village of the united kingdom, are reduced to the most rigid economy; they eat less bread and meat and butter and bacon and cheese, drink less beer, and use a lesser quantity of excisable articles. We do not openly see it, because they pinch themselves with this economy to hide their poverty.

Once more we assert, after careful calculation, that there is this year a reduced consumption of British agricultural produce to the amount of at least 40,000,000l. sterling, which is to each farmer, allowing for 10,000 who may cultivate farms of their own, in addition to the 250,000 farming-tenants, a sum of one hundred and fifty-three pounds, sixteen shillings, eleven-pence, and a fraction. Let the large farmers take to themselves the proportion of this which is not due to the small farmers, and they will find their present losses accounted for without needing to blame the New Tariff. And if anything is said of Irish provisions and Irish farmers in reference to this calculation, let it be remembered that the falling off in the consumption of sea stores, and the additional consumption of home produce which would accompany an increased use of foreign commodities, is not estimated in these forty millions. This sum is to be subtracted from the direct purchasers of home grown food made by those not able to buy to their usual amount; from the purchases made by our working poor whose poverty is visible, and by those a little above them in society whose poverty is as yet invisible, but not the less certain.

If it is asked, on reading this statement, why the effect of reduced consumption was not more immediately felt; why, as the manufacturing distress was so extensive in 1841, the cattle and corn maintained their prices until the summer and harvest of 1842? this is my answer:

1st. That many people struggled on for a time in the purchase of food, by disposing of their clothes and furniture, and by expending their little savings.

2nd. That farmers, dealers in cattle, and others, held back their stock from market when they felt a threatened depression of prices, until the passing of the New Tariff alarmed them, and they sought safety in sending to market more stock than they would have done if tranquil and secure. Also the drought of the summer of 1842 increased the disposition to sell live stock when it was seen that autumn was approaching and still there was no rain to increase the parched vegetation. In short, the New Tariff produced a panic, as all changes in a protective duty must do, and the markets being in an unhealthy state, the panic kindled the slumbering disease, and the prices fell.

3rd. The corn prices did not fall in proportion to the reduced consumption of bread and flour, because at no time is there a sufficiency of home-grown corn for consumption; because in 1841, and beginning of 1842, there was more than an ordinary scarcity; and because the object of the corn-law is to perpetuate that scarcity. This it effects up to a certain price, and up to a certain month of the year. It was the sliding-scale that for a time concealed the truth of a reduced consumption, and all at once revealed it to the loss and dismay of the British corn-grower. If all the ingenuity of the most subtle minds was taxed to produce a law by which prices of corn would be unsettled, nothing could be devised to work more effectually for that insane purpose than a sliding-scale. Uncertainty is its very essence. An artificial scarcity, followed by a whelming quantity of foreign corn poured into the market in one week, or even one day, is the only certain attribute it possesses. The speculator in foreign grain holds it back to the last day on which he can hope for a higher price and a lower amount of duty. All his arts and small devices, and oftentimes monstrous frauds, are resorted to for raising the corn markets at the latter end of summer. The more unfavourable the season
for the British farmer, the more favourable it is for the importing speculator; the prices will be higher and the duty less. The home corn-grower prays to God for good weather and good crops; the foreign corn-importer prays for as much good weather as will bring his ships safe to shore, and as much bad weather after as will retard or destroy the British crops. Our farmers rejoice in the prices as they mount up, and the higher the figures mount the happier are the farmers. They, and the sliding-scale speculators go thus far, hand in hand, during the summer, but they separate entirely in August. The speculator, having reached the high price, pays the low duty and the market is inundated. The farmer having helped him, by rejoicing in the high price and voting at elections for the makers of sliding-scales, sees the market suddenly depressed, and sells his corn for fifty instead of seventy shillings a quarter.

What avails it that the speculators are sometimes ruined, and that the farmers are sometimes saved? Gamblers only return the more eagerly to a gambling-table when they have been losers, in the hope of being more successful. So is it with speculators in the sliding scale; while the British farmer gains nothing in the years he is not injured, his rent is estimated from a scale of high prices, and that rent he must pay, though left to the gambling chances of the importing speculator.

A fixed duty would have a tendency to regulate prices, but it would not reanimate our trade, on which our farmers are now wholly dependant for the consumption of their produce, neither can it be enacted as a final measure. There never can be safety and security to the British farmer but by a total repeal. Then, and not till then, can he venture to take a lease of land, and until he has a lease, he never can cultivate well. All the agitation, societies and speeches of landowners urging tenants to improve their farms, utterly valueless so long as there is neither a lease to secure the profits expended on the farm, nor a regularity of prices on which the present rent for a lease can be calculated.

A second letter, published as this, will show how our manufactures will be restored; and how the farmer will be able to compete with the foreign corn-grower. This address is only intended to show the intimate relationship existing between our agriculture and British manufactures, and to prepare the farmer for the consideration of those changes now rendered absolutely necessary by the state of our landlords, cultivation and cultivators, trade and traders, labour and labourers, from ruin.

Postscript.—While the foregoing was in the hands of the printer, the deficiency in the quarter's revenue has been announced by the Government; a deficiency equal to three millions and a half sterling a year, chiefly caused by a falling-off in consumption, through the inability of the factory workers to purchase excisable articles as usual. If trade is not revived the deficiency will increase; the farmers will be called on to pay their share, as in the case of the Income-tax, to make up the deficiency; and this will again, for the sake of economy, cause still less to be consumed. The first falling-off in consumption having begun with the working people, it will soon fall off in the houses of the master employers.

Second Postscript.—Previous to the appearance of the second Letter, perhaps the farmer who reads this will ask himself the following question:—If my children increase in number, if the number of farms remain the same, and if trade does not revive in the towns, what am I to do with my sons?

B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.
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