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PRESENTED BY

J. D. West,

PENNSYLVANIA ROOM

ADDRESSES

OF

THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

FOR

THE PROMOTION

OF

NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

"To be independent for the comforts of life, we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist." *Jefferson.*

"Manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort." *Idem.*

"While the necessities of nations exclusively devoted to agriculture for the fabrics of manufacturing states, are constant and regular, the wants of the latter for the products of the former are liable to very considerable fluctuations and interruptions." *A. Hamilton.*

"Not only the wealth but the independence and security of a country, appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view to these great objects, ought to endeavour to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, clothing, and defence." *Idem.*

"The undertakers of new manufactures have to contend not only with the natural disadvantages of a new undertaking; but with the gratuities and remunerations which other governments bestow. To be enabled to contend with success, it is evident that the interference and aid of their government are indispensable." *Idem.*

"If Europe will not take from us the products of our soil, on terms consistent with our interest, the natural remedy is to contract as fast as possible our wants of her." *Idem.*



PUBLISHED BY JAMES MAXWELL.

1820

Extract from the American Farmer.

Had we anticipated the masterly and patriotic addresses of the Philadelphia Society for the promotion of National Industry, before the publication of our first number, we should gladly have remained silent. We should have blushed to speak on subjects to be simultaneously discussed in a manner far transcending our ability. And now, could we know that all the readers of the American Farmer would peruse the numbers of those excellent addresses, no more of our comparatively trifling essays would appear. But our belief to the contrary, and the expectation which may have been justly excited, must be our apology for continuing our numbers. We are happy to find in what we have seen of that grand production, some notions which we had conceived, fully confirmed, and we hope not a little praise may be rendered to its author, if some of the bright rays which have been shed on ourselves, should be occasionally, but faintly, reflected upon our readers."

Extract of a letter from John Adams, Esq. ex president, to the Editors of the Manufacturers and Farmer's Journal.

"The gentlemen of Philadelphia have published a very important volume upon the subject, which I recommend to your careful perusal."

Extract of an Address from Benjamin Austin, Esq.

"This subject has produced researches, which demonstrate the abundant resources of our country, and the practicability of accomplishing those important objects, (the establishment of national manufactures) with the aid of government. Among the foremost, the Philadelphia Society for the promotion of National Industry, is entitled to our thanks for their perseverance in this national and laudable pursuit."

Extract of a Letter from General Harrison to the publishers of the former editions.

"I should be wanting in candour not to acknowledge, that I have been converted to my present principles in favour of manufactures, by the luminous views upon the subject which have been published by your society."

Your, &c.

W. H. HARRISON.

Philadelphia, March, 3, 1820.

THIS work appears again before the community with sundry corrections and improvements.

The society having no object but the public good, and believing this work calculated to promote it, earnestly request those into whose hands it may come, to extend its circulation as far as may be in their power.

It was intended to introduce the essays signed *A Member of Congress* and *Neckar* in an appendix. But this idea was abandoned from a consideration that most part of the arguments of *Neckar* were contained in the addresses—and moreover, the admirable sermon of the rev. Mr. Beecher, which is hereto annexed, was judged very far superior to those essays, being much more argumentative and convincing.

PREFACE.

IN presenting to our fellow-citizens these addresses, collected together, we cannot refrain from expressing our high sense of the favourable reception they have experienced. The various defects of style and arrangement which pervade them, have been overlooked, in consideration of the magnitude of the subject they embrace.

We feel persuaded that the cause we advocate yields to none in importance. It is a great error to suppose, as unhappily is too frequently done, that it is the cause of the manufacturers alone. Nothing can be more foreign from the real fact. It is the cause of the nation. It is the mighty question, whether we shall be really or nominally independent—whether we shall persevere in a policy, which in four or five years has done more to prostrate our strength and resources than a fierce war of equal duration could have done—a policy similar to that which has sunk and degraded Spain for centuries, notwithstanding her immense internal and colonial resources—a policy which has never failed, and never can fail, to debilitate and impoverish every country where it has prevailed or may prevail—a policy discarded by every wise nation in Europe—a policy in direct hostility with that of England, Russia, Austria, France, Holland, and Denmark—a policy, in a word, that fosters and promotes the wealth, power, resources, industry, and manufactures of foreign nations, and sacrifices those of our own country.

If there be any one truth in political economy more sacred and irrefragable than another, it is that the prosperity of nations bears an exact proportion to the encouragement of their domestic industry—and that their decay and decrepitude commence and proceed *pari passu* with their neglect of it. The wonderful resources of England, so far beyond her intrinsic advantages, and the prostrate state of Spain and Portugal, place these great truths on the most impregnable ground.

We pursue a wayward and short-sighted policy, of which the world affords few examples, and which evinces how lit-

tle we have profited by the experience of other nations—and how much we neglect the maxims of the wise statesmen of Europe and of our own country.

With a capacity to raise cotton to supply the whole world, our treasures are lavished in Hindostan to purchase cotton of inferior quality, which is now manufactured in the United States, to the injury of our cotton planters. And with skill, talents, water-power, capital, and machinery to supply our utmost demand for cambrics and muslins, millions of money are in a similar manner lavished in Hindostan and England, to procure those articles; while tens of thousands of our own citizens, capable of furnishing them, are pining in indigence; their employers ruined; and machinery, that cost millions of dollars, rusting and rotting; and while hundreds of manufacturers, invited to our shores by the excellence of our form of government, are unable to earn a subsistence at their usual trades, and are forced to go to Canada or Nova Scotia, or to return to Europe. About fifty sailed from hence in one vessel a few days since.

This destructive policy is about to receive a considerable extension, to the injury of our farmers. Wheat, we are informed, can be sold in our ports from Odessa, at seventy-five cents or less, per bushel; and we are assured, that large quantities of it will be imported. Thus this unhappy nation, by a miserable and mistaken policy, is doomed to bleed at every pore.

Under the influence of such a wretched system, is it wonderful that distress and embarrassment pervade the nation—that the enlivening sound of the spindle, the loom, and the hammer, has in many places almost ceased to be heard—that our merchants and traders are daily swept away by bankruptcy, one after another—that our banks are drained of their specie—that our cities exhibit an unvarying scene of gloom and despair—that confidence between man and man is almost extinct—that debts cannot in general be collected—that property cannot be sold but at enormous sacrifices—that capitalists have thus an opportunity of aggrandizing themselves at the expense of the middle class of society to an incalculable extent—that money cannot be borrowed but at an extravagant interest—in a word, that with advantages equal to any that Heaven has ever bestowed on any nation, we exhibit a state of things at which our enemies must rejoice—and our friends put on sackcloth and ashes!

We trust the day is not far distant, when we shall look back with as much astonishment at this lamentable folly, as we now do at the folly and wickedness of our ancestors in hanging and burning witches. The folly in both cases is about equal. Theirs, however, was limited to a narrow sphere, out of which it was perfectly innocuous. But ours extends its baleful influence to the remotest extremities of the nation.

We are gravely told, by writers on whom great reliance is unfortunately placed, that our circumstances as a nation being materially different from those of other nations, we require a totally different policy—and that however proper or necessary it may be for England or France, to encourage manufactures, sound policy dictates a different course for the United States.

These positions are the reverse of truth, and, so far as they have had influence, have proved highly pernicious. We are, on the contrary, more imperiously called on to encourage manufactures than most other nations, unless we are disposed wantonly to sacrifice the interests of a most important and numerous portion of our population, those farmers and planters who are remote from the seaboard. We request a patient hearing while we offer our reasons.

In a compact country, like England, where inland navigation is carried to such a wonderful extent, there are few parts of the kingdom that are not within one or two days carriage of the seaboard—and consequently their productions can be transported to foreign markets at a moderate expense. Whereas a large portion of our agricultural citizens are from three hundred to a thousand miles distant from any seaport, and therefore almost wholly debarred from all foreign markets, especially at the present and all probable future prices.

Flour has been forwarded to the Philadelphia market from Pittsburg, at a freight of four dollars per barrel. Some of it was probably brought to Pittsburg, from fifty to a hundred and fifty miles, at considerable expense. Deduct the expenses and profits of the Pittsburg merchants, from six or seven dollars, and in what a lamentable situation it places the farmer—how miserable a remuneration he has for his labour—and how “*dear he pays for the whistle,*” in buying his goods cheap in Hindostan, and depending on European markets for the sale of his productions!

The folly of this system is so extravagant, that it requires a little further notice. A farmer in the neighbourhood of Pittsburg, sends his produce to that city, whence it is conveyed to Philadelphia, three hundred miles by land—or to New-Orleans, two thousand miles by water. It is thence conveyed four thousand miles to Liverpool, from whence he receives his china, his delftware and his pottery. From the amount of his flour, as sold in England, all the expenses of transportation are to be deducted—and to the price of his china and other articles the expenses of the return voyage are to be added. What a frightful view of the situation of a large portion of the people of the western country does this sketch exhibit? Is it difficult to account for the prostrate state of affairs in that part of the union, and under a government which, emanating more completely from the mass of the people than any other that ever existed, might have been expected to have extended a more paternal care over its citizens than the world ever witnessed!

It is therefore indubitable, that to the reasons for encouraging manufactures, that exist in England and France, all of which apply here, is to be added a powerful one peculiar to the United States, arising from the distance between so large a portion of our territory and any seaport towns, as well as the immense distance from those towns to the places whence we draw our supplies.

Let us suppose for a moment, that the western farmer, instead of purchasing his pottery and delftware in England, had in his own neighbourhood manufactories of those articles, whence he could procure them free of the enormous expenses of sea and land carriage, amounting in many instances to treble the first cost—and that in return he supplied the manufacturer, of whom he purchased them, with his wheat, and corn, and other articles!—What a different face that country would wear! What rapid strides it would then make in the career of prosperity!—What additional allurements it would hold out to emigrants!

We offer for reflection, fellow-citizens, an important fact, that sheds the strongest light on this theory. The settlement of Harmony in the western country, was conducted on this plan. This little commonwealth depended wholly on itself for supplies. It had, to use the cogent language of Mr. Jefferson, “*placed the manufacturer beside the agriculturist.*” What was the consequence? The settlement made

a more rapid advance in wealth and prosperity than any equal body of men in the world at any period of time—more, in one year, than other parts of the United States, which depend on foreign markets for the sale of their produce and the supply of their wants, have done in ten.

It is frequently stated, that as some of the cotton manufacturers in the eastern states have prospered, the protection to the manufacture is adequate. If this argument warranted the inference drawn from it, it would prove that the policy of Spain is sound, and fraught with wisdom; for notwithstanding the decay of that nation, there are in it many prosperous manufactures, which, from particular circumstances, are, like some of those in the eastern states, enabled to struggle against foreign competition.—But the decay of so large a portion of the manufacturing establishments in the middle and eastern states, notwithstanding the enterprise, large capital, and industry of the proprietors, is a full proof that there is not sufficient protection to this important branch.

Public attention has unfortunately been diverted from the real sources of our prostrate state, by certain trite common places, re-echoed throughout the union,—that it is a time of general suffering—that distress and embarrassment pervade the whole civilized world—that we are no worse than other nations—and that we cannot hope for an exemption from the common lot of mankind.

This appears plausible—but will not stand the test of examination. It is not wonderful that the nations of Europe, exhausted by a twenty years war—pillaged and plundered by hostile armies—with expensive governments and immense armies to support in time of peace—and groaning under the weight of enormous debts and grinding tithes and taxes, should be in a state of suffering. But there is no parallel between their situation and ours. Our short war, far from exhausting our resources, developed them. We retired from it prosperous and glorious. Our fields are as fertile—our citizens as industrious and ingenious—our capacity for manufacturing as great as ever—and our taxes are comparatively insignificant. Our distresses cannot therefore be traced to the same source as theirs. They flow wholly from our own mistaken policy, which leads us to purchase abroad what we could produce at home—and, like thoughtless prodigals and spendthrifts, to incur debts beyond our utmost means of payment.

The restoration of peace, however, as might have been naturally expected, greatly affected our commerce, particularly the carrying trade, of which the war had given us an inordinate share. An immense capital, invested in commerce, was thus rendered wholly unproductive, and, had manufactures been encouraged, as sound policy dictated, hundreds of our merchants, whose property has since wasted away, and who have been swallowed up in the vortex of bankruptcy, would, as was the case during the war, have transferred their talents, their industry, and their capital to that department, to the advancement of their own interest and the general welfare; instead of a vain struggle in a branch which was so crowded, that it could not afford support to more than half the persons engaged in it. Those that remained in the mercantile profession, after such a transfer of a portion of its members to profitable employment of another description, might and probably would have prospered. And thus it is as clear as the noon-day sun, that an efficient protection of manufactures would have been highly advantageous to the merchants; although many of them, from taking a superficial view of the subject, have been under an opposite impression, and have unfortunately been hostile to such protection.

The advocates of the system of Adam Smith ought to be satisfied with the fatal experiment we have made of it. It is true, the demands of the treasury have not allowed us to proceed its full length, and to discard import duties altogether. But if our manufactures are paralyzed, our manufacturers ruined, and our country almost wholly drained of its metallic medium, to pay for foreign merchandize, notwithstanding the duties imposed *for the purpose of revenue*, it is perfectly reasonable to conclude, that the destruction would have been more rapid and complete, had those duties not existed. This we hope will be regarded as decisive; for if our woollen manufacture, for instance, protected, as it is termed, by a duty of 27 1-2 per cent., has been more than one half destroyed, so that it was no longer an object to preserve the invaluable breed of Merino sheep, in which millions of dollars were invested, and of which the greater part have been destroyed, to the ruin of the proprietors, it cannot be doubted that without such duty, it would have been at once wholly annihilated, as our citizens would in that event have been utterly unable to maintain a struggle against foreign rivals. If argument were of

avail against the dazzling authority of great names, and against ingrained, inveterate prejudice, this case would settle the question for ever. Where are now, we ask, the "*collateral branches*," to which the thousands of our artists, mechanics, and manufacturers, "*thrown out of their ordinary employment, and common method of subsistence*," can "*easily transfer their industry*,"* as Dr. Smith asserts?

Another part of Dr. Smith's theory, is, that when a particular branch of industry is destroyed by "*the home market being suddenly laid open to the competition of foreigners*" "*the stock will still remain in the country, to employ an equal number of people in some other way*." And therefore "*the capital of the country remaining the same, the demand for labour will still be the same, though it may be exerted in different places, and for different occupations*."† These maxims are now fairly tested in the United States, as they have been for centuries in Spain. The cotton, woollen, pottery, glass, and various other manufactures, have been in a great measure suspended in the middle states, by "*the home market being suddenly laid open to the competition of foreigners*" at the close of the war. Is there a man who will venture to assert, that "*the demand for labour is the same*?" that "*the stock remains the same*?" or that it "*employs an equal number of people in some other way*?" We flatter ourselves that the most decided advocate of the doctor's system will admit, on calm reflection, that these maxims are utterly destitute of even the shadow of foundation.

We urge this point on the most sober and serious reflection of our fellow-citizens. It is a vital one, on which the destinies of this nation depend. The freedom of commerce, wholly unrestrained by protecting duties and prohibitions, is the keystone of the so much extolled system of the doctor, which, though discarded, as we have stated, in almost every country in Europe, has, among our most enlightened citizens, numbers of ardent, zealous, and enthusiastic admirers. We have essayed it as far as our debt and the support of our government would permit. We have discarded prohibitions; and on the most important manufactured articles, wholly prohibited in some countries, and burdened with heavy prohibitory duties in others, our duties are comparatively low, so as to afford no effectual protection

* Wealth of Nations, l. 329-30.

† Ibid.

to the domestic manufacturer. *The fatal result is before the world*—and in every part of the union is strikingly perceptible. In addition to the example of Spain and Portugal, it holds out an awful beacon against the adoption of theories, which, however splendid and captivating on paper, are fraught with ruin when carried into practice.

This is the basis on which Adam Smith's system rests, and being thus proved radically and incurably unsound, the whole fabric must crumble to ruins.

There is one point of view in which if this subject be considered, the egregious errors of our system will be manifest beyond contradiction. The policy we have pursued renders us dependent for our prosperity on the miseries and misfortunes of our fellow-creatures! Wars and famines in Europe are the keystone on which we erect the edifice of our good fortune! The greater the extent of war, and the more dreadful the ravages of famine, in that quarter, the more prosperous we become! Peace and abundant crops there undermine our welfare! The misery of Europe ensures our prosperity—its happiness promotes our decay and prostration!! What an appalling idea! Who can reflect without regret on a system built upon such a wretched foundation!

What a contrast between this system and the one laid down with such ability by Alexander Hamilton, which we advocate. Light and darkness are not more opposite to each other. His admirable system would render our prosperity and happiness dependent wholly on ourselves. We should have no cause to wish for the misery of our fellow men, in order to save us from the distress and embarrassment which at present pervades the nation. Our wants from Europe would, by the adoption of it, be circumscribed within narrower limits, and our surplus raw materials be amply adequate to procure the necessary supplies.

Submitting these important subjects to an enlightened community, and hoping they will experience a calm and unbiassed consideration, we ardently pray for such a result as may tend to promote and perpetuate the honour, the happiness, and the real independence of our common country.

We conclude with submitting to the legislature of the United States, on whose decision depends the perpetuation of existing distress, or the restoration of the country,

to that high grade of prosperity from which a false policy has precipitated her, the following luminous maxims; viz.

*"The uniform appearance of an abundance of specie, as the concomitant of a flourishing state of manufactures, and of the reverse where they do not prevail, afford a strong presumption of their favourable operation on the wealth of a country.**

"Considering a monopoly of the domestic market to its own manufacturers, as the reigning policy of manufacturing nations, a similar policy, on the part of the United States, in every proper instance, is dictated, it might almost be said, by the principles of distributive justice; certainly by the duty of endeavouring to secure their own citizens a reciprocity of advantages."†

"The United States cannot exchange with Europe on equal terms."‡

"That trade is eminently bad which supplies the same goods as we manufacture ourselves; especially, if we can make enough for our own consumption.§"

* Hamilton's Works, vol. 1 p. 217.

† Idem, p. 225.

‡ Idem, 186.

§ British Merchant, vol. I. p. 4.

ADDRESSES

OF THE

PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY, &c.

NO. I.

Philadelphia, March 27, 1819.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry, respectfully solicit your attention to a few brief essays on topics of vital importance to your country, yourselves, and your posterity. They shall be addressed to your reason and understanding, without any attempt to bias your feelings by declamation.

Political economy shall be the subject of these essays. In its broad and liberal sense, it may be fairly styled the science of promoting human happiness; than which a more noble subject cannot occupy the attention of men endowed with enlarged minds, or inspired by public spirit.

It is to be regretted that this sublime science has not had adequate attention bestowed on it in this country. And unfortunately, so many contradictory systems are in existence, that statesmen and legislators, disposed to discharge their duty conscientiously, and for that purpose to study the subject, are liable to be confused and distracted by the unceasing discordance in the views of the writers.

It is happily, nevertheless, true, that its leading principles, which safely conduct to the important and beneficent results, that are its ultimate object, are plain and clear; and, to be distinctly comprehended, and faithfully carried into effect, require no higher endowments than good sound sense and rectitude of intention.

It is a melancholy feature in human affairs, that imprudence and error often produce as copious a harvest of wretchedness as absolute wickedness. Hence arises the imperious necessity, in a country where so many of our

citizens may aspire to the character of legislators and statesmen, of a more general study of this science, a thorough knowledge of which is so essential a requisite, among the qualifications for those important stations.

To remove all doubt on this point, we shall adduce, in the course of these essays, instances in which single errors of negotiators and legislators have entailed full as much, and in many cases more misery on nations, than the wild and destructive ambition of conquerors. Unless in some extraordinary instances, a sound policy, on the restoration of peace, heals the wounds inflicted by war, and restores a nation to its pristine state of ease and comfort. But numerous cases are on record, wherein an article of a treaty, of ten or a dozen lines, or an impolitic or an unjust law, has germinated into the most ruinous consequences for a century.

It is our intention,

1. To review the policy of some of those nations which have enjoyed a high degree of prosperity, with or without any extraordinary advantages from nature; and likewise of those whose prosperity had been blasted by fatuitous counsels, notwithstanding great natural blessings:

2. To examine the actual situation of our country, in order to ascertain whether we enjoy the advantages to which our happy form of government and local situation entitle us; and, if we do not, to investigate the causes to which the failure is owing:

3. To develop the true principles of political economy, suited to our situation and circumstances, and calculated to produce the greatest sum of happiness throughout the wide expanse of our territory.

In this arduous undertaking, we request a patient and candid hearing from our fellow-citizens. We fondly hope for success; but if disappointed, we shall have the consolation of having endeavoured to discharge a duty every good citizen owes to the country which protects him; the duty of contributing his efforts to advance its interest and happiness.

As a preliminary step, we propose to establish the utter fallacy of some maxims, supported by the authority of the name of Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations*, but pregnant with certain ruin to any nation by which they may be carried into operation. This course is prescribed to us by the circumstance, that the influence

of these maxims has been sensibly felt in our councils and has deeply affected our prosperity.

This writer stands so pre-eminent in the estimation of a large portion of Christendom, as the delphic Oracle of political economy, and there is such a magic in his name, that it requires great hardihood to encounter him, and a high degree of good fortune to obtain a fair and patient hearing for the discussion.

But at this enlightened period we trust our citizens will scorn to surrender their reason into the guidance of any authority whatever. When a position is presented to the mind, the question ought to be, not who delivered it, but what is its nature? and, how is it supported by reason and common sense, and especially by fact? A theory, how plausible soever, and however propped up by a bead-roll of great names, ought to be regarded with suspicion, if unsupported by fact—but if contrary to established fact, it ought to be unhesitatingly rejected. This course of procedure is strongly recommended by the decisive fact, that, in the long catalogue of wild, ridiculous and absurd theories on morals, religion, politics or science, which have had their reign among mankind, there is hardly one that has not reckoned among its partisans, men of the highest celebrity.* And in the present instance, the most cogent and conclusive facts bear testimony against the political economist, great as is his reputation.

We hope, therefore, that our readers will bring to this discussion, minds wholly liberated from the fascination of the name of the writer whose opinions we undertake to combat, and a determination to weigh the evidence in the scales of reason, not those of prejudice.

In order to render Dr. Smith full justice, and to re-

* Montesquieu, whose reputation was as great as that of Dr. Smith, and whose *Spirit of Laws* has had as extensive a currency as the *Wealth of Nations*, held the absurd idea, which remained uncontroverted for half a century, that the habits, manners and customs, and even the virtues and vices of nations, were in a great measure governed by climate, whence it would result that a tolerable idea might be formed of those important features of national character, by consulting maps, and ascertaining latitudes and longitudes! Bacon studied judicial astrology! All the great men of his day believed in magic and witchcraft! Johnson had full faith in the story of the Cocklane-Ghost! So much for great names.

move all ground for cavil, we state his propositions at length, and in his own language.

“To give the monopoly of the home market to the produce of domestic industry, in any particular art or manufacture, is in some measure to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals; and must, in almost all cases, be either a useless or a hurtful regulation. If the domestic produce can be brought there as cheap as that of foreign industry, the regulation is evidently useless. If it cannot, it must generally be hurtful.

“It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family, never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy. The tailor does not attempt to make his own shoes, but buys them of the shoemaker. The shoemaker does not attempt to make his own clothes, but employs a taylor. The farmer neither attempts to make one nor the other, but employs those different artificers. All of them find it for their interest to employ their whole industry in a way in which they have some advantage over their neighbours; and to purchase, with a part of its produce, or, what is the same thing, with the price of a part of it, whatever else they have occasion for.

“That which is prudence in the conduct of every private family, can scarcely be folly in that of a great kingdom. If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it from them, with some part of the produce of our country, employed in a way in which we have some advantage.

“The general industry of the country being in proportion to the capital which employs it, will not thereby be diminished, any more than that of the above-mentioned artificers; but only left to find out the way in which it can be employed with the greatest advantage. It is not so employed, when directed to an object which it can buy cheaper than it can make. The value of its annual produce is certainly more or less diminished, when it is thus turned away from producing commodities evidently of more value than the commodity which it is directed to produce. According to the supposition, that commodity could be purchased from foreign countries cheaper than it can be made at home. It could, therefore have been purchased with part only of the commodities, or, what is the same thing, with a part only of the price of the commodities, which the industry employed by an equal capi-

tal would have produced at home, had it been left to pursue its natural course.”*

There is in the subordinate parts of this passage much sophistry and unsound reasoning, which we may examine on a future occasion; and there is likewise, as in all the rest of the doctor’s work, a large proportion of verbiage, which is admirably calculated to embarrass and confound common understandings, and prevent their forming a correct decision. But, stripped of this verbiage, and brought naked and unsophisticated to the eye of reason, the main proposition which we at present combat, and to which we here confine ourselves, is, that,

“If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy of them, with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage.”

The only rational mode of testing the correctness of any maxim or principle is, to examine what have been its effects where it has been carried into operation, and what would be its effects in any given case where it might be applied. This is the plan we shall pursue in this investigation.

Great Britain affords a felicitous instance for our purpose. Let us examine what effect the adoption of this maxim would produce on her happiness and prosperity.

There are above a million of people, of both sexes and of all ages, employed in that country, in the woollen and cotton manufactures.† By their industry in these branches, they make for themselves and families a comfortable subsistence. They afford a large and steady market for the productions of the earth, giving support to, probably, at least a million of persons engaged in agriculture; and moreover, enrich the nation by bringing into it wealth from nearly all parts of the earth. The immense sums of money they thus introduce into their native country afford means of employment, and ensure happiness to millions of other subjects—and thus, like the circles made

* *Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 319.

† Dr. Seybert states, that in 1809, there were 800,000 persons in Great Britain engaged in the cotton manufacture alone. It has since increased considerably. It is, therefore, probable that the two branches employ at least 1,300,000 persons.—*Statistics*, p. 92.

on the surface of the stream by the central pebble thrown in, the range of happiness is extended so wide as to embrace the whole community.

From this cheering prospect, let us turn the startled eye to the masses of misery, which Dr. Smith's system would produce; and we shall then behold a hideous contrast, which, we trust, escaped the doctor's attention; for the acknowledged goodness and benevolence of his character, will not allow us to believe that he would have been the apostle of such a pernicious doctrine, had he attended to its results. We fondly hope, that, like many other visionary men, he was so deeply engaged in the fabrication of a refined theory, that he did not arrest his progress to weigh its awful consequences.

The East Indies could at all times, until the recent improvements in machinery, have furnished cotton goods at a lower rate than they could be manufactured in England, which had no other means of protecting her domestic industry, but by a total prohibition of the rival fabrics. Let us suppose that France, where labour and expenses are much lower than in England, has possessed herself of machinery, and is thus enabled to sell woollen goods at half, or three-fourths, or seven-eighths of the price of the English rival commodities. Suppose, further, that articles manufactured of leather are procurable in South America, and iron wares in Sweden, below the rates in England. Then, if the statesmen of the last nation were disciples of Adam Smith, as "foreign countries can supply them with those commodities cheaper than they themselves can make them," they must, according to the doctor, "buy from them with some part of the produce of their own country," and accordingly open their ports freely to those various articles, from these four particular nations. Who can contemplate the result without horror? What a wide spread scene of ruin and desolation would take place? The wealth of the country would be swept away, to enrich foreign, and probably hostile nations, which might, at no distant period, make use of the riches and strength thus fatuitously placed in their hands, to enslave the people who had destroyed themselves by following such baneful counsels. The labouring and industrious classes would be at once bereft of employment; reduced to a degrading state of dependence and mendicity; and, through the force of misery and distress driven to prey

upon each other, and upon the rest of the community. The middle classes of society would partake of the distress of the lower, and the sources of the revenues of the higher orders be dried up.* And all this terrific scene of wo, and wretchedness, and depravity, is to be produced for the grand purpose of procuring broad-cloth, and muslins, and shoes, and iron ware, in remote parts of the earth, a few shillings per yard, or piece, or pound, cheaper than at home! The manufacturers of Bombay, and Calcutta, and Paris, and Lyons, and Stockholm, are to be fed, and clothed, and fostered by English wealth, while those of England, whom it ought to nourish and protect, are expelled from their workshops, and driven to seek support from the overseers of the poor. We trust this will not be thought a fancy sketch! Such a view of it would be an extravagant error. It is sober, serious reality; and puts down for ever this plausible, but ruinous theory. Ponder well on it, fellow citizens.

Let us suppose another strong case. The cotton produced in this country, amounts, probably, to 40 millions of dollars annually.† We will suppose the minimum of the price, at which it can be sold, to pay for the labour and interest on the capital employed in its culture, to be 12 cents per pound. We will further suppose, that the southern provinces of Spanish America have established their independence, and are able to supply us with this valuable raw material at the rate of ten cents. Ought we, for the sake of saving a few cents per pound, to destroy the prospects, and ruin the estates of nearly 800,000 inhabitants of the southern states—to paralyze a culture so immensely advantageous, and producing so large a fund of wealth, and strength and happiness? Should we, for such a paltry consideration, run the risk of consequences which cannot be regarded without awe, and which could not fail eventually to involve in ruin, even those who might appear in the first instance to profit by the adoption of the system?

It may be well worth while to proceed a step further, and take the case of a nation able to supply us fully and completely with wheat and other grain at a lower rate than our farmers can furnish them. Thus then we should find

* No small portion of this picture is rapidly realizing in this country.

† Tench Coxe.

ourselves pursuing Adam Smith's sublime system; buying cheap bargains of wheat or flour from one nation, cotton from another, hardware from a third; and, to pursue the system throughout, woollen, and cotton, and linen goods from others; while our country was rapidly impoverishing of its wealth, its industry paralyzed, the labouring part of our citizens reduced to beggary, and the farmers, planters, and manufacturers, involved in one common mass of ruin. The picture demands the most sober, serious attention of the farmers and planters of the United States.

It may be asserted, that the supposition of our country being fully supplied with cotton and grain, by foreign nations, is so improbable, as not to be admissible even by way of argument. This is a most egregious error; our supposition, so far as it respects cotton, is in "the full tide of successful experiment." That article, to a great amount, is even at present imported from Bengal, and sold at a price so far below our own, (difference of quality considered) that our manufacturers find the purchase eligible. Let it be considered, that in 1789, doubts were entertained whether cotton could be cultivated in the United States;* that in the year 1794, there were exported from this country, of foreign and domestic cotton, only seven thousand bags;† and yet, that in 1818, the amount exported was above ninety-two millions of pounds. No man can be so far misled as to suppose that Heaven has given us any exclusive monopoly of the soil and climate calculated for such extraordinary and almost incredible advances. The rapid strides we have made, may be also made by other nations. Cotton is said to be shipped at Bombay for three pence sterling per lb.; and therefore, setting South America wholly out of the question, it can hardly be doubted, from the spirit with which the culture of that plant is prosecuted in the East Indies, and the certainty that the seeds of our best species have been carried there, that in a few years that country will be able, provided Adam Smith's theory continues to be acted upon here, to expel our planters from their own markets, after having driven them from those of Europe. It is not, therefore, hazarding much to assert, that the time cannot be very remote, when southern cotton industry will be compelled to supplicate

* Seybert's Statistics.

† Idem, p. 94.

congress for that legislative protection, for which the manufacturing industry of the rest of the union has so earnestly implored that body in vain; and which, had it been adequately afforded, would have saved from ruin numerous manufacturing establishments, and invaluable machinery, which cost millions of dollars—now a dead and irreparable loss to the enterprising proprietors. Had these establishments been preserved, and duly protected, they would have greatly lessened our ruinously unfavourable balance of trade, and of course prevented that pernicious drain of specie, which has over-spread the face of our country with distress, and clouded (we trust only temporarily) as fair prospects as ever dawned on any nation.*

We have given a slight sketch of the effects the adoption of this system would produce in England and the United States, if carried into complete operation; and also glanced at the consequences its partial operation has already produced here. We now proceed to take a cursory view (reserving detail for a future occasion) of its lamentable results in Spain and Portugal, where the statesmen

* This view may appear too gloomy. Would to heaven it were! A cursory glance at some of the great interests of the United States will settle the question. Cotton, the chief staple of the country, is falling, and not likely to rise: as the immense quantities from the East Indies have glutted the English market, which regulates the price in ours. Affairs in the western country, on which so many of our importers depend, are to the last degree unpromising. The importers, of course, have the most dreary and sickening prospects before them. They are deeply in debt, their resources almost altogether suspended, and a large proportion ultimately precarious. Commerce and navigation languish every where, except to the East Indies, the most ruinous branch we carry on. Further, notwithstanding nearly eight millions of specie were imported by the Bank of the U. States at a heavy expense, in about one year; so great has been the drain, that the banks are generally so slenderly provided, as to excite serious uneasiness. We are heavily indebted to England, after having remitted immense quantities of government and bank stock, whereby we shall be laid under a heavy and perpetual annual tax for interest. Our manufactures are in general drooping, and some of them are one-half or two-thirds suspended. Our cities present the distressing view of immense numbers of useful artificers, mechanics, and manufacturers, willing to work, but unable to procure employment. We might proceed with the picture to a great extent; but presume enough has been stated to satisfy the most incredulous, that the positions in the text are by no means exaggerated.

are disciples of Adam Smith, and where the theory which now goes under the sanction of his name has been in operation for centuries. As "foreign countries can supply them with commodities cheaper than they themselves can make them," they therefore consider it "better to buy from them, with some part of the produce of their own country."

Fellow citizens, consider the forlorn and desperate state of those countries, notwithstanding the choicest blessings of nature have been bestowed on them with lavish hand; industry paralyzed, and the enormous floods of wealth, drawn from their colonies, answering no other purpose but to foster and encourage the industry, and promote the happiness of rival nations; and all obviously and undeniably the result of the system of "*buying goods where they are to be had cheapest*," to the neglect and destruction of their domestic industry. With such awful beacons before your eyes, can you contemplate the desolating effects of the system in those two countries, without deep regret, that so many of our citizens, and some of them in high and elevated stations, advocate its universal adoption here, and are so far enamoured of Dr. Smith's theory that they regard as a species of heresy the idea of appealing to any other authority, on the all-important and vital point of the political economy of nations!

To avoid prolixity, we are obliged to postpone the consideration of other positions of Dr. Smith on this subject; and shall conclude with a statement of those maxims of political economy, the soundness of which is established by the experience of the wisest as well as the most fatuitous nations of the earth.

1. Industry is the only sure foundation of national virtue, happiness, and greatness: and, in all its useful shapes and forms, has an imperious claim on governmental protection.

2. No nation ever prospered to the extent of which it was susceptible, without due protection of domestic industry.

3. Throughout the world, in all ages, wherever industry has been duly encouraged, mankind have been uniformly industrious.

4. Nations, like individuals, are in a career of ruin when their expenditures exceed their income.

5. Whenever nations are in this situation, it is the impe-

rious duty of their rulers to apply such remedies, to correct the evil, as the nature of the case may require.

6. There are few, if any, political evils, to which a wise legislature, untrammelled in its deliberations and decisions, cannot apply an adequate remedy.

7. The cases of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, prove beyond controversy, that no natural advantages, how great or abundant soever, will counteract the baleful effects of unsound systems of policy; and those of Venice, Genoa, Switzerland, Holland, and Scotland, equally prove, that no natural disadvantages are insuperable by sound policy.

8. Free government is not happiness. It is only the means, but, wisely employed, is the certain means of insuring happiness.

9. The interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are so inseparably connected, that any serious injury suffered by one of them must materially affect the others.

10. The home market for the productions of the earth and manufactures, is of more importance than all the foreign ones, even in countries which carry on an immense foreign commerce.

11. It is impossible for a nation, possessed of immense natural advantages, in endless diversity of soil and climate—in productions of inestimable value—in the energy and enterprize of its inhabitants—and unshackled by an oppressive debt—to suffer any great or general distress, in its agriculture, commerce, or manufactures, (war, famines, pestilence and calamities of seasons excepted) unless there be vital and radical errors in its system of political economy.

NO. II.

Philadelphia, April 7, 1819.

DR. SMITH's maxim, discussed in our first number, inevitably involves in its consequences, as we have proved, the destruction of those manufacturing establishments, which produce articles that can be purchased "cheaper abroad than they can be made at home;" and its necessary result is, to deprive those engaged in them of employment. The

doctor, after having inflicted a deadly wound by this maxim, undertakes to provide a sovereign and infallible remedy for the evil, which, to do him and his system justice, we shall exhibit in his own words:—It remains to examine how far the prescription applies a remedy to the evil.

I. "Though a number of people should, *by restoring the freedom of trade, be thrown all at once out of their ordinary employment, and common method of subsistence*, it would by no means follow, that they would thereby be deprived either of employment or subsistence."^{*}

II. "To the *greater part of manufactures*, there are other *collateral manufactures* of so familiar a nature, that a workman can easily *transfer his industry* from one to the other.

III. "The greater part of such workmen, too, are occasionally employed in *country labour*."

IV. "The stock, which employed them in a particular manufacture before, will still remain in the country, to employ an equal number of people in some other way."

V. "*The capital of the country remaining the same, the demand for labour will still be the same*, though it may be exerted in different places, and for different occupations.[†]"

Here are five distinct propositions, more clear and plain than Dr. Smith's usually are; but, as we hope to make appear, all highly erroneous, calculated to lead those statesmen astray, who square their system by them, and pregnant with ruin to those nations which may be unfortunate enough to carry them into operation.

The main point is the facility of "*transferring industry*" from one branch to a "*collateral manufacture*." All the rest are but subsidiary to, or explanatory of this fallacious assumption.

Two questions arise here, both important, and both demanding affirmative answers, in order to support the doctor's hypothesis.

I. Are there such "*collateral manufactures*," as he assumes, in which men, bereft of employment in those departments of manufacture, which are to be destroyed by the doctor's grand and captivating idea of "*restoring the freedom of commerce*," may "*transfer their industry*?"

It may be conceded, that there is an affinity between the

^{*} Wealth of Nations, Hartford, 1818, I. 329. [†] Idem. 330.

weaving of cotton and woollen, and a few other manufactures. But this cannot by any means answer the doctor's purpose. Where will he, or any of his disciples, find "*collateral manufactures*," to employ printers, coach-makers, watch-makers, shoe-makers, hatters, paper-makers, book-binders, engravers, letter-founders, chandlers, saddlers, silver-platers, jewellers, smiths, cabinet-makers, stone-cutters, glass-makers, brewers, tobacco-nists, potters, wire-drawers, tanners, curriers, dyers, rope-makers, brick-makers, plumbers, chair-makers, glovers, umbrella-makers, embroiderers, calico-printers, paper-stainers, engine-makers, turners, wheel-rights, and the great variety of other artists and manufacturers? There is no such affinity as he has presumed. And it may be asserted, without scruple, that if, by what the doctor speciously styles "*restoring the freedom of trade*," five hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand hatters, shoe-makers, printers, or chandlers, are "thrown out of their ordinary employment," there is no "*collateral manufacture of so familiar a nature*," that they "*can easily transfer their industry from one to another*."

We state a case, plain and clear. We will suppose five hundred workmen, and a capital of five hundred thousand dollars, employed in the manufacture of watches, coaches, and silverplate; and that Switzerland, or Paris, or London, fills our markets at such rates as to overwhelm at once all competition, and suppress the manufactories. Where are the "*collateral manufactures*," to receive those oppressed and forlorn workmen, whose prospects, and those of their families, are thus blasted? Are they to become hatters, or shoemakers, or tailors, or saddlers, or weavers or smiths, or carpenters? Is there a man who can persuade himself into the belief of such an order of things? Is there a man who can persuade himself, that "*the general industry of the country will not thereby be diminished*?" No: and it is a matter of inexpressible astonishment, that such an idea could have ever been hazarded, in a sober and serious book, which has been so long regarded as a guide to statesmen and legislators. It will not stand the test of a moment's investigation. As well might we suppose, that, on shutting up the courts of justice, and expelling the whole corps of lawyers, they might at once commence the medical profession, without any previous study, as that hatters, or tailors, or shoemakers, or weav-

ers, or watch-makers, or printers, whom the grand system of "*purchasing commodities cheap*," and the equally grand system of "*restoring the freedom of commerce*," might bereave of employment, should find those "*collateral manufactures*" which Dr. Smith has so kindly provided for them.

We explicitly declare, that we are far from charging the doctor with an intention to mislead or deceive. We believe him, like many other theorists, to have been duped by his own system. But be this as it may, we trust it will appear that a more deceptive ground never was assumed. We use strong and unequivocal language; as the political heresy we combat is of the most pernicious tendency; is supported by the most imposing and formidable name in the whole range of political science; and ranks among its disciples a large portion of those of our citizens whose situations as legislators of the Union and of the several states, render their errors on this vital point pregnant with the most destructive and ruinous consequences.

II. Suppose every branch of manufactures, without exception, to have some "*collateral manufacture*:" can those who are deusted of employment by "*restoring the freedom of trade*," "*transfer their industry*" so "*easily*" as Dr. Smith supposes?

We answer distinctly, No: or, at all events, on so small a scale, as to be unworthy of notice, in discussions involving the best interests and the happiness of nations. To test the correctness of this opinion, let it be observed, that, in manufacturing countries, all the departments are generally full, and not only full, but there are almost always supernumeraries in abundance: and therefore, had these "*collateral manufactories*" really existed to the full extent the doctor's theory would require, and not been "*fancy sketches*," derived from his fertile imagination, there would be no vacancy, to which the objects of the doctor's care could "*transfer their industry*."

Although this appears so plain and palpable, as not to admit contradiction or dispute, yet, on a point of such magnitude, it cannot be time ill-spent, to illustrate it by example.

There are very few branches between which there is so much affinity as the cotton and woollen. And if the doctor's theory would ever stand the ordeal of examination, it would be in the case of these two "*collateral manufac-*

tures." Suppose, then, that, by the introduction of East India muslins, four or five hundred thousand persons, (about one-half of the whole number engaged in the cotton manufacture) in England, are at once thrown out of employment. Can any man be led to believe, that they could find a vacuum in the "*collateral*" woollen manufacture" to which "*they could easily transfer their industry?*" Fatuity alone could harbour the supposition. They would find all the places full and overflowing.

But the strongest argument against the doctor's "*collateral manufactures,*" and "*transfers of industry,*" remains. He obviously did not calculate the results of his own system, nor take into consideration, that, to give it free operation, its pernicious effect would not be confined to one or two branches of industry. It would extend to the whole body. The flood of importation would bear down in one mass of ruin, all those articles within his description of being "*purchased cheaper elsewhere.*" What then becomes of his "*collateral manufactures?*" and "*transfers of industry,*" and "*employment of capital,*" and all those elegant, sounding phrases, with which he rounds off his paragraphs? Are they not swept away, "like the baseless fabric of a vision," not leaving "a trace behind?"

The doctor with great gravity informs us, that "*the greater part of such workmen are occasionally employed in country labour.*" This is most extravagantly erroneous; for of all the manufacturers in England or any other country, there is not probably one in five, that has ever been in his life twelve months at "*country labour.*" Their habits and manners wholly incapacitate them for that kind of employment. A jeweller, a watchmaker, a hatter, a shoemaker, or a weaver, would be almost as unfit for "*country labour,*" as a ploughman, or a gardener, or a shepherd, to make hats or coats.

But suppose for a moment, through courtesy, we admit with Dr. Smith, that all these different manufacturers are so much accustomed to "*country labour,*" as to be adepts at it, what inference is to be drawn from the admission? Did the doctor believe, did he intend the world to believe, or does there live a man who can believe, that when, by the grand project of "*restoring the freedom of trade,*" and "*buying commodities from foreign countries,*" which can supply us with them "*cheaper than we our-*

selves can make them," thousands and tens of thousands of people are "*all at once thrown out of their ordinary employment, and common means of subsistence,*" they can find employment at "*country labour?*" However extravagant and childish the idea is, the doctor must have meant this, or the words were introduced without any meaning whatever.

But it is well known, that except in harvest time, there is in the country no want of auxiliaries. The persons attached to farms are generally, at all other seasons, amply adequate to execute all the "*country labour*" that is necessary.

Dr. Smith, in order to prove the impropriety of those laws whereby rival manufactures are wholly excluded, observes,

*"If the domestic produce can be brought there as cheap, the regulation is evidently useless. If it cannot, it is evidently hurtful."**

This passage is ambiguous, and written in a style very different from that usual with Dr. Smith, who is as lavish of words as any writer in the English language, and equally lavish of explanations and amplifications. But here he falls into the contrary extreme. He does not condescend to give us the reason for those assertions. He leaves the reader to divine why "*the regulation is useless?*" why "*hurtful?*" We must, therefore, endeavour to explore the meaning. It appears to be, if we understand the first sentence of this maxim, that "*all restrictions or regulations,*" in favour of domestic industry, to the exclusion of rival manufactures, are "*useless,*" if *the articles can be made at home as cheap*" as the imported ones; because in that case the domestic manufacturer is secure from injury by the competition.

This is extravagantly erroneous. Suppose our woollen manufacturers sell their best broadcloth at eight dollars per yard, and that foreign broadcloth to an immense amount is imported "*as cheap.*" Is it not obvious, that the glut in the market, and the ardent competition between the two parties, would produce the effect which such a state of things has never failed to produce, that is, a reduction of the price below the minimum at which the manufacturer could support himself by his labours, and that he would therefore be ruined?

* Wealth of Nations, I. 319.

We now proceed to consider the last proposition:—

*“The capital of the country remaining the same, the demand for labour will still be the same, though it be exerted in different places, and in different occupations.”**

To prove the extreme fallacy of this position, we will take the case of any particular branch, in which there are one hundred master manufacturers, each worth ten thousand dollars, forming together, “a capital,” of one million, whose business is destroyed by the “restoration of the freedom of commerce,” and “the purchase of articles from abroad cheaper than we ourselves can make them.”

It is well known that the property of manufacturers generally consists in buildings for their works, machinery, raw materials, manufactured goods, and outstanding debts. The result of “the restoration of the freedom of commerce,” on Dr. Smith’s plan, would be to reduce the value of the four first items, from twenty to fifty per cent, and to bankrupt a large proportion of the proprietors.

As this is a point of considerable importance, we shall take a single instance, which is always more easily comprehended than a number, and yet affords as clear an illustration.

We will suppose the case of a tanner, worth thirty thousand dollars; of which his various vats, buildings, and tools amount to ten thousand; his hides and leather, ten thousand; and his outstanding debts, an equal sum. By the inundation of foreign leather, sold, we will suppose, at half price, he is unable to carry on his business, which sinks the value of his vats and buildings three fourths, and of his stock one-half. At once, his fortune is reduced twelve thousand five hundred dollars: and thus, with a diminished capital and broken heart, perhaps in his old age, he has to go in quest of, but will not find, a “collateral manufacture,” to employ that diminished capital. Analogous cases without number would occur, by the doctor’s system of “restoring the freedom of trade:” and let us add, as we can with perfect truth, and we hope it will sink deep into the minds of the citizens of the United States, that throughout this country there are numberless cases equally strong, which no man of sound mind and heart can regard without the deepest sympathy for the ill-fated sufferers, and regret at the mistaken policy which produced such a state of things.

* Wealth of Nations, I. 330.

It therefore irresistibly follows, that Dr. Smith's idea, that "*the capital of the country will be the same,*" after the destruction of any branch of manufacture, is to the last degree unsound: and, of course, that the superstructure built on it partakes of its fallacy.

The doctor gravely informs us, "*The tailor does not make his own shoes, but buys them of the shoemaker. The shoemaker does not attempt to make his own clothes but employs a tailor.*"* And he adds farther,

"By means of glasses, hot-beds, and hot-walls, very good grapes can be raised in Scotland, and very good wine too can be made of them, at about thirty times the expense for which at least equally good can be brought from foreign countries. Would it be a reasonable law to prohibit the importation of all foreign wines, merely to encourage the making of Claret and Burgundy in Scotland?"†

From these positions, to which no man can refuse assent, he deduces the specious, but delusory maxim of "*restoring the freedom of trade,*" which, in fact and in truth, is nothing more nor less than impoverishing a nation, and sacrificing its domestic industry at the shrine of avarice, in order to purchase goods "*cheaper than they can be made at home.*"

But by what process of sound reasoning does it follow, because the shoemaker will not become a tailor, or the tailor a shoemaker; or because it would be folly and madness to exclude foreign wines, in order to introduce the culture of the vine into Scotland, a country wholly unfit for that object; that therefore thousands of men, employed in useful branches of business, diffusing happiness among tens of thousands of workmen and their numerous families, and enriching their country, are to have their usefulness destroyed, their prospects blasted, their workmen with their families reduced to distress, and the country exposed to a ruinous drain of specie?

These maxims are the basis on which a large portion, indeed the most important part of Dr. Smith's work, depends. If the basis be solid and impregnable, the fabric will stand firm: but if the foundation be sandy, the superstructure will crumble into ruins. We trust we have fully proved that the foundation is thus sandy; and that the ne-

* Wealth of Nations, I. 320

† Idem, 320.

cessary and inevitable consequence follows, that the theory itself is wholly untenable and pernicious.

With one more extract, we shall conclude this review:

"That foreign trade enriched the country, experience demonstrated to the nobles and country gentlemen, as well as to the merchants; but, *how, or in what manner, none of them knew!* The merchants knew perfectly in what manner it enriched themselves. It was their business to know it. But *to know in what manner it enriched the country, was no part of their business!* The subject never came into their consideration, but when they had occasion to apply to their country for some change in the laws respecting foreign trade."*

It is hardly possible to conceive of a passage more absurd or erroneous than this. That "*the nobles, and gentlemen, and merchants,*" were ignorant "*how foreign trade enriched their country,*" is almost too ludicrous to be assailed by argument, and is a strong instance of the delirium, in which enthusiastic theorists are liable to be involved, by the ignis fatuus of their visionary views. Can there be found a man, in the wide extent of the United States, to believe that sir Joshua Gee, Josiah Child, Theodore Janssen, Charles King, Thomas Willing, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Gouverneur and Kemble, and the thousands of other merchants, of equal mind, who have flourished in Great Britain and this country, were ignorant "*in what manner foreign commerce enriched a country,*" without the aid of the Wealth of Nations? It is impossible. Take any man of sound mind, who has followed the plough, or driven the shuttle, or made shoes all his life, and clearly state the operations of trade to him, and he will rationally account for the "*manner in which foreign trade enriches a country.*" Indeed a merchant's apprentice of six months standing, could not mistake "*the manner.*" Any one of them would at once pronounce, that foreign trade enriches a country, exactly as farmers, planters, or manufacturers are enriched; that is, by the very simple process of *selling more than they buy*. No nation ever was, none will ever be enriched in any other way. And it is unaccountable that Dr. Smith should have supposed that it was reserved for him to make the grand discovery. The principle was well

* Wealth of Nations, I. 303.

understood by the merchants of Tyre, 3000 years before Adam Smith was born. And if Spain be one of the most forlorn and wretched countries in Europe, it has not arisen from ignorance of the true principles of political economy, but from neglecting them, as well as the counsels of her wisest statesmen. Ustariz, who flourished about a hundred years since, in that ill-fated and impoverished country, has ably developed the grand principles of that noble science, in a system as far superior to Dr. Smith's as the constitution of the United States is superior to the form of government of Spain.

NO. III.

Philadelphia, April 12, 1819.

WE proceed to take a view of that portion of the system of political economy pursued in England, which regards the protection of her manufacturing industry, and which has elevated that country to a degree of wealth, power, and influence, far beyond what her population or natural resources would entitle her to. This part of her system displays profound policy and wisdom, and may with safety be taken as a pattern by other nations, with such variations as particular circumstances may require. We do not pretend that it is altogether perfect; nothing human ever deserved this character. But that it has more excellence than, and as little imperfection as, that of any other nation in ancient or modern times, can hardly be questioned. The nearer any nation approximates to its leading principles, the more certain its career to prosperity. Indeed, it is not hazarding much to aver, that no nation ever did or ever will arrive at the degree of power, or influence, or happiness, of which it is susceptible, without adopting a large portion of her plan of protecting the industry of her subjects. There are parts of it, however, which are "more honoured in the breach than the observance;" we mean those particularly that restrain personal liberty, in preventing the emigration of artists and mechanics.

The grand and leading object of this system, into which all its subordinate regulations resolve themselves, is to encourage domestic industry, and to check and restrain whatever may injure it. This pervades the whole political economy of the nation; and as industry has ever been, and, according to the fixed laws of nature, must eternally be, a great security to virtue and happiness, this is among the primary duties of every legislative body: and their neglect of, or attention to, this duty, affords an unerring criterion of their merits or demerits. To enable her to effect this object, Great Britain is unwearied in her efforts—

I. To facilitate the importation of raw materials, for the employment of her artisans and manufacturers;

II. To discourage, or wholly prohibit, the exportation of raw materials;

III. To export her manufactures in the most finished form possible;

IV. To secure her own manufacturers from the ruinous effects of foreign rivalry;

V. To prohibit the emigration of artists and mechanics, and the exportation of machinery.

To accomplish these purposes, she has steadily employed the powerful means of—

1. Bounties on, or encouragement to, the establishment of new manufactures;

2. Absolute prohibitions, or such heavy duties as nearly amount to prohibition on the importation, of such articles as interfere with her own manufactures;

3. Drawbacks, on exportation, of the whole or chief part of the duties paid on importation.

All great undertakings, such as the establishment of extensive manufactures, require heavy disbursements previous to their commencing operations; and in their incipient state are attended with great difficulty, in consequence of which they too frequently fail of success in all countries, and involve the undertakers in ruin. While they are in this perilous situation, the aid of government is necessary, and wisdom commands to afford it. Small temporary sacrifices are abundantly compensated, by immense permanent national advantages. We shall furnish noble instances of this kind, on a large and liberal scale, worthy of a great nation, when we enter on the discussion of the policy of Prussia.

It was by these means that the woollen manufacture was first established in England. Edward III. a most sagacious prince, held out great inducements to the manufacturers in that branch to remove from Flanders to England. "*Very great privileges were granted, and pensions were allowed to them from the crown, till they should be able to gain a comfortable livelihood by their ingenuity and industry.*"*

Further to favour and foster this infant manufacture, the exportation of wool, and the importation of foreign cloth were prohibited.†

Such was the degree of care and attention undeviatingly bestowed on it, that "in the short and turbulent reign of Henry IV." who reigned but fourteen years, and was almost constantly at war, "there were no fewer than twelve acts of parliament made for the regulation and encouragement of that manufacture; for preventing the exportation of wool and importation of cloth; and for guarding against frauds in the fabrication of it at home."‡

It is obvious that the continuance of bounties beyond the infancy of manufactures, would be oppressive to a nation, and waste its treasures. And therefore as soon as they are fully established, the English government usually adopts a cheaper and equally effectual mode of fostering them, by the prohibition of the rival articles, or by the imposition of such heavy duties as nearly amount to prohibition, and thus securing to its own subjects the whole or principal part of the domestic market.

In the year 1463, under Edward IV. the wisdom and policy of fostering domestic industry having become generally understood, the prohibition of importation, which had previously been confined chiefly to woollens, was extended to a very great variety of articles, viz:

Woollen caps	Andirons	Buskins
Woollen cloths	Gridirons	Shoes
Laces	Locks	Galoches
Rings of copper,	Dice	Combs
or, latten gilt,	Tennice-balls	Pattens
Chaffing dishes	Points	Pack-needles

* Mortimer's Elements of Commerce, p. 16.

† Anderson's History of Commerce, I. 401.

‡ Henry's History of Great Britain, X. 187.

Crosses	Purses	Painted ware
Ribands	Globes	Forcers
Fringes of Silk	Girdles	Caskets
Ditto of thread	Harness for girdles, of iron, lat-	Chaffing balls
Laces of thread	ten, steel, tin, or	Hanging candle-
Silk-twined	alkemine	sticks
Silk in anywise	Anything wrought	Rings for curtains
embroidered	of tanned lea-	Ladles
Laces of gold	ther	Scummers
Ditto of Silk and	Any tanned furs	Sacring-bells
gold	Corks	Counterfeit basins
Saddles	Knives	Ewers
Stirrups	Daggers	Hat brushes
All harness per-	Sword blades	Wool-cards
taining to saddles	Bodkins	White wire
Spurs	Shears	If detected in the
Bosses for bridles	Scissors	importation, they
Hammers	Razors	were to be forfeit-
Pincers	Chessmen	ed, one half to the
Fire tongs	Playing cards	king, and the other
Dripping-pans		to the informer.*
Under Charles II. the prohibition was extended to		
Wool-cards	Cut-work	Button or needle
Card-wire	Embroidery	work†
Iron-wire	Fringe	
Bone-lace	Buttons	

The list of articles at present prohibited to be imported into Great Britain, is not quite so extensive as that of Edward IV. They are as follow:—

Brocades	Fringe	Laces
Calicoes	Girdles	Needle work
Chocolate and co-	Silk or leather	Plate
coa paste	mits and gloves	Ribands
Cocoa nut shells	Manufactures of	Laces
or husks	gold, silver, or	Shapes for gloves
Embroidery	metal	or mits
Silk	Tobacco stalks &	Wire‡.
Silk stockings	snuff work	
Thread	Velvet	

* Anderson's History of Commerce, I. 636.

† Postlethwaite's Dictionary of Commerce, I. 975.

‡ Pope's Practical Abridgment of the Laws of Customs and Excise. Title 284.

The penalties for the importation of some of those articles are very severe. For example, besides the confiscation of the goods, there is a forfeiture of two hundred pounds sterling for every offence in the case of leather gloves.

The most general mode, however, of encouraging domestic industry in Great Britain, at present, is by the imposition of such heavy duties, as in most cases amount to prohibition; or if the rival articles will still admit of importation, they cannot, from the necessary advance of price, materially affect the native manufacturer. We annex a list of some of the articles, with the amount of the duties imposed on them.

Extracts from the British Tariff of 1818.

Articles subject to duty of 59*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* per 100*l.* value

Baskets	Almond paste	Telescopes
Musical instruments	Dressing-boxes	Thread, not otherwise enumerated
Nuts	Snuff-boxes	Turnery, not otherwise enumerated
Oil of pine	Manufactures of brass	Vases, except of stone or marble
Oils not particularly enumerated	Pens	Wicker-ware
Paintings on glass	Pomatum	Silver, gilt, or plated wire
Pencils	Stone pots	Worsted yarn
Pieces of skins and furs	Coloured paper and prints	Goods of all kinds, in part or wholly manufactured
Spouts of wood	Sago powder	Bronze figures
Statues, except of marble or stone	Scratch brushes	Worsted caps
Steel not otherwise enumerated	Seeds not particularly enumerated	Carpets
Ticking	Silk-worm guts	Carriages
Ticks	Skates	Clocks
Tin-foil	Skins and furs	Manufactures of copper
Tooth-powder	Walking sticks	Copperplates engraved, &c. &c.
Toys	Thread or worsted stockings	
Tubes for smoking	Filtering stones	
Tubs	Open tapes	
Watches	Worsted tapes	
	Tapestry, not of silk	
	To 31 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per 100 <i>l.</i>	
Chalk	Cast iron	Lime-stone
Copper in pigs	Minerals not otherwise enumerated	Polishing stones
Hoofs of cattle	Polishing rushes	Rag stones
Horns	Ships with their tackle	Tanners' waste
Silk laces		Tare
Pig lead		Touch stone
	To 79 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per 100 <i>l.</i>	
China ware	Earthen ware	Shawls
	To 63 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per 100 <i>l.</i>	
Linen, not being chequered or striped		Tobacco pipes
		Gause of thread

To 85 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per 100 <i>l.</i>			
Cotton stockings	Cotton caps	Cotton thread	Linen sails.
To 114 <i>l.</i> per 100 <i>l.</i>			
Glass bottles, rough	plate glass,	German sheet glass,	glass manufactures.
To 142 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per 100 <i>l.</i>			
Leather fan mounts	Skins or furs, tanned,	Articles whereof leather	
Linens chequered or	tawed, curried, or	is the most valuable part	
striped, painted, or	any way dressed	Hides, or pieces of hides,	
stained	Articles made of leather	tanned, tawed, or in	
		any way dressed.	

An idea has been long entertained, by many well meaning people, that to secure the home market to our own manufacturers, operates merely to enable them to prey on and oppress their fellow-citizens, by extorting extravagant and exorbitant prices for their productions. And hence many of our planters and farmers in congress have uniformly opposed duties for the mere purpose of protecting manufactures. There are some who have openly avowed, that their sole view in laying impost duties, is to provide a revenue for the expenses of the government. And a writer of considerable celebrity, John Taylor, esq. of Caroline county, Virginia, has devoted a number of chapters of his *Arator*, to prove that every dollar given by a nation as bounty, or imposed as duty, to protect domestic manufactures, is a dollar robbed from the pockets of the farmers and planters!

It is a trite but indisputable truth, that one solid, well-established fact, bearing upon any particular point, will countervail a long train of arguments, however plausible, which militate against that fact. Behold a case, which must operate to open the eyes of every man accessible to conviction. There is probably no country in the world, where the system of heavy prohibitory duties is carried farther than in England: and yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, and the enormous burden of taxation which she sustains, as well as the boundless extent of her paper money, which must enhance the expenses of living, she is able to meet in their own markets, and undersell, a large portion of the manufacturers of all the other nations of Christendom. This fact sets the question at rest forever; and establishes, on the firmest basis, the luminous maxim of Alexander Hamilton, a maxim that ought to be written in letters of gold, and affixed in a conspicuous place in the hall of congress, that powerful body, on whose wisdom

or errors depends the prosperity or decay of a mighty empire:—

*“ Though it were true, that the immediate and certain effect of regulations controlling the competition of foreign with domestic fabrics was an increase of price, it is universally true, that THE CONTRARY IS THE ULTIMATE EFFECT WITH EVERY SUCCESSFUL MANUFACTURE. When a domestic manufacture has attained to perfection, and has engaged in the prosecution of it a competent number of persons, IT INVARIABLY BECOMES CHEAPER. Being free from the heavy charges which attend the importation of foreign commodities, it can be afforded cheaper, and accordingly seldom or never fails to be sold cheaper, in process of time, than was the foreign article for which it is a substitute. The internal competition which takes place, soon does away every thing like monopoly; and by degress REDUCES THE PRICE OF THE ARTICLE TO THE MINIMUM OF A REASONABLE PROFIT ON THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED. This accords with the reason of the thing, and with experience.”**

The true tests of the excellence or folly of any system, are its results, when carried fully into operation. These confirm sound theories, however unpopular they may appear on a superficial view; and set the seal of reprobation on pernicious ones, how plausible soever an aspect they wear on paper.

By this touchstone, let us judge the political economy of England, respecting national industry; and, on a fair examination, we shall unhesitatingly bestow the most unqualified plaudit on her parliament, for the admirable and incomparable system it has devised. We may fairly assert, without the least danger of contradiction, that there never existed a legislative body which bestowed more attention on the solid, substantial, and vital interests of its constituents, *so far as respects national industry in all its various forms*

We might extend the consideration of the wonderful excellence, and immense advantages of the policy of Great Britain respecting manufactures, trade, and commerce, to volumes. The subject appears inexhaustible. But our limits forbid much detail, and constrain us to confine ourselves to two points:—

* Hamilton's work, I. 212.

- I. The immense wealth she acquires by this system; and
 II. The astonishing increase of power it has secured her.



I. We shall, on the first point, confine ourselves to the four great manufactures, linen, cotton, woollen, and leather, and make no doubt, the statement will astonish our fellow-citizens, and remove all doubt of the correctness of the eulogiums we have hazarded on the British political economy.

According to Colquhoun*, the annual proceeds of the cotton manufacture are

ton manufacture are	-	-	29,000,000 <i>l</i> .
The woollen	-	-	26,000,000
The linen	-	-	15,000,000
The leather	-	-	15,000,000
Total			85,000,000 <i>l</i> .

Whereas the raw materials of the cotton

cost	-	6,000,000 <i>l</i> .	
The woollen	-	8,000,000	
The linen	-	5,000,000	
The leather	-	3,000,000	
			22,000,000 <i>l</i> .
Balance			63,000,000 <i>l</i> .

Thus a gain is secured to the nation of 63,000,000 of pounds sterling, or above 270,000,000 of dollars annually. This at once solves the mystery of the wonderful "*power and resources*" of Great Britain, and establishes beyond controversy the wisdom of its policy, which is, in every respect, let us observe, the antipodes of the doctrines of Adam Smith in the *Wealth of Nations*.

What stupendous facts! What a lesson to the legislators of other countries, particularly the United States! We possess the capacity of raising the raw material of the cotton manufacture, the chief of the four kinds above stated, to an extent commensurate with the demand of the whole world; and we could, with ease, if proper encouragement were offered, produce the materials of the other three, in sufficient quantity for all our purposes.

* Treatise on the wealth, power, and resources of the British Empire, p. 91.

II. The second point, to which we wish to turn the attention of our fellow-citizens, in order to establish the soundness of the system of political economy, *respecting her manufactures*, pursued in England, is the wonderful increase of power it has secured her.

For twenty years she was the main support of a war of unexampled expenditure, against the most gigantic combination of power, and the most formidable monarch, that Europe has beheld for a thousand years. From her resources alone it arose, that he did not arrive at universal empire. She not only preserved herself from the loss of her own possessions, but conquered colonies and dependencies of her enemies, of great extent and immense value. Her revenue for the year 1812, was about 63,500,000*l*.*: and in the same year her expenditure was above 112,000,000.[†]

During the whole of this war, she was not obliged to borrow money from any other nation; but made large loans to several. She subsidized some of the first-rate monarchs in Europe.

Her enormous debt, which, according to Colquhoun, amounted at the close of 1813 to above 900,000,000*l*.[‡] is wholly owned by her own subjects, except about 17,000,000*l*. purchased and owned by foreigners.

It is no impeachment to the merits of her system, that her paupers amount to above 1,500,000, and her poor tax to 6,000,000*l*. sterling, equal to 26,000,000 of dollars.§ This lamentable feature in her affairs, arises partly for the labours of the working class being superseded by machinery, and partly from the wasteful and ruinous wars she has maintained, which alone have prevented the country from being an earthly paradise.

Since our recent war, she has been enabled to lay this country under heavy contribution, so that there is an enormous debt due her, notwithstanding she has possessed herself of a very large portion of our bank and other public stocks, in payment for her manufactures, which will yield her a great and permanent income, at the expense of the United States.

* Colquhoun on the wealth, power, and resources of the British Empire, p. 258.

† Idem, 261.

‡ Page 273. He states, however, in this page, that 236,000,000*l*. of this debt have been redeemed.

§ Idem, 125.

To her support of domestic industry alone, she chiefly owes these capacities and advantages, and the inordinate power she possesses. Were she to abandon her system, and adopt that of Adam Smith, she could not fail, in a few years, to be reduced to a level with Spain and Portugal. All her treasures would be drawn away to the East-Indies, France, Germany, &c.

We shall close with a comparison between her policy and that of the United States, on a few plain and simple points:

GREAT BRITAIN

Prohibits the importation of calicoes, silks, threads, ribands, velvets, &c. even from her own dependencies. (See page 32.)

She imposes a duty of 85 per cent. ad valorem on various articles of cotton, the productions of those dependencies.

She imposes a duty of 79 per cent. ad valorem on earthenware.

She imposes a duty of 142 1-2 per cent, on leather manufactures.

THE UNITED STATES

Prohibit no manufactured articles whatever, however great the capacity of our citizens to supply them.

They admit all cotton fabrics, of every denomination, from Great Britain and her dependencies, and any other part of the globe, at 27 1-2 per cent. (except those below 25 cents per square yard, which are dutied as at 25 cents.)

Although they could supply themselves superabundantly with earthenware, they admit it at 22 per cent!

They admit leather manufactures at 33 per cent.

COMPARISON CONTINUED.

BRITISH DUTIES.

Woollen cloths, per yard, 34s. sterling, equal to about 7 dolls. 50 cts.

Hats, per piece, 34s. or 7 dolls. 50cts.

Glass bottles, 114 per cent.

Linens, not chequered or striped, 63 per cent.

Linens, chequered or striped 142 per cent.

UNITED STATES' DUTIES.

27 1-2 per cent. ad valorem.

33 per cent.

22 per cent.

16 1-2 per cent.

16 1-2 per cent.

The annals of legislation and revenue cannot produce a stronger contrast between the most profound policy and its direct opposite.

Thus we see that Great Britain, possessing machinery which increases her powers of manufacturing at the rate

of two hundred for one, does not rely on it for the protection of her domestic industry; but interposes the powerful shield of prohibition and enormous duties, to preserve them from danger; while the United States, which had, at the close of the war, a great number of important and extensive manufacturing establishments, and invaluable machinery, erected and advantageously employed during its continuance, and although blessed by a bounteous heaven with a boundless capacity for such establishments, have, for want of adequate protection, suffered a large portion of them to go to decay, and their proprietors to be involved in ruin, the helpless victims of a misplaced reliance on that protection!

The comparison might be pursued to a very great extent: but we trust there is enough stated to enable our fellow-citizens to account for the prostrate situation of our affairs. No two nations ever carried on intercourse on terms more entirely destitute of reciprocity: and hence our citizens on the banks of the Missouri are clothed with fabrics manufactured in England and Hindostan, while thousands of useful men, women, and children, capable of furnishing superior goods, at equal prices, are literally pining in wretchedness, in our towns and cities, for want of employment, and many of them driven to mendicity, to support a miserable existence! and while our country is impoverished, to support the manufacturers of the East Indies and every part of Europe. And why (let us solemnly ask) does this lamentable state of things exist? Because, in the language of Adam Smith, "*foreign countries can furnish us with commodities cheaper than we ourselves can make them;*" and we have thought it "*better to buy from them, with some part of the produce of our own industry!*"

Every prudent merchant, farmer, or planter, commencing his career of business, will naturally inquire into the plans acted on by those engaged in similar pursuits, before he determines on his own. Those dictated by wisdom, tested by long experience, and attended with success, he will study as guides by which to regulate his conduct. Those emanating from folly, sinister views, or empiricism, he will regard as beacons to warn him to beware.

This conduct, indisputably wise in private life, is imperiously the duty of those on whom rests the high responsibility of regulating the career of nations, particularly in

their infancy or youth. This is a duty which no enlightened or honest legislature will ever neglect.

We trust therefore, that a calm and candid observation of the fatal consequences of adopting the doctrines of Adam Smith, as well as of the transcendent benefits, public and private, resulting from the English system, which is in undeviating hostility with that of the doctor, will serve to display the true policy which this country ought to pursue, in order to fill the high destiny which appears allotted to her in the course of human events; and induce the legislature of the Union, to devote that attention to the protection of domestic industry, without which the United States can never hope to be really independent, or to enjoy that degree of prosperity and happiness which God and Nature have placed within their grasp; and which cannot be neglected without a most culpable dereliction of our duty to ourselves, and to our posterity, on whom the folly or wisdom of our councils will operate when we are consigned to the peaceful grave.

NO. IV.

Philadelphia, April 26, 1819.

We have presented to your view, fellow-citizens, a cursory sketch of the admirable and beneficent policy of Great Britain* on the all-important and vital point of fostering and protecting domestic industry—a policy, we repeat, and wish steadily borne in mind, in direct hostility with the doctrines of Adam Smith, which rank among their supporters so large a portion of our citizens.

*Objections have been made to our statement of the prosperity of England resulting from her protection of domestic industry, grounded on the oppression she exercises on, and the abject state of, some of her dependencies. This does not in the least militate with our view, which went to prove, from indisputable facts, that the protection of domestic industry in the island of Great Britain, had there produced as great a mass of wealth and prosperity as had ever existed. Her wars, which greatly impair that prosperity, and her treatment of her dependencies, have not the most remote connection with our theory.

We now request your attention to the policy of a mighty empire, whose situation bears considerable analogy to that of this country.

Russia, like the United States, possesses territories of most immoderate extent, which are very slenderly peopled. The cultivation of her vacant lands, according to the captivating and plausible theories of many of our citizens, might find employment for all her inhabitants. And as other nations, if "*the freedom of trade were restored, could furnish her with commodities cheaper than she could manufacture them,*" she ought, according to Adam Smith, to open her ports to the merchandize of all the world.

But, low as we fastidiously and unjustly rate her policy, she has too much good sense to adopt a maxim so pernicious in its results, although so plausible in its appearance. And let us add, its plausibility is only in appearance. It vanishes on even a cursory examination.

Russia fulfils the indispensable duty of fostering and protecting domestic industry, and guarding it against the destructive consequences of overwhelming foreign competition. This is the great platform of her political system, as it ought to be of all political systems; and it is painful to state, that so far as respects this cardinal point, she is at least a century in advance of the United States. She is not satisfied with the imposition of heavy duties for the purpose of raising a revenue, which, with too many statesmen, appears to be chief, if not the only object worthy of consideration in the formation of a tariff. No. She prohibits, under penalty of confiscation, nearly all the articles with which her own subjects can supply her, unaffected by the terrors, so powerfully felt in this country, of giving a monopoly of the home market to her own people—terrors which have probably cost the United States one hundred millions of dollars since the war—terrors which the profound and sage maxim of Alexander Hamilton, quoted in our last number, ought to have laid in the grave of oblivion nearly thirty years ago, never to raise again to impair the prosperity of the nation, or the happiness of its citizens.

The annexed list deserves the most pointed attention, and cannot fail to surprise the citizens of a country, where unfortunately nothing is prohibited, how great soever the domestic supply, and where there are hardly any duties

deserving the name of prohibitory, and few affording adequate protection.

*List of Goods the Importation of which is prohibited into the Russian Empire.**

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Alabaster. | Coin, base Coin, or being of a less value than its denomination. Russian Bank Notes. |
| Ale. | Combs, of Horn. |
| Bronze, gilt or ungilt, Statues, Busts, Vases, Urns, Girandoles, Lustres, Candelabras, &c. | Copper utensils of every kind. |
| Beads of all kinds. | Copper articles, whether hammered or cast, &c. ornamented with designs, gilt or ungilt of every kind; also handles, plates, and such like articles: the same applies to Brass. |
| Blacking for Boots and Shoes. | Clothes of all kinds, except those of Passengers. |
| Brandy, distilled from grain of every kind. | Canary Seed. |
| Brandy, poured on Cherries, Pears, or other fruits. | Crystal, or Cut Glass-ware of all kinds. |
| Brooms, of twigs or rushes for cleaning clothes. | Cases of all kinds. |
| Bolts of Metal, of every kind for fastening doors, &c. | Cords of Silk, Cotton, Camel's Hair, or Worsted. |
| Books, Counting House books in Blank. | Cloth, fine Black Cloth, and all Coarse Cloths and Baizes. |
| Buttons of all kinds. | Cicory, ground in imitation of Coffee. |
| Baskets of straw or twigs. | Crystal Drops, for Lustres and Girandoles. |
| Butter of Cows or Sheep. | Chocolate. |
| Besoms, brushes of all kinds. | Clocks, for Tables or Walls, with metal or glass ornaments of any kind. |
| Bellows, for fire places. | Clocks or Watches in enamel with striped edges. |
| Blankets, or Bed-covers, of Cotton, Linen, or Wool, with embroidery, or woven with Silver or Gold; also of Silk, or half Silk, without exception. | Caps of all kinds. |
| Boxes, Sand and Spitting Boxes. | Carriages of all kinds, except those belonging to Travellers. |
| Bedding of all kinds, excepting those of Passengers. | Doors for Stoves of all kinds. |
| Balls of Lead. | Down of all kinds, except those specified as admitted. |
| Beer of all kinds, except English Porter. | Dried Fruits. |
| Boots of all kinds. | Embroidery of Gold of every description of material. |
| Baizes of all sorts. | Earthenware vessels, or utensils of common clay, Delft, Fayance or China, Porcelain and the like, with Gold, Silver, or Painted Borders. |
| Cotton Goods, wrought of Cotton intermixed with Gold and Silver; also Dyed, Printed or Chintz. | Fringes of all kinds. |
| Candles. | Fans. |
| Chess-boards, and other boards for Games, with their appendages. | |
| Carpets, interwoven with Gold or silver. | |
| Cranes of all kinds. | |
| Confectionary of all kinds. | |
| Cringles. | |
| Coffee-mills. | |

* *Rordanz, on European Commerce, page 54.*

- Feathers.
 Flesh of all kinds, dried, salted or smoked.
 Fruits, preserved, wet or dried in sugar.
 Garden Fruits of all sorts, salted in vinegar, fresh or dried.
 Fumigating Powder.
 Frames for Windows.
 Frames for Pictures, except belonging to Pictures or Engravings imported.
 Flax for Wicks.
 Fishing Tackles.
 Gallantry Ware, including all sorts of high priced trifles, ornamented or unornamented, with high priced Stones and Pearls, except those otherwise specified.
 Galloon.
 Gold and Silver, or Gilt Plate, or Vessels of all kinds.
 Glue, made of Fish or Leather.
 Gold and Silver Lace, Edgines, Tassels, Cords, Nets, Gauze, &c.
 Gloves, of Woollen, Cotton or Linen.
 Garters.
 Gun-Powder.
 Glass Drops for Lustres, Girandoles, all Glass-Ware and utensils of every kind, Glass Girandoles, Lustres, &c. Window Glass in circles.
 Gaiters, of Leather.
 Gingerbread.
 Gin or Geneva.
 Gricus, (a kind of common Mushroom, or Fungus.)
 Hair, human hair.
 Hair Powder.
 Horn Combs, Horns of Elk, Reindeer and other sorts unwrought, except such as are imported in Russian ships, having been taken by Russian huntsmen.
 Hilts, for swords, sabres, daggers, &c.
 Harpsichords or Piano Fortes, with Bronze ornaments on the bodies, except such as are applied to strengthen them, or upon the legs, or as locks.
 Hides, prepared, and every article made of leather, except those specified as admitted.
 Hats of all kinds.
 Harness and such like for horses.
 Honey, in the comb and prepared.
 Handkerchiefs printed on linen cloth, silk of every kind, with a border woven or printed.
 Hangings of tapestry, or paper, or cloth, paper and wool together, woven, painted linen, or woollen, and all other kinds.
 Iron, cast, in guns, shot, plates thick or thin, kettles, and other casts Iron work.
 Iron wrought into bars, double, or single for plates.
 Iron, Pig Iron unwrought or wrought in pieces, wire utensils of every kind, blacksmith's work small ware, every sort of locksmith's and white smith's work, except those specified elsewhere as permitted.
 Iron Anchors.
 Ink, of all sorts in bottles or powders, also Indian Ink (Printers' Ink, duty free.)
 Ink-stands of all kinds.
 Jewellery.
 Isinglass, of fish (glue.)
 Kingcoos, or fur shoes and boots of every kind.
 Linen, as shirts, &c. of all kinds, except passengers' baggage.
 Linen manufactures of all kinds except Cambric.
 Locks of all kinds.
 Lime, slaked or unslaked.
 Lace.
 Liqueurs, of Brandy.
 Lustres of all sorts.
 Lanterns.
 Lines, coarse, twisted, such as are used in fishing nets and the like.
 Leather, see hides.
 Ladies' ornaments of all kinds.
 Looking Glasses, see mirrors.
 Mustard, dry or prepared in glasses, or jars.
 Mead.
 Mirrors, or glasses intended for them.
 Macaroni.
 Muslin, or Muslin Handkerchiefs embroidered.
 Mills, for grinding coffee.
 Muffs, of all kinds.

- Marble and Alabaster** clocks, table
 slabs, pillars, utensils, and all
 other (ornaments) not specified
 admitted.
Mats, made of straw to put on ta-
 bles under dishes
Mats, straw and rush.
Mittens, and leather for warm mit-
 tens.
Marienglass, or Talc.
Night caps of all kinds, except
 those specified as admitted.
Nails, of copper and brass, or with
 copper and brass heads, or wash-
 ed, plated, gilt, tinued, or of iron
 and tin.
Nets of all kinds, and netting.
Oil, Rape oil.
Ornaments for ladies.
Pins and skewers of all kind.
Paper of all kinds, not specified as
 admitted.
Plate, gold and silver vessels of
 every description, also gilt plate.
Parchment.
Playing Cards.
Pocket Books of all kinds.
Pens, Quills, and Feathers.
Powder, Hair Powder, Pomatum,
 Fumigating Powders, Gun Pow-
 der for guns or cannon.
Porcelain.
Pipes for fire Engines.
Pipes for smoking of all kinds, ex-
 cept of plain Meerschaun
Pickles, see Fruit or vegetables.
Quills or Pens
Ribands of orders of Knighthood.
Rum.
Sausages of all kinds.
Spirits, extracted from grain, dou-
 ble, or spirit of wine sweetened.
Shoes of all kinds.
Shot of lead and balls.
Sashes of all kinds
Soap of all kinds, except Venice,
 Spanish, Turkish and Greek.
Sticks of all kinds.
Suspenders of gentlemen, except
 those specified as admitted.
Saltpetre, rough, or refined, ex-
 cept for the use of apothecaries.
Silver Plate and utensils of every
 kind.
Silver Wire or thread flattened,
 spangles and foil.
Slippers of all kinds, except those
 specified as admitted.
Sugar, fruits in Sugar, dry or wet.
Sealing wax.
Spices of all kinds.
Saddle Cloths.
Snuff Boxes.
Sword Belts.
Silk of all kinds, Silk or half Silk
 Goods, except those specified for
 admittance
Toys of all sorts.
Tapes of all kinds.
Tiles for stoves.
Tapestry, see hangings.
Tin, grain Tin, or tin ware of any
 kind.
Tea of every sort.*
Tinsel, or foil, flat, woven, red,
 white in lace, lace in liveries,
 galloons, ribands, edgings, or
 bindings, &c.
Vermicelli, or Macaroni.
Vinegar of all sorts, except wine
 Vinegar.
Wash Basins, Tea Pots, Coffee
 Pots, Candlesticks, Wasters,
 Stands, or such like goods wheth-
 er of Copper, red or green, say
 Copper or Brass, Iron, tinued, or
 untinued, varnished, plated, gilt
 or silvered, argent, hache, or
 with silver edges separately ap-
 plied.
Whips for coachmen.
Waddings.
Wafers.
Wigs.
Ware, white, yellow, or coloured.
Wood, manufactured, except in
 such articles as are required by
 passengers for their baggage.
Window Frames.
Wicks for candles of flax or thread
Window Glass, in circles.
Watches.
Woollen Goods, baizes of all sorts,
 see cloth.

* Tea is admitted over land from China.

An appalling reflection arises from the view here given of the policy of Russia; a reflection which we would willingly suppress, but which, fellow citizens, justice to the subject forces us to present to your minds. We are imperiously led to offer it from a conviction that to induce a patient to submit to medicine or regimen, it is necessary he should be convinced of the existence of his disease. And in the present disordered state of our manufactures, trade, and commerce, it is absolutely necessary to "hold the mirror up to nature," and "nought extenuate, nor ought set down in malice."

The United States, as is admitted by writers of various nations, enjoy the best form of government in the world. It would therefore be natural to presume, that with such a government, and with a representation probably as freely and fairly chosen, as any legislative body in any age or country, the interests of its various descriptions of citizens would be more scrupulously guarded than those of any other nation. Yet we have before us the most cogent proof of the extreme fallacy of such a presumption, so far as regards the large and important class of citizens engaged in manufactures, on whose success and prosperity so much of the strength and resources of nations depends. This description of citizens* must look with en-

* It is too common, we apprehend, for many of the farmers and planters of the southern states, to regard with disesteem, or, in common parlance, to look down on manufacturers as beneath them in point of respectability. To this source may probably be ascribed the inflexible refusal of that protection which was so earnestly solicited for the manufacturing interest throughout the union. It is hardly possible to conceive of a greater absurdity. We touch this delicate subject freely. We, however, mean no offence, and hope none will be taken. Our object, we trust, will be regarded by liberal-minded men as not only innocent, but laudable. It is to correct a deep rooted and pernicious prejudice, which tends to produce jealousy and alienation between the different members of one family, who ought to cherish for each other kindly sentiments of regard and good will, and who are so closely connected in point of interest, that it is impossible for one to suffer heavily, without the others being deeply affected. We freely ask, and request a candid reply, can there, in the eye of reason and common sense, be found, on the most impartial scrutiny, any superiority in a South Carolina or Virginia planter, surrounded by five hundred slaves, over a proprietor of one of the extensive factories in Rhode Island, in which an equal number of free, independent, and happy workmen, with their wives and children, are employed? As our object is conciliation, we forbear to assert any superiority on the other side. But in order to afford a fair opportunity of deciding this important question, of the merits, demerits and usefulness of the different descriptions of citizens, we state some important facts which bear forcibly on this subject. In the year

vy at the paternal and fostering care bestowed on persons of the same class by the emperor of Russia, one of the most despotic monarchs of Christendom. The contrast is decisive. It reflects honour on the profound wisdom and sound policy of that prince—and, fellow citizens, cannot fail to excite painful sensations in your minds, to reflect how the United States lose on the comparison.

It could never have entered into the mind of Hancock, Adams, Franklin, Washington, or any other of those illustrious men, who in the field or cabinet achieved the independence of this country, that before the lapse of half a century, American citizens should be forced to make invidious comparisons between their own situation and that of the subjects of a despotic empire; and that the protection denied to their industry is liberally afforded to that of the subjects of Russia.

In order to render this extraordinary fact more striking, we shall, fellow citizens, compare the situation of a subject of Russia and a citizen of the United States, engaged, for instance, in the cotton manufacture.

1815, there were, as stated in a memorial to Congress of the cotton manufacturers of the town of Providence, within thirty miles of that town,*

Cotton manufactories	-	-	-	-	140
Containing in actual operation,	-	-	spindles	130,000	
Using annually,	-	-	bales of cotton	29,000	
Producing yards of the kinds of cotton goods usually made	-	-		27,840,000	
The weaving of which at eight cents per yard amounts to	-	-	-	-	\$2,227,200
Total value of the cloth	-	-	-	-	\$6,000,000
Persons steadily employed	-	-	-	-	26,000

We may demand, whether throughout the world, there is to be found any equal space devoted wholly to agriculture, which furnishes employment to one-fourth part of the number of individuals, or produces one-fourth of the amount of wealth or happiness?

We trust this brief view will serve to remove the film from the eyes of those citizens who, for want of due consideration, have cherished opinions on the subject of manufactures, and manufacturers, so diametrically opposite to fact, and so pregnant with ruinous consequences.

“Honour or shame from no condition rise,
“Act well your part: there all the honour lies.”

And the manufacturer of cottons, woollens, watches, paper, books, hats or shoes, who “acts well his part” has no reason to shrink, and we trust he never will shrink, from a comparison with any of his fellow men, whether merchants, farmers, planters, or men of overgrown wealth.

The former, we will suppose, embarks \$50,000 in that business. He has no competition to dread but that of his fellow subjects. His paternal government closes the door against his destruction, by shutting out the interference of any other nation. He has a large and beneficial market, and in consequence enriches himself, and adds to the wealth, the strength, the power and the resources of his country.

What a chilling and appalling contrast when we regard the situation of the American engaged in the same useful line of business! When he has expended his capital, established his works, and entertains what he has ground to deem a reasonable hope of success, and of that reward to which honest industry has so fair a claim, the market, on the supply of which he formed all his calculations, is deluged with rival articles, manufactured at a distance of thousands of miles, which can be afforded at lower prices than his, and which accordingly destroy his chances of sale. He casts an imploring eye to his representatives for the same kind of relief which England, France, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Austria, afford their subjects, and the refusal of which is a manifest dereliction of duty. His representatives, acting on the maxims of Adam Smith, and disregarding the admonitory lessons of those mighty nations, meet him with a positive refusal; and he sinks a victim of a policy long scouted out of all the wise nations of Europe, and which now only lingers in, and blights and blasts the happiness of Spain and Portugal. Hundreds of useful citizens in every part of the union, with large families, mourn the ruinous consequences of our mistaken policy.

The subject is too important not to warrant us in casting another slight glance at it.

The United States are peculiarly fitted for the cotton manufacture, being, as we have already stated, capable of raising the raw material, in quantities commensurate with the demand of the whole world. And yet cotton goods of every description (except those below twenty-five cents per yard, which are dutied as at twenty-five cents) are freely admitted at the very inefficient duty of twenty-seven and a half per cent. in consequence of which, great numbers of the most promising establishments have been destroyed. The raw material is transported across the Atlantic, 8000 miles, at sixteen to forty-five cents per

pound, and returned to us at the rate of from one dollar to five dollars—thus fostering the industry and the manufactures of Europe, and consigning our workmen to poverty, and often to mendicity—their employers to the long lists of bankrupts which are daily increasing in our towns and cities—and impoverishing the nation. On this system and its consequences we shall descant more at large on a future occasion. For the present we shall barely state that the policy of England during the dark ages of Edward III. and Henry IV. as sketched in our last number, was far superior to ours with all our boasted illumination.

At the close of the war, powerful and eloquent memorials were presented to Congress from the cotton manufacturers of Rhode Island, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, New London, and various other parts of the United States, in which they besought the aid of government, in the most respectful terms. To narrow the range of objection, they bounded their requests generally to a prohibition of cotton manufactures, except nankeens from the East Indies, and to such an increase of duties on those from other quarters, as would save the revenue from injury by the prohibition. The memorials were filled with predictions of the ruinous consequences that would result from the contrary policy. Their simple request, enforced by a most luminous train of reasoning, was unhappily rejected: and it is almost demonstrable, that to this rejection a large portion of the difficulties and embarrassments which at present overspread the face of the country may be ascribed. All the gloomy predictions of the memorials have unfortunately become history.

A consideration of the rejection of the first prayer of the memorials, which respects the prohibition of East India cottons, is calculated to excite an equal degree of regret and astonishment. The East India trade, during the continuance of the wars in Europe, when we had markets in that quarter and in some of the colonies of the belligerents, for the surplus of our importations from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, was possibly advantageous, or at least not injurious. But as at present carried on, it is highly pernicious, by the exhausting drain of specie it creates. On this strong ground, and moreover as the coarse fabrics from that quarter, as stated in the memo-

rials, are made of inferior materials: and as we possess a boundless capacity of supply, every principle of sound policy, regard for the vital interests of their country, as well as the paramount claim on Congress from so useful a body of citizens, for protection, ought to have insured compliance with the request. To all these considerations fatally no attention was paid.

Policy of Frederick II. of Prussia.

From the view which we have given of the policy of Russia, we invite attention to that of Frederick II. His integrity and regard for the rights of his neighbours, no upright man will assert. But on his profound wisdom and sagacity as a statesman the world is agreed. A dissenting voice is no where heard. On these points he would stand comparison with any monarch of ancient or modern times, and would rise paramount over ninety-nine out of a hundred. His system of political economy is therefore worthy of the most serious consideration, and cannot fail to shed strong light on the important subject we are discussing.

To the promotion of the industry of his subjects, he bestowed the most unremitting attention, well knowing that it was the most certain means of increasing the population of his dominions, and of course the wealth and happiness of his subjects, as well as his own power. From this grand and paramount object he was never for a moment diverted by his ambitious wars; and notwithstanding the desolation they caused, he doubled the population of his paternal estates during his reign. To foster and protect arts and manufactures, he spared neither pains nor expense; "*The king protects and encourages manufactures in every possible manner, especially by advancing large sums of money to assist them in carrying on their manufactures, animating them by rewards, and establishing magazines of wool in all the little towns, for the benefit of the small woollen manufactures.*"*—He was so completely successful that he not only doubled and trebled the number of artists and manufactures in those branches already

* Hertzberg's Discourses delivered at Berlin, 1786, p. 25.

established, but introduced a great variety, formerly not practised by his subjects; "*Before the commencement of this reign, Prussia had but few silk manufactures, and those of little importance. But the present king has established and given liberal encouragement to so great a number, that they employ more than five thousand workmen; and the annual value of the goods manufactured by them is two millions of crowns. In the course of the last year 1,200,250 eils of silk stuffs have been manufactured at Berlin, and 400,000 of gauze.*"

"The cotton manufacture alone employs nearly five thousand workmen."* And thus, instead of being tributary to other nations, as she had formerly been, Prussia was enabled to export her manufactures to an immense extent to distant countries.

"We are in possession of almost every possible kind of manufactures; and we can, not only exclusively supply the Prussian dominions, but also furnish the remote countries of Spain and Italy with linen and woollen cloths; and our manufactures go even to China, where some of our Silesia cloths are conveyed by the way of Russia. We export every year linen cloth, to the amount of SIX MILLIONS OF CROWNS, and woollen cloths and wool to the amount of FOUR MILLIONS."†

The measures he adopted for attaining these great ends, were worthy of the high character he enjoys as a statesman. He made large loans to needy artists and manufacturers, to enable them to establish their various branches of business. "*If the king has greatly increased population by his encouragement of agriculture, he has advanced it as much, and perhaps more, by the great number of manufactures and trades of all kinds, which he has caused to be established, or to which he has given encouragement at Berlin, at Potsdam, and in almost every city and town in his dominions.*"‡ He purchased large quantities of raw materials, and provided magazines, where they sold at reasonable rates. He bestowed liberal rewards on artists and manufacturers, for excellence in their various branches, and moreover exempted them in various places from military service. In a word, he devoted all the powers of his great mind, and made most liberal drafts on his treasury, for the accomplishment of this mighty object, which has

* Idem 26.

† Idem 23.

‡ Ibid.

attracted so small a share or attention in this country from those whose peculiar duty it was to promote its success.

"It is with a view to encourage trade that the inhabitants of Berlin and Potsdam are *exempted from military service*; and his majesty grants nearly the same indulgence to the inhabitants of the circles of the mountains of Silesia, where the poor, but industrious and sober weavers, who are settled in a narrow and barren district, *carry on those flourishing linen manufactures which produce us an exportation of so many millions; and to the little city of Hirschberg only, a trade of two millions of crowns annually.* The king has in this district a canton for his foot-guards; but from his unwillingness to disturb the population of the district, he seldom draws from hence any recruits."*

Here the calm and candid observer, who casts his eye on the system of Frederick, and contrasts it with that of the United States, cannot fail to feel the same degree of mortification and deep regret, that the contrast with that of Russia produced. He will behold on the one side a grand, liberal, and magnanimous policy, disregarding expense in sowing prolific seed, which sprouted forth abundantly, and repaid the cultivator tenfold, nay, a hundred fold.†

* Idem, 25.

† "As national industry forms the second basis of the felicity and power of a state, I shall endeavour to prove here in a summary manner, that the Prussian monarchy possesses it in an eminent degree: and, perhaps, immediately after France, England and Holland; those powers which, for two centuries, have had the almost exclusive monopoly of manufactures, of commerce, and of navigation; of which the Prussians have had no part, but since the close of the last century, and the beginning of the present. This is not the place to make an exact and general table of the Prussian manufactures; I shall, therefore, confine myself to giving a general idea, and some particular examples. We have almost all the trades and manufactures that can be conceived, as well for things of absolute necessity, as for the conveniences and luxuries of life. Some of them have attained to a great degree of perfection, as those of woollen cloth, linen, porcelain, and others. The greater part are in a state of mediocrity, and may be brought by degrees to perfection, if there is continued to be given to them the same attention, assistance, and support, which the Prussian government has hitherto most liberally bestowed; and especially when to these are added the motives and inducements of emulation, which are absolutely necessary for bringing manufactures and works of art to perfection. *Our manufactures exclusively supply all the Prussian dominions; and, with a very favourable rival-*

Loans, bounties, premiums, and important immunities, as we have stated, were freely and liberally awarded.

In the United States the seed was sown by individual exertion and enterprise. It required little care to foster and make it strike deep root. There was no demand of loans—of bounties—of premiums—or of immunities. All that was asked—all that was necessary, was mere protection from foreign interference—a protection which would have cost the government nothing, and would have enriched the nation. It was fatally withheld: and a large portion of the seed so plentifully sown and so promising of a fertile harvest, has perished; and those who withheld, as well as those who besought, the protection, are now in common, suffering the most serious injury from that mistaken policy.

“The Prussian dominions had in the course of the year 1784,*

	Looms.	Manufacturers.	Produce of the Manufactures in Rix dollars.
In linens - - - - -	51,000	80,000	9,000,000
In cloths and woollens - - - - -	18,000	58,000	8,000,000
In silk - - - - -	4,200	6,000	3,000,000
In cotton - - - - -	2,600	7,000	1,200,000
In leather - - - - -	-	4,000	2,000,000
In iron, steel, copper, &c. - - - - -	-	3,000	2,000,000
In tobacco, of which 140,000 quintals are the growth of the country - - - - -	-	2,000	1,000,000
Sugar - - - - -	-	1,000	2,000,000
Porcelain and earthenware - - - - -	-	700	200,000
Paper - - - - -	-	800	200,000
Tallow and soap - - - - -	-	300	400,000
Glass, looking-glasses - - - - -	-	-	200,000
Manufactures in gold, silver, lace embroidery, &c. - - - - -	-	1,000	400,000
Silesia madder - - - - -	-	-	300,000
Oil - - - - -	-	600	300,000
Yellow amber - - - - -	-	600	50,000
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		165,000,	30,250,000

ship, especially for cloths, linens, and woollens, Poland, Russia, Germany, Italy, and especially Spain and America. In order to afford a more strong and clear conviction, I shall here add a compendious table of the principal trades and manufactures, which exist in the Prussian monarchy, of their produce, and of the number of traders and manufacturers who are employed in them.”—*Hertzberg's Discourses*, p. 101.

* *Hertzberg's Discourses*, p. 103.

DISBURSEMENTS OF FREDERIC II. FOR PROMOTION OF MANUFACTURES. ANNO 1785.*

In New March.

	Crowns.
For establishing a manufactory of leather, and for tanning at Landsberg - - - - -	3,500
For a similar manufactory at Drisen - - - - -	3,000
Ditto Ditto at Cottbus - - - - -	1,000
For erecting a fulling mill at Drambourg - - - - -	200
For increasing the magazines of wool for the manufacturers of small towns - - - - -	3,000

In Pomerania.

For enlarging the manufactory of leather at Anclam - - -	3,000
For establishing a manufactory of leather at Treptow - - -	1,500
For establishing a manufactory at Griffenhagen - - -	1,500
For establishing a manufactory of fustians and cottons at Fredericks-hold - - - - -	1,000
For increasing the magazines of wool in the small towns - -	4,000
For establishing a manufactory of beaver stockings at Lawenberg	2,000
For establishing a cotton manufactory at New Stettin - - -	2,400
For a magazine of cotton for the benefit of the manufacturers of Pomerania - - - - -	6,000

East and West Prussia.

For repairing the damage occasioned by the burning of woollen cloths near Preusch Eilau - - - - -	3,500
For establishing a manufactory of muslin at Königsberg - - -	1,000
For a manufactory of leather at Preusch Eilau - - - - -	5,000
For a dye-house at Gastrow - - - - -	2,600
For magazines of wool in the little towns of West Prussia - -	6,000
For a manufactory of press-boards - - - - -	6,000

Silesia.

For the establishment of forty weavers at Striegaw and in the neighbourhood - - - - -	17,368
For premiums relative to manufactures - - - - -	2,000

Brandenburgh.

For establishing work shops for carding of wool - - - - -	1,360
For rewards, intended for the encouragement of spinning in the country - - - - -	2,000

Carried over, 78,928

* *Idem*, p. 44.

	Brought over,	78,928
For the erection of silk mills at Berlin	-	24,000
For purchasing the cods of silk worms, and causing them to be well spun	-	10,000
For machines for carrying on the Manchester manufacture	-	10,000

ANNO 1786.

In Brandenburg.

For procuring Spanish sheep	-	22,000
For increasing the magazines of wool	-	17,000
For improvements relative to the spinning of wool	-	4,000
For a manufactory of woollen cloths at Zinna	-	3,000
For a plantation of Mulberry trees at Nowawest	-	2,000
For the purchase of cods of silk worms and establishing a magazine of them	-	20,000

In the New March.

For several small manufactures of wool and leather, and for fulling mills in Custring, Newedel, Falckenburgh, and Sommerfeldt, towns of the New March	-	4,020
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In Pomerania.

For increasing the magazines of wool	-	6,000
For a manufactory of cotton stockings at Gartz	-	4,000
For a manufactory of leather at Anclam	-	8,000
For a manufactory of Leather at Treptow	-	1,500
For a manufactory of sail cloth at Rugenwalde	-	5,000
For a manufactory of cables in the same city	-	4,000
For a manufactory of cloth for flags at Stettin	-	3,000

In East Prussia.

For a manufactory of morocco leather at Konigsberg	-	3,000
For a manufactory of English earthenware in the same city	-	4,000
For a manufactory of Leather	-	1,000
For a manufactory of ribands and bags	-	600
For a cotton manufactory at Gumbinnen	-	1,000

In West Prussia.

For a dye-house at Darkhenen	-	2,600
For a dye-house at Bromberg	-	2,600
For a manufactory of fine Cloth at Culm	-	7,200

In Silesia.

Premiums for manufactures and for encouraging and supporting weavers	-	17,000
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Total expended in two years, 265,448

NO. V.

Philadelphia, May 3, 1819.

THE friends of domestic manufactures in this country have had to combat a host of objections, maintained with great zeal and plausibility, many of which, though utterly destitute of foundation, have had universal currency. We shall devote the present number to obviate some of them.

I. The demoralizing and debasing effects of manufacturing establishments.

II. Their injurious interference with commerce.

III. The high rate of wages in the United States.

IV. The great extent of our vacant lands, which ought to be settled previous to the erection of manufacturing establishments on a large scale.

V. The extortions practised, and the extravagant prices charged by manufacturers during the war.

VI. The loss of revenue that would arise from protecting or prohibitory duties.

VII. The danger of encouraging smuggling by high duties.

I. *Demoralization.*

The most specious and generally prevalent argument against manufacturing establishments, is grounded on their debasing and demoralizing effects. The honest feelings and the sympathy of the humane and enlightened part of the community, and the passions and prejudices of the remainder, have in consequence been enlisted and excited to activity against them. The changes have been rung, times without number, on the depravity, corruption, and pauperism inseparable from large assemblages of men, women, and children, collected in a small compass, inhaling a pestiferous atmosphere, both moral and physical. The most captivating pictures have been drawn, by way of contrast, of the purity, the innocence, the healthiness, and the inde-

pendence of agricultural employments—and the whole has been wound up by deprecating the folly and insanity of seducing the Arcadian cultivators of the soil into the business of manufacturing, so destructive to their health, their morals, and their happiness.

This objection, like a thousand other common places, has been almost universally assumed, and freely admitted without demur or scruple. Even the friends of manufactures have hardly dared to doubt its correctness, barely lamenting it as one of the many serious evils inseparable from society in its present state. And had it not been for the investigations of a recent writer (Colquhoun) it might have continued for another century to lead mankind astray.

But even if these views were correct as regarded the overgrown manufacturing establishments in England, and some other parts of Europe, they would be inapplicable here; as the best friends of manufactures in this country have confined their views to the home market generally; and in so wide a country as this, if the manufacturers were degraded and oppressed by men of great wealth in one district, they would be able to resort to establishments in another, of which, were manufactures duly protected, there would be numbers in every quarter of the union; and, at all events, the western lands would afford an asylum for the oppressed, and a safeguard against oppression.

The most eminent statistical writer in Europe at present is probably Colquhoun, author of the "Police of London," and various other important works, bearing the strongest marks of profound research, deep penetration, and philosophical inquiry. This writer has published a curious and important table of *the population, offenders, and paupers* of every county in England, which settles this important point forever, and which we annex. The character of the author and the authenticity of the work, forbid all appeal from its authority, and cannot fail to remove the doubts of the most sceptical.

*Comparative View of nearly an equal Population in one part of the Kingdom with the same in another.**

Countries.	Popu- lation.	Offen- ders.	Paupers.	Countries.	Popu- lation.	Offen- ders.	Paupers.
Middlesex	318,159	1217	63,173	Yorkshire	858,892	245	77,661
Kent	307,634	210	41,632	Lancashire	672,731	371	46,300
Surry	269,043	199	36,138	Stafford	236,153	91	21,510
Essex	226,437	144	38,337	Devon	343,001	96	43,674
Gloucester, including Bristol	250,809	141	36,904	Lincoln	208,537	58	18,845
Warwick	208,100	160	30,200	Somerset	273,750	106	35,979
Norfolk	273,371	163	42,707	Chester	191,751	30	22,152
Suffolk	210,431	109	36,110	Durham	160,361	27	15,307
Sussex	159,311	105	37,076	Cornwall	185,209	45	12,853
Wilt.	186,107	75	42,128	Salop	167,639	79	17,206
Hampshire	219,686	147	32,581	Worcester	139,320	61	18,896
Nottingham	140,349	74	9,406	Northampton	131,757	42	20,534
Leicester	130,031	47	19,154	Northumberland	187,101	38	14,204
Derby	161,142	39	13,167	Cumberland	117,230	13	8,445
Dorset	115,319	38	15,783	Bucks	107,444	38	10,650
Berks	109,216	62	22,088	Hampshire	89,246	40	11,294
Oxford	109,620	38	21,025	Cambridge	89,191	31	11,779
Herts	97,577	45	13,348	Monmouth	45,582	20	4,479
Bedford	63,393	20	7,276	Rutland	41,617	6	4,615
Huntingdon	57,508	15	4,746	Westmoreland	16,356	4	1,338
South Wales, 6 Counties	288,761	80	23,384	North Wales, 6 counties,	252,785	23	28,131
	4,381,134	3096	586,764		4,491,846	1509	453,993

Colquhoun furnishes another table, of the state of pauperism throughout England, which we also annex—

Coun-
ties.

Per cent. on the
population.

5. In Cumberland, Cornwall, Lancaster, Nottingham, and East Riding of Yorkshire, the number of paupers in each 100 of the population 7 (less than 1-14)
3. In Derby, Middlesex, and Rutland 8 (less than 1-12)
4. In Lincoln, Northumberland, Stafford, and North Riding of Yorkshire - 9 (above 1-11)

* Colquhoun on Indigence, p. 72.

Coun- ties.	Per cent. on the population
4 West Riding of York, Durham, Mon- mouth, and Salop - - - - -	10 - - (1-10)
4 Bedford, Chester, Somerset, and West- moreland - - - - -	12 (under 1-8)
9 Cambridge, Devon, Hereford, Hunt- ington, Surry, and Worcester - -	13 (above 1-8)
3 Herts, Dorset and Kent, - - - -	14 (above 1-7)
4 Gloucester, Leicester, Southampton, and Warwick - - - - -	15 (above 1-7)
2 Norfolk and Northampton - - -	16 (under 1-6)
2 Essex and Suffolk - - - - -	17 (above 1-6)
1 Buckinghamshire - - - - -	18 (above 1-6)
1 Oxfordshire - - - - -	20 - - (1-5)
1 Berkshire - - - - -	21 (above 1-5)
2 Sussex and Wiltshire - - - -	23 (nearly 1-4)
12 Counties in Wales, averaging - -	9 (above 1-1)*

On the first of these tables he makes the following pointed and decisive remarks:

‘From this comparative statement,’ it appears, ‘that *contrary to the generally received opinion, the numbers of paupers in the counties which are chiefly agricultural, greatly exceed those where manufactures prevail!!!* Thus in Kent and Surry, where the aggregate population is 576,687, there appear to be 77,770 paupers; while in Lancashire, where the population is 672,731, the paupers relieved are only 46,200.’†

He has not compared the two descriptions of the population on the subject of crimes. But the contrast in this respect, it appears, is equally unfavourable to the agricultural districts. However, as manufactures are spread throughout the kingdom, and as all the counties partake to a certain degree of the double character of agriculture and manufactures, it is impossible to institute a general comparison. But it will answer every valuable purpose of testing the truth or falsehood of the prevailing opinions, to take a view of six counties, three decidedly agricultural, and three as decidedly manufacturing.

* Colquhoun on Indigence, p. 265.

† Idem, 273.

Manufacturing counties.	Population.	Offenders.	Paupers.	Agricult. counties.	Population.	Offenders.	Paupers.
Lancashire	672,731	371	46,000	Norfolk	273,371	163	42,707
Yorkshire	858,892	245	77,661	Kent	307,624	210	41,632
Stafford	239,153	91	22,510	Surry	269,043	199	36,138
	1,770,776	707	146,571		850,038	572	120,477

In the three manufacturing counties, there is only one offender for every 2500 people, whereas, in the agricultural, there is one for 1600; whereby it appears that the latter districts have above fifty per cent. more criminals than the manufacturing, in proportion to their population. This is a strong and decisive fact.

In the three manufacturing counties, the paupers are only eight per cent. of the population; whereas, in the agricultural, they are about fourteen.

We are tempted to cast a further glance on this table, and to call the attention to a more striking comparison. Yorkshire contains a greater population than the three specified agricultural counties, and yet has far below half the number of offenders, and not two-thirds of the number of paupers.

	Population.	Offenders.	Paupers.
Yorkshire	858,892	245	77,661
Norfolk, Kent, and Surry	850,038	572	120,477

This result may appear extraordinary and paradoxical. But a very slight reflection on the subject will remove all the paradox, and enable us to account satisfactorily for the existing state of things. Idleness is as much the parent of poverty and guilt, as industry is of independence and virtue. In agricultural districts, there is a very large proportion of the labour of the women, and a still greater proportion of that of the young people, wholly lost. The latter waste a great part of their early years in total idleness and in the contraction of bad habits. Hence arises a fruitful source of pauperism and guilt.

These statements, independent of their overwhelming bearing on the present question, may have another very important advantage. They serve to display, in strong colours, the danger of trusting to mere assertions, unsupported by facts. There is not in the whole range of political eco-

mony, a dogma that has been more universally received, or appeared more plausible than the one here combated, now unequivocally proved by the best authority in Europe, to be not only not true, but the very reverse of truth.

II. Interference with Commerce.

Among the opponents of the manufacturing system, were formerly great numbers of those citizens, engaged in commerce, who appeared impressed with an idea that in proportion as manufactures are patronized and extended, in the same proportion commerce must be impaired. Hence a degree of jealousy has been fostered among the commercial, of the manufacturing class of our population, as if there were a great hostility between their respective interests. The most enlightened merchants at present are convinced of the errors of these views. It is not difficult to prove, that they rest on as sandy a foundation as the superior purity and freedom from pauperism of the agricultural districts.

It will not, we trust, be denied, that in every community, the greater the variety of pursuits and employments, the greater the field for exertion, and the less danger of rivalry, or of any of them being too much crowded. Hence an obvious consequence of the destruction of so many manufacturing establishments, as, during the war, were in 'the full tide of successful experiment,' has been to divert the capital and industry engaged in them to commercial pursuits, whereby the latter are so much overstocked as to narrow or almost destroy all chance of success. Our wharves, our coffee houses, and the assignments in our newspapers, fully prove that commerce is overdone, and that it has unfortunately become a most precarious profession. Whereas, were manufactures properly protected, commerce would be relieved from the superfluous portion of citizens who pursue it, and who, by the eagerness of their competition in the markets, domestic and foreign, destroy each other's chances of success.

Another source of indemnification to commerce for any disadvantage it might suffer from the patronage of manufactures, would be the trade in various kinds of raw materials imported from foreign countries for the use of the manufacturers.*

* An intelligent citizen, who has carefully examined the entries into the port of Philadelphia, assures us that the tonnage employed

An important consideration remains. The diminution of our foreign trade, which is at all times precarious, and often ruinous, would be further compensated by the vast increase of the coasting trade, in the transportation of raw materials from the southern to the middle and eastern states, and of manufactured articles from the latter to the former.

We do not deem it necessary to enter into further detail, or to exhaust the subject. We trust enough has been said to prove, that a liberal patronage extended to manufactures would be eminently beneficial even to the mercantile part of our citizens, not merely by reducing within reasonable bounds the extravagant number of competitors in that department, whereby so many engaged in it have been ruined; but by affording profitable employment to a portion of that capital which has escaped the destruction arising from the ruinous state of our commerce since the war, and also by the general prosperity it would produce. This system, moreover, would afford commercial men opportunities of providing for a part of their children in a less hazardous line of business than commerce.

III. *High Wages.*

The high wages said to be given in this country have been used as a powerful argument against encouraging manufactures, and have led many of our citizens to believe that we would not be capable of manufacturing extensively for perhaps a century to come. This idea has maintained its ground against the strong and palpable fact, that many of our manufactures have thriven very considerably, notwithstanding the rivalry of foreign competitors. The difference, however, between the wages here and in England, in many branches of business, is far less than is generally supposed. But the argument falls to the ground, when we reflect that in most of those branches depending wholly on manual labour, our manufacturers have met the rival articles from Europe with great success. Our hatters, shoemakers, saddlers, coachmakers, printers, cabinet makers, type founders, curriers, glovers, smiths, and various other classes, wholly debarred of the advantage of machinery,

even now in the importation of raw materials, leather, dye-wood, iron, lead, &c. &c. is equal to that employed in the importation of bale goods.

have maintained their ground far better than those citizens concerned in branches in which machinery is employed, of whom a large portion have been ruined!

This is a very extraordinary fact, and could not have entered into any previous calculation. The endless variety of mill-seats throughout the United States, and the acknowledged talents of our citizens in mechanical pursuits, would have led to form conclusions wholly different. It would have been believed that whatever we might suffer in cases in which manual labour alone was employed, we should be triumphant wherever water power and machinery could be called into operation.

IV. *Vacant Lands.*

Among the most formidable objections against the protection of national industry in the form of manufactures, the extent of our vacant lands holds no mean place. Many members of congress, and others, when they hear of the decline of manufactures—the bankruptcy of the manufacturers—and the sufferings of the workmen, with great gravity advise the sufferers “*to go back*,” and cultivate the soil in the wilderness, where there is an ample field for their industry. This is prescribed as a sovereign and infallible remedy for their evils.

So much importance is attached to this idea, and its use is so general, we had almost said, so universal, that it requires to be dilated on at some length. We shall consider it under two points of view—

I. Are manufacturers in general capable of cultivating vacant lands?

It requires but a moment’s reflection to be satisfied, that the mass of persons engaged in manufactures are wholly unfit for agricultural employments; more particularly for clearing and cultivating those vacant lands to which they are directed to resort, as a terrestrial paradise. A man who has spent the prime of his life in making watches, cabinet ware, hats, or shoes, or weaving cloth, would be nearly as much out of his element at agricultural labour as a farmer would be in a shoemaker’s or hatter’s workshop.

Moreover a large portion, in many cases three fourths of the persons engaged in the cotton and woollen branches, are women and children, wholly unfit for farming.

II. Suppose the thousands of manufacturers now out of employment, and those who are likely, from the present stagnation of manufactures, trade, and commerce, to be discharged, were to apply themselves to agriculture, is there any chance of a market for the surplus of their productions?

This is a vital question, and demands the most serious and sober consideration. Its decision must affect the character of the past political economy of our government, and clearly demonstrate the future course pointed out to this rising empire by sound political wisdom.

It is palpable that so far from an increase of agriculturists being necessary in the interior of this state, and in the whole of the western states, that they are too numerous for their own prosperity, and hence agricultural productions are almost constantly a drug, and afford a very slender remuneration for the labours of the field. Increase the number, and you increase the evil. Increase the number of manufacturers, you diminish it.

In consequence of having an over proportion of our population engaged in agricultural pursuits, the foreign markets are almost constantly glutted with our staple articles which are frequently purchased in the West Indies and Europe at a lower rate than in our seaport towns. And hence the most ruinous losses are sustained by our merchants, of whom a large proportion are almost every year blotted from the map of the commercial world.

When the cause, not of the manufacturers alone, as was erroneously supposed, but of the whole nation, which was deeply involved in the question, was powerfully pleaded before congress, the southern planters were admonished to secure themselves a grand domestic market, independent of the caprice of foreign nations. They were prophetically warned of the ruinous consequences that must inevitably follow from the adoption of the contrary system. Trusting to a continuance of the very favourable markets they then enjoyed, in which they could anticipate no change, the petitions and memorials were rejected. But the delusion is past and gone. The age of sober reflection has arrived. And we trust it is impossible for those whose votes prevented such adequate protection to the cotton manufactures as would have secured an unfailing and increasing home market, to reflect on those votes without the most heartfelt regret at the course they pursued, not merely as it has

affected their own interests, but for the deleterious effects it has produced, and is likely to continue to produce on the welfare of the nation.

At the time those votes were given, which signed and sealed the destruction of a large portion of the cotton manufactures in the middle states, cotton was thirty cents per pound. It was not necessary for congress to have adopted the policy of Russia or France, which nations prohibit the importation of all cotton manufactures—nor that of Great Britain which imposes a duty of 85% per cent. on them. Had they barely prohibited the low priced articles, and laid an adequate protecting duty on all other descriptions, cotton would probably have never fallen below that price. So large and so constantly increasing a portion of it would be consumed in this country, that it could not be materially affected by the fluctuation of foreign markets. It now sells at sixteen or eighteen cents: and it is not easy to calculate how long it will remain at that rate. The value of the estates of the southern planters is thus reduced one-third. Dearly, therefore, do they expiate their rejection of the earnest prayers of their fellow citizens, who, as we have stated, were actually, as is now in full proof, pleading the cause of the whole nation, and at least as much that of the cotton planters as of any other portion of our citizens.

The depreciation of the price of the two other great staples of the country, tobacco and flour, is at least as ruinous as that of cotton.

The reduction of the value of estates is not confined to those of cotton planters. Real estate generally throughout the union, has suffered a vast depreciation. In many places it has fallen one-fourth—in others one-third, and in some even one-half.

We do not pretend that the low tariff proceeded solely from the southern planters. This would be contrary to the historical fact. Members from every state in the union, except three, voted for the existing rates. But of all the members from the five southern states, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, only five voted against the reduction of the duty on cotton goods to twenty-five per cent.*

* In order to present a correct view of this interesting subject, we annex the yeas and nays on a motion made by Mr. Forsyth, on the second of April, 1816, to amend the report of the committee on the bill to regulate the duties on imports, by striking out *thirty per*

To test more fully the correctness of the prevailing idea we here combat, we will suppose it carried generally into operation, and that a large portion of the persons at present employed in manufactures, had "*gone back*," and were

cent. on cotton goods proposed by that committee, and substituting twenty-five.

YEAS.—(For twenty-five per cent.)

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	Kent	Breckenridge	King
Atherton	Lovett	Goodwyn	Love
Cilley	Root.	Hawes	Pickens
Hale	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	Hungerford	Yancey.
Webster	Burnside	Jewett	<i>South Carolina.</i>
Wilcox	Heister	Johnson	Chapel
Voss	Hopkinson	Kerr	Huger
<i>Massachusetts.</i>	Ross	Lewis	Lowndes
Bradbury	Whiteside	Lyon	Middleton
Nelson	<i>Delaware.</i>	M'Coy	Taylor
Pickering	Clayton	Nelson	Woodward
Reed	<i>Maryland.</i>	Noyes	<i>Georgia.</i>
Ruggles	Archer	Pleasants	Cuthbert
Taggart	Baer	Randolph	Forsyth
Ward	Goldsborough	Roane	Hall
<i>Vermont.</i>	Hanson	Sheffey	Lumpkin
Langdon	Herbert	Smith	Telfair
<i>Connecticut.</i>	Moore	Tait	Wilde.
Champion	Pinkney	<i>North Carolina.</i>	<i>Kentucky.</i>
Law	Smith	Clarke	Hardin
Mosely	Stuart	Culpepper	M'Kee
Stearns	Wright	Edwards	<i>Tennessee.</i>
Sturgis.	<i>Virginia.</i>	Forney	Henderson
<i>New York.</i>	Barbour	Gaston	Thomas.—81
Grosvenor.	Basset		

NAYS.

<i>Massachusetts.</i>	Birdsall	Southard	Marsh
Baylies	Brooks	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	Newton
Connor	Comstock	Crawford	<i>South Carolina.</i>
Hulbert	Crocheron	Darlington	Calhoun
Paris	Gold	Glasgow	Mayrant
Strong	Savage	Griffin	<i>Ohio.</i>
Wheaton.	Scherck	Hahn	Alexander
<i>Connecticut.</i>	Throop	Ingham	Clendenin
Davenport	Townsend	Irwin	Creighton
Pitkin	Wendover	Lyle	<i>Kentucky.</i>
<i>Rhode Island.</i>	Ward	Maclay	Desha
Boss	Wilkin	Milnor	Johnson
Mason	Willoughby	Piper	M'Lean
<i>Vermont.</i>	Yates	Sergeant	Sharpe
Chipman	<i>New Jersey.</i>	Wallace	Taul
<i>New York.</i>	Baker	Wilson	<i>Tennessee.</i>
Adgate	Bateman	<i>Virginia.</i>	Powell
Betts	Bennet	Jackson	Reynolds.—60.

"cultivating our vacant lands." The obvious consequence would be that the quantity of the agricultural productions of the country, and our demands for manufactured goods from abroad, would both have been greatly increased. Of course the prices of the former would have been still more ruinously reduced, and the nation still more drained of a circulating medium. It does not require much skill to calculate what ruinous consequences such a system of policy would have produced.

Before we dismiss this part of our subject, we wish, fellow citizens, to present it in another point of view. Suppose 10,000 agricultural citizens settled in the interior of any of the western states, and acting on the maxim of Adam Smith, that is, "buying where they can purchase cheapest"—of course in Europe and in the East Indies, at a distance of from three to ten thousand miles, subject to all the variety of charges incidental to such a commerce, and then transmitting their surplus productions three thousand miles, subject to similar charges! what a state of dependence and poverty this policy is calculated to produce! Yet it is to a certain extent the situation of a large portion of the interior of the United States. And hence the general depression, the stagnation of business, the drain of the circulating medium, and the consequent depreciation of their bank paper.

Of this policy the state of Ohio has long been, and all the other western states are gradually becoming, melancholy victims. It can never be sufficiently regretted, that with a boundless capacity of supplying themselves with nearly every thing they require, a very large proportion of their clothing and other articles should be drawn from Europe, and that the produce of their industry should depend for its value on the state of the markets in that quarter of the globe!

Let us exhibit a brighter picture, on which the mind can dwell with delight; a picture, which a correct tariff could not have failed to produce, and which, we trust, the wisdom of congress will ere long produce. Let us suppose that these 10,000 citizens had linen, cotton, woollen, and leather manufactures adequate to their wants in their immediate vicinity, and that instead of sending their flour and tobacco to New Orleans and thence to Liverpool, the former at four or five dollars per barrel, and of course purchasing a coat with six or eight barrels, they had a market for it at home, and could purchase a coat for three or four

barrels, and in the same proportion for other articles. The difference between the two situations is exactly the same as between affluence and penury—happiness and wretchedness. What a contrast! what a lesson does this superficial view furnish the legislature of the United States—and what a strong sentence of condemnation it pronounces on Adam Smith's theory!

V. Extortion during the War.

This stands on nearly the same ground of error as the preceding objections. During that period, the wages of labour were high—the expenses of transportation of the raw materials, as well as of the manufactured articles, very exorbitant—and those raw materials were sold at high rates. All these circumstances combined to enhance the price of goods of every description. Moreover, the heavy disbursements for the purchase of mill-seats and erecting machinery, required extraordinary profits—And finally, the disorders and irregularities of a state of warfare, forbid men of sound minds from grounding any general inferences on the occurrences of such a period.

But suppose all the charges of this class were judicially proved; with what propriety, we boldly, but respectfully ask, could a planter who raised cotton for 10 or 12 cents, and for years sold it at 20 and 30, and who would without scruple have sold it at 75 or 100—or a merchant who buys flour at ten dollars, carries it to the West Indies, when the people are in a state of starvation, and there, taking advantage of their distress, sells at 30, 40 or 50 dollars—with what propriety, we say, can they reproach the manufacturer for having sold cloth which cost him 8 or 9 dollars, at 12 or 14? The application of the parable of the bean and the mote, was not confined to the commencement of the Christian era. Its lessons are as necessary now as they were 1800 years ago.

On this point we once more refer to the luminous maxim of Alexander Hamilton, contained in our third number, which is beyond the power of refutation, and which points out the proper course to be pursued, with the hand of a master.

This maxim has received the strongest corroboration from the practical experience of the United States, which is within the knowledge of almost every individual in it.

There is probably not a single article manufactured here which is not sold at a fair price. This can never fail to be the case, in a country where there is so much enterprise, so much capital, and so much industry, at all times ready to be employed in any pursuit which affords a reasonable prospect of remuneration, and likewise such a spirit of competition. In fact the rivalry is, in many cases, carried so far that prices are reduced too low, and in consequence many of the competitors ruined.

But facts speak louder than words. For years the nation has been led astray by groundless accusations of the extortions of manufacturers, which have been an unceasing source of declamation, and been regarded as an unanswerable argument against complying with the requests of this class of citizens. During this whole time the farmers and planters have been realizing the most exorbitant profits; amassing large and independent fortunes, and exhibiting a degree of prosperity rarely exceeded.* On the contrary nearly one-half of the "*extortionate*" manufacturers of cotton and woollen fabrics, victims of a pernicious policy, have been ruined, and a large portion of the remainder are barely able to struggle along in hopes of a change in the policy of the country!

VI. *Loss of Revenue.*

The solicitude to avoid impairing the revenue, by prohibiting the importation of any merchandize, or by such high protecting duties as might operate to diminish importation, has been openly avowed in congress among the reasons for rejecting the prayers of the manufacturers for protection!

It is lamentable to think that in the enlightened nineteenth century, it should be necessary to combat such a prejudice.

Let us calmly examine this objection, and see on what ground it rests. Let us suppose the annual amount of our importations of cotton fabrics, to be 15,000,000 of dollars;

* The losses resulting from the excessive quantities of our produce, with which foreign markets are so frequently overstocked, have hitherto scarcely touched the farmers or planters, who have almost universally sold their produce at high rates. The injury, as already stated, has fallen on the merchants. The farmers and planters, however, now begin to participate largely in the pernicious effects of this system.

and that by adequate protection, they could be manufactured among ourselves, and this large sum retained in the country; can it be admitted for a moment that the question of manufacturing or importing should be decided by the operation on the fiscal concerns of the country? or that a government, whose paramount duty it is to protect the interests and to promote the prosperity of a nation, should for a moment prefer to have its wealth, to such an extent, drained away for the benefit of a foreign country, merely because it could draw a portion of the amount to the coffers of the state? That is to say, in order to simplify the business, can it be reconcilable to sound policy, to send 15,000,000 of dollars to India and China, or elsewhere, to support the industry, the manufactures, and the agriculture of those countries, instead of retaining it at home for the advantage of our own citizens, merely because the treasury could raise three or four millions from the articles thus purchased! Whatever plea there might be for this system in countries whose immoderate debts, and enormous expenses require paramount attention to raising a large revenue, it is wholly inapplicable in the United States, whose debts and expenses are comparatively light, and whose means of discharging them are so abundant.

Any diminution of revenue, resulting from the imposition of the duties necessary to protect national industry would only affect the question of the duration of the debt itself; that is, whether it should be paid off in a greater or less period of time! It is, in a word, a question whether the nation shall pay off the debt, for instance, in ten, twelve, or fifteen years, and during that period feel the distress, embarrassment, and poverty which have never failed and never can fail to result from the neglect of protecting national industry—or take twenty or twenty-five years to pay it off, and in the mean time enjoy the bounties, the blessings, the happiness which heaven has placed within its reach. We trust there never will be, certainly there never ought to be, any hesitation in future on the choice.

But we feel persuaded, that even confining our views to the mere secondary object of revenue, and utterly disregarding all higher concerns, the low tariff has been impolitic, which will appear manifest from the following consideration:

It has encouraged extravagant importations, for a few years, whereby the revenue has, it is true, gained in pro-

portion as the country has been impoverished. *But that impoverishment, and the ruin that spreads far and wide, must necessarily produce a diminution of future importations proportioned to the past excess, and has further produced the lamentable consequence of a diminution of the power of paying taxes!!*

The utter impolicy of depending almost wholly on the impost for a revenue, was so striking during the last war, and reduced the country to such a deplorable state in point of resources and finances, that sound wisdom enters a most solemn protest against the continuance of such a system. It brought the United States to the verge of destruction. On the commencement of the war, when our utmost energies ought to have been called into immediate operation, the grand source of revenue was at once cut off, and invaluable time was wasted in preparing a substitute. This must be the case in all future wars, from which the experience of all mankind forbids us to hope for an exemption. Whereas, if manufactures were duly protected, they would bear, and the manufacturers would cheerfully pay, moderate duties; which in time of war might be enlarged as circumstances would require. England, the most commercial nation in the world, derives only one-fifth part of her revenues from customs. In 1793, her revenue was above sixty-three millions of pounds sterling, of which the customs yielded not quite twelve.*

The customs of the United States for the years 1807 and 1808, were above thirty-two millions; whereas, in 1814, *they were not six millions!* thus this source of revenue, like a deceitful friend, deserted the nation completely in the hour of need; and, like a deceitful friend, whose falsehood is fully proved, *ought never to be implicitly relied on again.*

VII. *Encouragement of Smuggling.*

The refusal of adequate duties for the protection of the manufactures of the United States has been too generally defended, among other reasons, by the apprehension of affording encouragement to smuggling. This plea will not stand scrutiny. It is a remarkable fact, that the duties are higher on a variety of articles, not at present, nor likely to be, raised or manufactured in this country, than on those which interfere with or destroy our national industry.

* Colquhoun on the Power and Resources of Great Britain, p. 256.

In order to enable you, fellow citizens, to form a correct idea on this subject, and to appreciate the incorrectness of the plea, we annex a table of duties on sundry articles of both descriptions.

ARTICLES.	Prices.*	Specific duty.	Rate of duty per cent.
	Cents.	Cents.	
Imperial tea, per lb.	65 a 67	50	80
Hyson do. do.	38 1-2 a 40	28	70 a 80
Souchong do. do.	20 a 35	25	70 a 125
Madeira wine, per gallon	260	100	40
Sherry do. do.	100 a 112	60	55 a 60
Cinnamon, per lb	40	25	60
Cloves do.	55 a 50	25	50 a 52
Cotton fabrics			27 1-2
Wollen manufactures			27 1-2
On all articles manufactured of brass, steel, pewter, lead, or tin, brass wire, cutlery, pins, needles, buttons, earthenware, pottery, porcelain, china, &c.			22

It is painful to us to state, but regard to truth, and to the dearest interests of our country, oblige us to state, that we doubt whether the tariff of any country has ever exhibited more impolitic features than are to be seen in the above abstract. If the apprehension of encouraging smuggling by high duties had any influence in regulating the tariff, ought it not to have prevented the imposition of 80 per cent. on teas, 50 per cent. on wines, 60 per cent. on cinnamon, and 50 per cent. on cloves? Is it not as easy to smuggle boxes of tea, as bales of cottons or woollens? Would it not have been as safe to impose a duty of 80 per cent. on the latter as the former? The want of sufficient protection of the national industry, which is so conspicuous throughout the tariff, *cannot therefore for a moment be defended on the ground of apprehension of promoting smuggling, which plea must be abandoned for ever.* The utterly inadequate duty on woollen goods sealed the condemnation and destruction of more than half the merino sheep in the country, which cost above one million of dollars to our citizens; were beyond price; and ought to have been cherished as *'the apple of the eye.'*

Had the cotton and woollen manufactures been protected by the lowest rate of duties on the seven first articles, in the above list, the United States would probably have saved 100,000,000 of dollars since the war, and would now exhi-

bit a most enviable spectacle of prosperity. It rends the heart of every citizen possessed of public spirit to behold the melancholy and appalling contrast that at present pervades the nation.

The United States possess a capacity of raising, and water power and mechanical skill to manufacture, cotton to an extent commensurate with the demand probably of the whole world, and our means of securing a constant supply of wool are amply adequate. It will not, therefore, admit of a doubt, that by proper encouragement, in a few years, this nation might have fully supplied itself with cotton and woollen manufactures to the utmost extent of its wants; and yet, wonderful to tell, two-thirds of our cotton fabrics are brought from countries, from three to ten thousand miles distant—and one third of our woollens, three thousand.

We wish it to be clearly and distinctly understood, that though these addresses appear to advocate exclusively the interests of the manufacturers, yet it is in appearance only. Our object is to promote the interests of the whole nation, on the most extended scale. We scorn all partial views; and are convinced, that were every manufacturer in the United States in a prosperous situation, still sound policy would require a radical revision of the tariff, in order to arrest the impoverishing drain of specie, resulting from an unfavourable balance of trade, and from the pernicious intercourse with India. The motive to our addresses is a clear and decided conviction that this nation can never be great, happy, or respectable, while '*it buys more than it sells,*' as it has done ever since the war; while its treasures are lavished at a distance of ten thousand miles to purchase fabrics, with which it could abundantly supply itself; while it exports raw materials at thirty cents a pound, and receives the articles, manufactured of them at from one dollar to six or eight;* and while we suffer our machinery to go to

* Two pieces of cambric, each containing twelve yards, weighed, the one two pounds one-eighth—the other, two pounds one-fourth. The first is sold in this city at one dollar, and the other at sixty-two and a half cents per yard. And there are much finer and higher priced cambrics than either—some at a dollar and a quarter, and some at two dollars. Thus the cotton, which we sell raw from eighteen to fifty cents per pound, is returned to us, manufactured, at the rate of from two dollars to seven or eight—an advance of from six hundred to about eighteen hundred per cent!

ruin, consign our manufacturers to poverty, and furnish employment for the machinery and manufacturers of other countries.

We shall conclude this address with a new view of this subject which will appear extraordinary, but which, nevertheless, we hope will not be rejected without due consideration.

We are strongly inclined to believe, that such additional protection to the national industry, as would have considerably diminished our importations, would not only have rescued this country from its present distress and embarrassment, and ensured it a high degree of happiness and prosperity, but, extraordinary as it may appear, would have proved advantageous even to Great Britain.

The value of a market depends not on the quantity of goods sold, but on the quantity paid for. And as the present paralysis of the national industry, and the impoverishment of the country, have chiefly arisen from our excessive importations and the want of adequate protection to our manufactures, by which many of them have received a severe, and some a deadly stroke; and, moreover, as this im-

We submit to the calm consideration of the reader, a calculation which cannot fail to astonish him. In 1816 we exported to Great Britain about fifty millions of pounds of cotton, which at thirty cents amounted to

\$15,000,000

Suppose that we received only 15,000,000 of pounds manufactured, into cambrics and muslins, at the low average of 33 cents per yard, equal to two dollars per lb. it would amount to	30,000,000
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Being for 15,000,000 lbs. double the value of the whole raw material exported, exclusive of the surplus 35,000,000 of pounds of raw cotton, which at prime cost is	10,500,000
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40,500,000

Thus leaving to Great Britain by this single transaction, a gain of - - - - -	25,500,000
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What an appalling view of the policy of a nation, which has had the experience of all the world to guide its career! Is it wonderful, after reflecting on this and so many analogous features of our intercourse with foreign countries, that with advantages superior to those of any nation of ancient or modern times, we should be surrounded by embarrassments and difficulties, and that bankruptcy should stare us in the face!

poverishment has reduced many of our importers to bankruptcy, and incapacitated a considerable proportion of the remainder from discharging their engagements at present; whereby the merchants of Great Britain experience not only very great temporary disappointments and difficulties, but will ultimately suffer immense losses; it conclusively follows, that our impolitic tariff has injured Great Britain as well as the United States.

Its injurious operation has been moreover greatly aided by a system pursued in Great Britain, which deserves explanation.

That her policy on the subject of manufactures, trade, and commerce is generally very profound, is too obvious to require enforcement. Yet we are persuaded that she has in the case of this country very much mistaken her true interest.

That the United States were her best customer, is beyond doubt—and had the trade with us been conducted with care and caution, she would have derived vastly more benefit from it than she has done, or is ever likely to do.

Our importers order as many goods as suit the consumption of the country, and in general rather a superabundance. Had the supplies for this market been confined to goods thus ordered, the importers might have prospered, and the debts been paid with tolerable punctuality. But it very frequently happens, that after an order is received from the United States, and filled, one, two, or three similar assortments are made up, shipped, consigned to an agent here, and sacrificed at vendue, at very reduced prices. The market is thus immoderately glutted, the prices of goods greatly reduced, the fair trader deeply injured, and sometimes absolutely ruined, by those who receive his orders.

Thus, independent of the heavy loss sustained by the sacrifice of the goods sent on consignment, immense losses arise from the failure of those whose prospects in business are destroyed by this overtrading.

It is, therefore, not improbable that the British merchants would receive nearly as large returns for two-thirds, perhaps for one half of the goods they export to this country, as they do for the whole. By the policy at present pursued, they absolutely ruin their most valuable customers, and destroy their best market: and the recent accounts from England prove that many of them ruin themselves. The

numerous bankruptcies in that country, it appears, are greatly owing to the failure of remittances from hence.

NO. VI.

Philadelphia, May 15, 1819.

THE Society for the Promotion of National Industry, impressed with a belief that the calamitous situation of our agriculture, manufactures, trade, and commerce—the unfavourable balance of trade—the exhausting drain of specie—and the reduction of the prices of real estate, and of the grand staples of our country, require the exercise of the wisdom of the legislature of the United States to apply an early and efficient remedy, hope it will not be regarded as an undue interference, that they venture to submit to the consideration of their fellow citizens throughout the union, the following form of a respectful application to the president, for an early call of congress. Should the measure be found necessary, it is of little consequence with whom it originates: should the contrary opinion prevail, the motive cannot fail, with all good men, to apologize for the suggestion.

To the President of the United States.

SIR,—The subscribers with all due respect, submit to your most serious consideration, the following reasons on which they venture to suggest the propriety of convening an extra session of congress.

Our agricultural productions, the great staples of our country, on which we relied to pay for our enormous importations, and which, even at their highest rates, would have been inadequate for that purpose, are either excluded from foreign markets, or reduced in price from twenty-five to forty per cent. without any probability of a favourable change.

Our markets are deluged with merchandize from foreign nations; while thousands of our citizens, able and willing to work, and capable of furnishing similar articles, are unable to procure employment; our manufacturing establishments are generally in a languishing condition, and many of them, in which immense sums have been invested, wholly

abandoned, whereby their proprietors, who placed reliance on the protection of government, are ruined.

Our commerce is almost equally prostrate, and the capital of the country, engaged in that useful branch, reduced, since the war, at least one-third, probably one-half.

The balance of trade, in consequence of excessive importations, has been, and continues, most ruinously against us, whereby, after having remitted an immense amount of our government and bank stock in payment, which subjects the nation to a heavy, permanent annual tax—we have been and are alarmingly drained of our circulating medium, in consequence of which our monied institutions are impoverished and crippled in their operations; agriculture, manufactures, trade, and commerce paralyzed: and all classes of our citizens more or less injuriously affected in their pursuits.

Real estate has depreciated throughout the union from fifteen to thirty-five per cent.; and in many cases fifty or sixty.

The subscribers are impressed with a conviction, that for all these alarming evils there is no adequate remedy but a reduction of the amount of our imports within that of our exports; it being undeniably true, that nations, like individuals, which *buy more than they sell*, or, in other words, expend beyond their income, must be reduced to bankruptcy.

To depend on this salutary effect being produced by the restoration of the spirit of economy which is to result from general distress, or from the forbearance of our merchants to import, is to allow a violent fever to rage in the body politic, and exhaust itself, or the national strength, without the application of any remedy to arrest its destructive career.

Even if our own merchants were to reduce their importations within those bounds which our means of payment would require, this would afford no security: as our markets would probably continue to be, as they have been, inundated with goods consigned by foreign merchants, which would perpetuate the calamitous situation into which our country is plunged.

A radical remedy to the evil, can only be applied by the legislature of the United States, in such a revision and regulation of the tariff, as shall reduce our importations, and effectually protect national industry.

In England, France, Germany, Russia and Prussia, and most other countries in Europe, national industry is adequately protected by prohibitions and heavy duties; whereas, while many of our agricultural productions, and almost all our manufactures, are excluded from nearly all the markets of the world; our markets are open to those of all other nations, under duties by no means affording sufficient protection; a case probably without example in the annals of mankind.

We therefore respectfully pray that you will be pleased to convene congress as early as circumstances may permit.*

NO. VII.

Philadelphia, May 20th, 1819.

ON almost every subject of discussion, fellow-citizens, there are certain hacknied phrases, which pass current as oracular, and though extremely fallacious, are received with scarcely any investigation. There is probably no science that has been more distorted in this respect than that of political economy, on which so much of human happiness depends.

We propose, in the present number, to consider a maxim of this description, fraught with destruction to any nation by which it is adopted; but which is implicitly believed in by a large portion of our citizens, and has had considerable influence on the legislature of the union.

This specious maxim is, that

"TRADE WILL REGULATE ITSELF,"

which, in all probability, led to that refusal of adequate protection to the national industry, which has overspread the nation with distress—lowered the price of some of our chief staples, by depriving them of a domestic market—bankrupted so many of our merchants and traders—deprived so many thousands of our citizens of employment—and, in a word, reduced us from the most towering prospects to a most calamitous reverse.

It will be perceived that this is a vital part of Adam Smith's doctrine—indeed, the basis on which he has raised his great superstructure; and that we have already animad-

* To this memorial no attention whatever was paid, except by a few printers of newspapers, who united in clamour against it.

verted on it incidentally. But its immense influence on the fate of nations, and its most destructive tendency, demand a more minute investigation, to which we now solicit your attention.

How far its advocates deem it proper to have it carried, we are not quite certain. In its strict acceptation, it means a total exclusion of all regulations of commerce, so that the intercourse between nations should be as free as between different provinces of the same empire. In fact, if it does not mean this, it is difficult to define what it can mean; for if a government enacts any regulation whatever, it cannot with truth or justice be said, that "*trade regulates itself*." We shall, therefore, consider it in its utmost latitude, as excluding all regulations. The result, however, would not be materially affected by any modification, or restriction of its provisions, short of effectual protection of national industry. These would, as the case might be, only accelerate or procrastinate the final catastrophe, to which it infallibly leads.

This maxim ought to have been consigned to oblivion centuries since, by the consideration that no trading or commercial nation has ever prospered without, "*regulation of trade*;" that those nations which have devoted the most scrupulous attention to its regulation, have been the most prosperous; and that in proportion as it has been neglected, just in the same proportion have nations gone to decay. The cases of England, France, Spain, and Portugal, offer powerful illustrations of these positions. But we shall not rest satisfied with this mode of defence. We shall trace the operation of the maxim in its full extent.

As it would be nugatory to suppose that the existing regulations of commerce could, by any convention, be annulled, and its entire freedom be universally established, we shall merely suppose it adopted only by a portion of the commercial world, and see what would be its effects on those nations wherein it was carried into operation?

To form an accurate idea on this or any other subject, the safest and best mode is to state the case on a small scale, which the mind can readily embrace without distraction, and thence to argue to the widest range to which the subject extends.

We will, therefore, here confine our view to two nations, France and Spain, and suppose that in the latter country the maxim we combat is carried into full operation, and

trade is allowed "*to regulate itself*"—but that in the former, it is "*regulated*" by the government, for the protection and encouragement of national industry, after the example of Great Britain, and indeed almost every other country in Christendom.

In order to do the maxim justice, we will assume, that both nations are on a perfect equality in every other respect than the "*regulation of trade.*" We will further assume that at the commencement of the rivalry between them, each nation possesses a circulating medium of 20,000,000 of dollars, and has 200,000 people employed in the cotton, and as many in the woollen manufacture, who produce annually four millions of yards of each kind of goods, which are exactly adequate to their consumption. To simplify the discussion, we confine ourselves to those two branches. But the reasoning will equally apply to every other species of manufactures.

4,000,000 yards of cotton goods, say <i>a</i> 50 cents	\$ 2,000,000
4,000,000 ditto of woollen, <i>a</i> 6 dollars	- - - 24,000,000
	<hr/>
	26,000,000
On which they realize a profit of twelve and a	<hr/>
half per cent. - - - - -	\$ 3,250,000
	<hr/>

To the French manufacturers, according to our hypothesis, the home market is secured. All foreign competition is effectually cut off. They have, therefore, every encouragement to extend and improve their fabrics; and in the first year of rivalry, having a surplus on hand, they export, we will suppose, 400,000 yards of each kind to Spain, and increase the exportation annually an equal amount. This operation produces the treble effect of lowering the price of the Spanish goods by the competition; circumscribing their sale; and depriving, during the first year, about 40,000 people of employment.

It being our determination to afford as little room for objection, as possible, we will suppose the reduction of price to be only seven and half per cent. which is far less than is usual in such cases.* Let us see the situation of the parties at the end of the

* Instances have recently occurred of domestic goods being reduced at once, ten, fifteen, and twenty per cent. in our markets, in consequence of great quantities of similar articles suddenly introduced from Europe.

First year:

The French manufacturers gain in their domestic market, as before - - - -	3,250,000	Whereas, the Spanish manufacturers, whose sales are reduced to 3,600,000 yards of each kind, amounting to 23,400,000, gain at 5 per cent. only - - -	\$1,170,000*
And on 400,000 yards of each kind, sold in Spain, amounting to 2,600,000, at 5 per cent. - - - - -	130,000		
	<u>\$3,380,000</u>		

This is the operation in the very first year, producing a difference at once of about 2,300,000 dollars of actual profit against the infatuated nation, which allows "*trade to regulate itself*," and, according to Adam Smith, buys where "*goods can be had the cheapest*." The second year commences with increased energy on the part of the French, and dismay and discouragement on that of the Spanish manufacturers. The former double their exportations, and send 800,000 yards into the rival markets, amounting to \$5,200,000, of which we trace the operation.

Second year.

French profit as before, on the home market - - - -	3,250,000	Whereas the sales of the Spaniards are reduced to 3,200,000 yards of each kind, amounting to 20,800,000, on which they gain at 5 per cent. - - -	\$1,040,000
And on 800,000 yards of each kind sold in Spain, amounting to 5,200,000, at 5 per cent.	260,000		
	<u>\$3,510,000</u>		

Third Year.

French profit as before, on the home market - - - -	3,250,000	The Spaniards find their sales diminished to 2,800,000 yards, amounting to 18,200,000 whereon they realize a profit of 5 per cent.	\$910,000
They increase their exportation to 1,200,000 yards of each kind, amounting to 7,800,000, at 5 per cent. - - -	390,000		
	<u>\$3,640,000</u>		

* This view of the effect of the rivalry has, we apprehend, almost wholly escaped the notice of our political economists. When the prices of our manufactures are reduced in the home market by foreign competition, the reduction is *on the whole we offer for sale*. Whereas the reduction to the rival nation is only on such part of her's as she exports to us. The contest is therefore carried on at an immense inequality.

Fourth Year.

French profit at home, as before	3,250,000	The Spanish manufacturers are reduced to 2,400,000 yards of each kind, amounting to 15,600,000, on which, at 5 per cent, they gain	
They increase their exportation to 1,600,000 yards of each kind, amounting to 10,400,000, which, at 5 per cent, affords a gain of	520,000		\$780,000
	<u>\$3,770,000</u>		

It is, we trust, needless, to pursue the calculation any further. You can readily, fellow citizens, perceive that the contest must soon terminate. The Spanish manufacturers, oppressed, impoverished, and dispirited, would be soon driven from the market, which would be monopolized by the more sagacious nation, which, we repeat, had the good sense to "*regulate trade*." Their immense gains would be at the expense, and to the destruction, of the nation, which was deluded by the specious maxim to "*let trade regulate itself*." The successful rivals would soon indemnify themselves for the temporary reduction of price, by a proportionate advance in future.

Let us compare the result of the four years operations on the two nations:—

<i>France.</i>		<i>Spain.</i>	
First year's profit	3,380,000	First Year's profit	1,170,000
Second Year	3,510,000	Second Year	1,040,000
Third Year	3,640,000	Third Year	910,000
Fourth Year	3,770,000	Fourth Year	780,000
	<u>\$14,300,000</u>		<u>\$3,900,000</u>

*Effect on the working people.**France.*

Six hundred thousand people industriously employed, supporting themselves in comfort and happiness, and adding to the wealth and strength of the nation*.

Spain.

Four hundred thousand people gradually thrown idle;—dragging on a wretched existence in mendicity; or looking in vain for those "*collateral branches*" which sound so harmoniously in Adam Smith, but which are not elsewhere to be found; or emigrating to France, to strengthen that nation at the expense of their own.

* It is obvious that by the transfer of the manufactures from Spain to France, for every workman reduced to idleness in the former country, there would be one additional employed in the latter. We have, therefore, in the text assumed 600,000, as the average number in France.

We have hitherto confined our calculations of the effects of this plausible but destructive system, to the manufacturers alone. Its pernicious consequences, if they extended no farther than to this class of citizens, would be sufficient to induce liberal minded men—those worthy to legislate for this rising empire, to abandon the maxim. But those consequences, how deplorable soever, are but as "*mere dust in the balance*" compared with its general effects on the wealth, strength, resources, power, and happiness of any devoted nation which enlists itself under the banners of Adam Smith.

In the first year France sells to Spain to the

amount of	-	-	-	-	\$ 2,600,000
In the Second	-	-	-	-	5,200,000
In the Third	-	-	-	-	7,800,000
In the Fourth	-	-	-	-	10,400,000
					<hr/> 26,000,000 <hr/>

This is a debt which, in the first place, drains all the metallic medium, as far as the merchants can collect it; and next all the evidences of public debt, or whatever valuable articles can be had. And still a heavy and oppressive debt is accruing from year to year afterwards!

The result is easily seen. A prosperous nation, with a specie capital of \$20,000,000, is by this simple process in four years reduced to a most abject, impoverished, and dependent state. Its wealth is drained away to support a foreign nation. Every species of industry is paralyzed. Ships rot at the wharves. Trade languishes. Merchants and traders, as well as manufacturers, become bankrupts. Artisans, mechanics, and labouring people, who had largely contributed to the welfare of the state, are transformed into mendicants, or driven to desperate courses to prolong their existence; and desolation extends itself over the face of the land.

This, fellow citizens, is very nearly our present case. It is true, we have not absolutely let '*trade regulate itself*,' by a total absence of all duties. The necessities of the treasury, which by many members of congress were freely admitted to be the leading, and by some to be the only object of a tariff,* forbade the adoption of the maxim in its

* We have already stated that Col. John Taylor, a popular writer in Virginia, has taken the broad ground, that every dollar imposed

fullest extent: and therefore our imported merchandize pays duty. But it is obvious that where the tariff of one nation is so wholly inefficient, that she can be completely undersold in her own markets by another, as the people of the United States are at present, the ultimate effect is actually the same, as if '*trade were allowed to regulate itself.*' The duties imposed by our tariff have merely delayed, not averted, the work of destruction. But that it is as sure in its operation, is placed beyond the reach of doubt by the desolation and ruin that pervade so many invaluable manufacturing establishments throughout the union, on which millions of dollars have been expended, and whose fall, as we have so often repeated, and must re-echo in the ears of those who alone have the power of applying a remedy, involved the ruin of the citizens engaged in them.

The most cursory reader must perceive, and no one possessed of candour can deny, that we have given the advocates of the maxim, '*let trade regulate itself,*' far more advantage in the argument than was necessary, or proper. When we stated the reduction of price at seven and a half per cent. and a gradual increase of exportation from France to Spain, of only ten per cent. of the amount originally manufactured in each country, we did our cause manifest injustice. We might have assumed at once a reduction of price not of seven and a half per cent.—but of ten or more—and an exportation of double the amount, which, combined, would produce the immediate ruin of the Spanish manufacturers, of whose fabrics a large proportion would remain on hand, and the residue be sold at or below cost.—This is and has ever been the uniform operation of the system of letting '*trade regulate itself.*'

A physician who found his patient in a raging fever, and let the disorder take its course, or '*regulate itself,*' would be deservedly reprobated as unworthy of his profession. But his conduct would not be more irrational than that of a statesman, who saw the agriculture, manufactures, trade, and commerce of his country going to decay, and let them '*regulate themselves.*' Government is instituted to guard the interests of the nation confided to its care: and by what-

as duty on foreign merchandize, is a dollar robbed out of the pockets of the agriculturists! This maxim, admirably calculated to excite the selfish passions of one class of citizens against another, has unfortunately had too many proselytes in and out of congress.

ever name it may be called, is no longer estimable than as it fulfils this sacred duty. It was painful to us to state in a former address—it is equally painful to us to repeat—but we must repeat the appalling truth, that our manufacturers, a large and important class, embracing some of the most valuable members of the community, must, with mixed sensations of regret and envy, regard the situation of the manufacturers of England, Denmark, France, Russia, Austria, and most other countries in Europe, who enjoy that protection from their governments which the former sought in vain from their fellow citizens and representatives, who are now themselves involved in the general distress resulting from the want of that protection.

We refer you, fellow citizens, to the plain, but impressive lesson afforded by the fable of the belly and the members. The latter starved the former to death—and perished victims of their own folly. We need not pursue it in detail. It is on the mind of almost every individual in the country, young and old. We cannot refrain from expressing our fears, that posterity will pronounce our policy to be a full exemplification of the soundness of its moral, and of our destitution of those broad and liberal views, that regard with '*equal eye*' all descriptions of society.

It will probably be objected by those whose interests or prejudices enlist them in hostility to our views, that all we have here submitted to you, fellow citizens, is merely theory; that however plausible, it cannot be relied on in the regulation of the political economy of a great nation; that Adam Smith being the oracle of that science, no theory opposed to his should be received, at least without the support of strong, and well-established facts.

Well, we meet them, and are fairly at issue, on this ground—and are willing to stand or fall as we furnish this support to our theory. We offer an historical case which exemplifies the baleful consequences of a system exactly similar to ours in its features and operation—which blighted and blasted the happiness of a prosperous nation—and which pronounces a strong sentence of condemnation on the theory of Adam Smith.

In the year 1681, Portugal established the woollen manufacture on an extensive scale; and, by absolute prohibitions, excluded the woollen cloths of all other nations.—In consequence she enjoyed a high degree of prosperity for above twenty years, and had the balance of trade in her

favour universally. Fatally for her, in 1703, the British minister, Mr. Methuen, induced her to enter into a treaty, called by his name, which stipulated that she should never prohibit British woollen manufactures, provided Port wines were admitted into Great Britain at two-thirds of the duty paid on those of France. The agriculturists of Portugal deluded themselves into the opinion, that they should derive a double benefit from this regulation; secure a market for their wines, and buy their cloths at reduced prices; that is, according to the maxim of Adam Smith, buy where '*they could be had the cheapest.*' But they were soon awakened out of this '*day dream.*' The flourishing manufacture was destroyed—the circulating medium of the country drained away—and the nation precipitated from the most flourishing state of prosperity to that pitiable situation of poverty and debasement which holds her up to other nations as a beacon to shun the rocks whereon she shipwrecked her resources and her happiness, and on which our political bark is at present striking with violence.*

The important lesson held out by this case of Portugal—its close affinity to our situation—and the hope of its eradicating prejudices destructive to the strength, happiness and independence of our country, induce us to give our authorities at full length. They are derived from two works of high character, '*the British Merchant,*' written by a so-

* These admonitory facts evince the unsoundness of the theory of Col. Taylor, as well as of many of the members of congress, who are his disciples and the zealous partizans of his doctrines. Regardless of the ruinous consequences to their fellow citizens who had embarked millions in manufacturing establishments, they fondly persuaded themselves that by reducing the duties as low as possible, consistently with the necessity of providing a revenue, which, we repeat, was their paramount object, they were consulting the interests of the agriculturists, who would thereby be enabled to purchase foreign merchandize at low prices, and whose produce they believed always so certain of finding an advantageous market and high prices in Europe, that they might disregard the home market! Fatal delusion! Utter disregard of the sound systems and experience of all wise nations, and of the warning example of all unwise ones! They are now broad awake from those deceptions '*day dreams.*' Their flour, excluded from the European markets, has fallen from thirty to forty per cent; their cotton has suffered an equal depreciation; and their tobacco is reduced 50 per cent. If liberality insures its own reward, illiberal policy never fails to carry its own punishment.

ciety of the most eminent merchants in England, in the reign of queen Anne; and ‘Anderson on the means of exciting a spirit of National Industry.’

‘In the year 1681, one *Courteen*, an Irishman, a servant in the family of the then queen of England, afterwards queen dowager, carried over several clothiers and bay-makers into Portugal, where they presently set up the manufactures, both of cloth and bays, particularly at Port *Alegre* and *Covilhan*.

‘It was soon found that the staple of their wool was too short for bays; therefore their bay-makers were dismissed.

‘But they proceeded in their manufacture of cloth; and soon brought it to such perfection, that in 1684, either in June or July, upon the *Conde d’Ereicera’s* project to encrease their exportations, and lessen the consumption of foreign manufactures, as well as to encourage their own, the king of Portugal made a sumptuary law to restrain several excesses in the kingdom; and, among the rest, *the importation of all foreign woollen cloths was prohibited*.

‘Upon this the foreign merchants in that country made several remonstrances; but could by no means obtain that the prohibition should be set aside: yet they gained a year’s time to bring in those that were on the way, but were obliged to reship whatever should arrive after the time limited.

‘The Portuguese soon became so expert in the manufacture of woollen cloths, that they sent home our English clothiers in a distressed condition; and the renegadoes were forced for some time to beg their bread.’*

‘The *Portuguese* went on successfully: their manufacture of woollen cloths increased to that degree, that both *Portugal* and *Brazil* were wholly supplied from their own fabrics: and the materials of this manufacture were their own and Spanish wool, and no other.

‘To make ourselves some amends, and to evade the ill consequences of this prohibition of our woollen cloths, we introduced into Portugal in their stead cloth-serges and cloth druggets; *against which their fabric of cloth which was then but in its infancy, would have been as unable to contend, as against a free importation of our woollen cloths. Therefore, that their own cloth might have no such thing as a rival in their own country, they proceeded to prohibit*

* British Merchant, vol. III. p. 70.

foreign cloth-serges and cloth-druggets. This happened about one year after the first prohibition.*

‘Mr. Methuen’s treaty, (1703,) by taking off the prohibition of British cloths, and by providing, that neither these, nor any of the *British* woollen manufactures in Portugal, should hereafter be prohibited, was *the immediate ruin of all the fabrics in that country.*’†

‘Our gain by the treaty, and so vast an enlargement of our exportations to Portugal, is, that we have saved vast sums of money, which otherwise might have gone out of the nation to pay our armies in Portugal and other countries; and *have greatly added to the treasure of the kingdom; that the balance annually due from Portugal has subsisted great numbers of our people, employed in making manufactures to the value of the balance.*

‘*The product of the lands is a considerable part of every manufacture; the balance therefore due from Portugal has paid great sums for the product of our lands; and our rents are nothing else but the value paid for the product of the lands; and consequently all that part of the Portugal balance which has been paid for the product of the lands, is so much added to the rents of the kingdom. Yet this is not the whole profit the landed interest has received from this balance.* The people that have been subsisted by that great overbalance of manufactures might otherwise have come very great numbers of them upon the parish; it is a gain to the landed interest to be saved from this charge. Our gain then by our Portugal treaty, and our excess of exportations on that account, is a vast increase of the nation’s treasure, the employment and subsistence of great numbers of manufacturing people, an augmentation of our rents, and the saving the landed interest from the charge of maintaining such numbers of poor, as have subsisted themselves by the excess of exportations.‡

‘The stipulation of the king of Portugal in this treaty, has helped us to so *prodigious a vent for our woollen manufactures in that country*, as has abundantly made up the loss of that balance we heretofore received from Spain.’§

Previous to the Methuen treaty, Portugal coins were so rare in England, that they were almost regarded as medals.

* British Merchant, vol. iii. p. 71.

† Idem, vol. iii. p. 254.

‡ Idem, ii. p. 76.

§ Idem, p. 38.

Whereas, after that treaty had taken effect, there was an annual balance in favour of England, of *one million sterling*, or 4,444,000 dollars equal to 3 millions at present. Portugal was drained, as the United States are now, first of her silver, and then of her gold, so that she had. '*very little left for her necessary occasions.*' This balance fully accounts for her impoverishment, and at that period was an immense sum, as will appear from the circumstance that the whole of the balance of trade in favour of England with all the world was then only 12,000,000—and her whole exports hardly 17,000,000.* In consequence, the coins of Portugal flowed into Great Britain so abundantly, that she was not only enabled to pay her armies abroad with them—but they formed a considerable portion of the circulating medium of the nation—and the chief part of the bullion melted and coined in her mint.

'During the twenty years prohibition, the Portuguese succeeded so well in their woollen manufactures, that *we brought thence no gold or silver; but after the taking off that prohibition we brought away so much of their silver, as to leave them very little for their necessary occasions; and then we began to bring away their gold.*'†

'From that treaty's taking place, the balance of trade began to take place: and the year 1703, was the first year *we began to bring off the silver of that nation.*'‡

'The intent of the treaty was, to increase the consumption of our woollen cloths in Portugal; and has it not been increased by means of this treaty? *had we any balance before from Portugal, and do we not now gain every year a million by that treaty?*'§

'We never before the treaty had any armies to pay in Portugal; yet *we brought none of their coin to our mint; not such a thing as a Portugal piece was seen in England; or if it was, it was almost as great a curiosity as our medals.*'†

'Our exports to Portugal since that treaty have amounted to 1,1,300,000. per annum, and perhaps to a much greater sum.¶

'The payment of our armies, the coinage in the mint, the quantities of Portugal coin still current in the country, are

* Idem, vol. ii. p. 110.

† Idem, vol. ii. p. 35.

‡ Idem, vol. iii. p. 253.

§ Idem, vol. iii. p. 15.

¶ Idem, vol. iii. p. 33

¶ Idem 20.

so many demonstrations that we have exported vast quantities of woollen manufactures and other goods and merchandizes to that kingdom.*

The analogy between the case of Portugal and that of the United States is strong and striking. The important woollen manufacture was established and brought to such perfection in four years in the former country, as not only to supply its own consumption but that of its colonies. In the course of three or four years it was completely destroyed.

‘Thus did Portugal, by the spirited exertion of one able minister, (the Conde d’Ereicera.) gain in a few years a perfect knowledge in a principal branch of the woollen manufacture; which they might have possessed, to the infinite emolument of the poor subjects of his Faithful Majesty till this hour, *had not the nation, by the death of that patriotic nobleman, lost her best counsellor, and been overreached by the more able British minister, Mr. Methuen.*†

‘Thus in four years did their woollen manufactures attain to such perfection, as to enable them to dispense with foreign cloths entirely.’‡

It may perhaps, be supposed that the total destruction of this flourishing manufacture, could not have taken place so rapidly unless the English woollen fabrics were admitted duty free. This would be an egregious error. The stipulation of the Methuen treaty was, that they should not be prohibited, nor be subject to a higher duty than before the prohibition had taken place. This was twenty-three per cent. which, *like so many of the duties in the United States, was found utterly inadequate to preserve the manufacture from destruction.*

‘The duties of importation, before the prohibitions, had the name of twenty-three per cent. But *the goods were undervalued; those duties of twenty-three per cent, were not above twelve per cent. of their real value.* To such low duties has the king of Portugal obliged himself with respect to the several sorts of woollen manufactures, which stood before prohibited in that country.’||

We invite your attention, fellow citizens, to the striking similarity between the case of Portugal, as stated above, and

* Anderson on National Industry, p. 267.

† Idem, p. 266.

‡ Idem, 257.

|| British Merchant. iii. p. 37.

that of the United States. In this country, the woollen manufacture and that of cotton rose to maturity during the three years of warfare: and had the war continued two or three years more, or had they met with adequate protection after the peace, they would probably have attained to such maturity and taken such deep root, as to defy foreign competition. But the four years of peace have crushed a large portion of both descriptions. One of the most eminent merchants in Baltimore writes us—‘I am sorry to say, that our cotton manufactures are likely to fall through, unless more effectually protected—*English cotton goods have been selling at about half the cost and charges.* Under such circumstances it is impossible for home manufactures to stand the competition.’ A merchant in New-York likewise writes—‘The manufactures (of cotton particularly) will require all the aid they can get from congress next session to sustain themselves. The enormous imports of foreign goods have so affected the price, that the cost cannot be obtained.’

The preceding view of the enviable state of prosperity, and the rapid and lamentable downfall, of Portugal, demands the most pointed attention of every friend of the prosperity of this country. It is like the hand writing on the wall—the ‘*mene, tekel, upharsin,*’—the warning to flee the road that is leading us to a similar state. Let these facts be carefully compared with the theory laid down in the commencement of this address, and they will afford the most irresistible proof of its soundness, as well as of the utter impolicy that has prevailed in the regulation of our tariff, which has done this country more injury in four years of peace than she suffered in both her wars. At the close of the last, she commenced her career under as favourable auspices as any nation in the world—A high character at home and abroad—her merchants wealthy and prosperous—her manufactures flourishing—her people all employed—her staples of immense value. What a deplorable contrast she exhibits at present! Who can reflect on it without agony! Her character impaired by the impracticability of her citizens paying their debts abroad—her merchants, one after another, daily swallowed up in bankruptcy—her manufactures prostrate—thousands and tens of thousands of her people unemployed—her staples sunk in value, probably more than 20,000,000 dollars per annum—and no prospect of relief at hand. If Adam Smith’s work consisted

of twenty volumes instead of two—and if the commentaries on it had extended to two hundred, were the whole thrown into one scale, and the single case of Portugal thrown into the other, the former would kick the beam.

We conjure you, fellow citizens, by your regard for our common country—by the duty you owe yourselves, your wives, and your children—by the memory of your Washington, Franklin, Hancock, and Adams—by the desire you must feel to arrest the progress of the depreciation of the grand staples of your agriculture, as well as the destruction of your manufactures, trade and commerce—all victims of a pernicious policy; by the claim posterity has on you to make a good use of the immense advantages you possess—by that liberty on which you justly pride yourselves, but which loses its value, if accompanied by beggary and ruin—in a word, by all you hold near or dear on earth—weigh well the subject of this address. Examine it in all its bearings and aspects. And should it satisfactorily establish, as we trust it will, the danger of the course you are pursuing, arouse from the lethargy in which you are enthralled—and, as congress alone has the power of applying a remedy, memorialize your representatives to change their system—to follow the maxims of all the wise nations of ancient and modern times—to remove, as far as possible, the distresses of the nation—and to save from the vortex of bankruptcy those who have escaped the ravages of the storm which threatens to blast all our hopes of happiness, and to reduce us to the same state of prostration and decrepitude as Spain and Portugal, who, it is unfortunately true, have not made a worse use of the bounties of heaven than the United States!

The immense importance of the case of Portugal, induces us to place before the eyes of our fellow citizens two comparisons of her conduct with ours—in the one, the soundness of her policy places us in the back ground an entire century in point of political wisdom—in the other, her impolicy and her consequent sufferings and distress are the counterpart of the system we have pursued, and the calamities under which we writhe.

Striking contrast.

PORTUGAL.

‘The Portuguese set up a fabric of their own, and proceeded in it with very good success, *after the prohibition of wools and all foreign*

THE UNITED STATES

Prohibit nothing whatever—and afford utterly inadequate protection to the great and leading manufactures of cottons, woollens, and iron,

coloured cloth. We had then nothing left against their cloths, but to introduce our cloth serges and cloth druggets into that country. They quickly found that these gave some interruption to their manufactures, and therefore they proceeded also to prohibit foreign serges and druggets."^{*}

lest 'the many should be taxed for the benefit of the few!!'" and in order to 'buy where goods could be had cheapest!!'"

Striking likeness.

PORTUGAL.

'Before the treaty our woollen cloths, cloth serges and cloth druggets were prohibited in Portugal. They had set up fabrics there for making cloth, and proceeded with very good success: and we might justly apprehend they would have gone on to erect other fabrics, till at last they had served themselves with every species of woollen manufactures. The treaty takes off all prohibitions, and obliges Portugal to admit forever all our woollen manufactures. Their own fabrics by this were presently ruined. And we exported 100,000*l.* value in the single article of cloths, the very year after the treaty."[†]

'The court was pestered with remonstrances from their manufacturers when the prohibition was taken off, pursuant to Mr. Methuen's treaty. But the thing was past. The treaty was ratified: and **THEIR LOOMS WERE ALL RUINED.** And yet there was no tendency to a revolt, although so many people were deprived of their employment in that country by taking off the prohibition."[‡]

'The balance was so very great, that notwithstanding we paid subsidies to the king of Portugal, and paid for troops, (there were also vast supplies of our armies in Valencia and Catalonia,) yet still the overbalance lay so much against them, that there was ten, twelve, and fifteen per cent. difference between the exchange and the intrinsic value of the money."[§]

THE UNITED STATES.

During the war, cotton, woollen, and other kinds of goods, were not, it is true, prohibited. There were, however, very few imported. The citizens of the United States set up fabrics for making cloth, both woollen and cotton; and, had the war continued, or had they received protection after it was concluded, they would have gone on to erect other fabrics, till they had served themselves with every species of manufacture. The treaty of peace opened our ports to foreign merchandize, under duties utterly inadequate for protection, whereby a large portion of our fabrics were wholly ruined—and, probably within a year after the war \$35,000,000 of cottons and woollens imported into this country.

Congress was most respectfully entreated for adequate protection, by the manufacturers, when the war was closed. It was refused: and the distress and ruin of the manufacturers and the impoverishment of the nation followed.

The balance of trade is so great, that notwithstanding we have shipped immense quantities of produce at high prices—and remitted probably from about \$20,000,000 to 25,000,000 of government and bank stock, we are still heavily in debt, and unable to pay.

^{*} British Merchant, vol. iii. p. 35.

[†] British Merchant, vol. iii. p. 253. [‡] Idem, p. 75. [§] Idem, p. 91

The following picture of the state of the western country, taken from the Frankfort Argus, evinces the insanity of not making some prompt and decisive effort to relieve the nation from its disastrous situation.

“Never within the recollection of our oldest citizens has the aspect of times, as it respects property and money, been so alarming. Already has property been sacrificed in considerable quantities, in this and the neighbouring counties, for less than half its value. We have but little money in circulation, and that little is daily diminishing by the universal calls of the banks. Neither lands, negroes, nor any other article can be sold for half their value in cash; while executions, to the amount of many hundred thousand dollars, are hanging over the heads of our citizens. **WHAT CAN BE DONE?** In a few months no debt can be paid, no money will be in circulation to answer the ordinary purposes of human life. Warrants, writs, and executions will be more abundant than bank notes: and the country will present a scene of scuffling for the poor remnants of individual fortunes, which the world has not witnessed.”

NO. VIII.

Philadelphia, May 27, 1819.

WHEN we first ventured, fellow citizens, to call your attention to the subject of political economy, we were influenced to adopt that measure, by the calamitous situation of our affairs, public and private. Agriculture had received a deep wound by the reduction of the prices of its staple articles from twenty to forty per cent.—real estate was reduced in the same proportion—navigation and commerce were languishing—manufactures were prostrated by an inordinate influx of foreign commodities, calculated to excite a spirit of luxury and extravagance in our citizens—the narrow, illiberal, and selfish maxims, ‘*to buy where goods could be had the cheapest,*’ and ‘*not to tax the many for the benefit of the few,*’ had produced a system whereby the wealth of our nation was converted into a means of fostering and encouraging the industry of a distant hemisphere, and supporting foreign governments, while our own citizens were turned adrift for want of employment, and many of them re-

duced to mendicity, and our country impoverished—we were involved in heavier debts than ever before, with diminished means of payment—and the character of our country, from the inability of her merchants to pay their debts, and their frequent bankruptcy, was greatly impaired in the eyes of the world. In a word, under whatever aspect our affairs were viewed, they presented the most serious cause of uneasiness and apprehension.

We looked around for the causes which, in the short space of four years, without war, famine, pestilence or failure of any of the bounties of heaven, have reduced to this state from the pinnacle of reputation and happiness—a people justly celebrated for their enterprise, their industry, their mechanical skill, their wealth, and enjoying in the highest degree, every gift of heaven, in soil, climate, and extent of territory.

Several causes, we found, had combined to produce this calamitous result. The prosperity of the country had engendered a spirit of extravagance—and the inordinate spirit of banking, carried in many cases to a most culpable excess, had done much mischief. But the great paramount evil, in comparison with which all the rest sink into insignificance, is the immoderate extent of our importations, whereby we are involved in debts, for which our produce, at the highest prices, would have been inadequate to pay; and their great recent reduction, of course, increases our disabilities. The evils arising from other sources would have gradually cured themselves—or involved in ruin only deluded parties. Whereas the loss of our industry, the drain of our specie, and the consequent impoverishment of our country, affect all classes of citizens, the economical and the extravagant—the labourer, the artisan, the cultivator of the soil, as well as the landholder, the manufacturer, the trader, and the merchant.

On the most mature consideration we have given the subject, we are persuaded that the only radical remedy for those evils is to limit the importation of such articles as we can manufacture ourselves, and thus foster our domestic industry. Other measures may be adopted to co-operate and aid in this great work. But without the grand restorative of '*buying less than we sell*,' which a proper tariff alone can effect, they will operate as mere palliatives of an evil whose immense extent and magnitude require prompt and decisive remedies. All our efforts have been directed to con-

vince our fellow citizens of this truth, so important to their virtue, their happiness, their independence.

We are, like other men, liable to error. We may have viewed the subject through an incorrect medium. But we declare, as we can with truth, that should we be mistaken—should any man or body of men devise a better plan, we shall rejoice in the discovery, abandon our present views, and support theirs with all our ardour. We contend not for victory, which is no object in the discussion of such a momentous question, involving the happiness or misery of millions. We contend for the happiness of our citizens—and for the honour and prosperity of our beloved country.

A document has just reached us, which does honour to the head and heart of the writer, as well as to the respectable body of citizens by whom it was adopted, and which deserves the serious attention of our citizens throughout the union. It is the presentment of a late grand jury of Newcastle county, which points out with infallible certainty the road to prosperity. We warmly recommend associations throughout the country to carry its salutary objects into operation, and thus arrest the impoverishment of our citizens. Should they be general—should the plan proposed be faithfully adhered to, and the tariff be properly modified—the thick clouds that environ our horizon will disappear—the sun of prosperity will again shine on us—we shall recover from our disastrous situation—and only remember our sufferings to warn us to avoid the fatal source, a false and mistaken policy, from whence they burst forth on us with destructive violence.

Delaware claims the high honour of having first adopted the federal constitution. It will be another just cause of pride, that she has taken the lead on this occasion, more particularly should the sound views she has given of the causes of our distresses, and the excellent remedies she has prescribed, lead to their radical cure.

Grand Inquest of Newcastle county, state of Delaware.

The grand jury of Newcastle county beg leave to represent—That they are deeply impressed with the distressed and calamitous situation of the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests of the state; that in their opinion these evils have arisen from—

I. A failure of crops.*

* The failure of crops has not prevailed in other parts of the Unit-

II. An unfavourable balance of trade, the result of excessive importations of foreign goods, exceeding, to an immense amount, the value of our exports;

III. Thus draining the state of its specie, and circulating medium;

IV. Depressing the value of real estate; and,


V. Increasing poverty and distress.

The only practicable remedies for these evils, in the opinion of the grand jury, are—

I. A regular and strict economy in the expenses of the people.

II. A retrenchment in the use of imported goods, and foreign luxuries.

III. A steady attention to the improvement of our agricultural products.

IV.  *And the encouragement of a market at home, by fostering and protecting Domestic Manufactures.*

To a serious consideration of this important subject, the Grand Jury would most earnestly invite the attention of the citizens, more especially of this county.

Unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be printed.

ARCHD. ALEXANDER, *Foreman.*

Attest, S. H. BLACK, *Clerk of G. J.*

19th May, 1819.

NO. IX.

Philadelphia, June 3, 1819.

IN our preceding Addresses, fellow citizens, we have presented you with sketches of the policy of England, Russia, Prussia, and Portugal—and displayed the wisdom and beneficial results of the system of the three first nations, and even of the last at one period of her history. We have shown, from authentic documents, the rapid destruction of the prosperity and happiness of Portugal, when she relaxed the system of protecting her national industry—whereby she was precipitated from a most flourishing situation, in two or three years, exactly as the United States have been, and in about the same space of time. We feel a confident

ed States—but the distress from the other causes, is equally felt elsewhere.

hope, that those who have brought to the discussion that spirit of candour and impartiality, which is requisite to a correct decision, and which the importance of the subject demanded, have been convinced of the vital and radical errors in our system of policy.

We now present to your view the essence of the Report of Alexander Hamilton, on the encouragement of National Manufactures, one of the most luminous and instructive public documents ever produced in this, or perhaps in any other country. It seems a complete body of political economy on the subject of national industry, and sheds a glare of light on this all important subject, that points out with unerring certainty, the course this nation should pursue. Happy would it have been, had the legislature of the union been guided by its dictates. We should then have made rapid advances in the career of prosperity which was open to us, and in which we were invited to proceed. But unfortunately our whole system of political economy has been in hostility with the profound views developed in this valuable report—and the United States now pay a heavy forfeit for the error of neglecting its sage counsels.

There are circumstances attending it, which entitle it to most peculiar attention. Mr Hamilton's habits and associations lay among the commercial part of the community, of which the great mass accorded with him in politics, and regarded him as their grand leader. The politics of the majority of the manufacturing interest were hostile to his. There was strong jealousy between them. Had he, therefore, been unfriendly to manufactures, in order to foster and protect commerce, (according to the narrow views entertained by many of our citizens of the fancied hostility between their interests) his politics might be suspected of producing an undue bias on his mind, and warping him to support an erroneous system.

But when, in opposition to the dictates of his politics, he appeared the strenuous advocate of manufactures, as the grand means of promoting the happiness, the power, the greatness and independence of his country, it behoves those, who, in point of mind, are no more to compare with him, than a dwarf with "*the man of Gath*," to weigh well the grounds of their opinions, and, once for all, consider, whether they will continue the disciples of Adam Smith, to the utter rejection of whose theory in all its parts, his own country owes her colossal power—or of Alexander Hamilton,

advocating that system which has never failed to insure the prosperity and happiness of every nation, ancient or modern, that has pursued it—that is, *the protection of national industry*; in other words, whether they will continue to lead their country on “the road to ruin,” under the banners of Adam Smith, or take the road to true independence under those of Alexander Hamilton. Light and darkness are not more opposite to each other, than Adam Smith and Alexander Hamilton on this point of political economy, so essential to insure “*the wealth of nations*.”

On the decision of this great question, depend the future destinies, not only of this country, but of a large portion of mankind, whose fortunes cannot fail to be deeply affected by the result of our experiment of free government. We, therefore, solemnly invoke the aid and co-operation of the wise and the good of every section of the union in the discussion of this all-important topic.

*Extracts from the Report of Alexander Hamilton, Esquire,
Secretary of the Treasury, January, 1790.*

“The expediency of encouraging manufactures in the United States, which was, not long since, deemed very questionable, appears at this time to be pretty generally admitted. The embarrassments, which have obstructed the progress of our external trade, have led to serious reflections on the necessity of enlarging the sphere of our domestic commerce: *the restrictive regulations, which in foreign markets abridge the vent of the increasing surplus of our agricultural produce, serve to beget an earnest desire, that a more extensive demand for that surplus may be created at home*. And the complete success which has rewarded manufacturing enterprise, in some valuable branches, conspiring with the promising symptoms which attend some less mature essays in others, justify a hope, that the obstacles to the growth of this species of industry, are less formidable than they were apprehended to be; and that it is not difficult to find in its further extension, a full indemnification for any external disadvantages, which are, or may be experienced, as well as an accession of resources favourable to national independence and safety.

“There still are, nevertheless, respectable patrons of opinions, unfriendly to the encouragement of manufactures.

The following are, substantially, the arguments by which these opinions are defended:

"In every country," say those who entertain them, "agriculture is the most beneficial and productive object of human industry. This position, generally, if not universally true, applies with peculiar emphasis to the United States, on account of their immense tracts of fertile territory, uninhabited and unimproved. Nothing can afford so advantageous an employment for capital and labour, as the conversion of this extensive wilderness into cultivated farms. Nothing equally with this, can contribute to the population, strength, and real riches of the country.

"To endeavour by the extraordinary patronage of government, to accelerate the growth of manufactures, is, in fact, to endeavour, by force and art, to transfer the natural current of industry, from a more to a less beneficial channel. Whatever has such a tendency must necessarily be unwise: indeed it can hardly ever be wise in a government, to attempt to give a direction to the industry of its citizens. This, under the quick-sighted guidance of private interest, will, if left to itself, infallibly find its own way to the most profitable employment; and it is by such employment, that the public prosperity will be most effectually promoted. To leave industry to itself, therefore, is in almost every case, the soundest as well as the simplest policy.

"This policy is not only recommended to the United States, by considerations which affect all nations; it is, in a manner, dictated to them by the imperious force of a very peculiar situation. The smallness of their population, compared with their territory—the constant allurements to emigration from the settled to the unsettled parts of the country—the facility with which the less independent condition of an artisan can be exchanged for the more independent condition of a farmer—these, and similar causes, conspire to produce, and, for a length of time, must continue to occasion, a scarcity of hands for manufacturing occupation, and dearness of labour, generally. To these disadvantages for the prosecution of manufactures, a deficiency of pecuniary capital being added, the prospect of a successful competition with the manufacturers of Europe, must be regarded as little less than desperate. Extensive manufactures can only be the offspring of a redundant, at least of a full population. Till the latter shall characterize the situation of this country, 'tis vain to hope for the former.

"If, contrary to the natural course of things, an unreasonable and premature spring can be given to certain fabrics, by heavy duties, prohibitions, bounties, or by other forced expedients; this will only be to sacrifice the interests of the community to those of particular classes. Besides the misdirection of labour, a virtual monopoly will be given to the persons employed on such fabrics; and an enhancement of price, the inevitable consequence of every monopoly, must be defrayed at the expense of the other parts of the society. It is far preferable, that those persons should be engaged in the cultivation of the earth; and that we should procure, in exchange for its productions the commodities, with which foreigners are able to supply us in greater perfection, and upon better terms."

"This mode of reasoning is founded upon facts and principles, which have certainly respectable pretensions. If it had governed the conduct of nations, more generally than it has done, there is room to suppose, that it might have carried them faster to prosperity and greatness, than they have attained by the pursuit of maxims too widely opposite. Most general theories, however, admit of numerous exceptions; and there are few, if any, of the political kind, which do not blend a considerable portion of error with the truths they inculcate.

"In order to an accurate judgment, how far that, which has been just stated, ought to be deemed liable to a similar imputation, it is necessary to advert carefully to the considerations which plead in favour of manufactures, and which appear to recommend the special and positive encouragement of them, in certain cases, and under certain reasonable limitations.

"It ought readily to be conceded, that the cultivation of the earth, as the primary and most certain source of national supply—as the immediate and chief source of subsistence to man—as the principal source of those materials which constitute the nutriment of other kinds of labour—as including a state most favourable to the freedom and independence of the human mind—one, perhaps, most conducive to the multiplication of the human species—has intrinsically a strong claim to pre-eminence over every other kind of industry.

"But, that it has a title to any thing like an exclusive predilection, in any country, ought to be admitted with great caution. That it is even more productive than every branch

of industry, requires more evidence than has yet been given in support of the position. That its real interests, precious and important as, without the help of exaggeration, they truly are, will be *advanced, rather than injured by the due encouragement of manufactures, may, it is believed, be satisfactorily demonstrated.* And it is also believed, that the expediency of such encouragement, in a general view, may be shown to be recommended by the most cogent and persuasive motives of national policy.

“ It has been maintained, that agriculture is not only the most productive, but the only productive species of industry. The reality of this suggestion, in either respect, has, however, not been verified by any accurate detail of facts and calculations; and the general arguments, which are adduced to prove it, are rather subtle and paradoxical, than solid or convincing.

Those, which maintain its exclusive productiveness, are to this effect:

“ Labour, bestowed upon the cultivation of land, produces enough, not only to replace all the necessary expenses incurred in the business, and to maintain the persons who are employed in it, but to afford, together with the ordinary profit on the stock or capital of the farmer, a net surplus, or rent for the landlord or proprietor of the soil. But the labour of artificers does nothing more than replace the stock which employs them, or which furnishes materials, tools, and wages, and yield the ordinary profit upon that stock. It yields nothing equivalent to the rent of land. Neither does it add any thing to the total value of the whole annual produce of the land and labour of the country. The additional value given to those parts of the produce of land, which are wrought into manufactures, is counterbalanced by the value of those other parts of that produce, which are consumed by the manufacturers. It can therefore only be by saving or parsimony, not by the positive productiveness of their labour, that the classes of artificers can in any degree augment the revenue of the society.”

“ To this it has been answered,

1. “ That inasmuch as it is acknowledged, that manufacturing labour reproduces a value equal to that which is expended or consumed in carrying it on, and continues in existence the original stock or capital employed, it ought, on that account alone, to escape being considered as wholly unproductive; that though it should be admitted, as alleged,

that the consumption of the produce of the soil, by the classes of artificers or manufacturers, is exactly equal to the value added by their labour to the materials upon which it is exerted; yet it would not thence follow, that it added nothing to the revenue of the society, or to the aggregate value of the annual produce of its land and labour. If the consumption, for any given period, amounted to a given sum, and the increased value of the produce manufactured, in the same period, to a like sum, the total amount of the consumption and production during that period, would be equal to the two sums, and consequently double the value of the agricultural produce consumed. And though the increment of value, produced by the classes of artificers, should at no time exceed the value of the produce of the land consumed by them, yet there would be at every moment, in consequence of their labour, a greater value of goods in the market, than would exist independent of it.

2. "That the position, that artificers can augment the revenue of a society, only by parsimony, is true in no other sense, than in one which is equally applicable to husbandmen or cultivators. It may be alike affirmed of all these classes, that the fund acquired by their labour, and destined for their support, is not, in an ordinary way, more than equal to it. And hence it will follow, that augmentations of the wealth or capital of the community (except in the instances of some extraordinary dexterity or skill,) can only proceed, with respect to any of them, from the savings of the more thrifty and parsimonious.

3. "That the annual produce of the land and labour of a country can only be increased, in two ways, by some improvement in the productive powers of the useful labour, which actually exists within it, or by some increase in the quantity of such labour; that with regard to the first, the labour of artificers being capable of greater subdivision and simplicity of operation, than that of cultivators, it is susceptible, in a proportionably greater degree, of improvement in its productive powers, whether to be derived from an accession of skill, or from the application of ingenious machinery; in which particular, therefore, the labour employed in the culture of land can pretend to no advantage over that engaged in manufactures: that with regard to an augmentation of the quantity of useful labour, this, excluding adventitious circumstances, must depend essentially upon an increase of capital, which again must depend

upon the savings made out of the revenues of those, who furnish or manage that, which is at any time employed, whether in agriculture, or in manufactures, or in any other way."

"It is now proper to enumerate the principal circumstances, from which it may be inferred—that *manufacturing establishments not only occasion a positive augmentation of the produce and revenue of the society, but that they contribute essentially to rendering them greater than they could possibly be, without such establishments.* These circumstances are,

1. "The division of labour,
2. "An extension of the use of machinery.
3. "Additional employment to classes of the community not ordinarily engaged in the business.
4. "The promoting of emigration from foreign countries.
5. "The furnishing greater scope for the diversity of talents and dispositions which discriminate men from each other.
6. "The affording a more ample and various field for enterprise.
7. "The creating, in some instances, a new, and securing, in all, a more certain and steady demand for the surplus produce of the soil.

"Each of these circumstances has a considerable influence upon the total mass of industrious effort in a community: together, they add to it a degree of energy and effect, which are not easily conceived. Some comments upon each of them, in the order in which they have been stated, may serve to explain their importance.

I. "As to the division of labour.

"It has been justly observed, that there is scarcely any thing of greater moment in the economy of a nation, than the proper division of labour. The separation of occupations causes each to be carried to a much greater perfection than it could possibly acquire, if they were blended. This arises principally from three circumstances:—

1st. "The greater skill and dexterity naturally resulting from a constant and undivided application to a single object. It is evident, that these properties must increase, in proportion to the separation and simplification of objects and the steadiness of the attention devoted to each; and must be less, in proportion to the complication of objects, and the number among which the attention is distracted.

2d. "The economy of time, by avoiding the loss of it, incident to a frequent transition from one operation to another, of a different nature. This depends on various circumstances; the transition itself—the orderly disposition of the implements, machines, and materials employed in the operation to be relinquished—the preparatory steps to the commencement of a new one—the interruption of the impulse, which the mind of the workman acquires, from being engaged in a particular operation—the distractions, hesitations, and reluctances, which attend the passage from one kind of business to another.

3d. "An extension of the use of machinery. A man occupied on a single object, will have it more in his power, and will be more naturally led to exert his imagination in devising methods to facilitate and abridge labour, than if he were perplexed by a variety of independent and dissimilar operations. Besides this, the fabrication, of machines, in numerous instances, becoming itself a distinct trade, the artist, who follows it, has all the advantages which have been enumerated, for improvement in this particular art; and in both ways the invention and application of machinery are extended.

"And from these causes united, the mere separation of the occupation of the cultivator, from that of the artificer, has the effect of augmenting the productive powers of labour, and with them, the total mass of the produce or revenue of a country. In this view of the subject, therefore, the utility of artificers or manufacturers, towards promoting an increase of productive industry, is apparent.

II "As to an extension of the use of machinery, a point which, though partly anticipated, requires to be placed in one or two additional lights.

"The employment of machinery forms an item of great importance in the general mass of national industry. 'Tis an artificial force brought in aid of the natural force of man; and, to all the purpose of labour, is an increase of hands; an accession of strength, unincumbered too by the expense of maintaining the labourer. May it not therefore be fairly inferred, that those occupations which give greatest scope to the use of this auxiliary, contribute most to the general stock of industrious effort, and, in consequence, to the general product of industry?

"It shall be taken for granted, and the truth of the position referred to observation, that manufacturing pursuits

are susceptible in a greater degree of the application of machinery, than those of agriculture. If so, all the difference is lost to a community, which, instead of manufacturing for itself, procures the fabrics requisite to its supply from other countries. *The substitution of foreign for domestic manufactures is a transfer to foreign nations of the advantages accruing from the employment of machinery in the modes in which it is capable of being employed, with most utility and to the greatest extent.*

“The cotton-mill invented in England, within the last twenty years, is a signal illustration of the general proposition, which has been just advanced. In consequence of it, all the different processes for spinning cotton are performed by means of machines, which are put in motion by water, and attended chiefly by women and children; and by a smaller number of persons, in the whole, than are requisite in the ordinary mode of spinning. And it is an advantage of great moment, that the operations of the mill continue with convenience, during the night, as well as through the day. The prodigious effect of such a machine is easily conceived. To this invention is to be attributed essentially the immense progress, which has been so suddenly made in Great Britain, in the various fabrics of cotton.

III. “As to the additional employment of classes of the community, not originally engaged in the particular business.

“This is not among the least valuable of the means by which manufacturing institutions contribute to augment the general stock of industry and production. In places where those institutions prevail, besides the persons regularly engaged in them, they afford occasional and extra employment to industrious individuals and families, who are willing to devote the leisure resulting from the intermissions of their ordinary pursuits to collateral labours, as a resource for multiplying their acquisitions or their enjoyments. *The husbandman himself experiences a new source of profit and support from the increased industry of his wife and daughters; invited and stimulated by the demands of the neighbouring manufactories.*

“Besides this advantage of occasional employment to classes having different occupations, there is another of a nature allied to it, and of a similar tendency. This is, the employment of persons who would otherwise be idle (and, in many cases, a burden on the community) either from the

bias of temper, habit, infirmity of body, or some other cause, indisposing or disqualifying them for the toils of the country. It is worthy of particular remark, that, in general, women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments, than they would otherwise be. Of the number of persons employed in the cotton manufactories of Great Britain, it is computed that *four-sevenths nearly are women and children; of whom the greatest proportion are children, and many of them of a tender age.*

“ And thus it appears to be one of the attributes of manufactures, and one of no small consequence, to give occasion to the exertion of a greater quantity of industry, even by the same number of persons, where they happen to prevail, than would exist, if there were no such establishments.

IV. “ As to the promoting of emigration from foreign countries.

“ Men reluctantly quit one course of occupation and livelihood for another, unless invited to it by very apparent and proximate advantages. Many who would go from one country to another, if they had a prospect of continuing with more benefit, the callings to which they have been educated, will not often be tempted to change their situation by the hope of doing better in some other way. Manufacturers, who (listening to the powerful invitation of a better price for their fabrics, or for their labour; of greater cheapness of provisions and raw materials; of an exemption from the chief part of the taxes, burdens and restraints, which they endure in the old world; of greater personal independence and consequence, under the operation of a more equal government; and of what is far more precious than mere religious toleration, a perfect equality of religious privileges) would probably flock from Europe to the United States to pursue their trades or professions, if they were once made sensible of the advantages they would enjoy, and were inspired with an assurance of encouragement and employment; will with difficulty, be induced to transplant themselves, with a view of becoming cultivators of land.

“ If it be true, then, that it is the interest of the United States to open every possible avenue to emigration from abroad, it affords a weighty argument for the encouragement of manufactures; which, for the reason just assigned, will have the strongest tendency to multiply the inducements to it.

"Here is perceived an important resource, not only for extending the population, and with it the useful and productive labour of the country, but likewise for the prosecution of manufactures, without deducting from the number of hands which might otherwise be drawn to tillage; and even for the indemnification of agriculture for such as might happen to be diverted from it. Many whom manufacturing views would induce to emigrate, would afterwards yield to the temptations, which the particular situation of this country holds out to agricultural pursuits. And while agriculture would in other respects derive many signal and unmingled advantages, from the growth of manufactures, it is a problem, whether it would gain or lose, as to the article of the number of persons employed in carrying it on.

V. "As to the furnishing greater scope for the diversity of talents and dispositions, which discriminate men from each other.

"This is a much more powerful mean of augmenting the fund of national industry than may at first sight appear. It is a just observation, that minds, of the strongest and most active powers for their proper objects, fall below mediocrity, and labour without effect, if confined to uncongenial pursuits. And it is thence to be inferred, that the result of human exertion may be immensely increased by diversifying its objects. When all the different kinds of industry obtain in a community, each individual can find his proper element, and call into activity the whole vigour of his nature. And the community is benefitted by the services of its respective members, in the manner, in which each can serve it with most effect.

"If there be any thing in a remark often to be met with, namely, that there is in the genius of the people of this country a peculiar aptitude for mechanical improvements, it would operate as a forcible reason for giving opportunities to the exercise of that species of talent, by the propagation of manufactures.

VI. "As to the affording a more ample and various field for enterprise.

"This also is of greater consequence in the general scale of national exertion, than might perhaps on a superficial view be supposed, and has effects not altogether dissimilar from those of the circumstance last noticed. To cherish and stimulate the activity of the human mind by multiplying the objects of enterprise, is not among the least considerable of

the expedients, by which the wealth of a nation may be promoted. Even things, in themselves not positively advantageous, sometimes become so, by their tendency to provoke exertion. Every new scene which is opened to the busy nature of man to rouse and exert itself, is the addition of a new energy to the general stock of effort.

"The spirit of enterprise, useful and prolific as it is, must necessarily be contracted or expanded in proportion to the simplicity or variety of the occupations and productions which are to be found in a society. It must be less in a nation of mere cultivators, than in a nation of cultivators and merchants; less in a nation of cultivators and merchants, than in a nation of cultivators, artificers and merchants.

VII. "As to the creating, in some instances, a new, and securing in all a more certain and steady demand for the surplus produce of the soil.

"This is among the most important of the circumstances which have been indicated. It is a principal mean, by which the establishment of manufactures contributes to an augmentation of the produce or revenue of a country, and has an immediate and direct relation to the prosperity of agriculture.

"It is evident, that the exertions of the husbandman will be steady or fluctuating, vigorous or feeble, in proportion to the steadiness or fluctuation, adequateness, or inadequateness of the markets on which he must depend, for the vent of the surplus, which may be produced by his labour; and that such surplus, in the ordinary course of things, will be greater or less in the same proportion.

"For the purpose of this vent, *a domestic market is greatly to be preferred to a foreign one*; because it is, in the nature of things, far more to be relied on.

"It is a primary object of the policy of nations, to be able to supply themselves with subsistence from their own soils; and manufacturing nations, as far as circumstances permit, endeavour to procure from the same source, the raw materials necessary for their own fabrics. This disposition, urged by the spirit of monopoly, is sometimes even carried to an injudicious extreme. It seems not always to be recollected, that nations which have neither mines nor manufactures, can only obtain the manufactured articles of which they stand in need, by an exchange of the products of their soils; and that if those who can best furnish them with such articles, are unwilling to give a due course to this exchange, they must of necessity make every possible effort to manufacture for

themselves; the effect of which is, that *the manufacturing nations abridge the natural advantages of their situation through an unwillingness to permit the agricultural countries to enjoy the advantages of theirs*; and sacrifice the interest of a mutually beneficial intercourse to the vain project of selling every thing and buying nothing.

"But it is also a consequence of the policy, which has been noted, that the foreign demand for the products of agricultural countries, *is in a great degree rather casual and occasional, than certain or constant*. To what extent injurious interruptions of the demand for some of the staple commodities of the United States, may have been experienced, from that cause, must be referred to the judgment of those who are engaged in carrying on the commerce of the country: but it may be safely affirmed, that such interruptions are at times very inconveniently felt, and that cases not unfrequently occur, in which markets are so confined and restricted, as to render the demand very unequal to the supply.

"Independently likewise of the artificial impediments, which are created by the policy in question, *there are natural causes tending to render the external demand for the surplus of agricultural nations a precarious reliance*. The differences of seasons in the countries which are the consumers, make immense differences in the produce of their own soils, in different years, and consequently in the degrees of their necessity for foreign supply. Plentiful harvests with them, especially if similar ones occur at the same time in the countries which are the furnishers, occasion of course a glut in the markets of the latter.

"Considering how fast and how much the progress of new settlements in the United States must increase the surplus produce of the soil, and weighing seriously the tendency of the system, which prevails among most of the commercial nations of Europe, whatever dependence may be placed on the force of natural circumstances to counteract the effects of an artificial policy; *there appear strong reasons to regard the foreign demand for that surplus, as too uncertain a reliance, and to desire a substitute for it in an extensive domestic market*.

"To secure such a market, *there is no other expedient, than to promote manufacturing establishments*. Manufacturers, who constitute the most numerous class, after the cultivators of land, are for that reason the principal consumers of the surplus of their labour.

" This idea of an extensive domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil, is of the first consequence. It is, of all things, that which most effectually conduces to a flourishing state of agriculture. If the effect of manufactures should be to detach a portion of the hands, which would otherwise be engaged in tillage, it might possibly cause a smaller quantity of lands to be under cultivation, but by their tendency to procure a more certain demand for the surplus produce of the soil, they would, at the same time, cause the lands, which were in cultivation, to be better improved and more productive. And while, by their influence, the condition of each individual farmer would be meliorated, the total mass of agricultural production would probably be increased. For this must evidently depend as much, if not more upon the degree of improvement, than upon the number of acres under culture.

" It merits particular observation, that *the multiplication of manufactories not only furnishes a market for those articles which have been accustomed to be produced in abundance, in a country; but it likewise creates a demand for such as were either unknown or produced in inconsiderable quantities.* The bowels, as well as the surface of the earth, are ransacked for articles which were before neglected. Animals, plants, and minerals acquire a utility and value, which were before unexplored.

" The foregoing considerations seem sufficient to establish as general propositions, that it is the interest of nations to diversify the industrious pursuits of the individuals who compose them—that *the establishment of manufactures is calculated not only to increase the general stock of useful and productive labour, but even to improve the state of agriculture in particular,* certainly to advance the interests of those who are engaged in it. There are other views, that will be hereafter taken of the subject, which, it is conceived, will serve to confirm these inferences.

1. " If the system of perfect liberty to industry and commerce were the prevailing system of nations, the arguments which dissuade a country in the predicament of the United States, from the zealous pursuit of manufactures would doubtless have great force. It will not be affirmed, that they might not be permitted, with few exceptions, to serve as a rule of national conduct. In such a state of things, each country would have the full benefit of its peculiar advantages, to compensate for its deficiencies or disadvantages. If

one nation were in a condition to supply manufactured articles on better terms than another, that other might find an abundant indemnification in a superior capacity to furnish the produce of the soil. And a free exchange, mutually beneficial, of the commodities which each was able to supply, on the best terms, might be carried on between them, supporting in full vigour the industry of each. And though the circumstances which have been mentioned, and others which will be unfolded hereafter, render it probable, that nations merely agricultural, would not enjoy the same degree of opulence, in proportion to their numbers, as those which united manufactures with agriculture; yet the progressive improvement of the lands of the former, might, in the end, atone for an inferior degree of opulence in the meantime; and in a case in which opposite considerations are pretty equally balanced, the option ought perhaps always to be in favour of leaving industry to its own direction. But the system, which has been mentioned, is far from characterising the general policy of nations. The prevalent one has been regulated by an opposite spirit. The consequence of it is, that the United States are to a certain extent, in the situation of a country precluded from foreign commerce. They can indeed, without difficulty, obtain from abroad the manufactured supplies, of which they are in want; but they experience numerous and very injurious impediments to the emission and vent of their own commodities. Nor is this the case in reference to a single foreign nation only. The regulations of several countries, with which we have the most extensive intercourse, throw serious obstructions in the way of the principal staples of the United States. *In such a position of things, the United States cannot exchange with Europe on equal terms; and the want of reciprocity would render them the victim of a system, which should induce them to confine their views to agriculture, and refrain from manufactures.* A constant and increasing necessity, on their part, for the commodities of Europe, and only a partial and occasional demand for their own, in return, could not but expose them to a state of impoverishment, compared with the opulence to which their political and natural advantages authorize them to aspire. Remarks of this kind are not made in the spirit of complaint. It is for the nations, whose regulations are alluded to, to judge for themselves, whether, by aiming at too much, they do not lose more than they gain. It is for the United States to consider by what means they can ren-

der themselves least dependent, on the combinations, right or wrong, of foreign policy. It is no small consolation that already the measures which have embarrassed our trade, have accelerated internal improvements, which upon the whole have bettered our affairs.

“To diversify and extend these improvements, is the surest and safest method of indemnifying ourselves for any inconveniences, which those or similar measures have a tendency to beget. *If Europe will not take from us the products of our soil, upon terms consistent with our interest, the natural remedy is to contract as fast as possible, our wants of her.*

2. “The conversion of their waste into cultivated lands, is certainly a point of great moment in the political calculations of the United States. But the degree in which this may possibly be retarded by the encouragement of manufactories, does not appear to countervail the powerful inducements to affording that encouragement.

“An observation made in another place, is of a nature to have great influence upon this question—If it cannot be denied, that the interests even of agriculture may be advanced more by having such of the lands of a state as are occupied, under good cultivation, than by having a greater quantity occupied under a much inferior cultivation; and if manufactories, for the reasons assigned, must be admitted to have a tendency to promote a more steady and vigorous cultivation of the lands occupied, than would happen without them, it will follow, that they are capable of indemnifying a country for a diminution of the progress of new settlements; and may serve to increase both the capital value and the income of its lands, even though they should abridge the number of acres under tillage. But it does by no means follow, that the progress of new settlements would be retarded by the extension of manufactures. The desire of being an independent proprietor of land, is founded on such strong principles in the human breast, that where the opportunity of becoming so is as great as it is in the United States, the proportion will be small of those, whose situations would otherwise lead to it, who would be diverted from it towards manufactures. And it is highly probable, as already intimated, that the accession of foreigners, who, originally drawn over by manufacturing views, would afterwards abandon them for agricultural, would be more than an equivalent for those of our citizens, who might happen to be detached from them.

"The remaining objections to a particular encouragement of manufactures in the United States now require to be examined.

"One of these turns on the proposition, that industry, if left to itself, will naturally find its way to the most useful and profitable employment. Whence it is inferred, that manufactures, without the aid of government, will grow up as soon, and as fast, as the natural state of things, and the interest of the community, may require.

"Against the solidity of this hypothesis, in the full latitude of the terms, very cogent reasoning may be offered. These have relation to the strong influence of habit, and the spirit of imitation; the fear of want of success in untried enterprises; the intrinsic difficulties incident to first essays towards a competition with those who have previously attained to perfection in the business to be attempted; the bounties, premiums, and other artificial encouragements, with which foreign nations second the exertions of their citizens, in the branches in which they are to be rivalled.

"Experience teaches, that men are often so much governed by what they are accustomed to see and practise, that the simplest and most obvious improvements, in the most ordinary occupations, are adopted with hesitation, reluctance, and by slow gradations. The superiority antecedently enjoyed by nations, who have pre-occupied and perfected a branch of industry, constitutes a more formidable obstacle, than either of those which have been mentioned, to the introduction of the same branch into a country, in which it did not before exist. *To maintain between the recent establishments of one country, and the long-matured establishments of another country, a competition upon equal terms, both as to quality and price, is in most cases impracticable.* The disparity, in the one, or in the other, or in both, must necessarily be so considerable as to forbid a successful rivalship, *without the extraordinary aid and protection of government.*

"But the greatest obstacle of all to the successful prosecution of a new branch of industry in a country in which it was before unknown, consists, as far as the instance apply, in the bounties, premiums, and other aids, which are granted in a variety of cases, by the nations in which the establishments to be imitated are previously introduced. It is well known, that certain nations grant bounties on the exportation of particular commodities, to enable their own workmen to undersell and supplant all competitors, in the coun-

tries to which those commodities are sent. *Hence the undertakers of a new manufacture have to contend, not only with the natural disadvantages of a new undertaking; but with the gratuities and remunerations which other governments bestow. To be enabled to contend with success, it is evident, that the interference and aid of their government are indispensable.* Combinations by those engaged in a particular branch of business in one country, to frustrate the first efforts to introduce it in another, by temporary sacrifices, recompensed perhaps by extraordinary indemnifications of the government of such country, are believed to have existed, and are not to be regarded as destitute of probability. The existence or assurance of aid from the government of the country, in which the business is to be introduced, may be essential to fortify adventurers against the dread of such combinations—to defeat their effects, if formed—and to prevent their being formed, by demonstrating that they must in the end prove fruitless. Whatever room there may be for an expectation that the industry of a people, under the direction of private interest, will upon equal terms find out the most beneficial employment for itself; there is none for a reliance, that it will struggle against the force of unequal terms, or will of itself surmount all the adventitious barriers to a successful competition, which may have been erected from practice and previous possession of the ground, or by those which may have sprung from positive regulations, and an artificial policy. This general reflection might alone suffice as an answer to the objection under examination; exclusively of the weighty considerations which have been particularly urged.”

“ To all the arguments which are brought to evince the impracticability of success in manufacturing establishments in the United States, it might have been a sufficient answer to have referred to the experience of what has been already done: it is certain that several important branches have grown up and flourished with a rapidity which surprises; affording an encouraging assurance of success in future attempts; of these it may not be improper to enumerate the most considerable—

“ I. *Of Skins.* Tanned and tawed leather; dressed skins, shoes, boots and slippers, harness and saddlery of all kinds, portmanteaus and trunks, leather breeches, gloves, muffs and tippets, parchment and glue.

" II. *Of Iron.* Bar and sheet iron, steel, nail rods and nails, implements of husbandry, stoves, pots and other household utensils, the steel and iron work of carriages, and for ship building; anchors, scale beams, and weights, and various tools of artificers; arms of different kinds; though the manufacture of these last has of late diminished for want of demand.

" III. *Of Wood.* Ships, cabinet wares and turnery, wool and cotton cards, and other machinery for manufactures and husbandry, mathematical instruments, coopers' wares of every kind.

" IV. *Of Flax and Hemp.* Cables, sail-cloth, cordage, twine and packthread.

" V. Bricks and coarse tiles, and potters' wares.

" VI. Ardent spirits, and malt liquors.

" VII. Writing and printing paper, sheathing and wrapping paper, pasteboards, fullers' or press papers, paper hangings.

" VIII. Hats of fur and wool, and of mixtures of both. Women's stuff and silk shoes.

" IX. Refined sugars.

" X. Oils of animals and seeds, soap, spermaceti and tallow candles.

" XI. Copper and brass wares, particularly utensils for distillers, sugar refiners and brewers, andirons and other articles for household use—philosophical apparatus.

" XII. Tin wares for most purposes of ordinary use.

" XIII. Carriages of all kinds.

" XIV. Snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco.

" XV. Starch and hair powder.

" XVI. Lampblack and other painters' colours.

" XVII. Gunpowder.

" Besides manufactories of these articles which are carried on as regular trades, and have attained to a considerable degree of maturity, there is a vast scene of household manufacturing, which contributes more largely to the supply of the community, than could be imagined, without having made it an object of particular inquiry. This observation is the pleasing result of the investigation, to which the subject of this report has led; and is applicable as well to the southern as to the middle and northern states. Great quantities of coarse cloths, coatings, serges and flannels, linsey woolseys, hosiery of wool, cotton and thread, coarse fustians, jeans and muslins, checked and striped cotton and

linen goods, bedticks, coverlets and counterpanes, tow linens, coarse shirtings, sheetings, towelling and table linen, and various mixtures of wool and cotton, and of cotton and flax, are made in the household way; and in many instances to an extent not only sufficient for the supply of the families in which they are made, but for sale; and even in some cases for exportation. It is computed in a number of districts, that two-thirds, three-fourths, and even four-fifths of all the clothing of the inhabitants are made by themselves. The importance of so great a progress, as appears to have been made in family manufactures, within a few years, both in a moral and political view, renders the fact highly interesting.

“Neither does the above enumeration comprehend all the articles that are manufactured as regular trades. Many others occur, which are equally well established, but which not being of equal importance have been omitted. And there are many attempts still in their infancy, which, though attended with very favourable appearances, could not have been properly comprised in an enumeration of manufactories already established. There are other articles also of great importance, which, though, strictly speaking, manufactures, are omitted, as being immediately connected with husbandry; such are flour, pot and pearl ash, pitch, tar, turpentine, and the like.

“There remains to be noticed an objection to the encouragement of manufactures, of a nature different from those which question the probability of success—this is derived from *its supposed tendency to give a monopoly of advantages to particular classes, at the expense of the rest of the community, who, it is affirmed, would be able to procure the requisite supplies of manufactured articles, on better terms from foreigners, than from our own citizens*; and who, it is alleged, are reduced to the necessity of paying an enhanced price for whatever they want, by every measure, which obstructs the free competition of foreign commodities.

“It is not an unreasonable supposition, that measures which serve to abridge the free competition of foreign articles, have a tendency to occasion an enhancement of prices, and it is not to be denied, that such is the effect in a number of cases; but the fact does not uniformly correspond with the theory. *A reduction of prices has, in several instances, immediately succeeded to the establishment of a domestic manufacture.* Whether it be that foreign manufacturers en-

deavour to supplant, by underselling our own, or whatever else be the cause, the effect has been such as is stated, and the reverse of what might have been expected.

"But though it were true, that the immediate and certain effect of regulations controlling the competition of foreign with domestic fabrics, was an increase of price, it is universally true, that the contrary is the ultimate effect with every successful manufacture. When a domestic manufacture has attained to perfection, and has engaged in the prosecution of it a competent number of persons, it invariably becomes cheaper. Being free from the heavy charges which attend the importation of foreign commodities, it can be afforded, and accordingly seldom or never fails to be sold cheaper, in process of time, than was the foreign article for which it is a substitute. The internal competition which takes place, soon does away every thing like monopoly; and by degrees reduces the price of the article to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed. This accords with the reason of the thing, and with experience.

"Whence it follows, that it is the interest of the community, with a view to eventual and permanent economy, to encourage the growth of manufactures. In a national view, a temporary enhancement of price must always be well compensated by a permanent reduction of it.

"It is a reflection, which may with propriety be indulged here, that this eventual diminution of the prices of manufactured articles, which is the result of internal manufacturing establishments, has a direct and very important tendency to benefit agriculture. It enables the farmer to procure, with a smaller quantity of his labour, the manufactured produce of which he stands in need, and consequently increases the value of his income and property.

"The objections, which are commonly made to the expediency of encouraging, and to the probability of succeeding in manufacturing pursuits, in the United States, having now been discussed, the considerations, which have appeared in the course of the discussion, recommending that species of industry to the patronage of the government, will be materially strengthened by a few general and some particular topics, which have been naturally reserved for subsequent notice.

"1. There seems to be a moral certainty that the trade of a country, which is both manufacturing and agricultural, will be more lucrative and prosperous, than that of a country which is merely agricultural.

“ One reason for this is found in that general effort of nations. (which has been already mentioned) to procure from their own soils, the articles of prime necessity requisite to their own consumption and use; and which serves to render their demand for a foreign supply of such articles in a great degree occasional and contingent. Hence, while the necessities of nations exclusively devoted to agriculture, for the fabrics of manufacturing states, are constant and regular, the wants of the latter for the products of the former, are liable to very considerable fluctuations and interruptions. The great inequalities resulting from difference of seasons, have been elsewhere remarked; this uniformity of demand, on one side, and unsteadiness of it on the other, must necessarily have a tendency to cause the general course of the exchange of commodities between the parties, to turn to the disadvantage of the merely agricultural states. Peculiarity of situation, a climate and soil adapted to the production of peculiar commodities, may, sometimes, contradict the rule; but there is every reason to believe, that it will be found, in the main, a just one.

“ Another circumstance, which gives a superiority of commercial advantages to states that manufacture, as well as cultivate, consists in the more numerous attractions, which a more diversified market offers to foreign customers, and in the greater scope which it affords to mercantile enterprise. It is a position of indisputable truth in commerce, depending too on very obvious reasons, that the greatest resort will ever be to those marts, where commodities, while equally abundant, are most various. Each difference of kind holds out an additional inducement; and it is a position not less clear, that the field of enterprise must be enlarged to the merchants of a country, in proportion to the variety as well as the abundance of commodities which they find at home for exportation to foreign markets.

“ A third circumstance, perhaps not inferior to either of the other two, conferring the superiority which has been stated, has relation to the stagnations of demand for certain commodities which at some time or other interfere more or less with the sale of all. The nation which can bring to market but few articles, is likely to be more quickly and sensibly affected by such stagnations; than one which is always possessed of a great variety of commodities; the former frequently finds too great a portion of its stock of materials, for sale or exchange, lying on hand—or is obliged

to make injurious sacrifices to supply its wants of foreign articles, which are numerous and urgent, in proportion to the smallness of the number of its own. The latter commonly finds itself indemnified, by the high prices of some articles, for the low prices of others—and the prompt and advantageous sale of those article which are in demand enables its merchants the better to wait for a favourable change, in respect to those which are not. There is ground to believe, that a difference of situation, in this particular, has immensely different effects upon the wealth and prosperity of nations.

“From these circumstances, collectively, two important inferences are to be drawn; one, that there is always a higher probability of a favourable balance of trade, in regard to countries, in which manufactures, founded on the basis of a thriving agriculture, flourish, than in regard to those, which are confined wholly or almost wholly to agriculture; the other (which is also a consequence of the first) that countries of the former description are likely to possess more pecuniary wealth, or money, than those of the latter.

“But the uniform appearance of an abundance of specie, as the concomitant of a flourishing state of manufactures, and of the reverse, where they do not prevail, afford a strong presumption of their favourable operation upon the wealth of a country.

“Not only the wealth, but the independence and security of a country, appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view to these great objects, ought to endeavour to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, clothing, and defence.

“The possession of these is necessary to the perfection of the body politic, to the safety as well as to the welfare of the society; the want of either, is the want of an important organ of political life and motion; and in the various crises which await a state, it must severely feel the effects of such deficiency. The extreme embarrassments of the United States, during the late war, from an incapacity of supplying themselves, are still matter of keen recollection: a future war might be expected again to exemplify the mischiefs and dangers of a situation, to which that incapacity is still in too great a degree applicable, unless changed by timely and vigorous exertions. To effect this change, as

fast as shall be prudent, merits all the attention and all the zeal of our public councils; 'tis the next great work to be accomplished.

“The want of a navy to protect our external commerce, as long as it shall continue, must render it a peculiarly precarious reliance, for the supply of essential articles; and must serve to *strengthen prodigiously the arguments in favour of manufactures.*

“To these general considerations are added some of a more particular nature.

“Our distance from Europe, the great fountain of manufactured supply, subjects us, in the existing state of things, to inconvenience and loss in two ways.

“The bulkiness of those commodities which are the chief productions of the soil, necessarily imposes very heavy charges on their transportation, to distant markets. These charges, in the cases, in which the nations, to whom our products are sent, maintain a competition in the supply of their own markets, principally fall upon us, and form material deductions, from the primitive value of the articles furnished. The charges on manufactured supplies brought from Europe, are greatly enhanced by the same circumstance of distance. These charges, again, in the cases in which our own industry maintains no competition, in our own markets, also principally fall upon us; and are an additional cause of extraordinary deduction from the primitive value of our own products; these being the materials of exchange for the foreign fabrics which we consume.

“The equality and moderation of individual property, and the growing settlements of new districts, occasion, in this country, an unusual demand for coarse manufactures; the charges of which being greater in proportion to their greater bulk, augment the disadvantage, which has just been described.

“As in most countries domestic supplies maintain a very considerable competition with such foreign productions of the soil, as are imported for sale; if the extensive establishment of manufactories in the United States does not create a similar competition in respect to manufactured articles, it appears to be clearly deducible, from the considerations which have been mentioned, that they must sustain a double loss in their exchanges with foreign nations; strongly conducive to an unfavourable balance of trade, and very prejudicial to their interests.

"These disadvantages press with no small weight, on the landed interest of the country. *In seasons of peace, they cause a serious deduction from the intrinsic value of the products of the soil.* In the time of a war, which should either involve ourselves, or another nation, possessing a considerable share of our carrying trade, the charges on the transportation of our commodities, bulky as most of them are, could hardly fail to prove a grievous burden to the farmer, while obliged to depend in so great a degree as he now does, upon foreign markets for the vent of the surplus of his labour.

"It is not uncommon to meet with an opinion, that though the promoting of manufactures may be the interest of a part of the union, it is contrary to that of another part. The northern and southern regions are sometimes represented as having adverse interests in this respect. Those are called manufacturing, these agricultural states; and a species of opposition is imagined to subsist between the manufacturing and agricultural interest.

"*This idea of an opposition between those two interests is the common error of the early periods of every country; but experience gradually dissipates it.* Indeed they are perceived so often to succour and to befriend each other, that they come at length to be considered as one; a supposition which has been frequently abused, and is not universally true. Particular encouragements of particular manufactures may be of a nature to sacrifice the interests of landholders to those of manufacturers; but it is nevertheless a maxim well established by experience, and generally acknowledged where there has been sufficient experience, that the *'aggregate' prosperity of manufactures, and the 'aggregate' prosperity of agriculture are intimately connected.* In the course of the discussion which has had place, various weighty considerations have been adduced operating in support of this maxim. Perhaps the superior steadiness of the demand of a domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil, is alone a convincing argument of its truth.

"Ideas of a contrariety of interests between the northern and southern regions of the union, are in the main as unfounded as they are mischievous. The diversity of circumstances, on which such contrariety is usually predicated, authorizes a directly contrary conclusion. Mutual wants

constitute one of the strongest links of political connexion; and the extent of these bears a natural proportion to the diversity in the means of mutual supply.

“ Suggestions of an opposite complexion are ever to be deplored, as unfriendly to the steady pursuit of one great common cause, and to the perfect harmony of all the parts.

“ In proportion as the mind is accustomed to trace the intimate connexion of interests, which subsists between all the parts of society, united under the same government—the infinite variety of channels which serve to circulate the prosperity of each to and through the rest—in that proportion it will be little apt to be disturbed by solicitudes and apprehensions, which originate in local discriminations. It is a truth as important as it is agreeable, and one to which it is not easy to imagine exceptions, that every thing tending to establish substantial and permanent order, in the affairs of a country, to increase the total mass of industry and opulence, is ultimately beneficial to every part of it. On the credit of this great truth, an acquiescence may safely be accorded, from every quarter, to all institutions, and arrangements, which promise a confirmation of public order, and an augmentation of national resource.

“ But there are more particular considerations which serve to fortify the idea, that the encouragement of manufactures is the interest of all parts of the union. If the northern and middle states should be the principal scenes of such establishments, they would immediately benefit the more southern, by creating a demand for productions, some of which they have in common with the other states, and others which are either peculiar to them, or more abundant, or of better quality than elsewhere. These productions, principally, are timber, flax, hemp, cotton, wool, raw silk, indigo, iron, lead, furs, hides, skins and coals; of these articles, cotton and indigo are peculiar to the southern states: as are, hitherto, lead and coals; flax, and hemp are or may be raised in greater abundance there, than in the more northern states; and the wool of Virginia is said to be of better quality than that of any other state; a circumstance rendered the more probable by the reflection, that Virginia embraces the same latitudes with the finest wool countries of Europe. The climate of the south is also better adapted to the production of silk.

“ The extensive cultivation of cotton can perhaps hardly be expected, but from the previous establishment of do-

mestic manufactories of the article; and the surest encouragement and vent, for the others, would result from similar establishments in respect to them.

“ A full view having now been taken of the inducements to the promotion of manufactures in the United States, accompanied with an examination of the principal objections which are commonly urged in opposition, it is proper, in the next place, to consider the means by which it may be effected, as introductory to a specification of the objects which, in the present state of things, appear the most fit to be encouraged, and of the particular measures which it may be advisable to adopt, in respect to each.

“ In order to a better judgment of the means proper to be resorted to by the United States, it will be of use to advert to those which have been employed with success in other countries. The principal of these are—

I. “ Protecting duties—or duties on those foreign articles which are the rivals of the domestic ones intended to be encouraged.

“ Duties of this nature evidently amount to a virtual bounty on the domestic fabrics, since, by enhancing the charges on foreign articles, they enable the national manufacturers to undersell all their foreign competitors. The propriety of this species of encouragement need not be dwelt upon; as it is not only a clear result from the numerous topics which have been suggested, but is sanctioned by the laws of the United States, in a variety of instances; it has the additional recommendation of being a resource of revenue. Indeed all the duties imposed on imported articles, though with an exclusive view to revenue, have the effect in contemplation, and, except where they fall on raw materials, wear a beneficent aspect towards the manufactures of the country.

II. “ Prohibitions of rival articles, or duties equivalent to prohibitions.

“ This is another and an efficacious means of encouraging national manufactures; but in general it is only fit to be employed when a manufacture has made such a progress, and is in so many hands, as to insure a due competition, and an adequate supply, on reasonable terms. Of duties equivalent to prohibitions, there are examples in the laws of the United States, and there are other cases, to which the principle may be advantageously extended; but they are not numerous.

“ Considering a monopoly of the domestic market to its own manufacturers as the reigning policy of manufacturing nations, a similar policy on the part of the United States, in every proper instance, is dictated, it might almost be said, by the principles of distributive justice; certainly by the duty of endeavouring to secure to their own citizens a reciprocity of advantages.

“ III. Prohibitions of the exportation of the materials of manufactures.

“ The desire of securing a cheap and plentiful supply for the national workmen, and, where the article is either peculiar to the country, or of peculiar quality there, the jealousy of enabling foreign workmen to rival those of the nation, with its own materials, are the leading motives to this species of regulation. It ought not to be affirmed, that it is in no instance proper; but it is certainly one which ought to be adopted with great circumspection, and only in very plain cases. It is seen at once, that its immediate operation is to abridge the demand and keep down the price of the produce of some other branch of industry, generally speaking, of agriculture, to the prejudice of those who carry it on; and though, if it be really essential to the prosperity of any very important national manufacture, it may happen that those who are injured, in the first instance, may be eventually indemnified, by the superior steadiness of an extensive domestic market depending on that prosperity: yet in a matter, in which there is so much room for nice and difficult combinations, in which such opposite considerations combat each other, prudence seems to dictate, that the expedient in question, ought to be indulged with a sparing hand.

IV. “ Pecuniary bounties.

“ This has been found one of the most efficacious means of encouraging manufactures, and it is, in some views, the best. Though it has not yet been practised upon by the government of the United States, (unless the allowance on the exportation of dried and pickled fish and salted meat could be considered as a bounty) and though it is less favoured by public opinion than some other modes—its advantages are these—

1. “ It is a species of encouragement more positive and direct than any other, and for that very reason, has a more immediate tendency to stimulate and uphold new enterprises, increasing the chances of profit, and diminishing the risks of loss, in the first attempts.

2. " It avoids the inconvenience of a temporary augmentation of price, which is incident to some other modes, or it produces it to a less degree; either by making no addition to the charges on the rival foreign article, as in the case of protecting duties, or by making a smaller addition. The first happens when the fund for the bounty is derived from a different object (which may or may not increase the price of some other article, according to the nature of that object;) the second, when the fund is derived from the same or a similar object of foreign manufacture. One per cent. duty on the foreign article, converted into a bounty on the domestic, will have an equal effect with a duty of two per cent. exclusive of such bounty; and the price of the foreign commodity is liable to be raised, in the one case, in the proportion of one per cent. in the other, in that of two per cent. Indeed the bounty, when drawn from another source, is calculated to promote a reduction of price; because, without laying any new charge on the foreign article, it serves to introduce a competition with it, and to increase the total quantity of the article in the market.

3. " Bounties have not, like high protecting duties, a tendency to produce scarcity. An increase of price is not always the immediate, though, where the progress of a domestic manufacture does not counteract a rise, it is commonly the ultimate effect of an additional duty. In the interval, between the laying of the duty and a proportionable increase of price, it may discourage importation, by interfering with the profits to be expected from the sale of the article.

4. " Bounties are sometimes not only the best, but the only proper expedient, for uniting the encouragement of a new object of agriculture, with that of a new object of manufacture. It is the interest of the farmer to have the production of the raw material promoted, by counteracting the interference of the foreign material of the same kind—It is the interest of the manufacturer to have the material abundant or cheap. If, prior to the domestic production of the material, in sufficient quantity, to supply the manufacturer on good terms, a duty be laid upon the importation of it from abroad, with a view to promote the raising of it at home, the interest both of the farmer and manufacturer will be disserved. By either destroying the requisite supply, or raising the price of the article, beyond what can be

afforded to be given for it, by the conductor of an infant manufacture, it is abandoned or fails; and there being no domestic manufactories, to create a demand for the raw material, which is raised by the farmer, it is in vain, that the competition of the like foreign articles, may have been destroyed.

“ It cannot escape notice, that a duty upon the importation of an article, can no otherwise aid the domestic production of it, than by giving the latter greater advantages in the home market. It can have no influence upon the advantageous sale of the article produced in foreign markets; no tendency, therefore, to promote its exportation.

“ The true way to conciliate those two interests, is to lay a duty on foreign manufactures of the material, the growth of which is desired to be encouraged, and to apply the produce of that duty by way of bounty, either upon the production of the material itself, or upon its manufacture at home, or upon both. In this disposition of the thing, the manufacturer commences his enterprise, under every advantage, which is attainable as to quantity or price of the raw material; and the farmer, if the bounty be immediately given to him, is enabled by it to enter into a successful competition with the foreign material: if the bounty be to the manufacturer on so much of the domestic material as he consumes, the operation is nearly the same; he has a motive of interest to prefer the domestic commodity, if of equal quality, even at a higher price than the foreign, so long as the difference of price is any thing short of the bounty, which is allowed upon the article.

“ Except the simple and ordinary kinds of household manufacture, or those for which there are very commanding local advantages, pecuniary bounties are in most cases indispensable to the introduction of a new branch. *A stimulus and a support not less powerful and direct is, generally speaking, essential to the overcoming of the obstacles which arise from the competitions of superior skill and maturity elsewhere. Bounties are especially essential, in regard to articles, upon which those foreigners who have been accustomed to supply a country, are in the practice of granting them.*

“ The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established, must almost always be of questionable policy: because a presumption would arise in every such case, that there were natural and inherent impediments to success.

But in new undertakings, they are as justifiable as they are oftentimes necessary.

"There is a degree of prejudice against bounties, from an appearance of giving away the public money, without an immediate consideration, and from a supposition, that they serve to enrich particular classes, at the expense of the community.

"But neither of these sources of dislike will bear a serious examination: *There is no purpose to which public money can be more beneficially applied, than to the acquisition of a new and useful branch of industry; no consideration more valuable than a permanent addition to the general stock of productive labour.*

"As to the second source of objection, it equally lies against other modes of encouragement which are admitted to be eligible. As often as a duty upon a foreign article makes an addition to its price, it causes an extra expense to the community, for the benefit of the domestic manufacturer. A bounty does no more. *But it is the interest of the society, in each case, to submit to a temporary expense, which is more than compensated, by an increase of industry and wealth—by an augmentation of resources and independence—and by the circumstance of eventual cheapness, which has been noticed in another place.*

V. "Premiums.

"These are of a nature allied to bounties, though distinguishable from them in some important features.

"Bounties are applicable to the whole quantity of an article produced, or manufactured, or exported, and involve a correspondent expense: premiums serve to reward some particular excellence or superiority, some extraordinary exertion or skill, and are dispensed only in a small number of cases. But their effect is to stimulate general effort; contrived so as to be both honorary and lucrative, they address themselves to different passions; touching the chords as well of emulation as of interest. They are accordingly a very economical mean of exciting the enterprise of a whole community.

"There are various societies in different countries, whose object is the dispensation of premiums for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and though they are, for the most part, voluntary associations, with comparatively slender funds, their utility has been immense. Much has been done by this mean in

Great Britain; Scotland in particular, owes materially to it a prodigious amelioration of condition. From a similar establishment in the United States, supplied and supported by the government of the union, vast benefits might reasonably be expected.

VI. "The exemption of the materials of manufactures from duty.

"The policy of that exemption, as a general rule, particularly in reference to new establishments, is obvious. It can hardly ever be advisable to add the obstructions of fiscal burdens to the difficulties which naturally embarrass a new manufacture; and where it is matured and in condition to become an object of revenue, it is, generally speaking, better that the fabric, than the material, should be the subject of taxation. Ideas of proportion between the quantum of the tax and the value of the article, can be more easily adjusted in the former than in the latter case. An argument for exemptions of this kind in the United States, is to be derived from the practice, as far as their necessities have permitted, of those nations whom we are to meet as competitors in our own and in foreign markets.

VII. "Drawbacks of the duties which are imposed on the materials of manufactures.

"It has already been observed, as a general rule, that duties on those materials ought, with certain exceptions, to be forborne. Of these exceptions, three cases occur, which may serve as examples—one, where the material is itself an object of general or extensive consumption, and a fit and productive source of revenue: another, where a manufacture of a simpler kind, the competition of which with a like domestic article is desired to be restrained, partakes of the nature of a raw material, from being capable by a further process, to be converted into a manufacture of a different kind, the introduction or growth of which is desired to be encouraged: a third, where the material itself is a production of the country, and in sufficient abundance to furnish a cheap and plentiful supply to the national manufacturers.

"Under the first description comes the article of molasses. It is not only a fair object of revenue, but being a sweet, it is just that the consumers of it should pay a duty as well as the consumers of sugar.

"Cottons and linen in their white state, fall under the second description—a duty upon such as are imported is pro-

per to promote the domestic manufacture of similar articles in the same state—a drawback of that duty is proper to encourage the printing and staining at home, of those which are brought from abroad. When the first of these manufactures has attained sufficient maturity in a country, to furnish a full supply for the second, the utility of the drawback ceases.

“The article of hemp either now does or may be expected soon to exemplify the third case, in the United States.

“Where duties on the materials of manufactures are not laid for the purpose of preventing a competition with some domestic production, the same reasons which recommend, as a general rule, the exemption of those materials from duties, would recommend, as a like general rule, the allowance of drawbacks in favour of the manufacturer; accordingly, such drawbacks are familiar in countries which systematically pursue the business of manufactures; which furnishes an argument for the observance of a similar policy in the United States; and the idea has been adopted by the laws of the union, in the instances of salt and molasses. It is believed that it will be found advantageous to extend it to some other articles.

VIII. “The encouragement of new inventions and discoveries, at home, and of the introduction into the United States of such as may have been made in other countries; particularly those which relate to machinery.

“It is customary with manufacturing nations to prohibit, under severe penalties, the exportation of implements and machines, they have either invented or improved. There are already objects for a similar regulation in the United States; and others may be expected to occur from time to time. The adoption of it seems to be dictated by the principle of reciprocity. Greater liberality, in such respects, might better comport with the general spirit of the country; but a selfish and exclusive policy in other quarters, will not always permit the free indulgence of a spirit which would place us upon an unequal footing. As far as prohibitions tend to prevent foreign competitors from deriving the benefit of the improvements made at home, they tend to increase the advantages of those by whom they may have been introduced; and operate as an encouragement to exertion.

IX. “Judicious regulations for the inspection of manufactured commodities.

This is not among the least important of the means, by which the prosperity of manufactures may be promoted. It is indeed in many cases one of the most essential. Contributing to prevent frauds upon consumers at home, and exporters to foreign countries—to improve the quality and preserve the character of the national manufactures, it cannot fail to aid the expeditious and advantageous sale of them, and to serve as a guard against successful competition from other quarters. The reputation of the flour and lumber of some states, and of the potash of others, has been established by an attention to this point. And the like good name might be procured for those articles, wheresoever produced, by a judicious and uniform system of inspection throughout the ports of the United States. A like system might also be extended with advantage to other commodities.

“X. The facilitating of pecuniary remittances from place to place.

“XI. The facilitating of the transportation of commodities.

“The foregoing are the principal of the means, by which the growth of manufactures is ordinarily promoted. It is, however, not merely necessary that measures of government, which have a direct view to manufactures, should be calculated to assist and protect them; but that those which only collaterally affect them, in the general course of the administration, should be guarded from any peculiar tendency to injure them.

“The possibility of a diminution of the revenue may present itself, as an objection to the arrangements which have been submitted.

“But there is no truth which may be more firmly relied upon, than that the interests of the revenue are promoted by whatever promotes an increase of national industry and wealth.

“In proportion to the degree of these, is the capacity of every country to contribute to the public treasury; and when the capacity to pay is increased, or even is not decreased, the only consequence of measures which diminish any particular resource is a change of the object. If by encouraging the manufacture of an article at home, the revenue, which has been wont to accrue from its importation, should be lessened, an indemnification can easily be

found, either out of the manufacture itself, or from some other object which may be deemed more convenient."

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To fill up the chasm here, we annex the opinions of the ex-president, Mr. Jefferson, on the same subject, given in reply to a letter from Benjamin Austin, Esq. of Boston.

Extract of a letter from Benjamin Austin, Esq. to the Hon. Thomas Jefferson.

December 9, 1815.

"As the present state of our country demands extraordinary efforts in congress to bring forward the *agricultural and manufacturing interests* of the United States, I am induced to mention a plea often used by the friends of England, *that the work-shops of Europe are recommended by you as the most proper to furnish articles of manufacture* to the citizens of the United States, by which they infer that it is your opinion, that the MANUFACTURES of this country are not proper objects for congressional protection. They frequently enlarge on this idea as corresponding with your sentiments, and endeavour to weaken our exertions in this particular, by quoting you as the advocate of *foreign manufactures*, to the exclusion of *domestic*. Not that these persons have any friendly motive towards you: but they think it will answer their purposes if such sentiments can be promulgated with an appearance of respect to your opinion. I am sensible that many of these persons mean to misrepresent your real intentions; being convinced that the latitude they take with your remarks on manufactures, is far beyond what you contemplated at the period they were written. The purity of your mind could not lead you to anticipate the perfidy of foreign nations, which has since taken place.—If you had, it is impossible that you would have discouraged the manufactures of a nation, whose fields have since been abundantly covered with merino sheep, flax and cotton; or depended on looms at 6000 miles distance, to furnish the citizens with clothing, when their internal resources were adequate to produce such necessities by their domestic industry.

"You will pardon my remarks, and excuse my freedom in writing you on this subject. But it would be an essential service at this crisis, when the subject of manufactures will come so powerfully before congress, by petitions from

various establishments, if you would condescend to express more minutely your idea of the '*workshops of Europe*,' in the supply of such articles as can be manufactured among ourselves. An explanation from you on this subject would greatly contribute to the advancement of those manufactures, which have risen during the late war to a respectable state of maturity and improvement. *Domestic* manufactures are the object contemplated; instead of establishments under the sole control of capitalists, our children may be educated under the inspection of their parents while the habits of industry may be duly inculcated.

'If the general idea should prevail that you prefer *foreign work-shops* to *domestic*, the high character you sustain among the friends of our country, may lead them to a discouragement of that enterprize which is viewed by many as an essential object of our national independence. I should not have taken the freedom of suggesting my ideas, but being convinced of your patriotism, and devotedness to the good of your country, I am urged to make the foregoing observations; your candour will excuse me if they are wrong.'

Extract from Mr. Jefferson's answer.

January 9th. 1816.

'You tell me I am quoted by those who wish to continue our dependence on England for manufactures. There was a time when I might have been so quoted with more candour. But within the thirty years which have since elapsed, how are circumstances changed? We were then in peace—our independent place among nations was acknowledged. A commerce which offered the raw materials in exchange for the same material, after receiving the last touch of industry was worthy the attention of all nations. It was expected, that those especially to whom manufacturing industry, was important, would cherish the friendship of such customers by every favour, and particularly cultivate their peace by every act of justice and friendship. Under this prospect the question seemed legitimate, whether with such an immensity of unimproved land, courting the hand of husbandry, the *industry of agriculture* or that of *manufactures*, would add most to the national wealth? And the doubt on the utility of American manufactures was entertained on this consideration chiefly, that to the labour of the husbandman a vast addition is made by the spontaneous

energies of the earth on which it is employed. For one grain of wheat committed to the earth, she renders 20, 30, and even 50 fold.—Whereas the labour of the manufacturer falls in most instances vastly below this profit. Pounds of flax in his hands, yield but penny weights of lace. This exchange, too, laborious as it might seem, what a field did it promise for the occupation of the ocean—what a nursery for that class of citizens who were to exercise and maintain our equal rights on that element?—This was the state of things in 1785, when the Notes on Virginia were first published; when the ocean being open to all nations, and their common rights on it acknowledged and exercised under regulations sanctioned by the assent and usages of all, it was thought that the doubt might claim some consideration. But who, in 1785, could foresee the rapid depravity which was to render the close of that century a disgrace to the history of civilized society? Who could have imagined that the two most distinguished in the rank of nations, for *science* and *civilization*, would have suddenly descended from that honourable eminence, and setting at defiance all those laws established by the Author of Nature between nation and nation, as between man and man, would cover earth and sea with robberies and piracies, merely because strong enough to do it with temporal impunity; and that under this disbandment of nations from social order, we should have been despoiled of a thousand ships, and have thousands of our citizens reduced to Algerine slavery? And all this has taken place. The British interdicted to our vessels all harbours of the globe, without having first proceeded to some one of theirs, there paid a *tribute* proportioned to the cargo, and obtained a license to proceed to the port of destination. The French declared them to be lawful prize if they had touched at a port, or been visited by a ship, of the enemy nation. Compare this state of things with that of '85, and say whether an opinion founded in the circumstances of that day, can be fairly applied to those of the present. We have experienced what we did not then believe, that there exists both profligacy and power enough to exclude us from the field of interchange with other nations; *that to be independent for the comforts of life we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist.* The former question is suppressed, or rather assumes a new form. The grand inquiry now is, *shall we*

make our own comforts, or go without them at the will of a foreign nation? He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufactures, must be for reducing us either to a dependence on that nation, or to be clothed in skins and to live like wild beasts, in dens and caverns.—I am proud to say, I AM NOT ONE OF THESE. Experience has taught me that *manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort*—and if those who quote me as of a different opinion, will keep pace with me in purchasing nothing foreign, where an equivalent of domestic fabric can be obtained, without regard to difference of price, it will not be our fault if we do not have a supply at home equal to our demand, and wrest that weapon of distress from the hand which has so long wantonly wielded it. If it shall be proposed to go beyond our own supply, the question of '85 will then recur, viz.: Will our *surplus* labour be then more beneficially employed in the culture of the earth, or in the fabrications of art? We have time yet for consideration, before that question will press upon us; and the maxim to be applied will depend on the circumstances which shall then exist. For in so complicated a science as political economy, no one maxim can be laid down as wise and expedient for all times and circumstances. Inattention to this is what has called for this explanation, to answer the cavils of the uncandid, who use my former opinion only as *a stalking-horse to keep us in eternal vassalage to a foreign and unfriendly nation.*'

NO. X.

Philadelphia, June 18, 1819.

AN idea appears to be entertained by many persons that our views lead to great innovations, and to advocate visionary and new formed projects, of which the results may be pernicious. The extracts from the report of Alexander Hamilton, on manufactures, contained in our last address, ought to remove all doubt on this subject. That most excellent document presented to the United States a plan of policy which embraced, on the most liberal scale, that protection of the manufacturing industry of the United States, of which we are endeavouring, with our feeble efforts, to prove the necessity.

We now lay before you two important reports of the committee of commerce and manufactures of the congress of 1816—that congress by which was enacted the tariff that has produced the present calamitous state of affairs. These documents fully prove, that the subject had been duly considered, and was fully understood by that committee, whose wise counsels, unfortunately, were over-ruled by the disciples of Adam Smith, those gentlemen, whose maxim is ‘*to buy where articles can be had cheapest*’—a maxim, we repeat, to the utter rejection of which Great Britain owes the great mass of her wealth, power, and resources—a maxim which has never failed to ruin any nation by which it has been adopted.

A cursory view of these reports will evince the sagacity of the gentlemen by whom they were drawn up. Their predictions have unhappily become history. The present impoverishment of the country, obviously resulting from the neglect of protecting domestic manufactures, was as clearly foretold by them, in 1816, as it can now be described by the most accurate pencil. In an ill hour, the admonitions of the committee were disregarded—and heavily the nation at present pays the forfeit.

We annex to these reports the petition of the cotton manufacturers of Oneida county, in the state of New York, presented to congress in the year 1818, a pathetic appeal to their fellow citizens for protection—an appeal to which no attention whatever was paid. They were consigned to ruin, without the least attempt to interpose in their favour.

Report of the committee of commerce and manufactures, to which were referred the memorials and petitions of the manufacturers of cotton wool.—February 13, 1816.

“The committee of commerce and manufactures, to which were referred the memorials and petitions of the manufacturers of cotton wool, respectfully submit the following REPORT—

“The committee were conscious, that they had no ordinary duty to perform, when the house of representatives referred to their consideration, the memorials and petitions of the manufacturers of cotton wool. In obedience to the instructions of the house, they have given great attention to the subject, and beg leave to present the result of their deliberations.

“ They are not a little apprehensive, that they have not succeeded in doing justice to a subject so intimately connected with the advancement and prosperity of agriculture and commerce—a subject which enlightened statesmen and philosophers have deemed not unworthy of their attention and consideration.

“ It is not the intention of the committee to offer any theoretical opinions of their own, or of others. They are persuaded that a display of speculative opinions would not meet with approbation. From these views, the committee are disposed to state facts, and make such observations only as shall be intimately connected with, and warranted by, them.

“ Prior to the years 1806 and 1807, establishments for manufacturing cotton wool had not been attempted, but in a few instances, and on a limited scale. Their rise and progress are attributable to embarrassments to which commerce was subjected; which embarrassments originated in causes not within the control of human prudence.

“ While commerce flourished, the trade which had been carried on with the continent of Europe, with the East-Indies, and with the colonies of Spain and France, enriched our enterprising merchants, the benefits of which were sensibly felt by the agriculturists, whose wealth and industry were increased and extended. When external commerce was suspended, the capitalists throughout the union became solicitous to give activity to their capital. A portion of it, it is believed, was directed to the improvement of agriculture, and not an inconsiderable portion of it, as it appears, was likewise employed in erecting establishments, for manufacturing cotton wool. To make the statement as satisfactory as possible—to give it all the certainty that it is susceptible of attaining, the following facts are respectfully submitted to the consideration of the house. They show the rapid progress which has been made in a few years, and evidence the ability to carry them on with certainty of success, should a just and liberal policy regard them as objects deserving encouragement.

IN THE YEAR.	Bales of cotton manufactured in manufacturing establishments.
1800	500
1805	1,000
1810	10,000
1815	90,000

" This statement the committee have no reason to doubt; nor have they any to question the truth of the following succinct statement of the capital which is employed, of the labour which it commands, and of the products of that labour.

" Capital \$ 40,000,000

" Males employed, from the age of seven-
teen and upwards - - - 10,000

" Women and female children - - - 66,000

" Boys, under seventeen years of age - - 24,000

" Wages of one hundred thousand persons,
averaging \$150 each - - 15,000,000

" Cotton wool manufactured, nine thousand
bales, amounting to *lbs.* - - 27,000,000

" Number of yards of cotton, of various kinds, 81,000,000

" Cost, per yard, averaging 30 cents - \$24,300,000

" The rise and progress of such establishments can excite no wonder. The inducements to industry in a free government are numerous and inviting. Effects are always in unison with their causes. The inducements consist in the certainty and security which every citizen enjoys of exercising exclusive dominion over the creations of his genius, and the products of his labour; in procuring from his native soil, at all times, with facility, the raw materials that are required; and in the liberal encouragement that will be accorded by agriculturists to those who, by their labour, keep up a constant and increasing demand for the produce of agriculture.

" Every state will participate in those advantages. The resources of each will be explored, opened, and enlarged. Different sections of the union will, according to their position, the climate, the population, the habits of the people, and the nature of the soil, strike into that line of industry, which is best adapted to their interest and the good of the whole; an active and free intercourse, promoted and facilitated by roads and canals, will ensue; prejudices which are generated by distance, and the want of inducements to approach each other, and reciprocate benefits, will be removed; information will be extended; the union will acquire strength and solidity; and the constitution of the United States, and that of each state, will be regarded as fountains from which flow numerous streams of public and private prosperity.

" Each government, moving in its appropriate orbit, performing with ability, its separate functions, will be endeared to the hearts of a good and grateful people.

“The states that are most disposed to manufactures, as regular occupations, will draw from the agricultural states all the raw materials which they want, and not an inconsiderable portion also of the necessities of life; while the latter will, in addition to the benefits which they at present enjoy, always command, in peace or in war, at moderate prices, every species of manufacture, that their wants may require. Should they be inclined to manufacture for themselves, they can do so with success; because they have all the means in their power to erect and extend at pleasure manufacturing establishments. Our wants being supplied by our own ingenuity and industry, exportation of specie to pay for foreign manufactures, will cease.

“The value of American produce at this time exported, will not enable the importers to pay for the foreign manufactures imported. Whenever the two accounts shall be fairly stated, the balance against the United States will be found to be many millions of dollars. Such is the state of things, that the change must be to the advantage of the United States. The precious metals will be attracted to them, the diffusion of which, in a regular and uniform current through the great arteries and veins of the body politic, will give to each member health and vigour.

“In proportion as the commerce of the United States depends on agriculture and manufactures, as a common basis, will it increase and become independent of those revolutions and fluctuations, which the ambition and jealousy of foreign governments are too apt to produce. Our navigation will be quickened; and supported as it will be by internal resources never before at the command of any nation, will advance to the extent of those resources.

“New channels of trade, to enterprise, no less important than productive, are opening, which can be secured only by a wise and prudent policy appreciating their advantage.

“If want of foresight should neglect the cultivation and improvement of them, the opportune moment may be lost, perhaps for centuries, and the energies of this nation be thereby prevented from developing themselves, and from making the boon which is proffered, our own.

“By trading on our own capital, collisions with other nations, if they be not entirely done away, will be greatly diminished.

“This natural order of things exhibits the commencement of a new epoch, which promises peace, security, and re-

pose, by a firm and steady reliance on the produce of agriculture, on the treasures that are embosomed in the earth, on the genius and ingenuity of our manufacturers and mechanics, and on the intelligence and enterprise of our merchants.

“The government possessing the intelligence and the art of improving the resources of the nation, will increase its efficient powers, and enjoying the confidence of those whom it has made happy, will oppose the assailants of the nation’s rights, the true, the only invincible *Ægis*, the unity of will and strength. Causes producing war will be few. Should war take place, its calamitous consequences will be mitigated, and the expenses and burdens of such a state of things will fall with a weight much less oppressive and injurious on the nation. The expenditures of the last war were greatly increased by a dependence on foreign supplies. The prices incident to such a dependence will always be high.

“Had not our nascent manufacturing establishments increased the quantity of commodities, at that time in demand, the expenditures would have been much greater, and consequences the most fatal and disastrous, alarming even in contemplation, would have been the fate of this nation. The experience of the past teaches a lesson never to be forgotten, and points emphatically to the remedy. A wise government should heed its admonitions, or the independence of this nation will be exposed to ‘the shafts of fortune.’

“The committee, keeping in view the interests of the nation, cannot refrain from stating that cotton fabrics imported from India, interfere not less with that encouragement to which agriculture is justly entitled, than they do with that which ought reasonably to be accorded to the manufacturers of cotton wool. The raw material of which they are made is the growth of India, and of a quality inferior to our own.

“The fabrics themselves, in point of duration and use, are likewise inferior to the substantial fabrics of American manufacture. Although the India cotton fabrics can be sold for a lower price than the American, yet the difference in texture is so much in favour of the American, that the latter may be safely considered as the cheapest.

“The distance of most of the western states from the ocean, the exuberant richness of the soil, and the variety of

its products, forcibly impress the mind of the committee with a belief, that all these causes conspire to encourage manufactures, and to give an impetus and direction to such a disposition. Although the western states may be said to be in the gristle, in contemplation of that destiny, to which they are hastening, yet the products of manufactures in those states are beyond every calculation that could reasonably be made; contrary to the opinion of many enlightened and virtuous men, who have supposed that the inducements to agriculture and the superior advantages of that life, would suppress any disposition to that sort of industry. But theories, how ingeniously soever they may be constructed, how much soever they may be made to conform to the laws of symmetry and beauty, are no sooner brought into conflict with facts, than they fall into ruins. In viewing their fragments, the mind is irresistibly led to render the homage due to the genius and taste of the architects; but cannot refrain from regretting the waste, to no purpose, of superior intellects. The western states prove the fallacy of such theories; they appear in their growth and expansion to be in advance of thought; while the political economist is drawing their portraits, their features change and enlarge, with such rapidity, that his pencil in vain endeavours to catch their expression, and to fix their physiognomy.

“It is to their advantage to manufacture, because, by decreasing the bulk of the articles, they at the same time increase their value by labour, bring them to market with less expense, and with the certainty of obtaining the best prices.

“Those states, understanding their interest, will not be diverted from its pursuit. In the encouragement of manufactures, they find a stimulus for agriculture.

“The manufacturers of cotton, in making application to the national government for encouragement, have been induced to do so for many reasons.—They know that *their establishments are new and in their infancy, and that they have to encounter a competition with foreign establishments, that have arrived at maturity, that are supported by a large capital, and have from the government every protection that can be required.*

“The American manufacturers expect to meet with all the embarrassments which a jealous and monopolizing policy can suggest. The committee are sensible of the force

of such considerations.—They are convinced that old practices and maxims will not be abandoned to favour the United States. The foreign manufacturers and merchants will put in requisition all the powers of ingenuity; will practise whatever art can devise, and capital can accomplish, to prevent the American manufacturing establishments from striking root and flourishing in their rich and native soil. By the allowance of bounties and drawbacks, the foreign manufacturers and merchants will be furnished with additional means of carrying on the conflict, and of insuring success.

“The American manufacturers have good reason for their apprehensions; they have much at stake. They have a large capital employed, and are feelingly alive for its fate. Should the national government not afford them protection, the dangers which invest and threaten them, will destroy all their hopes, and will close their prospects of utility to their country. A reasonable encouragement will sustain and keep them erect; but if they fall, they fall never to rise again.

“The foreign manufacturers and merchants know this, and will redouble with renovated zeal, the stroke to prostrate them. They also know, that should the American manufacturing establishments fall, their mouldering piles, the visible ruins of a legislative breath, will warn all who shall tread in the same footsteps, of the doom, the inevitable destiny of their establishments.

“The national government, in viewing the disastrous effects of a short sighted policy, may relent; but what can relenting avail? Can it raise the dead to life? Can it give for injuries inflicted, the reparation that is due? Industry, in every ramification of society, will feel the shock, and generations will, as they succeed each other, feel the effects of its undulations. Dissatisfaction will be visible every where, and the lost confidence and affection of the citizen, will not be the least of the evils the government will have to deplore. But should the national government, pursuing an enlightened and liberal policy, sustain and foster the manufacturing establishments, a few years would place them in a condition to bid defiance to foreign competition, and would enable them to increase the industry, wealth, and prosperity of the nation; and to afford to the government, in times of difficulty and distress, whatever it may require to support public credit, while maintaining the rights of the nation.

“ Providence, in bountifully placing within our reach, whatever can minister to happiness and comfort, indicates plainly to us our duty—and what we owe to ourselves. Our resources are abundant and inexhaustible.

“ The stand that Archimedes wanted, is given to the national and state governments—and labour-saving machinery tenders the lever—the power of bringing those resources into use.

“ This power imparts incalculable advantages to a nation whose population is not full. The United States require the use of this power, because they do not abound in population. The diminution of manual labour, by means of machinery, in the cotton manufactory of Great Britain, was, in the year 1810, as two hundred to one.

“ Our manufacturers have already availed themselves of this power, and have profited by it. A little more experience in making machines, and in managing them with skill, will enable our manufacturers to supply more fabrics than are necessary for the home demand.

“ Competition will make the prices of articles low, and the extension of the cotton manufactories will produce that competition.

“ One striking and important advantage, which labour-saving machines bestow, is this, that in all their operations they require few men; as a reference to another part of this report will show. No apprehensions can then be seriously entertained, that agriculture will be in danger of having its efficient labourers withdrawn from its service.

“ On the contrary, *the manufacturing establishments, increasing the demand for raw materials, will give to agriculture new life and expansion.*

“ The committee, after having with great deference and respect, presented to the house this important subject in various points of view, feel themselves constrained, before concluding this report, to offer a few more observations, which they consider as being immediately connected with it, and not less so with the present and future prosperity of this nation.

“ The prospects of an enlarged commerce are not flattering.

“ Every nation in time of peace will supply its own wants from its own resources, or from those of other nations.

“ When supplies are drawn from foreign countries, the intercourse which will ensue, will furnish employ to the

navigation only of the countries connected, by their reciprocal wants.

“Our concern does not arise from, nor can it be increased by the limitation which our navigation and trade will have prescribed to them, by the peace and apparent repose of Europe.

“Our apprehensions arise from causes that cannot animate by their effects. Look wheresoever the eye can glance, and what are the objects that strike the vision? On the continent of Europe, industry, deprived of its motive and incitement, is paralyzed; the accumulated wealth of ages, seized by the hand of military despotism, is appropriated to and squandered on objects of ambition; the order of things unsettled, and confidence between man and man annihilated. Every moment is looked for, with tremulous, anxious, and increased solicitude; hope languishes; and commercial enterprize stiffens with fear. The political horizon appears to be calm, but many of no ordinary sagacity think they behold signs portentous of a change, the indications of a violent tempest which will again rage, and desolate that devoted region.

“Should this prediction fail, no change for the better, under existing circumstances, can take place. Where despotism—military despotism reigns—silence and fearful stillness must prevail.

“Such is the prospect which continental Europe exhibits, to the enterprize of American merchants.

“Can it be possible for them to find in that region, sources which will supply them with more than seventeen millions of dollars, the balance due for British manufactures imported? this balance being over and above the value of all the exports to foreign countries from the United States. The view which is given of the dreary prospect of commercial advantages accruing to the United States by an intercourse with continental Europe, is believed to be just. The statement made of the great balance in favour of Great Britain due from the United States, is founded on matter of fact.

“In the hands of Great Britain are gathered together and held many powers, which they have not been accustomed hitherto to feel and to exercise.

“No improper motives are intended to be imputed to that government. But does not experience teach a lesson that should never be forgotten, that governments, like individuals, are apt “to feel power and forget right.” It is not in-

consistent with national decorum to become circumspect and prudent. May not the government of Great Britain be inclined, in analyzing the basis of her political power, to consider and regard the United States as her rival, and to indulge an improper jealousy, the enemy of peace and repose?

“ Can it be politic, in any point of view, to make the United States dependent on any nation for supplies, absolutely necessary for defence, for comfort, and for accommodation?”

“ Will not the strength, the political energies of this nation, be materially impaired at any time, but fatally so in those of difficulty and distress, by such dependence?”

“ Do not the suggestions of wisdom plainly show, that the security, the peace, and the happiness of this nation depend on opening and enlarging all our resources, and drawing from them whatever shall be required for public use or private accommodation?”

“ The committee, from the views which they have taken, consider the situation of the manufacturing establishments to be perilous. Some have decreased, and others have suspended business. A liberal encouragement will put them again into operation with increased powers; but should it be withheld, they will be prostrated. Thousands will be reduced to want and wretchedness. A capital of near sixty millions of dollars will become inactive, the greater part of which will be a dead loss to the manufacturers. Our improvidence may lead to fatal consequences: the powers, jealous of our growth and prosperity, will acquire the resources and strength which this government neglects to improve: It requires no prophet to foretel the use that foreign powers will make of them. The committee, from all the considerations which they have given to this subject, are deeply impressed with a conviction that the manufacturing establishments of cotton wool are of real utility to the agricultural interest, and that they contribute much to the prosperity of the union. Under the influence of this conviction, the committee beg leave to tender, respectfully, with this report, the following resolution:

“ Resolved, That from and after the 30th day of June next in lieu of the duties now authorised by law, there be laid, levied, and collected on cotton goods, imported into the United States, and territories thereof, from any foreign country whatever, per centum ad valorem, being not less cents per square yard.

“ Report of the committee of commerce and manufactures on the memorials and petitions of the manufacturers of wool — March 6, 1816.

“ The committee of commerce and manufactures, to which was referred the memorials and petitions of the manufacturers of wool, respectfully submit the following REPORT—

“ The committee having given this subject all the consideration that its importance merits, beg leave to present, with due respect, to the house, the result of their investigation.

“ The correctness of the following estimate the committee are now disposed to question:

“ Amount of capital supposed to be invested in buildings, machinery, &c. \$12,000,000

“ Value of raw material consumed annually 7,000,000

“ Increase of value by manufacturing, 12,000,000

“ Value of woollen goods manufactured annually, \$19,000,000

*“ Number of persons employed, { Constantly, 50,000
Occasionally, 50,000
— 100,000*

“ The committee having, in a report presented to the house on the 13th of February last, on the memorials and petitions of the manufacturers of cotton, expressed their opinion on the policy of fostering manufacturing establishments, consider themselves relieved from the necessity of repeating the same argument. Every reason then urged for sustaining the cotton manufacturing establishments, applies with equal force in favour of the woollen. The committee, influenced by the same reasons, feel themselves bound to accord the same justice to the manufacturers of wool.

“ The following resolution is, therefore, with due respect, submitted to the house.

“ Resolved, That from and after the 30th day of June next, in lieu of the duties now authorised by law, there be laid, levied, and collected on woollen goods imported into the United States and territories thereof, from any foreign country whatever, per centum ad valorem.

" *A memorial presented to the Senate of the United States,
January 7, 1818.*

" To the honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in congress assembled, the petition of the inhabitants of the county of Oneida, in the State of New York, as well manufacturers as others,
RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH:

" That the above county contains a greater number of manufacturing establishments, of cotton and woollen, than any county in the state, there being invested in said establishments at least 600,000 dollars.

" That although the utmost efforts have been made by the proprietors to sustain those establishments, their efforts have proved fruitless, and more than three-fourths of the factories remain necessarily closed, some of the proprietors being wholly ruined, and others struggling under the greatest embarrassment.

" In this alarming situation, we beg leave to make a last appeal to the congress of the United States. While we make this appeal, the present crisis, the extensive embarrassments in most of the great departments of industry, as well as the peculiar difficulty in affording immediate relief to manufacturers, are fully seen and appreciated. Yet your petitioners cannot believe that *the legislature of the union will remain an indifferent spectator of the wide-spread ruin of their fellow citizens, and look on, and see a great branch of industry, of the utmost importance in every community, prostrated under circumstances fatal to all future attempts at revival without a further effort for relief.* We would not magnify the subject, which we now present to congress beyond its just merits, when we state it to be one of the utmost importance to the future interests and welfare of the United States.

" Before we proceed farther, and at the very threshold, we disclaim all legislative patronage or favour to any particular class or branch of industry at the expense of the other classes of the community. We ask of congress the adoption of no measure, for the relief of manufacturers, which is not deemed consistent with sound national policy, and the best interests of the United States at large. But if a compliance with our prayers be the dictate of wisdom, and for the public good; if our application be justified by the examples of all wise and patriotic states; *if no government of modern Europe is so short-sighted, or regardless of*

its duties, as not to constantly watch over, and yield a steady and protecting support to the manufacturers of the state, we humbly hope this appeal in behalf of American manufactures will not be made in vain.

“That clothing for our citizens in peace, and our army and navy in war, are indispensable, and that the necessary supply should be independent of foreign nations, are positions that will be controverted by none. The last war afforded most lamentable proof: your soldiers, exposed to the inclemencies of a northern climate, were at times found fighting in their ranks almost naked. It will not escape observation, that national collision and hostility are most likely to arise with that nation from whom our supplies are principally derived, and that the operations of war must be prosecuted on the ocean; hence, regular supplies being cut off, smuggling, violations of law, with all the concomitant evils *experienced in the late war, are the certain consequences.* The same disgraceful scenes are to be acted over and over again, to the deep reproach of the country. *If the present manufactories are suffered to fail, the government will look in vain for means to avert those calamities.* Surrounded with many embarrassments, government, during the war, saw fit to encourage manufacturing establishments; and those who embarked their capital, it is humbly conceived, were warranted in the expectation of such continuing support of government as should protect their interest against that foreign rivalry and hostility which is now operating to their ruin. They had a right, as they conceive, to expect this from what the government owed to itself, and to the independence and best interests of the country, as well as from the example of other nations in like circumstances.

“In reviewing the discussions on this great question, your petitioners feel themselves justified in saying, that the question has not been at all times fairly met on its true merits. We have been constrained to witness alarm sounded, as though a new principle was to be introduced, and the country now for the first time, taxed for the mere benefit of manufacturers. What can be more untrue and unjust? We need not remind the honourable the congress of the United States of what is known to all, that from the first establishment of the government, special regard has been had, in laying impost and taxes, to the *protection of domestic manufactures*, by increasing the duties on imported articles coming in competition. Again, the tariff, in pro-

protecting manufactures, has been represented as taxing the farmer and planter for the benefit of the manufacturer; and hence, attempts have been made to excite popular prejudice against the latter. We need not dwell on this topic, in showing how unjust to individuals and injurious to the country the charge is. As it respects the manufacturing districts of the United States, there is no distinct class of manufacturers, no separation of the manufacturer and farmer; it is the farmer himself who is the manufacturer; he invests his money in manufacturing stock. With the exception of a few factories, in or near the great towns, by far the greater part of manufacturing stock will be found in the hands of the farmers.

"Between different districts or states, one manufacturing and the other not, a different question arises, which resolves itself into a mere equality or apportionment of taxes on the different parts of the union; and here it will be seen, on a view of the whole system of impost and taxes, that no injustice is done, as *the manufacturing districts have, and still do, contribute their full proportion to the public treasury.* Of the internal taxes, it will appear, that they have paid an amount greatly beyond the numerical standard or rule of apportionment prescribed by the constitution. The fact is not here mentioned for the purpose of complaint; but to show how fallacious it is to select the duty on a particular article, to settle the question of equality in the general apportionment of taxes. We might again confidently appeal to the tariff of impost, and ask if the duty is not greater on many articles than on imported cloths (with the exception of certain coarse and almost useless cottons of the East Indies.) This is believed to be the case with most of the specific duties, and eminently so in some instances. Were the government to proceed much farther than is now contemplated, and bestow premiums for the encouragement of particular branches of industry, examples to justify the measure would be found in the wisest and best administered governments. While the provision in the constitution *prohibiting any duty on exports*, favours the great staple productions of the south, it injures the domestic manufacturer, and is subversive of the great principle adopted by most nations, to *restrain the exports of the raw material necessary in manufactures.* But neither of this provision do your petitioners complain.

"We hope to find excuse in the importance of the subject, for submitting to the consideration of congress the

following principles of political economy, which have been adopted by the most enlightened governments, and are deemed not altogether inapplicable to the United States:

"That the public good requires of government to restrain by duties, the importation of articles which may be produced at home, and to manufacture as much as possible of the raw material of the country.

"That the branches of industry, particularly necessary or useful to the independence of the community, ought to be encouraged by government.

"That the most disadvantageous commerce, is that which exchanges the raw material for manufactured goods.

"That any nation which should open its ports to all foreign importations, without a reciprocal privilege, would soon be ruined by the balance of trade.

"The policy of Great Britain, in support of which, no wars, however bloody, no expense, however enormous, are too great a sacrifice, ought never to be lost sight of by the United States. That nation assumes to *manufacture for all nations, but will receive the manufactures of none.* So tenacious, so jealous is she of the first dawns of manufactures elsewhere, that she binds even the hands of her own colonists. The jealousy of parliament was excited, nearly a century ago, by the petty hat manufactory of Massachusetts; and an act of parliament actually passed in the reign of George the Second. prohibiting the erection of furnaces, in British America, for slitting iron.

"The great Chatham, the least hostile to British America, of British ministers, in his speech in the house of Lords, on the address to the throne, in 1770, expressed his utmost alarm at the first efforts at manufactures in America.

"Mr. Brougham, a distinguished member of the British parliament, recently declared in his place, that it was well worth while, at the close of the late war, to incur a loss on the exportation to the United States, in order to stifle in the cradle our rising manufactures. It is in vain for any man to shut his eyes against the active rivalry and persevering hostility of British manufacturers: and when the capital, the deep-rooted establishments, the improved machinery, and the skill of the British manufacturer, protected as he always is by the government, are considered, it ought not to excite surprise that the American manufacturer, without the support of his government, is found unequal to the contest. But yielding to manufactories reasonable sup-

port in their infancy, the government will, at no distant period, find them able to defend themselves against foreign competition and hostility, and at the same time make ample returns to the nation for its protecting kindness.

"It was the opinion of Mr. Hamilton, former secretary of the treasury of the United States, as well as of sir James Stuart, that *no new manufactory can be established, in the present state of the world, without encouragement from government.*

"*It cost the English parliament a struggle of forty years, commencing in the reign of Edward III. to get the better of the established manufactures of Flanders.* It is believed that much less encouragement from government would place the manufactures of the U. States on a secure foundation. While the writers of that nation are seen to highly commend the principle of Adam Smith, that industry ought to be left to pursue its own course, without the interference of the legislator, *the government has, at all times, and under every vicissitude, turned a deaf ear to the lesson, as though it were intended for other nations; and carried legislative regulations into every department and avenue of industry.* The British statute book groans under these regulations. The policy of the government has proved triumphant; immeasurable wealth flowed in upon the nation, giving it a power and control over other nations never before attained, nor so long enjoyed, by any people so considerable in numbers.

"But let no one imagine that a general system of manufactures is now proposed to be introduced into the United States. We would be understood as limiting our views to the manufactories already established: *to save those which have not already fallen, from the ruin which threatens them.*

"*After all that the present manufactories can supply, there will remain to foreign importation an amount, it is believed, equal, if not exceeding the means of the country to pay for.* That importation, let it be remembered, will be mostly from a country which shuts her ports against the productions of the United States, and keep them so unless the necessities of her manufactories, or hunger and sedition open them; and then the *fatal suspension* often proves, as the experience of the ill-fated shippers of bread stuffs, the present year, will attest, a more decoy to ruin. Lord Sheffield, in the year 1783, declared, that except in time of

war, there never was a market for American wheat in Great Britain, exceeding three or four years in the whole.

"There was a time when a balance of trade, believed in both countries to be generally against the United States, was, in some degree, satisfied or counter-balanced by a favourable trade with the West Indies: but a recent change of policy in the British councils has cut off that resource, and the parent state prefers exposing her colonies to starving, rather than open her ports to American commerce.

"It is obvious how much that government presumes on its advantages over us, on the predilection of our citizens for British manufactures, and the influence of the liberal purchases in the south, of the material for her cotton manufactures.

"We hope to be excused in repelling the unwarrantable imputation bestowed on manufactories of woollen and cotton as being *injurious to the health and morals of the community*. On this point we may content ourselves with referring to the healthful sites of our factories, the spacious work-rooms, (required by the necessary machinery,) and appeal to every man who has visited a factory, for testimony against the imputation. What is the experience on the subject? Scotland manufactures not only what is required for its inhabitants, but about five millions of dollars annually in the article of cotton alone, for exportation; and yet, in both its physical and moral character, that nation sustains a high elevation. We look in vain for evidence that the arms of Scotchmen have been withered by their manufactories, nor do we recollect the field of battle in Europe, where the arms of any nation were found stronger in conflict.

"To swell the tide of prejudice against manufactures, it is said that *unreasonable prices for goods were demanded at the period of the late war*. To reason with such objections would be a mere waste of time. We might ask what merchant, mechanic, or farmer, in any age or country, ever forbore to raise his prices according to the demand in the market? It enters into first principles. Did the importer treble his first costs on his cloths, even on smuggled goods, and does he make the charge of extortion against manufacturers? The war unhinged every thing, and changed the whole order of society and course of business.

"It might have been expected that the present fallen condition of manufacturers would have soothed prejudice and disarmed hostility. With all their alleged war profits, there are now none so poor. Is it not seen, that the destruction

of the present manufactories must inevitably produce the same evils of extravagant prices in the event of a future war, as were experienced in the last?

"As to the imputed effect of the tariff, in enhancing the prices of imported goods, it is believed that goods were never so low as under the operation of the present duties; and so far as competition between domestic and foreign goods has contributed to this, credit is justly due to our manufacturers.

"It is objected that the entire industry of the country may be most profitably exerted in clearing and cultivating our extended vacant lands. But *what does it avail the farmer, when neither in the nation from which he purchases his goods, nor elsewhere, can he find a market for his abundant crops?* Besides, the diversion of labour from agriculture to manufactures, is scarcely perceptible. Five or six adults, with the aid of children, will manage a cotton manufactory of two thousand spindles.

"From the gloomy condition of the manufacturers, the mind turning to another quarter, is cheered with the brightest prospects of others. In the more southern states, it is believed, that the amount received, during the last year, from the export of two or three articles of agricultural produce only, exceeds forty millions of dollars.

"*An appeal is made to the equity, to the patriotism of the southern statesman: his aid and co-operation is invoked for the relief of the suffering manufacturers of the northern and middle states.*

"In conclusion your petitioners humbly pray, that provision may be made by law, for *making the present duties on imported woollens and cottons PERMANENT; for prohibiting the importation of cotton goods from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, for consumption or use in the United States,* (according to the example of several European governments;) for restraining auction sales of goods: and for the more general introduction and use of domestic goods in the army and navy in the United States." October 1, 1817.

No. XI.

Philadelphia, June 17, 1819.

MISTAKEN opinions having been long entertained of an hostility between the interests of manufacturers, and those

of merchants and agriculturists, it is supposed that the system we advocate is calculated to sacrifice those of the two last to the first. Nothing can be more foreign from the truth. Our views are decidedly favourable to commerce and the mercantile interest: because the commerce to or from a ruined country, such as ours will be under its present policy, affords little advantage to its merchants; and our plans tending to restore the prosperity, must of course improve the commerce, of the United States, whose industry has been sacrificed to that of nations distant from us thousands of miles. We are equally and as decidedly the friends of agriculture; because our object is to secure to the farmer and planter for their productions a domestic market, which cannot fail them, instead of the precarious dependence on foreign ones, subject to unceasing fluctuations, and blasting the fairest hopes of the cultivator and merchant.

It will doubtless appear extraordinary, but it is nevertheless true, that the system we advocate is calculated to promote as well the advantage of the merchants of Great Britain and of those other foreign nations with which we trade, as that of the United States.

The commerce of a country impoverished as ours is, can be of little advantage to a trading nation, which loses all its profits, and part of its principal by bankruptcy. The deficiency of remittances, which is daily increasing, cannot fail to produce destructive consequences in Great Britain. Thousands in that country with shattered fortunes, will have to lament the infatuation that led them to inundate the United States with their merchandize, whereby they calculated on making splendid fortunes, which disappeared "like the baseless fabric of a vision," and left "not a trace behind," but disappointment and ruin.

The British merchants disregarded the valuable lesson of Esop's Fable of the goose that laid the golden eggs. They killed the goose by their determination to enjoy all the benefits of our trade at once.

Having no mines of gold or silver, no pearl fisheries, we have no means of paying for our foreign importations but by the fruits of our industry. And the combined operation of the fatal impolicy of our tariff, the cupidity of our importers, and the infatuation of the British merchants, has so completely paralyzed our industry and impoverished the country, as to render us utterly unable to pay. The destruction of Spanish industry did not produce the same effect on her commerce with other nations. Her mines furnished ample

means of payment. But having, we repeat, no mines, the destruction of our industry is almost as pernicious to Great Britain, or any other nation with which we trade on credit, as to ourselves.

This plain view of our affairs, demands the most serious attention from the public. We are so thoroughly satisfied of its correctness, that were we agents for the promotion of the English interest, and had supreme power over the tariff, we would have it so modified as to protect national industry; for even if that industry were carried to double or treble its present extent, there would be, as stated in the Oneida memorial, ample room for the importation of as much goods as we can pay for—more especially in the present prostrate state of the prices of our staples.

This theory receives the most ample corroboration from the present state of our commerce, which is nearly as calamitous as that of our manufactures. Our vessels are either rotting at our wharves, or dispatched on voyages which even at the commencement afford hardly any hope of profit, and which too generally close with heavy and ruinous losses. It has been computed by intelligent merchants, that the mercantile capital of this country has been diminished seventy millions of dollars, since the peace. Agriculture has begun to partake of the general calamity.

It is painful to reflect, fellow citizens, how numerous and how ruinous are the errors prevalent on that important portion of political economy, which regards the protection of national industry employed in manufactures. In the discussions that arose in congress on the subject of the tariff, there were few, even of the best informed members of that body, who appeared to regard the protection afforded to manufacturers in a national point of view. They considered the duties imposed for this purpose, according to the doctrine of colonel Taylor, as taxes levied on the agricultural part of the community, solely for the benefit of the manufacturers—and as proofs of the munificence of the former. One ardent member of the house of representatives, on the rejection of a motion for reducing the duties on imported cottons, made an attempt to have the decision re-considered, in order to set aside the votes of some members of the majority, said to be concerned in cotton establishments.* The

* "Mr. Wright," ex governor of Maryland, "after declaring his belief that many members had voted on the question, who, from

inadmissibility of this procedure is as obvious as the attempt was novel. Were his plan adopted, the merchants ought to retire on all questions in which commerce is involved—the farmers and planters on those connected with agriculture—and the gentlemen of the bar on all that respect the judiciary. In the vehemence of the gentleman's zeal against manufactories and manufacturers, he wholly overlooked the incongruity of the measure he recommended.

Under a well organized government, administered with due regard to duty, the legislature ought to "*look with equal eye*" on all classes and descriptions of the nation—and therefore, the interests of the manufacturing part of the community deserve as much and as pointed attention as those of any equal number of citizens.—But how important soever the subject may be in this point of light, it presents itself under another aspect, transcendently higher. And an enlightened statesman or legislator will take a far more comprehensive view of it, as it regards the general interests of the nation, which are deeply interwoven with it.

It is frequently asked, why do not the agriculturists and the merchants demand protection? And if they do not demand it, why is it to be given to the manufacturers?

We reply, that both agriculture and commerce are protected, more particularly commerce, as will appear in the sequel.

The agriculture of the United States has not required much protection. The fertility of our soil, the immense extent of our country, and the great proportion of our citizens engaged in agricultural pursuits, render our crops so abundant, and our distance from other nations so great, that there is little temptation for foreigners to seek our markets with the produce of the earth. Our farmers have hitherto generally had ready markets and high prices. There has not been any serious interference with them; nor until the importation of Bengal cotton, with our planters. Congress has, however, extended its watchful care over their interests. Every article, with hardly an exception, raised by the agriculturist, is subject to a duty which is sufficient for its protection: We annex a list of the most prominent.

being interested in its decision, were of right excluded by a rule of the house, submitted a resolution to reject the votes of those members interested in any manufactory of cotton.^a" An adjournment took place, which prevented a decision on the resolution—which does not appear to have been resumed.

^a Weekly Register, vol. x. page 95.

Protecting Duties on agricultural productions.

Wheat,	Peas,	Hams,	} 15 per cent. ad valorem, and one, tenth.
Barley,	Boards,	Apples,	
Oats,	Hay,	Pears,	
Rye,	Pitch,	Nuts,	
Rice,	Rosin,	Apricots,	
Flour,	Tar,	Plums,	
Indian corn,	Turpentine,	Peaches,	
Tobacco,	Pork,	Onions,	
Beans,	Beef,	Butter,	
Cheese, 9 cents }		&c. &c.	
Cotton, 3 cents }	} per lb.		
Hemp, 150 cents. per 112 lbs.			

We trust it will be admitted, that the fruits of the earth, raised by hard labour, to which machinery cannot afford any aid, are better protected by a duty of fifteen per cent. than cotton fabrics, in which the rival manufacturers have such immense advantages by machinery, would be at forty—and more particularly than linen and silk are at sixteen and a half, or pottery at twenty two per cent.

“The duties on cheese, cotton, and hemp, deserve particular attention. They are fair examples of the system of protection, which the manufactures have sought in vain.

Cents.

Gloucester cheese is sold in England at about 10*d*.

equal to - - - - - 18 1-2

Cheese in Holland averages about 25 guilders per

100 lbs. equal per lb. to - - - - - 10

In France it is about 76 cts. per killogram, or 112 lbs.

English, equal to - - - - - 13

Thus English cheese pays a duty of about 50 per cent.—Dutch 90—and French 70—averaging on the whole 70 per cent. This is very nearly equivalent to an absolute prohibition.

In the East Indies, cotton is sold at from three pence to seven pence sterling per lb. or an average of about 10 cents. The duty is three cents, which is thirty per cent.

Nothing but the great distance from Hindostan, and the consequent heavy expense of transportation, could prevent the cotton planter from sharing the lamentable fate of the cotton manufacturer, and being driven out of his own market, even with a duty 20 per cent. of the cost of the article. Attention to the culture in the East Indies, with the advantage of having gained possession of the seeds of our best

species, render it almost certain that the cotton planters will at no distant day, be under the same necessity of soliciting prohibitions or prohibitory duties, as the cotton and woollen manufacturers were in 1816. We hope when they do thus apply, they will be treated with more attention, and their application be more favourably received than those of the manufacturers experienced. We hope for this result not merely for their sake, but for the general prosperity of the nation.

Hemp is sold in Russia at about 114 dollars per ton. The duty is, therefore, about 26 per cent.

We flatter ourselves, therefore, that it will be readily conceded, that agriculture is protected. Except on the three articles last enumerated, the duties are, it is true, moderate. But they are far higher in proportion to the chance of competition than most of the duties on manufactured articles. Should an increase of duties, however, be necessary, we trust it will be adopted, and without opposition.

That the merchants have enjoyed a large portion of the fostering care and protection of congress cannot be doubted. The statute book is full of laws enacted for their benefit. They have always had powerful advocates on the floor of that body, who never failed to state their grievances, and to propose the proper remedies. They were ever heard with attention, and their requests generally accorded. We annex a list of some of the laws passed in their favour.

I. 1789. An act passed at the outset of the government for regulating tonnage which imposed 30 cents on American built vessels, owned in whole or in part by foreigners; and 50 cents on foreign vessels; while vessels belonging to the United States were subject only to six cents.*

II. 1789. In order to secure to our merchants the whole of the China trade to and from this country, a decisive advantage was given them as may be seen by the following contrast—

Duties on teas Imported from China.†	In American vessels. Cents.	In foreign vessels. Cents.
Bohea tea - - - - Per lb.	6	15
Souchong and other black teas - -	10	22
Hyson - - - - -	20	45
All other green teas - - - -	12	27

* Laws United States, vol: ii. p. 6. † Ib. 3, 4.

This immense difference of duty, however, does not at present exist—but there still remains sufficient to shut out foreign rivals, viz.

Existing duties on teas imported from China.					In American vessels. Cents.	In foreign vessels. Cents.
Bohea	-	-	-	Per lb.	12	14
Souchong and other black	-	-	-	-	25	34
Hyson and Young Hyson	-	-	-	-	40	56
Hyson skin and other green	-	-	-	-	28	38
Imperial, Gunpowder, and Gomee	-	-	-	-	50	68

III. 1789. A discount of ten per cent. allowed on all import duties upon goods imported in vessels built in and owned by citizens of the United States, or in foreign vessels owned by them.*

IV. 1789. Five cents bounty on every quintal of dried, or barrel of salted fish, and on every barrel of salted provisions.†

V. 1789. Fifty cents per ton on each entry laid on all vessels not built within the United States, or owned by a citizen or citizens, employed in the transportation of the produce or manufactures of the United States coastwise.‡

VI. 1792. One dollar and a half per ton allowed to vessels engaged in the fishery, if of twenty tons and below thirty—and two dollars and a half, if above thirty tons. One dollar per ton on all fishing boats above five and below twenty tons.¶

VII. 1794. Ten per cent. additional on the duties upon goods imported in vessels not of the United States.§

VIII. 1802. An act for the protection of the seamen and commerce of the United States against the Tripolitan cruizers.¶

IX. 1804. An act further to protect the commerce and seamen of the United States against the Barbary powers.** By this act, an additional duty of two and a half per cent. ad valorem was imposed on goods imported in American vessels—and ten per cent. additional on those duties upon importations in foreign ones. One million of dollars were appropriated for the purpose of carrying on the war against the Barbary powers.

* Laws of the U. States vol. ii. p. 5. † Ibid. ‡ Idem p. 6.

¶ Idem, p. 241. § Idem, p. 437. ¶ Idem, iii. p. 447. ** Idem, p. 613.

X. 1812. An act for imposing ten per cent. extra on the duties upon goods, wares, and merchandize imported in vessels not belonging to the United States; and likewise laying an additional duty of one dollar and a half per ton on all such vessels.*

XI. 1813. An act for paying a bounty on the exportation of pickled fish, and on all vessels employed in the fishery.†

XII. 1817. An act subjecting to a tonnage duty of two dollars per ton, all foreign vessels arriving from ports to which vessels of the United States are not allowed to trade.‡

XIII. 1817. An act prohibiting the importation of all goods, wares, and merchandize in foreign vessels, except those of the nation in which they are produced; prohibiting, under penalty of forfeiture, all vessels, belonging in whole or in part to foreign powers, from carrying on the coasting trade, and limiting the bounties on the fisheries to vessels of which the officers and three fourths of the crews are citizens of the United States.§

XIV. 1817. An act prohibiting the importation of plaster of Paris from any country, or its dependencies, from which the vessels of the United States are not permitted to bring that article.||

XV. 1818. An act prohibiting the entry into our ports of any vessels belonging to subjects of his Britannic majesty from any port or place in his colonies that is closed against vessels of the United States.¶

XVI. American vessels entering from any foreign port or place, pay - - - - *per ton, cents* 6

All foreign vessels from ports where the American flag is not interdicted - - - - - 100

Dutch vessels from places where the American flag is interdicted** - - - - - *per ton, cents* 225

The narrow limits we are obliged to prescribe to ourselves, prevent us from enlarging on the above list. A cursory view of it will satisfy the reader how undeviating an attention was paid to the subject—and that no opportunity was ever lost, to counteract the hostile policy of foreign nations, when directed against the mercantile interest.

The coasting and China trade were fully and completely secured to our merchants, the first by absolute pro-

* *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 459. † *Idem*, p. 584 ‡ *Idem*, vol. vi. p. 200.

§ *Idem*, p. 213. || *Idem*, vol. vi. p. 227. ¶ *Idem*.

** *Tariff* p. 25.

hibition, and the second by duties undeniably equivalent to a prohibition. And whatever was necessary to secure them their full proportion of other navigation has been done. The specious complaint of "*sacrificing the interests of the many for the benefit of the few*," with which the papers have been filled, and which has furnished such a fertile theme to orators in congress and newspaper writers, was never heard, even in a whisper, in the case of the merchants. No.—It was reserved to defeat the just demands and expectations of the manufacturers.

In those laws and others of similar character to be found in our statute books, we behold a spirit worthy of the representatives of a great nation, determined to guard the interests of a respectable portion of their constituents—and affording an ample and adequate protection, which completely guaranteed the promise it held out. The miserable idea of sacrificing native wealth, industry, and talent—of hiring vessels, according to Adam Smith's destructive theory, "*where they could be had the cheapest*," was spurned with the contempt it deserved. Those wise laws, which do honour to the legislature of the United States, saved the navigation of this country from destruction. But for them, our shipbuilders would have been ruined, as so large a portion of the cotton and woollen manufacturers have been—and our shipping would have rotted in our ports, while our navigation was carried on by foreigners, as so large a portion of our clothing is now manufactured by them.

A statement of the results of this wise policy, cannot fail to be satisfactory—

In 1789 the British vessels which entered inwards in Great Britain, engaged in the trade of the United States, were	253	In 1799 those that entered inwards were only	42
Those cleared for the United States	358	Outwards	57
In 1790 the American vessels engaged in the British trade were only	464	In 1800 there were	1057*

"In 1816, 561 vessels engaged in the trade of the United States entered inwards in Great Britain; of these only 56 were British.

"In the same year, of 575 entered outwards, only 39 were British.†"

* Seybert's Statistics, p. 295.

† Ibid.

Under this fostering system, the tonnage of the United States made as rapid progress as ever was made by that of any nation in the world.

							Tons.
In 1789 it was	-	-	-	-	-	-	201,562
1790	-	-	-	-	-	-	478,377
1792	-	-	-	-	-	-	564,437
1794	-	-	-	-	-	-	628,816
1796	-	-	-	-	-	-	831,700
1798	-	-	-	-	-	-	898,328
1801	-	-	-	-	-	-	*1,033,218

The contrast between the magnanimous spirit that presided over those laws—and the miserable and blighting spirit that dictated the twenty-seven and a half per cent. on cottons and woollens—twenty-two per cent. on pottery—sixteen and a half per cent. on linens and silks, &c. &c. in order to enable us to “*buy goods where they could be had cheapest*” is as astonishing as it is lamentable. On the one side we see a dignified policy, honourable to the nation—and on the other a policy unworthy of a rising empire, which has produced the most disastrous consequences.

A few lines more on the subject of the protection of commerce. The navy of the United States, which has been created chiefly for that purpose, has cost in 20 years above 56,000,000 of dollars.† The last war with Great Britain, which arose wholly from the duty of protecting commerce, cost, exclusive of the naval department, \$52,000,000.‡

The expense of foreign intercourse, that is, for ambassadors, charges des affaires, consuls, agents, bearers of despatches, &c. &c. for twenty-four years, have been 10,872,494 dollars, or above 450,000 dollars per annum, (Seybert, 713.); and for the Barbary powers, in twenty years, 2,457,278 dollars, or above 120,000 dollars per annum. (Ibid.) Thus, in these two items, there is a *positive disbursement*, for the protection of commerce, of above half a million of dollars annually: whereas, the government has never paid one dollar, as bounty or premium, to foster, protect, or promote the productive industry employed in manufactures; and has never laid a dollar of duty, beyond what was called for by the exigencies of the treasury.

* Seybert's Statistics, p. 317. † Weekly Register, and Seybert's Statistics, p. 706.

‡ Idem, p. 716.

It is painful to state, but candour calls on us to state, that a portion of the merchants, who have thus enjoyed such a high degree of care and protection, bestowed at such enormous expense, have too generally been averse to affording adequate protection to their fellow citizens, engaged in manufactures; for which they suffer now in common with the manufacturers, by the consequent universal calamity of the times and impoverishment of the country.

Let us now turn from the fostering care bestowed on commerce—the various statutes enacted in its favour—the expense incurred for that purpose—the complete protection it has experienced, to the situation of the manufacturer. Has he had his equal share of the care and attention of government? No. The paternal care of their own manufacturers, generally exercised by other governments, shuts him out of nearly all the foreign markets of the world. And the impolicy of our system leaves him at home at the mercy of rivals from every quarter of the globe, who, availing themselves of the advantage of superior capital, and their own governmental protection, vanquish him in his own market, and reduce him to bankruptcy.

That the manufacturers, particularly those of cotton and woollen fabrics, have not been protected from foreign rivalry—that they have been victims of an inadequate tariff, is palpable from the immense quantities of rival foreign articles with which our markets have been inundated; from the ruin of so many respectable citizens who invested large capitals in manufacturing establishments; and from the great proportion of those establishments that are wholly suspended in their operations; many of which have been sold for 20, 30, or 40 per cent. of the first cost.

Of these facts the proofs are within the knowledge of the great mass of our citizens. They admit neither doubt nor denial.

Thus, while the manufacturer appears to enjoy the advantages of a free government, he is, we repeat, incontestibly in a worse situation, so far as respects the acquisition of property, and protection of industry, two principal objects of good government, than the subjects of the monarchs of Europe, whose situation he must regard with envy. The English, the French, the Russian, the Austrian, and the Danish manufacturers are generally secured in the home market.

There is but one way to account for the care bestowed on the commercial, and the neglect of the manufacturing

interest. The former has been at all times well represented in congress, and the latter never. It is, as we have observed on a former occasion, nearly as much unrepresented in that body as this country in its colonial state was in the British parliament.

A CONTRAST.

The Agriculturist.

With hardly an exception, secured in the home market. Nearly all the foreign markets in the world open to him.

The Manufacturer.

Shut out of nearly all the foreign markets in the world, and beaten out of his own for want of adequate protection.

The Merchant.

The coasting trade secured to him by absolute and unqualified prohibition. Every possible advantage that the government can give, afforded to his shipping in the foreign trade.

We appeal, fellow citizens, to your candour, to your justice, whether there can be a reason why the farmer should be protected by duties, which, in most cases,* are nearly equal to prohibitions—and the merchant have the coasting and China trade secured to him, the former by absolute prohibition, and the latter by duties equivalent to prohibition; while there is *no one manufactured article whatever prohibited*, and while the cotton and woollen manufacturers (to pass over others) are sacrificed to foreign rivals, by the utterly inadequate duty of twenty-seven and a half per cent? This is a vital point—and demands the most serious reflection. The whole question at issue may be said to turn on it. We put it to the understanding of our fellow citizens throughout the union—and to the consciences of the members of congress. If any adequate reason can be assigned for this very unequal distribution of protection, let it be proclaimed, in order to silence complaint.

That several extensive establishments have survived the general wreck—that they are still in profitable operation—is no disproof of our allegations. Their proprietors have generally had some peculiar advantages in point of capital

* Hemp, as already stated, pays about 26 per cent.—cheese 70—cotton 30—and all other agricultural productions 16 1-2 It is obvious that those duties are far more effectual than 70 per cent. would be on pottery, glass bottles, or linen—the two first of which are subject to 22, and the last to 16 1-2 per cent. We might go on with the enumeration and comparison to a great extent, but deem it unnecessary.

or long establishment, that saved them from the fate of the others. But supposing that the prohibition of the coasting trade had not been enacted—that it had generally fallen into the hands of foreigners; but that twenty or thirty of our merchants were able to support themselves by that portion of it which foreign rivalry left them, would that be admitted for a moment to disprove the ruin of the hundreds of others that had fallen sacrifices?

We are persuaded that very few of our citizens attach an adequate degree of importance to the industry of the manufacturing class of the community, and that it is prodigiously underrated. To form a correct estimate of it, requires to enter into minute calculations, which have rarely been made. It never could have been supposed, without such calculations, that the cotton fabrics, produced by 100,000 manufacturers in 1815, amounted to more than one half of the whole value of the domestic exports, of every description, of that year; which is nevertheless the fact, as will appear in the course of this address.

In order to aid you, fellow citizens, in comparing the products of manufacturing and agricultural industry, we submit a table of the exports of the United States for the year 1815, extracted from the returns of the Secretary of the Treasury. We have annexed in the second column, a statement of the population of the several states according to the census of 1810; and in the third column, an estimate of what was the probable population in 1815, assuming, according to Dr. Seybert, an annual increase of 3 per cent. or 15 per cent. for the whole period.

Table of the Domestic Exports and Population of the United States.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Domestic Ex- ports, 1815. Dollars.	Population by Census of 1810.	Supposed Population, 1815 advance 3 per cent per annum.
Massachusetts - - - -	3,547,463	700,745	805,856
New Hampshire - - - -	101,203	214,460	246,629
Vermont - - - - -	161,002	217,895	250,579
Rhode Island - - - - -	357,684	76,931	88,470
Connecticut - - - - -	383,135	261,942	301,233
New York - - - - -	8,230,278	959,049	1,102,909
New Jersey - - - - -	5,279	245,562	282,396
Pennsylvania - - - - -	3,569,551	810,091	931,604
Delaware - - - - -	105,102	72,674	83,575
Maryland - - - - -	4,086,274	380,546	437,627
Virginia - - - - -	6,632,579	974,622	1,120,815
Ohio - - - - -		230,760	265,371
Kentucky - - - - -		406,511	467,487
North Carolina - - - -	1,012,967	555,500	638,825
Tennessee - - - - -		261,727	300,986
South Carolina - - - -	6,574,783	415,115	477,382
Georgia - - - - -	4,146,057	252,433	290,297
Orleans - - - - -		76,556	88,039
Mississippi - - - - -	2,573	40,352	46,404
Louisiana - - - - -	5,055,858	20,845	23,972
Indiana - - - - -		24,520	28,198
Illinois - - - - -		12,282	14,125
Michigan - - - - -	36,909	4,762	5,476
District of Columbia - -	1,965,626	24,023	27,662
	45,974,403	7,239,903	8,325,878

Same table differently arranged.

STATES.	Total.		Exports per head.
	Population 1815.	Domestic Ex. ports. 1815.	
Massachusetts - - - - -	805,856	\$3,547,463	\$ 4.40
Connecticut - - - - -	301,233	383,135	1.27
New Hampshire - - - - -	246,629	101,203	.41
Vermont - - - - -	250,479	161,002	.64
Rhode Island - - - - -	88,470	356,784	4.03
New Jersey - - - - -	282,396	5,279	.02
	1,975,163	4,554,866	2.30
New York - - - - -	1,102,909	8,230,278	7.46
Pennsylvania - - - - -	931,604	3,569,551	3.83
	2,034,531	11,799,829	5.93

STATES.	Total.		Exports per head.
	Population 1815.	Exports 1815	
Delaware - - - - -	83,575	\$ 105,102	\$ 1.25
Maryland - - - - -	437,627	4,086,274	9.33
Virginia - - - - -	1,120,815	6,632,579	5.91
North Carolina - - - -	638,825	1,012,967	1.58
District of Columbia - - -	27,626	1,965,626	71.15
	2,308,468	13,802,548	5.95

South Carolina - - - - -	47,382	6,574,713	13.77
Georgia - - - - -	290,297	4,146,057	14.28
	767,679	10,720,870	13.95

Ohio - - - - -	265,371	6055858	4.78
Kentucky - - - - -	467,497		
Tennessee - - - - -	300,986		
Louisiana - - - - -	23,927		
	1,057,816	1,057,858	4.78

It appears, on an examination of the preceding tables, that the average exports of the whole union, per head, were about \$5.62.

Of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Jersey - - -	\$2.30
Of New York - - - - -	7.46
Of Pennsylvania - - - - -	3.83
Of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, District of Co- lumbia and North Carolina - - -	5.95
Of South Carolina, and Georgia - - -	13.95
Of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana - -	4.78

Whereas, the surplus of the labour of 100,000 cotton manufacturers in that year beyond the price of the raw material and the wages, was \$1,200,060, or \$12 per head. This appears by a report submitted to congress by the committee of commerce and manufactures, Feb. 13, 18 6, which states that there were in the preceding year, about 100,000 persons employed in the United States in the cotton manufacture, viz.—10,000 men, 66,000 women and female children, and 24,000 boys.*

Who used - - - - -	bales of cotton 90,000
Containing - - - - -	pounds 27,000,000

* Weekly Register, vol. xi. page 447.

Amounting, at 30 cents, to	-	-	\$8,100,000
And producing of cotton fabrics	-	yards	8,000,000
Averaging 30 cents per yard	-	-	24,300,000
Estimating the wages at \$150 per annum			\$15,000,000

Result.

Gross amount of articles manufactured	\$24,300,000
Cost of cotton	- - - - - 8,100,000

Net annual gain to the nation on the labour of 100,000 manufacturers	- - - - - \$16,200,000
-------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------

This leaves a gain of one hundred and sixty two dollars per head, on the labour employed, let it be observed, on articles of low price.

It is impossible to reflect on this statement, without being struck most forcibly with the extent of the advantages of this important branch.

Analysis.

I. The difference between the price of the raw materials, if exported, that is \$8,100,000,—and that of the manufactured articles,—\$24,300,000,—viz. \$16,200,000, was clearly saved to the country.

II. The amount of the goods manufactured, \$24,300,000, was more than half—and the amount thus saved to the country, \$16,200,000, was more than one-third, of the value of the entire exports of the United States for that year, which were only \$45,974,403.

III. A certain market was provided for the great staple of the southern states, the cultivation of which, were the manufacture duly protected, might be extended to double or treble its present amount.

IV. The value of lands and the interest of the agriculturists in the vicinity of those establishments, were greatly advanced, by the supplies of provisions required for the support of the manufacturers.

The amount of the goods produced by the labour of these 100,000 manufacturers, viz. \$24,300,000, was

I. Nearly equal to the whole of the domestic exports of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and the district of Columbia, containing above 3,000,000 inhabitants;

II. Considerably more than the whole of the domestic exports of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New-York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, containing above 5,000,000 inhabitants.

The money retained in the country by the labour of these 100,000 manufacturers, viz. \$16,200,000, was

I. Nearly equal to the domestic exports of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, containing above 3,000,000 inhabitants.

II. About equal to the domestic exports of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, South Carolina and Georgia, containing above 2,700,000 inhabitants.

It may on a cursory view appear that we have gone into too much detail with these statements. But we trust that the magnitude of the errors prevalent on these topics, and more particularly the deleterious consequences these errors have produced, on the prosperity of our country, as well as the probability of their continuing to produce a copious harvest, will fully justify us.

Those immense advantages, produced by 10,000 men, 66,000 women and female children, and 24,000 boys, if duly appreciated by congress, would have led to a system widely different from the one pursued in the tariff. Such a source of wealth ought to have been cherished with the utmost care and attention, which would have been amply repaid by the most beneficial results.

It may, and probably will be demanded, if the advantages of this manufacture be so great, why have so many of those engaged in it been ruined? This answer is obvious. The inundation of foreign articles, a large portion of which were sold at vendue, far below first cost, has so far glutted our markets, as greatly to limit the sale of the domestic fabrics, and cause ruinous sacrifices on those that are sold.

Our manufacturers, moreover, in the event of an overstocked domestic market, have no foreign one in which to dispose of their superfluous goods. Whereas our markets are open for the superfluous goods of all the manufacturers in the world!! Never was there such disparity of advantage.

We do not avail ourselves of the obvious advantage we might derive from the circumstance that a portion of

the exports were manufactured and in a highly finished state, and were of course at prices far beyond what they bore, when they came from the hands of the agriculturist. In some cases, the value was doubled or trebled. All this advance of price ought to be deducted from the total amount as reported by the custom house, in order to carry on the comparison fairly, and do the argument justice. But we waive this advantage, great as it obviously is, and admit the whole as in its rude state.

The situation of the four western states, claims particular attention. Unfortunately there are no data on which to form an estimate of their exports individually; such an estimate would be valuable, as it would more thoroughly evince the ruinous policy this country has pursued, by its effects on Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. But in the deficiency of correct data, we must rely on the best estimate that we can make.

From the extraordinary fertility of the soil in Louisiana, and the great value of its staples, we believe it will not be extravagant to suppose that of the sum of 5,055,868 dollars exported from Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Louisiana there was above a million and a half raised in the last state. This reduces the surplus of the other three states, devoted chiefly to agriculture, and containing above a million of people, to three dollars and a half per head! And from the immense distance from which a large portion of it is drawn, and the consequent heavy expenses, it is not extravagant to suppose that it did not produce to the cultivator above 75 per cent. of this value—probably in many cases not above 60 per cent.

We submit, fellow citizens, a fair comparison of the proceeds of the labour of 100,000 persons employed in the culture of cotton, with that of the same number employed in the manufacture of the article, in order more fully to establish the importance of the latter.

Cotton is now about 16 cents per lb. at the manufactories; ---about 14 in the seaports of the states where it is raised, and cannot net the planter more than 15, deducting the merchant's profits. That cotton will rise beyond this price is possible---but not probable. The prices in England, which must greatly regulate our markets, are more likely to fall than to rise, from the improvement of the culture in the East Indies---the ardour with which it is pursued,---and

the low price of labour there: and in fact it would not be extraordinary, if, from the abundance of the East India supplies, the British market were at no distant day virtually closed to our cotton, as it has actually been by order of council to our flour.

Culture of Cotton.

Ten slaves, five of them capable of working in the fields, the other five women and children, will produce of cotton annually about *lbs.* 8,500
 At this rate 100,000 would produce *lbs.* 85,000,000
 Which at 13 cents per *lb.* amount to \$11,050,000

Manufacture of Cotton.

We proceed to state the situation and results of an extensive cotton manufactory in the neighbourhood of Boston, which is in actual operation.

It contains men	14
Women and children	286
	<u>300</u>

And produces with power looms and other machinery, at the rate per annum of
 Square yards of cloth 1,500,000
 Which at 25 cents per yard is \$ 312,500
 Deduct 450,000 *lbs.* of cotton, at 16 cents, 72,000

Annual saving to the nation by the labour of } 14 men and 286 women and children,	<u>\$240,500</u>
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------

For the correctness of this statement, fellow citizens, we pledge ourselves to the world. We defy contradiction.

Let us now calculate the result of the labours of 100,000 men, women, and children, in the same proportions, and at the same kind of employment:

As 300: \$240,500 :: 100,000: \$80,166,666.

That is to say, the clear profit of the labour of 100,000 persons, 5000 men, and 95,000 women and children employed in the cotton manufacture, would amount to above

80,000,000 of dollars annually, after paying for the raw material.

The reason why the result of this calculation so far exceeds the proceeds of the labour of the 100,000 manufacturers, in 1815, as stated in page 168, is, that the machinery of the establishment near Boston, has been brought to the last degree of perfection—and the power looms which afford immense facilities to the operations, were very rare in 1815.

It cannot escape the attention of even a cursory observer, that all our calculations of the results of the cotton manufacture are predicated on low priced fabrics—and that the profits on the high priced are far greater. A large proportion of those imported from Great Britain are of the latter description. This greatly enhances the profits of the manufacture. It results from hence, that far less than 100,000 Manchester cotton manufacturers, principally women and children, would be able to pay for the whole of the exports of this nation, containing above 9,000,000 of people!

There are probably at this hour from 30 to 40,000 persons, skilled in this branch, idle in the United States, who could produce, according to the preceding calculations, cotton fabrics to the amount of 25 to 30,000,000 of dollars annually. What a lamentable waste of industry!

Who can ponder on these facts without astonishment at the impolicy of our system, which, under the auspices of Adam Smith, has sacrificed the labour of ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or sixty of our citizens for that of one foreign manufacturer? If the absurdity were capable of being heightened, it would be by the circumstance, that the dearness of labour is so frequently assigned as an argument against our fostering manufactures. But surely if our labour be so dear and valuable, we ought not to squander it away thus prodigally.

Can it, therefore, be a subject of wonder, that we are an impoverished nation—that we are drained of our specie—that our water power has been, by a bounteous heaven, lavished upon us in vain—that so many of our manufacturers are beggared and bankrupted—that our workmen are wasting their time in idleness—and that those artists and manufacturers, who, unfortunately for themselves, have been allured to our coasts, by our excellent form of government, have either returned to Europe, gone to Nova Scotia,

or Canada, or are obliged to resort to servile employments to support existence?

We now submit to your consideration, fellow citizens, an important table of the imports of cotton into the British dominions, for seventeen years. The first fifteen are taken from Dr. Seybert's Statistics,* and the remaining two from the Journal of Trade and Commerce.†

Table of the Importation of Cotton into Great Britain.

	1803.	1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.
American	107,494	106,831	104,103	124,279	124,939	171,267	37,672	301,107	389,505
Brazil	74,720	76,297	48,588	51,342	51,034	18,981	50,442		
East India	8,535	10,295	2,561	1,983	7,787	11,409	12,512	35,764	79,382
Other Sorts	90,634	45,474	85,385	75,116	77,978	81,010	67,512	103,511	92,186
No. of bags.	281,385	238,898	241,610	252,620	261,738	282,667	168,138	440,382	561,173

	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.
American	128,192	95,331	37,720	48,853	103,037	166,077	198,917	204,881
Brazil	118,514	98,704	137,168	180,930	91,955	123,450	114,816	161,087
East India	14,546	2,607	1,429	13,048	22,357	30,670	117,484	247,604
Other sorts	64,789	64,563	73,219	74,800	52,840	49,235	47,208	60,878
No. of bags.	326,141	261,205	249,536	287,631	270,189	369,432	478,395	665,450

To the intelligent cotton planter, this table furnishes matter for most serious and sober reflection. It seals the death warrant of the hopes which he lately cherished of an increasing market and continued high prices in England—and, independent of all care or concern for his fellow citizens, engaged in the cotton manufacture, establishes the necessity of securing a steady market for his raw material at home. The following analysis deserves peculiar attention.

I. The importation of American cotton has not quite doubled in sixteen years.

II. East India cotton has in the same space of time increased 3000 per cent.

III. United States cotton has increased but *three per cent. in the last year.*

IV. East India cotton has increased *in the same time 110 per cent.*; and the total increase of importation in that year has been 55 per cent.

* Page 92.

† Feb. 1819, page 113.

V. Brazil cotton has more than trebled since the year 1808.

According to the report of the committee of commerce and manufactures, which we have quoted above, the consumption of cotton in the United States in 1805, was only - - - - - bags 1,000

But in 1815, it rose to - - - - - 90,000

Containing - - - - - lbs. 27,000,000

So rapid was the increase of this manufacture, with no other protection than that afforded by the war, in excluding foreign rivalship.

Dr. Seybert states that the greatest amount of cotton ever exported from this country was 93,000,000 pounds in 1808.* The whole quantity exported in 1815, to all parts of Europe, was about 81,000,000 pounds.†

It thus appears that the quantity actually consumed by our manufacturers in 1815, viz, 27,000,000 lbs. was equal to one-third part of all we exported in that year—and what is still more extraordinary, it was actually *one-third part of the whole quantity imported in the same year into England, the most manufacturing country in the world!*‡ And it will not, we trust, be doubted, that a moderate degree of protection would have increased the home demand to such an extent as to consume the whole. What inexhaustible mines of wealth, far beyond those of Golconda or Potosi, have we in our power! How lamentable a sacrifice we have made of them! and how prosperous and happy should we now be, had we made a proper use of them!

In order to enable you, fellow citizens, duly to appreciate the advantages that would have accrued from the manufacture of the whole quantity of cotton exported in 1808, we submit a sketch of its results.

Dr.	<i>The Industry of the United States.</i>	Cr.
To 90,000,000 pounds of cotton at 30	By 270,000,000 yards of cloth at 20	
cents per lb. 27,000,000	cents	54,000,000

* Statistics, p. 92.

† Idem, p. 152.

‡ To these facts particular attention is requested. The imports of cotton into Great Britain in 1815 were 270,000 bags; in 1816, 369,000; in 1817, 377,000; of which considerable quantities were exported to the continent of Europe. Whereas the actual consumption in the United States in 1815, was, as before stated, 90,000 bags; a striking proof of the laudable enterprize and industry of our citizens.

To clear profit carried to ac- count of gene- ral prosperity	27,000,000	
	<u>\$54,000,000</u>	<u>\$54,000,000</u>

We will further suppose that the whole of this cotton had been manufactured abroad, and returned to us in a manufactured state, and then exhibit the result.

Dr. <i>The United States.</i>		Cr.	
To 270,000,000 yards of cloth at 20 cents	54,000,000	By 90,000,000 lbs. cotton at 30 cts.	27,000,000
	<u> </u>	By balance car- ried to account to national bank- ruptcy	27,000,000
	<u>\$54,000,000</u>		<u>\$54,000,000</u>

Another View of the subject.

Let us examine the result of 90,000,000 lbs. of cotton, manufactured in this country, at the present prices of cotton—

Dr. <i>The United States.</i>		Cr.	
To 90,000,000 lbs. of cotton at 16 cents	14,400,000	By 27,000,000 yards of cloth at 20 cents	54,000,000
To clear profit car- ried to account of general prosperi- ty	39,600,000		
	<u>\$54,000,000</u>		<u>\$54,000,000</u>

In order further to evince the importance of the cotton manufacture to the wealth and prosperity of nations, we state

its extent in, and gain to Great Britain. The fabrics of that staple consumed in, and exported from that country, in 1812, amounted to - - - - - sterling l. 29,000,000
 The cost of the raw material - - - - - 6,000,000

Clear annual gain to the nation - - - - - l. 23,000,000*
 Equal to, above - - - - - \$100,000,000

And this all-important manufacture, for which the United States are peculiarly adapted from the possession of, and capacity of producing the raw material to a boundless extent, has been half strangled by our tariff! What agonizing reflections this view of the subject forces on the mind!

Having discussed the subject of the cotton manufacture, we proceed to take a view of the woollen, which is equally deserving of the most serious consideration.

By a report of the committee of commerce and manufactures, submitted to the house of representatives, March, 1816,† it appears that in the year preceding there was invested in the woollen branch a capital of - - - - - \$12,000,000
 The raw material amounted to - - - - - 7,000,000
 The value was increased by the manufacture - - - - - 12,000,000
 Value of goods manufactured annually - - - - - 19,000,000
 Persons constantly employed - - - - - 50,000
 Occasionally - - - - - 50,000
 - - - - - 100,000

Analysis.

- I. By this manufacture, articles were produced in the United States, which would otherwise have been imported, to the amount of - - - \$19,000,000
 Deduct price of wool, which, but for this branch, would have been exported - - - - - 7,000,000
 Clear saving to the country - - - - - 12,000,000
- II. Seven millions of dollars expended among the farmers, for the wool of about 5,000,000 sheep.

* Colquhoun on the Power and Resources of Great Britain, p. 31.

† Supra, page 186.

III. A clear gain to the nation, by the labour of each person thus employed, of 120 dollars.

The following table of the value of the national manufactures for the year 1810, will enable you, fellow citizens, to form a correct idea of the importance of the subject. It is an estimate deduced by Tench Coxe, Esq. from the marshals' returns, taken with the census of that year. It is probable that during the progress of the war, they were increased to above \$300,000,000.

Maine	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$3,741,116
Massachusetts	-	-	-	-	-	-	21,895,528
New Hampshire	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,225,045
Vermont	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,407,280
Rhode Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,106,074
Connecticut	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,771,928
New York	-	-	-	-	-	-	25,370,289
New Jersey	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,054,594
Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	-	-	33,691,111
Delaware	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,733,744
Maryland	-	-	-	-	-	-	11,468,794
Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,263,473
Ohio	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,894,290
Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,181,024
North Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,653,152
Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,611,029
South Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,623,595
Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,658,481
Orleans Territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,222,357
Mississippi Territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	419,073
Louisiana Territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	200,000
Indiana Territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	300,000
Illinois Territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	120,000
Michigan Territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	50,000
Columbia (District)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,100,000
							<hr/>
							172,761,977
							<hr/>

The repetition of objections to which we have already fully replied, obliges us, fellow citizens, to resume topics which we had supposed exhausted.

Among these, the most prevalent and popular is the extortion said to have been practised by the manufacturers

during the war. This theme is hacknied from New-Hampshire to Georgia, not merely by men of little minds and narrow views, with whom such an objection would be perfectly in character; but men of higher spheres of life, and superior order of mind and endowments, allow themselves to be led astray by it.

Even admitting it to have existed to the extent assumed, the inference drawn from it, to prevent adequate protection to manufactures would not apply at present; as, according to the irrefragable maxim of Alexander Hamilton, founded on fact and reason, *'the internal competition which takes place soon does away every thing like monopoly, and reduces by degrees the price to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed.'*

But we will suppose for a moment that the allegations are all just—and that the manufacturers of broad cloth sold, as we have already stated, at 13 or 14 dollars per yard, what cost them only 8 or 9. With what propriety, we repeat, can the importer who at the same period, sold his goods at 50 or 100 per cent. beyond the old prices—the planter who raised cotton at 10 or 12 cents, and sold at 30, and would at 40, 50, or 100—the merchant who bought flour at 10 dollars and sold at 20 to 40—reproach the manufacturer for what they practised themselves?

We pass over the inconsistency of such conduct, which is too palpable and gross to require comment: and we trust that the miserable spirit that would prefer the consumption of fabrics manufactured in Hindostan, because sold a few cents cheaper per yard, (and thus exhaust the wealth of the country to support a distant nation, while our fellow citizens, who invested millions of money in manufacturing establishments, are bankrupted and beggared, and the workmen thrown for support on the overseers of the poor) will never influence the councils of a great nation.

But the enormous expenses of those establishments, in which investments were made to the amount of 20, 30, 40, 50 or 60,000 dollars, for buildings and machinery, would require and fully justify extraordinary prices in the commencement.—To bring this home to the cotton planters—and to enable them to conceive the force of the argument, we will suppose for a moment, that during the war they had for the first time to commence their plantations—and to purchase slaves at 4 or 500 dollars each—and plantations for 5 to 10,000 dollars. Could they, in the incipient

state of their operations, afford to sell their cotton for 18 to 20 cents per *lb*? Certainly not. This is a case perfectly analogous, and ought to set this miserable objection at rest for ever.

NO. XII.

Philadelphia, June 24, 1819.

We have presented for your consideration, the essence of the able and luminous report of Alexander Hamilton, then secretary of the treasury, on manufactures. The principles contained in that admirable state paper, are the principles of political economy, that have been practised by those statesmen, whom the concurrent testimony of ages, have pronounced the most wise; and have constituted the policy of every nation, that has advanced in civilization; in which the principles of free government have been developed; or which has grown in wealth and power.

Did it comport with the design of these essays, it would be no difficult task to establish, by historical references, the facts; that the amelioration of society; the evolution of those just rights, which are the inheritance of every individual; and the weight and influence of the people in their government, had their origin in the establishment of manufacturing industry. With its progression, have they progressed; and by the diffusion of wealth through every class of the community, which is its necessary concomitant, have been diffused civilization and knowledge. The principles by which these important results have been effected, we shall shortly elucidate. But other considerations first invite attention.

The arguments, by which Mr. Hamilton has sustained the principles he advocated, are lucid and conclusive. We believe them to be irrefutable. At least, we have not as yet met with any opposing writers, who have shaken one of the positions he advanced. Those diversified combinations, which grow out of, and affect all human transactions, did not escape his penetration. They are too commonly overlooked by theorists, who intent on general principles, disregard the minuter circumstances, that arise out of their

very action, and frequently render them impracticable in operation, however just they may appear in themselves.

In no science, are the general maxims of mere theorists more delusive, and more to be distrusted, than in political economy. This branch of knowledge is yet in its infancy. It is composed of relations so commingled and commixed together, that like a skein of tangled thread, they require to be traced out with great patience, perseverance, and close attention. Its principles are not yet established. Those which have been considered as the most fixed, have been overthrown; those which have been taught as self-evident, are questioned; and the whole are the subject of ardent discussion. In this state of the science, general maxims can serve no other purpose, than to give flippancy on an abstruse subject, and to overleap difficulties, that cannot be removed.

While the elements of political economy are thus undetermined, we are called upon to set at naught the harmonising examples of the most prosperous states; the accumulated experience of centuries; and to confide the character, the resources, the power of this nation; the wealth and happiness of this people; the safety perhaps of the government itself, to the operation of abstract principles, which have not yet been confirmed by practice, nor even settled by authority.

In human affairs, abstract principles, though they may captivate the fancy by their simplicity, are often defeated by those subordinate accidents, which they must necessarily exclude. The principles of 'Political Justice,' of the English, and the 'perfectibility of human nature' of the French Philosophers, as well as unlimited freedom of moral action, in the abstract, may be true. But overlooking the very constitution of human nature, the discordancy of its sentiments, the complexedness of its affinities, the variety of its affections, the perverseness of the human heart, and obliquity of human intellect, they can only be regarded as the visions of benevolent enthusiasts.

The abstract principles of political economy, are of similar character. Resulting from general reasoning, which seldom descends to minute particulars, they bear all the evidences of correct deductions, until brought into practice. Their inefficiency is then disclosed, and their partial nature made manifest. The involutions and compound nature of human interest, we are convinced, set distinctive limitations

at defiance. They often open suddenly into new channels that have not been traced, or flow through others, so obscure, that they have escaped our notice. Our generalities are defeated by unanticipated combinations, which give results never calculated; and re-actions are produced, that work effects never suspected.

In a science thus uncertain, and in things thus complicated and indistinct, it is the part of prudence to tread the paths of sober experience; to trust those guides, whose long practice has imparted substantial knowledge, and whose knowledge is verified by their success. To reject the long acquired wisdom of ages, and the well-earned experience of mankind, from confidence in superior wisdom, may justly subject us to the imputation of self-sufficiency, and hazard the dearest interests of our country.

It is against such visionary projects, that we have raised our hands; it is to warn you from the closet speculations of theorists, to invite you to common sense practice, founded on the nature of things, that we have intruded with the best intentions on your notice. We have presented to you in succession, the systems of various powers in Europe, for the advancement of their welfare; and have shown some errors of policy, bearing a strong similarity to principles generally entertained in the United States, which proved fatal to those by whom they were adopted. We have, finally, presented you with a system, that has been proposed by one of our most enlightened statesmen, as best adapted to promote the wealth and power, by exciting and fostering the industry of this country, *in the circumstances of a general and continued peace in Europe*. This system was prepared with an experience of the operation of the peace policy of Europe on our affairs, subsequent to the peace of 1783, and after mature reflection on the commercial relations between this country and foreign powers. Its principles, founded on well substantiated facts, are drawn from the examples of the most prosperous and most powerful nations; and its materials derived from the abundant sources of European commercial legislation. These are circumstances which entitle it to great weight, and to be received with the most marked and serious attention.

Let it not be presumed, that we are influenced by any feelings of political partiality, in favour of Mr. Hamilton. Most of those, who thus tender the tribute of their applause

to his merits as a statesman, and thus highly appreciate this particular fruit of his labours, were, and continue to be, the decided opponents of his political principles. It is bigotry alone, that denies or would obscure merit in those, beyond the pale of its own belief, in church or state. To this feeling, we wish to have no claim, and while we confess a contrariety of sentiment on some essential points, we would not withhold our acknowledgment of the brilliancy of the genius, the extent and solid nature of the acquirements, and the strength of intellect, that distinguished Alexander Hamilton.

In the present situation of the country, when it cannot be concealed, that its progress has received a sudden check, and society labours under the shock of a rapid recoil, the discussions of political parties sink into minor importance, in comparison with the great principles of the prosperity and happiness of the people and of the nation. These are the principles that should rise paramount in the view, occupy the thoughts, and animate the feelings of every citizen of the great American republic. Divesting yourselves, therefore, of party feelings, prejudices and partialities; casting aside, as derogatory to the character of American citizens, the petty jealousies of sectional interests, take into candid consideration that system of policy, which, in the early establishment of our government, was deemed best to comport with our interests as an independent people. If its principles should appear to you just, and the reasoning by which it is sustained, consonant to truth; if you should be satisfied, it is the best adapted to our present and probable future circumstances, you will not hesitate to trust to it, for the advancement of individual and national prosperity.

An inquiry naturally arises into the causes, which led the government, after having matured this system, and contemplated its adoption, to lay it aside. They are developed in our commercial history, and will be found to strengthen the principles and views on which it was erected, and for which we contend.

The peace concluded in 1783, continued undisturbed; Europe offered but partial markets to our productions, while it closed its commerce to our marine. The annual value of our foreign exports, was less in amount than the annual value of our consumption of foreign commodities, and we possessed no collateral sources of wealth to com-

compensate the deficiency. The government had assumed a large debt, which subjected it to a heavy annual interest; other expenses were accumulating, the increase of which might be confidently anticipated; and the prospects of revenue from foreign commerce, or an impoverished people, were but gloomy. In these circumstances, the attention of our statesmen must have been directed to internal resources. Yet from this quarter could be derived little to inspire their hopes. Commerce brought no money into the country; circulation was limited and slow; the industry or labour power of the country was but partially exerted; and consequently much wealth lost, that might have been created. Without a circulating medium, and full employment for industry, revenue must have been oppressive to the people, of difficult collection to the government, and uncertain in its proceeds.

The difficulties of the colonial governments, and the evils endured by the colonists, were then fresh in remembrance, and their causes were well understood. The commerce, to which they had been limited, was that which at this time is recommended to our adoption. Confined almost exclusively to the tillage of the soil, they exchanged their raw productions for the manufactured articles of the mother country. This kind of barter, or "mutual exchange," to which the colonies were *forced* by the colonial system of England, kept them poor to favour industry at home. This commerce, to which the jealous policy of Great Britain limited her colonial possessions in America, it was acknowledged both in and out of parliament, in the colonies and in England, and cannot now be denied, was intended solely to render them subservient to her interests, to which theirs were unhesitatingly sacrificed. Their progress on in wealth and power, was looked upon with a distrustful eye. In order to its retardation, to keep them poor and dependent, they were forbidden to manufacture, and compelled to supply their wants from England. Even the earl of Chatham, who is considered to have been the friend of America, as he was the advocate of her rights, was still so much an Englishman in this respect, he was unwilling that a single hob-nail should be manufactured in America.

The cultivation of the soil to its greatest extent, excited no apprehensions that it would enable the colonies to become independent. England well knew, that in the mutual exchange of raw products for manufactured goods, all the

advantage was on her side, the loss on that of the colonies. She, therefore, restricted them to the cultivation of the soil, except permitting a few handicrafts of first necessity, and the fisheries to the New England colonies, which raised no production she required.

This system kept the colonies in a wretched condition. They were totally destitute of the precious metals, either to constitute or regulate a currency. Every hard dollar that found its way into them, was immediately exported to England in payment of debts. "Those that are acquainted with America, know as I do," said capt. Luttrell in a debate in parliament, "that from Rhode-Island, northwards, they have no money; that their trade is generally carried on by barter, from the most opulent merchant to the most necessitous husbandman. Sir, before your fleet and armies visited their coasts, you might almost as soon have raised the dead, as one hundred pounds in specie from any individual, in those provinces."*

In order to procure some kind of currency to make those mutual exchanges, which the wants of civilized life render indispensable, and which cannot with convenience be effected by barter, the colonists were forced into various expedients. They altered the standard of money; they issued paper money of different kinds; they constituted it a legal tender. But all was ineffectual. While they had to hire workmen in England to perform their labour, they could not retain their gold and silver, which was sent to pay wages abroad. Altering the standard did not affect the value of gold and silver, which could not be restrained by an arbitrary limitation: and their paper money having no guarantee for its safety, constantly depreciated.

Such, it was known to our government, were the results that had been produced by a commerce, engaged in the exchange of the productions of the soil, for manufactured goods. They could not, therefore, anticipate, that a similar commerce would have other effects; and consequently, that by such a commerce, a metallic currency could be given to the people, or even a metallic basis acquired, for an adequate paper currency. There was then no other course left them to pursue, but to adopt the manufacturing policy of Europe. By supplying a portion of those wants with our own industry, for which the colonies had been compel-

* Parliamentary Register.

led by the parent country to hire and pay for labour in England, we would diminish the amount of our imports, without diminishing the amount of our exports. Because England took from us no more of our productions, than she really wanted, and those she would take under any circumstances, while the other nations to which we traded, were never influenced by other views, than the mere supply of their wants. Thus the balance of our trade with the West Indies, which had always been paid in specie, but immediately remitted to England, would have been retained in circulation; while a portion of the balance with France and the Mediterranean, would also have found its way back to this country, instead of always being transferred to England. In this manner, and in this manner only, in a state of general peace in Europe, could a circulating medium have been procured, that could be kept pure, free from depreciation, and fluctuations.

But the rapid occurrence of events wholly unexpected, unfolded new prospects, and enabled the United States to acquire with ease and rapidity, the wealth and power necessary to give stability to their recently formed institutions. In the midst of the agitations of the French revolution, the crops failed in France and other parts of Europe. At once a market was opened to our agricultural production, stimulated to its greatest energy. The labour power of the country, was instantly employed to the full extent of its capacity. The war that soon ensued, and involved almost every power in Europe, constituted us at once the carriers of an immense commerce. Our sails swelled on every ocean, and our flag streamed on every shore. Every dollar of capital we possessed or could borrow, and every hand in the nation, before idle, found employment. A road was thus open to a rapid acquirement of wealth, and it was a natural policy to pursue it. The capital and industry of the country, before stagnant and depressed, rushed into the new formed channel. Manufactures under these circumstances were neglected and the project was dropped. All the benefits that were expected to arise from them, were to be obtained with certainty and expedition, by prosecuting our newly disclosed and widely extended commerce. Wealth rolled in apace, and the metallic capital alone in the space of ten or twelve years, was increased to twenty or twenty-five millions of dollars. But the whole of this prosperity, depended on contingencies. A general peace in

Europe, would bring it to a close. As it was, we could not enjoy it undisturbed. The celerity of our progress awakened the jealousy of a rival. It was sought to destroy, by new principles of national law, the advantages we derived from our neutral character. The difficulties that were thus generated, terminated finally in war, which arose, let it be remarked, not from a spirit of manufactures, but from a spirit of commerce. The expenses and sacrifices necessary to its prosecution, were in fact, a tax upon the country, in favour of commerce; yet it was cheerfully borne, by the agricultural and manufacturing interests.

Out of this contest, the nation came with an accession of character; whilst the rapidity of circulation, the full employment of capital, and its retention in the country, caused individuals to feel but little comparative distress, notwithstanding its burthens. The attack directed against the physical strength of the country, only served to develop its power and resources. The war now waging against its moral strength, has paralysed its energies, and laid it prostrate in the dust. It is no exaggeration to assert, that the two last years of peace, have produced more commercial embarrassment and distress, a greater destruction of capital, and increase of individual misery, than was caused by the whole war.

This apparent anomaly deserves to be examined. We believe its solution will be attained in the following considerations. The general pacification of Europe, had preceded the treaty of Ghent, and most of the powers of the eastern hemisphere, had re-assumed their usual peace policy. The object of this policy is to foster their own marine, agriculture and manufactures, to the exclusion of those of other nations. We consequently had lost the commercial relations, that had existed in a state of European warfare. In fact, we reverted back to our old commercial position, prior to the French revolution, or when colonies. Had this circumstance been understood, it would have been foreseen, that the same effects would have grown out of the same causes now as formerly. The principles, views, and reasonings, adapted to the then situation of the country, it would have been perceived, were again applicable. But the habits and modes of thinking, which had been formed during twenty years of a lucrative commerce; the complete mutations which had taken place in the commercial world, during that time, leaving few individuals

possessed of a practical knowledge of the effects of a general peace, on the interests of the country, occasioned the revolution our commerce had undergone to be overlooked or disregarded.

Most of those engaged in commerce, who also, it will be recollected, preside over the monied institutions which regulate our currency, had little other experience of commerce, than such as existed during the wars of the French revolution. They naturally supposed, that it would continue to work the same effects, as during that period, except in smaller amount. The failure of two successive crops in Europe, in 1815 and 1816, which stayed for a time the operation of the new state of affairs, served to continue this delusion. The time, however, is not remote, when we shall be awakened to the true situation of our commercial relations with Europe, and its consequences. The evils, which now press on us, many vainly flatter themselves, are mere temporary effects, similar to those which have before arisen from slight derangements of commerce. We are firmly persuaded, they are of a very different character, and of a more formidable nature. We have no doubt, that they are the same, as the evils under which this country suffered when colonies, and during the peace subsequent to the revolution. The sooner we satisfy ourselves that such is the case, the earlier we shall extricate ourselves from the embarrassments, that must grow out of this position, in which we are placed. We propose to enter into the examination of this subject in a future number, and trust we shall exhibit by a comparison of the commerce of the colonies, and the effects it produced on them, extracted from authentic documents, with the present commerce of this country, and the effects now begun to be felt, that they are of similar character. We fear, that from this view of the subject, though little flattering to our pride, it will be apparent, that after having expended the best blood of the nation, and millions of treasure to shake off the yoke of colonization, we have voluntarily adopted the colonial policy of England, and placed ourselves with respect to her, and in truth to most of the world, in the situation of colonies. From this state of humiliating and injurious dependency, the United States are bound to vindicate the sovereignty of a free people. For in vain will they make pretensions to a perfect independence, while they incur through the medium of their wants, all the consequences of subjection.

NO. XIII.

Philadelphia, July 5, 1819.

VARIOUS causes concur to produce the present unhappy state of affairs. It is our belief, however, that the main root, whence branch all the evils we suffer, is the neglect of furnishing full employment, to the productive labour of the country.

National wealth does not consist in land, people, or the precious metals, but in the possession of products or values, created by labour.

A country with an extended territory, and a scattered population, must be poor and feeble. Such is Spain at this moment, and such was this country when in the state of colonies.

There is a paper in the *Spectator*, No. 200, that contains some excellent reflections on this subject, which, as they cannot be better expressed, we shall extract in full.

"If the same omnipotent Power, which made the world, should at this time raise out of the ocean and join to Great Britain, an equal extent of land, with equal buildings, corn, cattle, and other conveniences and necessities of life, but no men, women nor children, I should hardly believe this would add either to the riches of the people, or revenue of the prince." And again—

"That paradox, therefore, in old Hesiod, πλεον ἢ μισοῦ πανός, or half is more than the whole, is very applicable to the present case; since nothing is more true in political arithmetic, than that the same people with half a country, is more valuable than with the whole. I began to think there was nothing absurd in Sir W Petty, when he fancied if all the Highlands of Scotland and the whole kingdom of Ireland, were sunk in the ocean, so that the people were all saved and brought into the lowlands of Great Britain; nay, though they were to be reimbursed the value of their estates by the body of the people, yet both the sovereign and the subjects in general, would be enriched by the very loss."

The same sentiment is contained, and placed in a striking point of view with relation to this country, in a petition to parliament, in the year 1767 General Phineas Lyman, it appears, contemplated the establishment of a set-

tlement on the Ohio, in the present state of Illinois; and for this purpose applied to parliament for a tract of land. He enforced the propriety of the measure, by the argument, that there could be little danger of the colonies becoming independent, if confined to agricultural pursuits, and the inhabitants were diffused over the country. The position is perfectly correct, and is a very suitable and forcible reply to those who are incessantly advising the same policy to these free and independent states, instead of promoting manufacturing industry on the seaboard, and the already thickly settled parts of the country. This is purely an English doctrine, and one which the English government unquestionably warmly approves.

"A period," the petition we allude to observes, "will doubtless come, when North America will no longer acknowledge a dependence on any part of Europe. But that period seems to be so remote, as not to be at present an object of rational policy or human prevention [and] it will be made still more remote, by opening new scenes of agriculture, and widening the space, which the colonies must first completely occupy."*

While it is thus demonstrated, that territory thinly peopled confers neither riches nor power, we have examples in Egypt, modern Greece, and other provinces of the Turkish empire, and in Persia, that people deficient in industry, contribute as little to national wealth or strength; while Spain and Portugal are familiar instances, that they are not necessarily concomitant with the possession of the precious metals.

When we reflect on the distribution of labour in society, which is necessary to give value to production, we shall be more sensible of the truth and operation of the principles laid down.

It has been judged from experience, and admitted by the best authorities, that the labour of twenty-five persons, will procure all the common necessities of life, as food, drink, apparel, housing, furniture, &c. for one hundred persons. This supposition takes the above articles as coarse, though plentiful and good. One half, it is supposed, from being too old, or too young, sick or infirm, will produce nothing. There will then remain about twenty-five individuals of every hundred, capable of working, who are necessarily idle

* Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, 1767.

or non-productive. Now, on the quantity and quality of the employment, with which these twenty-five individuals are occupied, depend the wealth, power, intelligence, and degree of civilization of a nation.

The objects which can alone occupy this class, which, for the sake of distinction, we shall call non-necessary producers, as there is sufficient of sustenance and raiment, &c. for necessary wants, produced without them, must be, in part, to give to those products greater refinement, and consequent value: that is, to give to food a higher relish and more diversity; and to apparel, furniture, &c. more of ornament and beauty. These operations are the chief constituents of manufacturing industry, and absorb a considerable part of the labour, which would otherwise be idle. The cultivation of letters, of the fine arts, of the physical and abstract sciences, the offices of state, and its protection in the army or navy, in civilized society, give occupation to the remainder.

When that portion, which is employed in creating material products or values, finds full occupation, and is predominant, then national wealth is on the increase; circulation is kept full, brisk and steady; contentment and ease, comfort and happiness, are in the power of each individual to obtain; the government is invigorated, and its finances in a flourishing state. This is the situation of a prosperous people, and to attain and preserve it, should be the constant aim of an enlightened government.

The reverse of this state of productive industry, brings on a lamentable change in the affairs of a nation. In proportion as the employment of this class diminishes, national production or wealth declines; circulation becomes dull, languid and stagnant; embarrassments and difficulties surround traders; poverty and misery assail labourers; being idle, they become vicious; and, oppressed by pauperism, they become criminal. The materials for riots, and civil commotions; the ready instruments of designing demagogues, are formed and accumulated, to the hazard of all good citizens, and the safety of civil government.

It is not improbable, that it was this state of things, which was one of the principal causes of the violence of the French revolution. The derangement of the finances; the immense and unequal exactions of the government, which fell chiefly on the industrious poor; the vacillation of its measures, which overthrew all confidence; and the operation of the

impolitic treaty of commerce with England of 1786, all tended to ruin the productive industry of France. Large fragments of its population were thus disjointed from their usual situation, and floated loose and unemployed, endangering the existence of organized society, with the first agitations that should arise.

The commencement of the revolution seems a demonstration of the fact. A starving multitude surrounded the Hotel de Ville, vociferating for bread; and, whenever the king appeared in public, his ears were stunned with the same incessant clamour from the crowd, that thronged around his coach.

The same principle, explains satisfactorily the cause of the extraordinary military energy of France, at that period. Her commerce ruined; her manufactures languid; her trades sinking from diminished consumption; her agriculture oppressed and declining; and the total destruction of her finances, threw an immense mass of physical and labour power out of employment. The army offered the only mode of occupation, by which it could be absorbed. Hence, more than a moiety of the non-necessary producers, whose labour had been appropriated on a thousand different objects, was suddenly devoted to arms. In the armies of the republic were found every rank and grade of society, and every variety of trade and profession.

Europe, which had confederated against that devoted country, and anticipated an easy conquest, was surprized, alarmed, and confounded, at the spectacle presented by this nation, which had seemed prostrated with calamity, sending forth at one time "eleven distinct armies"* to the field, and her extended frontier bristling with bayonets.

This principle was so well understood in England, before the establishment of manufacturing industry secured permanent employment, that it became a maxim with her kings to engage in wars, whenever this portion of her population accumulating, became idle, restless, and discontented.

"It was the dying injunction of the late king, (Henry IV.) to his son, not to allow the English to remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions; but to employ them in foreign expeditions, by which the prince might acquire honour; the nobility, by sharing his dangers,

* Stevens's Wars of the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 266.

might attach themselves to his person; and all the restless spirits find occupation for their inquietude.”*

By this means employment was found for her superabundant labour, which had become oppressive and troublesome to the government, because it could not find any other occupation.

On the disposition which is made by the government, of this class of non-necessary producers, depends the character of a nation. If the greater portion be occupied in agricultural and manufacturing industry, the nation will be wealthy and prosperous, but not enlightened. This is the case with China and Hindostan.

If engaged in arts, letters, and sciences, it will be distinguished for its writers, poets, philosophers, historians, orators, statesmen, sculptors, and painters. Greece in its maturity, Rome in the Augustan age, and Italy at the time of the revival of letters, illustrate our doctrine.

If arms be made their trade, the people become warlike, make extensive conquests, and are renowned for heroes, commanders, and warriors. This was the character of Greece in its early history, of Macedon, and of Rome. It is also the condition of most semibarbarous states; like the Scythian tribes, which destroyed the western empire; and the Arabs, who carried the crescent over more than half the world, and have thundered at the gates of most of the capitals of Europe. In the vigour of its feudal institutions, Europe presented the same aspect. Arms and a rude agriculture constituted the chief employment of its inhabitants, who, poor and oppressed, were the dependant vassals of their lords.

Unoccupied by trades or manufactures, they were ever ready to follow their chieftains to the field, reckless of the cause which summoned them to the work of destruction. Under the banners of the cross, were arrayed such multitudes, that Europe, remarks Anna Comnena, loosened from its foundations, and impelled by its moving principle, seemed in one united body to precipitate itself on Asia.† The plains of Palestine and the borders of the Nile, for near two centuries, were deluged with the blood of millions of human beings, vainly shed in the fruitless battles of the crusades.

* Hume's History of England, vol. 2. chap. xix. p. 59.

† Alexias, lib. 10.

When the exertions of a population of this character, are not directed on some one object, and combined by the control of an efficient government, or by some ruling motive of religion or interest, society is in complete disorganization. Civil wars, the contests of petty chieftains, plundering and robbing by armed bands, ranging over the country, are then the predominant features. The dominions of the Grand Seignior, Africa and many Asiatic states, are instances of this constitution of things; and there are strong indications of its commencement in Spain.

This was the condition of feudal Europe. The crown possessed little constraint over its great feudatories; each of which avenged his own wrong, with his sword; and most of them supported their petty dignity, and their retainers, by predatory incursions on the domains of their neighbours.

From the disorders incident to, and the degradation consequent on feudalism, man was rescued by the establishment of manufactures. They drew him into towns and villages; and association sharpening his intellectual faculties, he began to understand his rights. By his labour, wealth was created; and with his wealth, and by his combination, he acquired power to enforce his rights, or the means to purchase their enjoyment.

Tracing the causes, whence have proceeded the abrogation of feudal institutions, and the emancipation of society from the debasing and depraving influence of feudal obligations, it will be seen, that they have disappeared, like darkness yielding to the day-dawn, before the genial and invigorating influence of manufacturing industry.

The people of Italy, acquiring wealth and power, arts, letters and science, by their industry, first cast aside the shackles of feudal bondage. Flanders and the Netherlands, treading in their steps, next succeeded in the list of free states. As manufactures progressed in England, the people gradually rose into consequence and independence. Yet, from the many obstructions they met with, by the impolicy of the different kings, vassalage was not completely annulled until 1574. In that year, Elizabeth, in order to raise money, directed a charter to her lord treasurer Burleigh, and Sir William Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, "to inquire into the lands, tenements, and other goods of all her bond-men and bond-women in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, viz: such as were by blood, (*i. e.* birth) in a slavish condition, by being born in

any of her manors; and to compound with all or any such bond-men or bond-women in these four counties, for their manumission or freedom; and for enjoying their said lands, tenements and goods as freemen."* Thus terminated feudalism in England, from the commonalty being enabled by the wealth acquired by manufacturing industry, to purchase their emancipation.

In France, the progress of commerce and manufactures was slower than in England, and a consequent slower progress is observable in escaping from feudal oppression. Those, who had engaged in commerce and manufactures, were, however, the first who became exempt; and the agriculturist at the period of the revolution, which brought it to a close, alone was subject to its hardships.

The peasantry of nearly all the Germanic states, of Hungary, and of Russia, are at this time trammelled with its fetters. But the period of their liberation rapidly hastens on. The immense sums, disbursed by the contending powers in the late contests, have diffused much property among the commonalty, and excited their industry. The continental system of Bonaparte, excited a spirit of manufacturing, which is still maintained. The sovereigns in the last grand confederacy, against Napoleon, could not rely as formerly, solely on mercenary troops, but were thrown on the people for support. A military spirit, and the sentiments it gives birth to, have thus been infused amongst their subjects, who have learnt the dangerous secret of their power and its extent. The consequences have been, that Bavaria and Baden, now enjoy the best constituted and freest governments in Europe, while almost all the people of the states of Germany, are perseveringly and anxiously demanding from their rulers, an acknowledgment and guarantee of their rights in written constitutions, and a participation, by their representatives, in the government.

The more close and attentive the examination of this interesting subject, the more conclusively will be established the position, that the modern principles and practice of free governments; the amelioration and refinement of society; the advancement of civilization; and the cultivation of the higher intellectual pursuits; have grown out of the diffusion and division of productive labour, and the multiplication of the objects of its exercise.

* Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*

When the labour or producing power of a nation, is not too much concentrated, in any one or two particular occupations, but is diffused in due and regular proportion, amongst those professions that constitute civilization, such a nation is, then, in its most prosperous, happy, powerful, and intelligent condition. It will be equally famed for its wealth, its power, its laws, its arms, its letters, its sciences, and its arts. This constitutes the most improved state of society, which it is the duty of government to establish and cherish. In different degrees, this is the case with different nations of Europe. There are various causes, into the detail of which, we have not leisure, and which would lead us too far from our object to enter, that cast over each of them, different complexions and tints, but which do not, however, destroy their similitude.

We shall barely confine ourselves to remark, that in England, her political policy, and her labour saving machinery, produce modifications of the general result on her population, which at first view, seem to militate against our proposition. But a little inspection will dissipate the incongruity.

The population of Great Britain is estimated at 17,000,000. Let us allow three-fourths to be productive of material values, which will make 12,750,000, as the physical labour population. But according to Mr. Owen of Lanark, the machinery of Great Britain creates a production equivalent to the labour of 180,000,000, individuals. The physical population, therefore, of Great Britain, is, to what may be called her moral population, as 1 is to 14. Now, it is chiefly the labour population, and that generally which is devoted to the coarsest and lowest labour, that is subject to pauperism. They are made paupers, by whatever interferes with their industry, or competes with their labour. But as a moral or machinery labour power, is similar to, and equivalent in its production, to a physical labour power, the physical labour power of Great Britain, that is rendered paupers, ought in strictness, to be compared not to its physical productive power alone, but to its whole productive power; that is, not to twelve or seventeen millions, but to 192 or 197,000,000. Let us suppose Mr. Owen's calculation to be erroneous, and let us strike off eighty millions, and take the productive power of machinery in England as equal to 100,000,000 of people, still, viewing it in the light

we have presented, the discrepancy, that is often pointed out, disappears.

The aristocratic provisions of the English constitution, and the operation of the vast funding system now established, also disturb that equable and regular diffusion of labour, production, and the burthens for the support of government throughout the community, which is essential to the highest state of political prosperity and happiness.

Its order of nobility is supported in the magnificence and splendour of an illustrious rank by inordinate salaries, attached to petty and mostly useless offices of state, and by enormous pensions and extravagant sinecures. These are taxes, levied on the industrious and productive members of society, to pamper the luxury, and glut the pride of the idle and non-productive.

The laws of primogenitureship and of entailments, abstract and withhold from the general circulation, a large portion of the landed property, in favour of this privileged rank, to the manifest detriment and oppression of the industrious class; and as Lord Coke observes, "what contentions and mischiefs have crept into the quiet of the law, by these fettered inheritances, daily experience teacheth."

The limits of these essays, forbid us to develop through all their ramifications, the operation of circumstances peculiar to European society, and of the political policy of its governments which counteract and frequently destroy the beneficial results of its principles of economical policy. The two are not necessarily connected. The one can be embraced with ease, without adopting the other. We have confined ourselves exclusively to the consideration of the political economy of England and other European powers, without reference to their politics. Whatever prosperity they are found to possess, can be attributed solely to its operation. We have, therefore, recommended it to the imitation of this country. But we have to lament, that some of those who have opposed our views, have refused to draw the distinction, and have seized on the vices of their politics, as objections to the principles of their economy.

Applying the above principles to the United States, we shall discover, that during the prosperity which they enjoyed in the first twelve or fifteen years subsequent to the French revolution, the labour power of the country was fully exerted. The wars in Europe creating a constant market for their agricultural products; the carrying trade,

and the various branches of business connected with it, gave employment to the greater portion of their labour. Agriculture and commerce were then the characteristic pursuits of the nation. Literature, science, and the arts, were but little cultivated; and few original works of importance, were produced. Those liberal professions, however, which are connected with the ordinary transactions of society, and are made the business of individuals, flourished with a vigour unsurpassed in any other country. Of this character are politics, medicine, and law. The improvements those sciences have undergone, and the ability of the inhabitants devoted to them, place the United States in a very favourable light as respects the intellectual powers of its citizens, and excite auspicious hopes for the future.

Turning our attention to the situation of the nation, at the present time, with reference to the principles laid down, it is obvious, that the sources, which formerly absorbed the superabounding labour power of our country, have ceased to exist, and consequently that a portion of the population which was occupied by them, is daily thrown out of employment. Hence we notice the effects, we have described, as characteristic of such a state of things. Consumption is less in amount, and consequently the value of almost every species of property is on the decline; bankruptcies are numerous; credit nearly extinct; the circulation stagnant; labour fallen in price; workmen discharged by their employers; and the number of the poor augmenting.

As this is the most unfavourable state in which a nation can find itself placed, it is the duty of the statesmen, to whose hands is confided its direction, to inquire into the causes which have created those unfavourable circumstances. If they find them to be merely transient, temporary remedies adapted to alleviate present distress, or to enable the community to sustain the shock of passing events, should be sought for and applied. But if found to originate in causes, which cannot be confidently anticipated to disappear of themselves, it is also their duty to devise a new system of policy, adapted to the new situation of the nation. If the class of industrious poor be found unemployed, and their production at a stand, the state should devise some mode to procure them employment, and give a fresh impetus or a new direction to their production. If the consumption of the productions of the industrious poor, on which they depend to obtain the comforts and necessities

of life, and to pay the taxes that are required for the support of society, be diminishing, remedies should be speedily applied to counteract this injurious operation. The neglect of these important points in legislation, may overwhelm a large portion of society, hitherto happy, prosperous, and contented, with suffering and calamity; and a consequent feeling of discontent and inflammatory excitement be occasioned, which is greatly to be deprecated.

We apprehend the situation of our country is of the above character. Agriculture, commerce, the retailing of the fabrics of foreign countries, and the branches of business subordinate thereto, formerly gave full occupation to the greater part of our people; but the foreign markets, which were heretofore opened, being now closed to our agriculture; our commerce, much contracted; the capacity of the people to consume diminished; those occupations have become overstocked, and no longer give full or profitable employment to those, who are engaged in them.

In the present posture of affairs, there are no rational indications, which can lead us to expect, that those pursuits, while it continues, will give full employment to our industry; and it surely cannot be urged, that this or any nation, should trust its prosperity to the possible occurrence of favourable accidents. Yet, while we continue to direct our industry chiefly to those employments, we must depend on the contingent circumstances of a war, or deficient harvests in Europe, for its maintenance, and to procure adequate markets for our productions, when carried to the extent of our productive power. In the meantime, the non-necessary class of producers, must constantly increase; its capacity to pursue the vocations, in which it was engaged, must lessen; its means of sustenance daily decline; and the whole retrograde from the higher species of labour to the lower. The inferior labourers thus pressed upon, while employment is decreased, must be thrust into pauperism, and come on the public for support.

If these revolutions take place quietly, from operating on a sluggish population, the only effect will be, to place society back in the position, it had previously occupied, before it had known its days of prosperity; or had acquired a taste for, with a knowledge of, the indulgences and refinements of advanced civilization, growing out of its increased wealth and the cultivation of intellectual enjoyments, in the fine arts, letters, and science. But should this retrocession be

resisted, and a struggle once commence against this state of things, inevitable if left to themselves, it is utterly impossible to calculate the course it might pursue, or the aspect it might assume. All the ills, that universal experience has shown to be the concomitants of want of employment, are incurred, and can only be avoided, by opening new means of occupation, as the old disappear. Every nation in Europe, that is esteemed wise, has directed its attention to manufactures, not only as the chief source of wealth and power, but as the most salutary mode of absorbing the accumulating class of non-necessary producers. It now rests with us to imitate in this respect the examples, by adopting the experience of the most illustrious people of ancient and modern times; or, by determining to procure experience for ourselves, to run through a course of suffering and distress. But, when exhausted by the process we have undergone, who can answer for the recovery of our past state of prosperity; whether we shall rise to that greatness, to which we have been looking forward with pride and exultation; or sink into the feebleness and debility that have always attended those nations, which have neglected the sound policy, of distributing employment of every kind, throughout their population.

NEW SERIES.

No. I.

"Is commerce of importance to national wealth? Ours is at the lowest point of declension. Is a violent and unnatural decrease in the value of land, a symptom of national distress? The price of improved land, in most parts of the country, is much lower than can be accounted for by the quantity of waste lands at market; and can only be fully explained by that want of public and private confidence, which are so alarmingly prevalent among all ranks, and which have a direct tendency to depreciate property of every kind. Is private credit the friend and patron of industry? That most useful kind, which relates to borrowing and lending, is reduced within the narrowest limits, and this still more from an opinion of insecurity than from a want of money.

*"This is the melancholy situation to which we have been brought by these very councils" [of purchasing cheap goods abroad, and thereby destroying the industry of our own citizens] *** "which, not content with having conducted us to the brink of a precipice, seem resolved to plunge us into the abyss that awaits us below. Here, my countrymen, impelled by every motive that ought to influence an enlightened people, let us make*

a firm stand for our safety, our tranquillity, our dignity, our reputation. Let us at last break the fatal charm which has too long seduced us from the paths of felicity and prosperity." FEDERALIST, No. XV.

Philadelphia, November 15, 1819.

THE reasoning, in our former addresses, in favour of affording adequate protection to that portion of the national industry engaged in manufactures, might have appeared intended solely for the benefit of the manufacturers, distinct from the rest of the community. This would be a great misapprehension of our views, which are directed to the promotion of the permanent prosperity of the nation, on a grand and liberal scale. So close and intimate, in fact, is the connexion between the different interests of the same country, that each must participate in the advancement or decay of any of the others. It is therefore as impossible for either agriculture, manufactures, or commerce, to suffer severely, without the others partaking of the evil, as for one of the members of the human body to be maimed without the whole frame being affected. This theory, always advocated by the wisest political economists, has been completely corroborated by the recent experience of the United States, in which the decay of so large a portion of the manufacturing establishments has spread distress and embarrassment over the whole country.

In the present addresses, we shall attempt to prove, by facts, founded on indisputable authority, quoted at full length, and by fair and logical deduction,—

I. That there is no prospect of a favourable change in the European markets for our staples.

II. That the promotion of manufactures is in the most eminent degree beneficial to agriculture. And

III. That the markets for our agricultural productions, throughout the world, being generally glutted, it would be unwise to divert to farming or planting any of the persons usually devoted to manufactures, even if they were all capable of those employments.

The three grand staples of our country are cotton, flour, and tobacco, which form nearly three-fourths of the total of our exports, as may be seen from the subjoined table. Their great extent and high prices have enabled us to pay for the extravagant amount of our importations, and greatly enriched our farmers and planters. We enjoyed the blessing, and never anticipated a change. We sailed gaily along, with wind and tide in our favour, and without a dark speck in

the horizon. No luring storm was anticipated. But the sky at length became overcast. The hurricane arose; and, in its course, not only prostrated some of our most wealthy citizens, who had invested their entire fortunes in those staples, but greatly impaired and impoverished the resources of the nation.

	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.
	<i>Dolls.</i>	<i>Dolls.</i>	<i>Dolls.</i>	<i>Dolls.</i>
Total Domestic Exports.	45,974,000	64,782,000	68,313,500	73,854,437
Flour - -	6,202,000	6,712,000	17,751,376	11,576,970
Cotton - -	17,529,000	24,106,000	22,627,614	31,334,258
Tobacco - -	8,253,000	12,809,000	9,230,620	9,867,429
	31,984,000	43,627,000	49,609,610	52,778,657

It is impossible for any man of enlarged and liberal views, to examine this table even superficially—to consider the immense reduction in the prices of those articles—and the limitation of the market for them, without feeling dismay at the prospects that present themselves to our country, and an unalterable conviction that if we wish to secure its prosperity, happiness, resources, and real independence, a radical change in our system is imperiously necessary.

Cotton.

The alarming depression in the prices of our great staples, came on our farmers and planters unawares. There were, nevertheless, unerring symptoms of the change, more particularly so far as regards cotton. Intelligence had been received in this country of large orders sent to the East Indies for that article, and it was almost prophetically announced, in 1817,* that the price of ours would necessarily be greatly reduced.

A considerable time previous to the close of the last session of Congress, the most explicit accounts had been received from England of the great progress making in the consumption of the East India cotton, and its alarming interference with that of the United States. Most of the circulars of the eminent merchants of Liverpool of that period, conveyed this view distinctly. Out of a number now in our possession, we submit an extract from one written

* Memoir on the culture and manufacture of cotton, by Tench Coxe, *passim*.

by John Richardson, of Liverpool, and dated the 11th of November, 1818.

“It was confidently expected by many, that prices would have rallied before the close of the year: but the immense quantity of East India cotton which is weekly forced on the market by auction, renders this speculation extremely uncertain; particularly as *by a recent discovery in the preparation of Bengals and Surats, the spinners are enabled to make better yarn and spin finer numbers; this has very materially interfered with the consumption of American cotton, and will prevent it from ever reaching such prices as it has of late years done.*”

This letter arrived in Philadelphia in December. There was then ample time to profit by the important information it contained. But its salutary warnings, like those of 1817, were totally disregarded. The parties immediately interested, and the country at large, reposed in a dangerous security. There were no preparations made to parry the stroke, by the infallible means of providing a home market, a measure dictated by every principle of regard for self-interest, as well as for the welfare of the nation. The duty of twenty-seven and a half per cent. on cotton goods, (except on those at or below twenty-five cents per square yard, which are dutied as at twenty-five cents,) remained unaltered, notwithstanding the earnest and reiterated applications of the manufacturers—the ruin of hundreds of our best citizens—the suspension of establishments on which millions had been expended—and notwithstanding so large a portion of the men who had been employed in them, were driven to idleness and want, many of them with large families. A prohibition of low-priced muslins at that period, and an advance of duty on high-priced to 40 per cent. would have produced such a great increase of consumption in the United States, and of course such a reduction of the quantity in the British market, as to prevent any material depression in the price, and would have saved the planters and the nation millions of dollars, as will appear in the sequel.

Great Britain derives nine-tenths of her supplies of cotton from the East Indies, South America, and the United States. Of each in order.

East India Cotton.

The importation of cotton from the East Indies into the

British dominions, to any considerable extent, is of recent date. The whole amount in twelve years, from 1802 to 1813 inclusive, was only 188,911 bags,* or an average of about 15,700 per annum.

There have been two objections to the general use of this species of cotton, the shortness of the staple, and the great want of care in cleaning and packing it. The latter has been in a great degree obviated, so far as regards a large portion of what is received in England. But in some cases it still exists; hence the great difference of price between the extremes, which is frequently three or four pence per lb.

The staple has likewise been considerably improved. We have now before us printed circular letters which shed strong light on this subject, and cannot fail to be duly appreciated by every enlightened planter. One is from the house of Humberston, Graham, & Co. of Liverpool, and dated as early as June 28, 1817. "With the chief part of the Uplands now brought forward, *East India cotton begins materially to interfere*: and if the quality of the crop yet to be received should not improve, this will occur, to a more considerable extent; for in the late imports of Bengal cotton, *there is a decided improvement in staple*; and, by reference to the annexed list of sales, it is evident *they are coming into more general use*."

There is likewise an item in the London price current for August 31, 1819, which confirms the preceding statement. Surat cotton is therein quoted at 7d. to 9½d.: but *Surat extra fine* is 9d. to 11½d. This implies a great improvement, either in the quality of the seed, or the mode of preparation, or both: and when the strong incentive to further improvement is considered, it may be presumed that every effort will be made, and no doubt successfully, to remove any existing objections. It is to be observed, that in no other price current that we have seen is this item of *Surat extra fine cotton* to be found.

One other remark is called for. The best Surat cotton in the Liverpool market generally comes very near in price to the Tennessee.

	January 2, 1819.		June 2, 1819.	
	d.	d.	d.	d.
Surat, fair to good	11	to 14½	9	to 10½
Tennessee -	14½	to 15½	10½	to 11½

* Seybert, 92.

The improvements made in the culture and preparation of the East India cotton, have been greatly promoted by the very high prices of ours and those of the Brazils, Bourbon, &c. It is only wonderful, that they did not take place much earlier.

We annex a table of the importation of East India cotton into Great Britain, for two successive periods, each of four years.

	Bags.		Bags.
Imported in 1811	14,646	Imported in 1815	23,357
1812	2,607	1816	50,670
1813	1,429	1817	117,454
1814.	13,048	1818	247,604
	<hr/> 31,730		<hr/> 419,085*

This table affords matter for serious reflection, not merely to the cotton planters, but to the people and government of this country. It speaks volumes on the rapid strides making in the British markets by the East India cotton. The increase is probably without example. It was nearly four-fold in 1817—and more than two-fold in 1818. The capacity of the East Indies to produce this article is without limits. By a Calcutta paper of Jan. 20, 1819, it appears that

	Bags.
The export of cotton from Calcutta in the year 1818 was	336,848
from Bombay	323,807
	<hr/> 660,655

equal to about 190,000,000 lbs.

It is supposed by many of our citizens, that there is a radical and insuperable inferiority in the East India cotton. This is an egregious error. The finest muslins in the world are manufactured in Hindostan, of the cotton of that country. It therefore follows, that the great superiority assumed for ours cannot be regarded as any security against the East India competition. We are informed by a writer of high authority, that "*a fine sort of cotton is still grown in the eastern districts of Bengal, fit for the most delicate manufactures.*"†

* Seybert, *ibid.* and Journal of Trade and Commerce, vol. ii. page 113.

† Colebrook's Remarks on the husbandry and internal commerce of Bengal, page 138.

"A perennial species, which produces cotton of uncommon beauty and excellence, has been already introduced from the Island of Bourbon."*

The immense extent of the cotton district, and the cheapness of labour, in the East Indies, render that country a most formidable rival to the United States. In the event of a great extension of the culture of this "*fine cotton, fit for the most delicate manufactures,*" it will probably exclude us from the European market almost altogether: and unless greater protection than three cents per lb. be afforded to our planters, it may very materially and injuriously affect the consumption of their cotton in our own markets. "The price of their daily labour, when paid in money, may be justly estimated at little more than one ana sica, but less than two-pence sterling. In cities and large towns, the hire of a day labourer is, indeed, greater; because provisions are there dearer, and the separation of a man from his family renders larger earnings necessary to their support. But even in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, men may be hired for field labour, at the rate of two rupiyas and a half per mensem, which is equivalent to two pence half-penny per diem. Compare this with the price of labour in the West Indies, or compare with it the still cheaper hire of labour by a payment in kind, a mode which is customary throughout Bengal. The allowance of grain usually made to strong labourers, cannot be valued at more than one ana, and does in reality cost the husbandman much less. *The average would scarcely exceed a penny half-penny.* In short, viewed in every way, labour is six times, perhaps ten times, dearer in the West Indies than in Bengal."†

"The prime cost [of cotton] reduced to English money, is less than two-pence per pound avoirdupois."‡

In seasons of difficulty we eagerly catch at any hope, however slender. Hence many of our citizens shut their eyes to the real state of the case. They flatter themselves that the East India cotton has proved so far inferior to ours, that the competition is nearly at an end. This fond hope is fostered by various letters from England, and paragraphs from English papers, stating that overland dispatches had been forwarded, countermanding the orders previously given for shipments of India cotton, on account

* Idem, p. 145. † Idem, p. 151. ‡ Idem, p. 142.

of its extreme worthlessness. To this is added another article of information, that orders had been received from Russia for cotton yarn, expressly stipulating, that proof shall be made on oath that it is not spun of East India cotton.

Were the inference drawn from this intelligence correct, it might afford some consolation to our planters, as affording a distant prospect of retaining their ascendancy in the British markets. But if unfounded, it may lead to pernicious errors. We shall therefore fully investigate the subject.

The importation of cotton from the East Indies has not diminished. For the first seven months of 1818, it was only *bags*, 130,000

Whereas for the same period in 1819, it was 141,900*

We do not, however, lay much emphasis on this fact. The countermand, it may be said, could not have taken effect. This we admit. But the price affords an infallible criterion. Had East India cotton proved so very indifferent as is stated, the price must have fallen in an equal ratio. Let us examine the fact. It is of great importance, and tends to ascertain the future prospects of this country in regard to its greatest staple.

We annex the prices of New Orleans, Georgia, Surat, and Bengal cotton, in Liverpool, on the 28th of November, 1818, previous—and on the 12th of May, 1819, subsequent—to the ruinous reduction of price, and likewise on the 30th of September, 1819.

	Nov. 28, 1818.			May 12, 1819.		
	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.
New Orleans,	18 to 23	average	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 to 14 $\frac{1}{2}$	average	12 $\frac{3}{4}$
Georgia Bowed,	17 to 20		18 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 to 13		12
Surat,	10 to 14		12	7 to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Bengal,	7 to 12		9 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 8		6 $\frac{7}{8}$

September 30, 1819.				
New Orleans,	13	to 16	} average	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Georgia Bowed,	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	to 14		13 $\frac{1}{4}$
Surat,	8	to 12 $\frac{1}{2}$		10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Bengal,	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	to 9		8 $\frac{1}{4}$

General Average.

	Nov. 28, 1818.	May 12, 1819.	Sept. 30, 1819.
New Orleans and Georgia,	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{3}{8}$	13 $\frac{7}{8}$
Surat and Bengal,	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{16}$	9 $\frac{1}{4}$

From these comparisons, the following results arise:—

* Rathbone, Hodgson & Co.'s Price Current, August 31, 1819.

I. On the 28th of November, 1818, East India cotton was eight pence three farthings lower than ours; whereas, on the 30th of September, 1819, the difference was only four-pence half-penny.

II. The reduction on the 12th of May on our cotton was about 34 per cent., and on the East India only 29. And

III. (By far the most important.) East India cotton rose, from the 12th of May to the 30th of September, 19 per cent.; whereas ours rose only six per cent.

These are most serious facts, taken in connection with the extraordinary importations of the East India cotton during the last and present years; which might have been expected to depress that species extremely. It must appear clear, that it is rapidly gaining on ours, and bids fair, as we have stated, to overtake and supersede it in that market.

South American Cotton.

Our cotton planters are not menaced with danger from the East Indies alone. South America presents equal cause of uneasiness. The importations from that quarter and Portugal, during the year 1818, into Great Britain, were 180,077 bags. We annex a statement of the several amounts:—

	<i>Bags.</i>
Demerara, Berbice and Surinam,	24,892
Pernambuco,	45,584
Rio	11,121
Bahia,	38,854
Maranhm,	37,687
Other parts of the Portuguese dominions,	21,939

Total imports in 1818, 180,077

Let it be observed, moreover, that the increase of the Brazil and Portugal cotton has been, during that year, nearly 60 per cent.; as the amount in 1817 was only 114,816 bags.

The South American cotton is considerably superior in quality to that of the United States, with the exception of the Sea Island. This is manifest, from the following extracts from the Liverpool Price Current, of the 16th July, 1819.

	<i>per lb.</i>		<i>per lb.</i>
	<i>d. d.</i>		<i>d. d.</i>
Georgia bowed, 11 a 13		Demerara and Berbice, 13 a 17½	
New Orleans, 11 a 15		Surinam, 16 a 17½	
Tennessee, 10 a 11		Pernambuco, 16½ a 18½	
		Maranhm, 15 a 16	
		Bahia, 15½ a 17	

United States Cotton.

From 1802 to 1807 inclusively, and also in 1811, 1815, 1816, and 1817, of the cotton imported into Great Britain, the United States furnished about forty per cent. The relative proportion was reduced, in 1818, to thirty per cent. in consequence of the great increase of the cotton of the Brazils and the East Indies, particularly of the latter.

Having stated the increase in the importation into Great Britain of East India and Brazil cotton; in order to enable you, fellow citizens, to form a correct comparison, we subjoin a statement of the imports from the United States, for two periods; each of four years. To render the comparison more accurate, we have chosen periods remote from each other, and omitted years of non-intercourse, embargo, and war.

Import of United States Cotton into Great Britain.

	<i>Bags.</i>		<i>Bags.</i>
1804 . . .	104,103	1815 . . .	103,037
1805 . . .	124,279	1816 . . .	166,077
1806 . . .	124,939	1817 . . .	198,917
1807 . . .	171,267	1818 . . .	205,881
	<hr/> 524,588 <hr/>		<hr/> 673,912* <hr/>

It appears therefore, that the importation of our cotton has increased only about 26 per cent. *in eleven years*; whereas, the East India and Brazil, as we have seen, increased, the former 110, and the latter 60 per cent. *in one year*!

We are apprehensive that the fatal effects of the fluctuation of the markets for our staples on the fortunes and happiness of our citizens, and the prosperity and resources of the nation, are not duly considered. The subject demands the most serious reflection.

On the 18th of January, 1819, the average price of Louisiana, Tennessee, and Georgia cotton, in the Philadelphia market, was 33 cents per pound,† which had been about the rate for months before. No man then calculated on any material reduction. Hundreds of thousands of pounds had been, about that period, bought and sold at that price. Within a week, intelligence arrived of the depression in the Liverpool market, which unfortunately regulates ours as certainly as the heat and cold of the atmosphere regulate

* Seybert, p. 92.

† Grotjan's Price Current.

the rise and decline of the mercury in the barometer. On that day se'ennight, that is, on the 25th, cotton sunk here to an average of $26\frac{1}{2}$ cents.* A similar reduction took place in every part of the United States.

The amount of cotton then belonging to citizens of the United States, was probably about 100,000,000 pounds; partly in Europe, on consignment; partly on sea; and the residue in this country.

The quantity then on the hands of the merchants, purchased at 33 cents, we will assume to have been 20,000,000 pounds.†

Under this distribution of the article, there obviously arose to the planters a solid reduction of their supposed income, on which their expenses had been predicated, of $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents per lb. on 80,000,000 pounds, or 5,200,000 dollars; and to the merchants a positive loss of $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents per lb. on 20,000,000 pounds, equal to 1,300,000 dollars.

During the succeeding months, the price fell gradually, till the 14th of June, when it arrived at its ultimate point of depression. Louisiana cotton was then at 17 cents, and

* Grotjan's Price Current.

† It must be obvious that in this estimate we do not pretend to critical exactness, which the nature of the case forbids. But there are data to satisfy the reader that there are no material errors. The importation of cotton from the United States into Liverpool alone, from the 1st of January to the 27th of March, 1819, was 47,140 bags, or 14,142,000 pounds,‡ most of which must have been purchased and shipped previous to the depression in our markets. And, as the fall in the English markets commenced in November, and continued throughout the month of December; it follows, that all the cotton that arrived in those months, though purchased at the high, must have been sold at the reduced rates. It cannot therefore admit a doubt, that there were at least 20,000,000 of pounds the property of our merchants, at the time when the article first sunk in price.

It now remains to establish the fact, that the whole quantity on hands belonging to citizens of the United States, on which the reduction of price took place, was at least 100,000,000 of pounds, as we have assumed. The average crop of this country is about 110 or 120,000,000 of pounds. The export alone, in 1818, independent of the home consumption, was about 92,000,000 of pounds.§ As the reduction took place in England before there was any considerable quantity of the last year's crop sold, and when there was a quantity of the former crop on hands, it is clear that we have made a very low estimate.

‡ Cropper, Benson, and Co.'s Circular, 4th Month 1st, 1819.

§ Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury.

Georgia and Tennessee at 16, being an average of $16\frac{1}{2}$, or a further reduction of 10 cents per pound, since the 25th of January, or $16\frac{1}{2}$ cents since the 18th of that month, equal to 50 per cent. from the latter date. We will trace the effects of this second reduction.

Suppose that 50,000,000 pounds of the cotton remained, one half in the hands of the planters, and the other in those of the merchants; an additional positive loss resulted to the latter, of 2,500,000 dollars, and as positive a diminution of profit to the former, of an equal sum—2,500,000. We now submit a view of the whole:—

First reduction of profit to the planters,	\$ 5,200,000
Second - - - - -	2,500,000
	<hr/> 7,700,000
First actual loss to the merchants, -	1,300,000
Second, - - - - -	2,500,000
	<hr/> 3,800,000
	<hr/>
Total loss,	\$ 11,500,000

The resources of the nation, and its capacity to discharge its engagements to Europe, were diminished to exactly the same amount.

From these losses, however, is to be deducted the subsequent small advance in the price of such portion of the crop as remained on hands after that advance took place.

We have stated the effects of the reduction of price on the great body of the planters and on the nation. We will now present it in the case of a single planter, who raises 20,000 pounds of cotton annually, at an expense of ten cents per pound.* We assume the price at Savannah, in January, at 30 cents, and in June at 15, which was about the actual state of the market.

Old prices.	
20,000 lbs. of cotton, at 30 cents, - - -	\$ 6,000
Deduct expenses, 20,000 lbs. at 10 cents, -	2,000
	<hr/>
Net profit, - - - - -	4,000
Prices in June.	
20,000 lbs. of cotton, at 15 cents, -	3,000
Deduct expenses, - - - - -	2,000
	<hr/>
Net profit, - - - - -	1,000

* The expense of raising cotton is variously stated, at 8, 10, and 12 cents per pound. We have assumed ten cents, as a medium; but, should that assumption be somewhat incorrect, it cannot materially affect the question.

It thus appears that the planter's profits are diminished no less than 75 per cent. by a dependence on foreign markets! However, it may be said, that by the policy we pursue, of "*buying abroad what we can purchase cheaper than at home,*" he probably *saves from two to three hundred dollars per annum* in the clothing of himself and his slaves, which may be set off to reduce the loss of the three thousand dollars thus sacrificed! But there is another item in the account which deserves attention, and in which humanity, justice, and sound policy, loudly protest, with a voice of thunder, against the admission of any off-set. This item is the calamity, the suffering, of thousands and tens of thousands of men, women, and children, whom a fatal policy dooms to idleness, to distress, to want, and too often to vice and guilt, the general companions of idleness! In the eye of an enlightened statesman, worthy of the high trust of ruling the destiny of nations, this item very far outweighs the consideration of the planter's profits, however important the subject may be in that point of light.

This is a striking commentary on political economy, and is of immense value in forming an accurate estimate of the course this nation ought to pursue. It sheds a blaze of light on the never-enough-to-be-lamented destruction of so large a portion of the cotton establishments, which, had they been protected, would have saved the planters from this catastrophe. A planter, whose expenses are predicated on an income of four thousand dollars per annum, which he supposes beyond the power of fortune, suddenly awakes out of his golden dreams, and finds his revenue reduced to one thousand, the obvious and predicted result of the short-sighted policy of "*buying cheap bargains abroad;*" of sending the raw material three thousand miles, and receiving it back encumbered with all the expenses of two voyages, amounting to six thousand miles, and at an advance of from four hundred to two thousand per cent.; of fostering, cherishing, and nourishing manufacturers in Hindostan, Great Britain, and elsewhere, and dooming our own to idleness. Never did impolicy pay a heavier forfeit. Would to heaven our country may take warning by the ruinous consequences!

Who can regard this state of things, without heaving a sigh over a mistaken system, which inflicts distress on so large and so valuable a portion of our citizens? Who, that has a spark of regard for the honour or happiness of his

country, or any stake in its welfare, but must shudder at the idea of a great nation, like this, depending for its prosperity and resources on the precarious tenure of the prices in foreign markets, at a distance of three thousand miles? How many bankruptcies this catastrophe must have produced! what misery and desolation must it have spread abroad! how many families, with towering prospects, must it have humbled in the dust! what a diminution must it have created in our means of paying for those expensive and pernicious luxuries on which we blindly lavish our treasures!

And why, fellow-citizens, have we inflicted on ourselves this calamitous result? In order to purchase cambrics, and muslins, and gauzes, and mull mulls, and boglepores, and a hundred other articles with cramp names, a few cents per yard cheaper than our fellow-citizens could manufacture them! And hence we spread distress over the land—exhaust the treasures, enfeeble the strength, and destroy the resources, of our country—sweep away three-fourths of the revenues of our planters—devote our merchants and our manufacturers to bankruptcy—and the labouring class of our citizens to idleness and its ruinous consequences! Is this the nineteenth century, which prides itself on its illumination? Is this the brotherly love we bear to those who are embarked in the same cause with us—who have every possible claim on our protection and kindness, and many of whom risked their lives, shed their blood, and spent their fortunes, to secure national independence, much of whose value depends on protection in the acquisition of property, of which they are bereft by a ruinous policy, discarded by all the nations of Christendom, except Spain, Portugal, and the United States?

We have hazarded a broad, unqualified assertion, that a due degree of encouragement to the cotton manufacture, would have secured a domestic market for so large a portion of the raw material, as to preserve what was exported from any material reduction of price abroad. As this is a cardinal point in the present question, we shall endeavour to establish our position so as to remove the doubts of the most sceptical.

In the year 1805, the whole of the cotton used in manu-

factures, in the United States, was 1000 bags; in 1810, 10,000; and in 1815, 90,000.* Of course it follows, that the manufacture was not introduced to any considerable extent till after the year 1810. In the Marshals' returns of that year, the whole amount of the cotton, woollen, flax, hemp and silk manufactures, is stated at 41,000,000 of dollars.† The cotton may be estimated at about 5 or 6 millions. In the short space of five years, that is, in the year 1815, the consumption rose, as we have stated, to 90,000 bags, or 27,000,000 of pounds, nearly one-fourth of the whole produce of the United States in the most favourable year—and, let it be distinctly observed, that it was about *one-third of the amount imported into Great Britain in any year, from 1802 to 1815, except three.*

Total Importation of Cotton into Great Britain.

	<i>Bags.</i>	<i>Bags.</i>
		Brought over, 2,167,436
1802 - -	281,383	1810 - - 561,173
1803 - -	238,898	1811 - - 326,141
1804 - -	241,610	1812 - - 261,205
1805 - -	252,620	1813 - - 249,526
1806 - -	261,738	1814 - - 287,630
1807 - -	282,667	1815 - - 270,139
1808 - -	168,138	
1809 - -	440,382	4,123,300‡
	<hr/> 2,167,436	<hr/> Average, 294,521

Thus it appears that the average importation of Great Britain for fourteen consecutive years was 294,000 bags, of which a very considerable portion must have been exported. We have no data to ascertain the quantity. But by a document now before us, it appears, that the exportation in 1818, was nearly 60,000 bags. If, therefore, we suppose that there was only half that quantity exported in each of those years, it follows, that the *manufacturers of the United States consumed in 1815, more than one-third of the cotton used in Great Britain in that year, or the average quantity for fourteen years!*

This fact, striking in itself, acquires great additional force from various considerations connected with it, some of which we shall detail.

* Report of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures. Weekly Register, Vol. IX. p. 448.

† Tench Coxe's Report, ii. 57.

‡ Seybert, 92.

The manufacture in Great Britain was unremittingly fostered and protected by the government, by absolute prohibitions of calicoes; by prohibitory duties of 85 per cent. on cottons generally, which completely secured the home market; by drawbacks; and by every mode that ingenuity and sound policy could devise. It had likewise every advantage that could be afforded by most excellent machinery, long experience, enormous capitals, and by access to the markets of nearly the whole world.

What a contrast! Not much less than between a stripling half grown, and a sinewy Hercules possessed of all the energies of manhood. We were comparatively unskilful. Our machinery was to be created. The establishments were mostly commenced by persons brought up to pursuits wholly dissimilar, and generally with slender capitals. The manufactories were conducted often by very ignorant, and almost always by inexperienced artists. The duties on the rival articles, until the commencement of the war, were only 15 per cent. Yet under all these numerous and weighty disadvantages, the manufacture rose to such maturity in four or five years, as to supply the nation with all the cotton goods that it consumed during the war, except about four or five millions of prize and smuggled goods annually. To this degree of perfection it arose, without bounty, premium, drawback, or any assistance from government, except the double duties imposed for the sole and avowed purpose of meeting the exigencies of the treasury, and merely through the exclusion of foreign rivalry, by a war of two years and a half duration.

The amount of cotton goods manufactured in the United States in 1815, was 24,300,000 dollars.*

To this plain statement, we invite the calm and dispassionate attention of our fellow citizens. There can be no fairer mode of argument, than to infer what may be done, from what has been actually accomplished. And therefore we ask, whether, after such a progress made, under those discouraging circumstances, there can be a doubt, that with suitable encouragement the consumption would have kept pace with the production? that is to say, in order to simplify the question, whether, having increased the consumption in 10 years, ninety fold, viz. from 1000 bags, or 300,000 lbs. to 90,000 bags, or 27,000,000 lbs. we should

* Report of the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures.

not be able in three or four years more to increase it from 27,000,000 to 100,000,000 lbs?

The rise in the price of our cottons in the British market, as stated from the price current of September 30, may lead our planters and merchants to hope that they will regain the ground they have lost, and thus lead to extensive speculations. This would probably prove a fatal error to hundreds of those who might be led astray by it, and exhibit another decisive proof of the insanity of a nation depending on contingent and fluctuating foreign markets, when it can create and secure an unfailing domestic one, subject to but slight variations.

The vital importance of the topic we here discuss, will justify us in submitting to our fellow citizens, a few strong extracts from the circulars of some of the most eminent Liverpool merchants, which bear decisive testimony to the correctness of the views we have given of this subject: "The most remarkable increase of imports, has been in East India cotton: and the stock of this description is considerably heavier than it was. But *the consumption of it is increasing very rapidly; being now very probably not less than 1000 bales per week more than it was last year.*" Yates, Brothers, & Co. Liverpool, July 1, 1818

"Of Tennessees we have a less favourable opinion. *They are more on a level with good Bengals, and middling Surats; and are likely to accompany them in any decline.* East India cotton, except Surats of a quality that is convertible to the same purposes as ordinary Boweds and Orleans, must decline; as the very heavy imports are not likely to be checked till the crop of 1817, and perhaps not till that of 1818, is shipped. *Surats still leave a profit; though Bengals lose considerably. But Bengals will probably decline in India, so as to meet the decline here, and still continue to be grown and shipped.*" Yates, Brothers, & Co. Nov. 10, 1818.

"The use both of Bengal and Surat is become very considerable; and while there continues so great a relative difference in price between them and the descriptions with which they come more immediately in competition, *there seems good reason to apprehend that their use will continue to extend.*" Cropper, Benson, & Co Liverpool, 11th Month 30th, 1818.

"Our present heavy stock of East India cotton, which will continue to increase for some time yet, and the fact

“that it is getting more into use by the spinners altering their machinery for using it, on account of the very low prices, will prevent any considerable advance on American cotton for the greater part of the next year.” *John Richardson, Liverpool, December 28th, 1818.*

“The demand there now is for good Surat cotton, will very seriously interfere with American cotton, particularly uplands of an inferior quality, and will have the effect of depressing them in price.” *John Richardson, Jan. 1, 1819.*

“From a review of the imports and stock at the end of each year, it appears that there has been an increase in 1818 in the consumption of India of 26,000 bags; of Brazil also some increase; but a decrease of American of about 12,000.” *Yates, Brothers & Co. Liverpool, Jan. 2, 1819.*

“Upland cotton, the leading article of import from the United States, is likely to be much interfered with by East India cotton, to the spinning of which many of our mills are adapting their machinery, and many new ones are building, solely calculated to consume it. There seem to be no limits to the quantity that can be produced in that country, and which is materially aided by the low price of labour. During the first six months of the last year, they exported 100,000 bales more than they did the preceding twelve months! Its extreme low price will force it into consumption, to the exclusion of other descriptions.” *W. & James Brown & Co. Liverpool, Jan. 14, 1819.*

The following information is not only the most recent, but by far the most important. “The demand for cotton during the whole of this month has been excessively limited; and the sales of all kinds do not exceed 18 000 bags, at a reduction, in that period, upon upland of 1d. and New Orleans of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. We quote Sea Island, ordinary to middling 26d. to 29d.; fair to good 30d. to 34d.; and fine 36d. to 38d. per lb. The small stock in this market is held by very few persons; and these prices are required, although at the present moment no sales could be effected at these rates; and some of the holders evince an anxiety to sell. The importers of Alabama cotton have endeavoured to establish a distinction between this description and Tennessee, in favour of the former: but both kinds are in the highest disrepute, and cannot be valued at more than 12d. to 12½d. per lb. East India cotton is not quoted lower. But we think the latest sales, both of

"Surat and Bengal, have been on a decline of $\frac{1}{4}d.$ per lb. "The highest quotation is only for the best Toomel The "present value of Brazil cotton is, of Pernambuco, 18d. "to 19d.; Bahia 16 $\frac{1}{2}d.$ to 18d.; and Maranhão 16 $\frac{1}{2}d.$ to 17d. "per lb. *The accounts of the trade in Manchester are very "unfavourable; and the absence of demand, either for twist "or goods, is severely felt.* It is not, however, generally "supposed that the spinners will, in any case, materially "diminish their works for several months; when, if sus- "pension of shipments to the United States should still "continue, it will be impossible for them to proceed on "this very extensive scale." *Rathbone, Hodgson & Co. Liverpool, Sept. 30, 1819.*

To the sober reflection of the cotton planters we submit these important facts. They cannot be too deeply or seriously weighed. Their dearest interests are vitally involved in them. Abstracted from all considerations of the general prosperity of their country, which has fallen a sacrifice to the policy hitherto pursued—as well as of the wide-spread scene of ruin that has swallowed up the fortunes and the happiness of so large a portion of their fellow citizens, engaged in manufactures, their own interest most explicitly points out the necessity of pursuing a different policy, and securing to themselves a home market, beyond the control of foreign nations. Had this market been thus secured, it can hardly be doubted that so large a portion of the cotton at present raised in this country would, we repeat, have been consumed at home, that the quantity exported would have experienced little reduction of price.

The contrast between the situation of the British and American manufacturers is extremely striking, and must mortify the pride and excite the sympathy of every citizen who feels an interest in the credit of our government and the welfare of the nation. The British manufacturers, completely secured in the home market by prohibitions, and prohibitory duties, are struggling, with all their energies, to monopolize not only our markets, but those of half the world. In this contest, they are aided in every way that can be devised, by a government which many of our citizens affect to despise. Whereas, our manufacturers only contend for the humble boon of security in the domestic market; and with whom do they contend? not with foreign nations—but with their fellow citizens in congress, whom they merely request to afford them a portion of that pro-

tection, which, as we have often repeated, England, France, Russia, Austria, and nearly all the other governments of Europe, afford their subjects engaged in manufactures!!!

This paragraph would require a volume of explanations—but we must be brief; and, referring to our former addresses, shall barely observe,

I. That Austria prohibits the importation, throughout her whole dominions, of all kinds of silk, cotton and woollen manufactures.

II. That England prohibits silks, laces, calicoes, and manufactures of gold, with various other articles; and subjects cottons generally to 85 per cent—glass to 114—and chequered linens, manufactures of leather, tanned hides, &c. &c. to 142 per cent.

III. That Russia prohibits above two hundred articles, among which are all manufactures of wool, printed cottons, glass, pottery, silk, iron, leather, &c. &c. &c.

IV. That France prohibits cotton twist, manufactures of wool, silk, leather, steel, iron, brass, tin, &c. &c. &c.

It is therefore obvious, as already often stated, that the manufacturers of those countries enjoy a degree of fostering care and protection from their respective governments which our citizens of that class have never experienced—and the want of which has not only ruined hundreds of them—but inflicted more lasting injury on this country in five years, than it could have suffered in a war of twice the duration.

We will suppose for a moment a majority in Congress to be composed of manufacturers; and such immense quantities of wheat and flour to be imported from Odessa, and of cotton from Brazil and the East Indies, as to reduce the price of those articles below the fair rate of affording a profit to the cultivator. Suppose that the farmers and planters, at every stage of their progress to ruin, were to supplicate Congress either to prohibit, or discourage by high duties, the importation of wheat, flour and cotton. Suppose, further, that the majority in Congress, resolutely determined to buy those articles "*where they could be had cheapest*," steadily rejected their petition. What opinion, fellow citizens, would you form on such conduct? would it not meet with your most marked disapprobation? But is it not precisely the conduct that has been pursued towards the manufacturers? Have they not, in their career to ruin, earnestly and respectfully solicited protection from Con-

gress? Have not their entreaties been rejected? * Has not a large proportion of them been sacrificed by the ruinous policy of purchasing cheap goods abroad? And has not the nation at large shared in the sufferings inflicted on them?

P. S. We have heretofore submitted various statements proving the extreme disadvantage of our intercourse with Great Britain, and other foreign nations in the cotton trade. We now present it in a new point of view.

We take the case of a company of cotton manufacturers in Manchester, commencing with a bale and a half of cotton, at fifty dollars per bale, which is the present price; working it up in two months into cotton cloths, at twenty cents per yard; investing the proceeds in cotton; manufacturing this cotton in the same manner; and thus in regular succession, prosecuting the business, as is usual in such manufactories. It will excite astonishment, and appear incredible, but is nevertheless true, that in the space of twenty months they can purchase with the proceeds of the bale and a half, the whole of the exports of the United States.

We allow 50lbs. per bale for waste; let the proceeds of the half bale go for the payment of wages; and assume four yards of cotton, at 20 cents per yard, as the product of each pound of cotton.

Let it be observed, that 20 cents is a low average. We receive cambrics and muslins as high as a dollar, and a dollar and a half per yard. *

First operation.—Two months.

One bale of cotton, net 250 lbs. produces 1000	
yards, which, at 20 cents, amount to	\$ 200

* Of above forty petitions presented to the House of Representatives of the United States, in 1816-17, by different bodies of manufacturers in various parts of the United States, praying for relief, *there was not one read in the House! and nearly half of them were never reported on by the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures!* There was not one of them successful, although the ruin suffered by some, and impending over others, of the petitioners, had every possible claim to prompt and effectual redress. On this treatment of constituents, no comment is necessary.

Second operation.—Four months.

200 dollars purchase 4 bales, which produce	<i>Dolls.</i>
4,000 yards at 20 cents, - - - -	800

Third operation.—Six months.

800 dollars purchase 16 bales, which produce	
16,000 yards at 20 cents, - - - -	3,200

Fourth operation.—Eight months.

3,200 dollars purchase 64 bales, which produce	
64,000 yards at 20 cents, - - - -	12,800

Fifth operation.—Ten months.

12,800 dollars purchase 256 bales, which produce	
256,000 yards at 20 cents, - -	51,200

Sixth operation.—Twelve months.

51,200 dollars, purchase 1,024 bales, which produce	
1,024,000 yards at 20 cents, - -	204,800

Seventh operation.—Fourteen months.

204,800 dollars purchase 4,096 bales, which produce	
4,096,000 yards at 20 cents, - -	819,200

Eighth operation.—Sixteen months.

819,200 dollars purchase 16,384 bales, which produce	
16,384,000 yards at 20 cents, -	3,276,800

Ninth operation.—Eighteen months.

3,276,800 dollars purchase 65,536 bales which produce	
65,536,000 yards at 20 cents, -	13,107,200

Tenth operation.—Twenty months.

13,107,200 dollars purchase 262,144 bales,	
which produce 262,144,000 yards at 20 cents, \$	62,428,800

This sum, at the present prices of our staples, would probably purchase the whole of the exports of the United States.

This statement affords a clew to the wealth, power, and resources of Great Britain—and to the impoverishment of this country.

We present the subject in another point of view:—

We exported last year to Great Britain, bales		
of cotton	- - - - -	205,881
Equal to		lbs. 61,764,300
Deduct for waste, 50 lbs. per bale,	-	10,294,050
Pounds net,		51,470,250
Producing, at 4 yards to the pound,	- yards	205,881,000
Which, at 20 cents per yard, amount to	•	\$ 41,176,200
Supposing we sold the whole of the raw cotton		
at 30 cents, it produced the United States		18,529,290
Leaving a clear gain to Great Britain of		22,646,910
If the exports of cotton to that country this year		
are equal to the last, and average 20 cents		
per pound, it makes an addition to the British		
profit of	- - - - -	6,167,430
Total	- - - - -	28,823,340

Every dollar of this sum might be saved to this country, by a proper tariff.

NEW SERIES.

No. II.

Philadelphia, December 24, 1819.

It is painful to us, to be obliged again to combat objections which we regarded as fully disproved in our former addresses, beyond the probability of a revival. In this opinion we were completely supported by hundreds of intelligent citizens, whose views of the subject had on a fair examination undergone a total change, and who at present as strenuously advocate the policy of retaining our wealth

at home to support the industry of our own citizens, as they formerly did that of squandering it in Europe and the Eas' Indies, to support the industry of foreign nations, under the idea of "letting trade regulate itself," which it has never done in any age or country.

But however painful this procedure may be, it is a duty. The persons opposed to our views, without replying to our arguments, far less refuting any of them, repeat the hack-nied common places of free trade, taxing the many for the benefit of the few, impairing the revenue, &c. &c. Free trade with them means, in strict propriety, to remove the restrictions that favour our own citizens, while all other nations maintain rigorous restrictions in favour of their subjects.

We therefore crave indulgence for any repetitions that may appear in this essay, as the inevitable consequence of the course pursued by the opposers of the system which we advocate. Whenever they advance new arguments, we shall meet them with new replies. To old arguments, ten times repeated, and as often refuted, we can only advance repetitions.

When we first began to address our fellow citizens, about nine months ago, on the distress and embarrassment so generally prevalent throughout the union, the existence of that distress and embarrassment was denied; endeavours were used to convince the public, that our statements on the subject were erroneous; that the country at large enjoyed a high degree of prosperity; and that whatever little pressure existed was confined to a few towns and cities where banks and over-trading had produced some ruin. It was unhesitatingly asserted, that the farmers and planters, the great body of the nation, had no reason to complain—and accordingly made no complaint; and that all the clamour arose from a few manufacturers, who were, to the whole nation, as a few stray sheep to an immense flock.

These assertions although radically wrong, were made with such confidence, as to gain credence with those who did not look beyond the mere surface of things. Unfortunately for the country, as well as for the credit of those who who made them, their want of foundation is now so obvious and so palpable, as to admit of no denial. Calamity has advanced upon us with such rapid strides, that whatever doubts may have been entertained heretofore, have now vanished. There is but one sentiment on the

subject. That the distress is more intense in some parts of the union, than in others, favoured by local circumstances. is admitted—but that it is felt every where, is equally clear.

Would to heaven our descriptions had been unreal, and that we had been deceived. To none of our readers would the discovery of the error have been more agreeable than to ourselves. We present an outline of the leading features of our situation at the close of the war, and at present, which affords a most melancholy contrast, appalling to every friend not merely of this country, but of human happiness generally.

Our Situation at the close of the War.

1. Every man, woman, or child in the nation, able and willing to work, could procure employment.

2. We had an extensive and profitable cotton manufacture, spread throughout the union, and producing above 24,000,000 of dollars annually, which might, by proper encouragement, have been extended to 50,000,000 in a few years.

3. This manufacture consumed above one-fourth part of our whole crop of cotton.

4. We had a capital vested in merino sheep to the amount of one million of dollars.

5. We possessed a valuable woollen manufacture, which produced us annually clothing to the amount of nineteen millions of dollars—and which might have been extended before now to double the amount.

6. Almost all of our manufacturing establishments were fully and advantageously employed.

7. Confidence between our citizens was general.

8. Our debts to Europe were fairly and honourably discharged.

9. Little, if any of our public stock was held in that quarter of the globe.

10. Money could be easily borrowed at legal interest.

11. Debts were collected without difficulty.

12. Our character, as a mercantile people, stood fair with the world.

13. Every man who had capital, could find advantageous employment for it in regular business.

14. The country was generally prosperous, except a few places which had suffered desolation during the war.

Our Present Situation.

1. Our profitable commerce nearly annihilated.
2. Our shipping reduced in value one half.
3. Of our merchants a considerable portion bankrupt, and many tottering on the verge of bankruptcy. The commercial capital of the country reduced, it is believed, seventy millions of dollars.
4. Our manufacturing establishments in a great measure suspended, and many of them falling to decay.
5. Many of their proprietors ruined.
6. Thousands of citizens unemployed throughout the United States. [About 11,000 in the city of Philadelphia have been deprived of employment.]
7. Our circulating medium drawn away to the East Indies and to Europe, to pay for articles which we could ourselves furnish, or which we do not want.
8. A heavy annual tax incurred to Europe in the interest payable on probably 20 or 25,000,000 of dollars of government and bank stock, likewise remitted in payment.
9. Real estate every where fallen thirty, forty, or fifty per cent.
10. Our great staples, cotton, flour, tobacco, &c. reduced in price from thirty to forty per cent.
11. Our merino sheep, for want of protecting the woolen manufacture, in a great measure destroyed, and those that remain not worth ten per cent. of their cost.
12. Large families of children become a burden to their parents, who are unable to devise suitable means of employment for them.
13. Numbers of our citizens, possessed of valuable talents, and disposed to be useful, but unable to find employment, are migrating to Cuba, where, under a despotic government, among a population principally of slaves, and subject to the horrors of the inquisition, they seek an asylum from the distress they suffer here!*

* *Emigration to Cuba.*—"The schooner *Three Sally's*, captain Warner, sailed from this port on Sunday last, for Fernandina de Yuaga, a new port and settlement on the south side of Cuba, with 101 passengers, principally respectable mechanics, and their families, and late residents of this city."—*Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 2, 1819.

"In the schooner *John Howe*, lately sailed upwards of one hundred passengers for the new settlement of Fernandina, in Cuba."
---*Philadelphia Gazette*.

14. Hundreds of useful artisans and mechanics, who, allured by our form of government, migrated to our shores, are returned to their native countries, or gone to Nova Scotia or Canada, broken hearted and with exhausted funds.†

15. Men of capital are unable to find any profitable employment for it in regular business.

16. Citizens who own real estate to a great amount—have large debts due them—and immense stocks of goods, cannot mortgage their real estate, dispose of their stocks but at extravagant sacrifices, nor collect their debts.

17. Citizens possessed of great wealth, have it in their power to increase it immoderately, by purchasing the property of the distressed, sold at ruinous sacrifices by sheriffs, marshals, and otherwise—thus destroying the equality of our citizens, and aggrandizing the rich at the expense of the middle class of society.

18. The interest of money extravagantly usurious.

19. Distress and misery, to an extent not to be conceived but by those who have an opportunity of beholding them, spreading among the labouring class, in our towns and cities.

20. Bankruptcy and poverty producing an alarming increase of demoralization and crime.

21. The attachment to our government liable to be impaired in the minds of those who are ruined by the policy it has pursued.

22. After having prostrated our national manufactures, lest we should injure the revenue, the revenue itself fails, and we are likely to be obliged to recur to loans or direct taxes to meet the exigencies of the government.

23. Numbers of banks in different parts of the union, deprived of their specie by the extravagant drains for Europe and the East Indies, and obliged to stop payment.

24. Legislatures driven, by the prevalence of distress, to the frightful measure of suspending the collection of debts.

That this is an unexaggerated picture of the actual situation of our country, is, alas! too true. It affords a proof that our system has been radically unsound—and that a change is imperiously called for. Any change can scarcely fail to be beneficial.

† “*Liverpool*, Nov. 2, 1819.---The Ann, captain Crocker, from New York, is now off this port, with upwards of one hundred returned emigrants.”

These ruinous consequences were prophetically depicted with 'a pencil of light,' and also distinctly presented to the view of congress in their progress. Happy, thrice happy would it have been, had the warnings and heart-rending statements which that body received been duly attended to—What shoals and quicksands would our prosperity have escaped!

The committee of Commerce and Manufactures in 1816 declared, that—

"The situation of the manufacturing establishments is perilous. Some have decreased—and some have suspended business. *A liberal encouragement will put them again into operation.* But should it be withheld, they will be prostrated. *Thousands will be reduced to want and wretchedness. A capital of nearly sixty millions of dollars will become inactive, the greater part of which will be a dead loss to the manufacturers.* Our improvidence may lead to fatal consequences."

Again—

"Can it be politic in any point of view, to make the United States *dependent on any nation for supplies, absolutely necessary for ease, for comfort, or accommodation?*"

"Will not *the strength, the political energies of this nation be materially impaired* at any time, but fatally so in time of difficulty and distress, by such dependence?"

"Do not the suggestions of wisdom plainly show, that *the security, the peace, and the happiness of this nation, depend on opening and enlarging all our resources, and drawing from them whatever shall be required for public use or private convenience?*"

The suffering citizens laid their calamitous situation before congress in the most eloquent appeals, but in vain. No part of the union suffered more than Pittsburg. From the address of that city we quote a single sentence—

"The tide of importation has inundated the country with foreign goods. *Some of the most valuable and enterprising citizens have been subjected to enormous losses, and others overwhelmed with bankruptcy and ruin. The pressure of war was less fatal to the hopes of enterprise and industry, than a general peace, with the calamities arising from the present state of our foreign trade.*"

Part of the long catalogue of ills, it was out of our power to prevent; among the rest, the reduction of our commerce, and the consequent depreciation in the value of

our shipping. The nations of Europe could not be expected to allow us to continue the commerce that naturally belonged to them, longer than suited their convenience. Nor could we by any means have prevented the reduction of the price of our wheat, flour, &c. &c. when a cessation of the destruction caused by war, and the return of so many of the soldiery to the labours of the field, not only increased the capacity of supply, but diminished the consumption of Europe. But a sound policy would have averted three-fourths of our sufferings, and mitigated the residue. It would have afforded other employment for our superfluous commercial capital; made a domestic market for our cotton; and fostered our woollen manufacture to an extent almost commensurate with our wants.

We enjoyed for twenty years a very great proportion of the trade of the world, far beyond our due share—and, to use the words of an English statesman, were “hardly scratched by our war” of two years and a half. We closed it in a most prosperous situation, calculated to excite the envy of our enemies, and the gratulations of our friends. All that was necessary to insure the permanence of our happiness and prosperity, was to protect our national industry, after the example of all the wise nations of Europe. We fatally abandoned it to a hopeless struggle with foreign rivalry. It sunk a victim in the unequal contest. And our melancholy example is added to those of Spain and Portugal to warn other nations against the rocks on which we have shipwrecked our happiness. By our system of buying goods where they could be had cheapest, supporting foreign manufacturers, and consigning our own to ruin, we have, during a period of profound peace of nearly five years, not only lost all the advantages acquired by our long-continued neutrality, but find ourselves in as bad a situation as when the wars of the French revolution began.

The transition is immense and lamentable: and we are persuaded that, except in the case of Portugal at the commencement of the last century, there is no instance to be found in the annals of Europe for two hundred years, of so precipitous a fall in so short a space of time, without war, famine, or pestilence. Spain, which exhibits the mouldering ruins of a mighty empire, fell, it is true, from a higher pinnacle to a lower abyss; but the descent required centuries of misrule, with bloody wars, and remorseless persecutions.

The source of the change is by some of our citizens sought for in the transition of the world from a state of war to a state of peace, which has produced distress, it is said, in most parts of Europe. This idea is erroneous. The distress is far from general. It prevails extensively, it is true, in Great Britain, where machinery, superseding so large a portion of the manual labour of the country, has driven a tenth part of the population to a dependence on the poor rates, and where the nation is borne down by an enormous debt, an expensive government, and grinding tythes and taxes. It would be lost labour to prove, what is obvious to the world, that there is no analogy between her case and ours.

We have given a faithful picture of the disastrous situation in which this great nation is placed by a mistaken policy. It now remains to trace the outlines of that policy—the means by which the evils we suffer might have been averted—and the course to be pursued, in order to extricate ourselves from our embarrassments.

We have bought and consumed more than we have sold. Our imports for five years have been above one hundred millions of dollars more than our exports. This solves the mystery. The distress and embarrassment arising from all the other sources, would have been but temporary. Bankruptcy and ruin tread on the heels of individuals whose expenses exceed their income. No law, human or divine, exempts nations from the same fate. Spain and Portugal, to which we have so often referred, are standing monuments of the soundness of the maxim, that even inexhaustible mines and rich colonies will not secure the prosperity or happiness of nations that are so misguided as to expose the productive industry of their people to destruction, by the overwhelming competition of foreigners. How much stronger and more irresistibly does the argument apply to the United States, possessing neither mines nor colonies, and whose resources solely depend on the fruits of their industry! How carefully therefore should that industry be cherished!

It will appear in the sequel that our present calamitous situation might easily have been avoided, and the country raised to that high degree of prosperity, to which her advantages of soil, climate, and water power, with the intelligence, enterprise, and industry of her citizens, give her so fair a claim.

The imports of the United States for the last five years, exclusive of what has been re-exported, have been about 420,000,000 dollars, viz.

1815	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 18,914,000
1816	-	-	-	-	-	60,569,000
1817	-	-	-	-	-	73,516,000
1818	-	-	-	-	-	94,477,000
1819 (<i>per estimate</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	74,000,000
						<hr/>
						\$ 421,476,000

Our exports have fallen one hundred millions short of our imports. As this was a result that might easily have been, and indeed was foreseen, it ought to have been guarded against as far as legislation could afford a remedy. The remedy was to exclude, or reduce our consumption of, the fabrics of the old world, in due proportion to the diminution of its demand for our staples. This was fatally neglected.

It required but little penetration to see that our means of payment, were wholly inadequate to meet such enormous imports; that the country must be greatly impoverished by them; that its productive industry would be paralyzed; and that much misery must be the necessary consequence. All the sagacity of our statesmen ought to have been put into requisition, to avert the impending evils, and to steer our bark safe through the shoals and quicksands, by which she was menaced. Every month made appearances more and more portentous, and more strongly indicated the necessity of adopting bold and decisive measures. Unhappily the views of most of our statesmen were almost wholly bounded by the security of the revenue! and many were only anxious to avoid "*taxing the many for the benefit of the few!*" These were the grand objects of solicitude, and outweighed all other considerations. They viewed with unconcern the inundation of foreign merchandize, which drained our country of its wealth—ruined our manufacturers—and doomed our working people to idleness, to want, and too often to crime! The more foreign goods came in, the cheaper they were sold, and the higher the revenue rose! And this appeared to atone for all the disastrous consequences it produced!

On this point, it might be sufficient to reply with Alexander Hamilton—

"There is no truth that can be more firmly relied upon, than that *the interests of the revenue are promoted by whatever promotes an increase of national industry and wealth.*"*

It requires but little reflection to perceive the cogency of this maxim. A prosperous people will naturally indulge in luxuries, which are generally brought from foreign nations—and will bear high duties. A revenue resting on such a basis would be far more likely to increase than to diminish. It cannot be doubted that the customs at present, considering the impoverishment of the country, and the low state of our credit abroad, afford but a slender dependence for the treasury. The United States, if industry were duly protected, would be better able to yield a revenue of 40, 000,000 of dollars per annum, than they can now raise 25, 000,000. A prosperous nation does not feel the weight of taxation. A hearth tax of half a dollar each, is more oppressive to a poor nation, than a window tax of an equal sum for each pane of glass, would be to a prosperous one.

The warning voice of the wise statesmen of this country as well as of Europe, which bore testimony against the policy we pursued, was totally disregarded.

"It would be extending the freedom of trade far beyond its proper bounds, to admit all the productions of a nation which prohibits ours, *or admits them under duties equivalent to a prohibition.*"†

"The substitution of foreign for domestic manufactures *is a transfer to foreign nations of the advantages accruing from machinery in the modes in which it is capable of being employed with most ability and to the greatest extent.*"‡

"The establishment of manufactures is calculated not only to *increase the general stock of useful and productive labour, but even to improve the state of agriculture in particular.*"‡

"Considering a monopoly of the domestic market to its own manufactures as the reigning policy of manufacturing nations, *a similar policy on the part of the United States, in every proper instance, is dictated, it might almost be said by the principles of distributive justice—certainly by the duty of securing to their own citizens a reciprocity of advantages.*"‡

What admirable lessons! What sublime views! How lamentable that they were entirely disregarded! Our mis-

* Hamilton's Report.

† Chaptal.

‡ Hamilton's Report.

guided policy is a century at least behind them. The plans of our statesmen unhappily did not extend so far. The hope of buying cheap goods from Hindostan and Europe—the dread of impairing the revenue—and the desire of fostering a commerce, which was expiring beyond the power of resuscitation, produced a policy of which the fatal consequences will be long felt, not merely by the sufferers, but by the whole nation.

Had our government prohibited some leading articles, which we could ourselves have supplied, such as all kinds of coarse cotton goods, some of the woollen, &c. &c. and laid high additional duties on those we were obliged to receive from foreign countries, our importations would probably have been diminished one-fourth, without impairing the revenue—and the following salutary consequences would have resulted.

1. There would have been probably 100,000,000 of dollars, less debt contracted to Europe.

2. That amount would have been added to the stock of national wealth.

3. Our whole population would have been maintained in profitable employment.

4. The revenue would have been indemnified by the advance of the duties upon those goods imported, for what it might have lost by the exclusion of the others.

5. As the reduction of the revenue would have been prevented, we should not have a direct tax suspended over our heads.

6. We should have paid for our importations by our exports, and not been obliged to remit government and bank stock in payment.

7. Our commercial credit in Europe, which has received a deep stain, would have remained unimpaired.

8. We should have consumed so large a proportion of our cotton, as would have prevented the ruinous reduction of price, and produced immense advantage to our planters.

9. Our woollen manufacture would have insured a market for the wool of our Merinos, and prevented the destruction of that valuable race of animals; to the great benefit of our farmers.

10. Our banks would not have been drained of their specie, and obliged to press on their debtors.

11. We should have escaped the state of impoverish-

ment, embarrassment and distress in which we find ourselves placed.

12. The prosperity universally felt would have increased the attachment of our citizens to our form of government, and drawn the bands of union tighter.

13. Our citizens would not seek an asylum in Cuba.

14. State legislatures would not have had recourse to the desperate measure of suspending the collection of debts.

15. Thousands of useful artists and manufacturers would have migrated to our country; and an incalculable amount of "*the manufacturing skill and capital*" of foreign nations would have been "*promptly transferred to the United States, and incorporated into the domestic capital of the union.*"*

Although the millions of capital lost by this policy, cannot be regained, nor the thousands whom it has vitally injured or ruined be indemnified for their sufferings—yet in the midst of the gloom that surrounds us, there is matter for consolation, that congress have a remedy completely within their power. All that is necessary is to afford our manufacturing citizens a portion of such protection as England, France, Russia and Austria afford theirs. We should then reduce our wants within our means of payment. The whole face of affairs would at once be changed. Millions of dormant capital would be put into circulation. Our industrious population would find immediate employment. Property of every kind would rise in value. Confidence would be restored. Prosperity and happiness would again visit us with "*healing on their wings.*"

Although we have already repeatedly stated in detail the protection afforded by those great nations to their manufacturers, we deem it proper to present an outline of it here.

"Great Britain prohibits, even from her own dependencies, calicoes, manufactures of gold, silver, or metal; laces, ribands, silk goods, &c. &c. And her protecting duties are so high, as, in most cases, to be equivalent to prohibition. There are above sixty articles, including manufactures of brass, copper, carriages, thread stockings, clocks, &c. subject to fifty-nine per cent.; china and earthenware, shawls,

* This sound view is taken from the late report of the secretary of the treasury. It is deeply to be lamented that so obvious and important an idea does not appear to have ever heretofore influenced our councils.

&c. pay seventy-nine; cottons, cotton stockings, caps, thread, and linen sails, pay eighty-five; glass manufactures generally one hundred and fourteen; skins or furs, tanned, tawed or curried, and articles made of leather, or whereof leather is the article of chief value, one hundred and forty-two per cent.*

"So minute is her attention to this grand point, that linen, when chequered or striped, printed or stained, is subject to one hundred and forty-two per cent. duty; but only to sixty-three when not chequered or striped. The object is to secure to her own subjects the profits of the staining and printing.*

"She expended fifteen hundred millions of pounds sterling to replace the Bourbon family on the thrones of France and Spain, and of course had high claims on the gratitude of both monarchs. Yet the paramount duty of justice to his subjects, gained the ascendancy over gratitude to his friends, in the councils of Louis XVIII. One of the earliest measures of his administration was the enactment of a tariff, whereby above two hundred different articles, including all the most important of the British manufactures, and, among the rest, muslins, cambrics, woollen cloths, all articles made of leather, steel, iron, brass, tin, wood, bronze, &c. were totally prohibited."†

"The prohibitory system of Russia, a country, like our own, with a vast territory and a very disproportionate population, is carried to an extent far beyond that of any other in the world. It embraces all the great leading articles of manufacture, as cotton, linen, leather, wool, wood, copper, iron, paper, silk, silver-plate, glass, and a vast variety of articles of minor importance."‡

"The importation of silk, cotton, and woollen manufactures, is forbidden in the whole extent of the Austrian dominions, as it has hitherto been in the ancient Austrian states only."‡

Against the policy we advocate, of affording protection to those of our citizens engaged in manufactures, the leading objections are—

I. That it is unjust to tax the many for the benefit of the few.

* See British tariff, *passim*. † See French Tariff.

‡ Rordanz's *European Commerce*, 54, 227.

II. That high duties encourage smuggling.

I.

So much has been written against the protection of manufactures, on the injustice of "taxing the many for the benefit of the few," that a large portion of our citizens are persuaded, that the manufacturers alone are protected,—that this protection is absolutely gratuitous—and that neither agriculture nor commerce have any reciprocal advantage.

It is hardly possible to conceive of a much greater error. It is in fact the reverse of truth.

We hope to prove—

That the protection afforded to manufactures bears no proportion in its effect to that afforded to agriculture and commerce.

To arrive at a correct conclusion, it is necessary to define what is meant by the word *protection*, as here employed. Otherwise we might spend our time and that of our readers to no purpose.

By "*protection*," then, we mean such a governmental regulation, by duties or prohibitions, as saves any class of our citizens, whether farmers, manufacturers, or merchants, from being undermined or ruined by foreign rivals. As we do not pretend to critical exactness, which cannot be deemed necessary, we trust this definition will be admitted, as sufficiently precise to answer our purpose.

It is obvious, that in this view the word has reference not to the amount, but to the effect of the duty; for example, 15 per cent. may exclude one rival article; while 35 would not another. The former, therefore, is far more complete protection than the latter.

It may be necessary to exemplify this theory. Hemp is a very bulky article in proportion to its value. The freight is high, and amounts to about sixteen per cent. Fine cambrics and muslins occupy but small space, and are not subject to more than one per cent. freight. It is therefore obvious that a duty of five per cent. on hemp, and twenty per cent. on cambrics, would place the American farmer and manufacturer on precisely the same ground, so far as respects freight and duties; that is, they would have twenty-one per cent. advantage over their foreign rivals.

But another very important consideration remains. Articles which foreign nations possess an almost unlimited capacity to produce, require stronger protection than those of

which the production is necessarily limited. Thus the machinery of Great Britain affording her a capacity to produce muslins or cambrics to an almost unlimited extent—and the production of hemp being incapable of that extension, a further increase of duty on muslins or cambrics appears necessary, to place the manufacturer on the same ground of security as the farmer. Hence the duty ought to be formed on a compound ratio of the amount of freight and the difficulty or facility of production.

We trust these premises are clear and irrefutable, and that they cannot fail to dispel the clouds that have been spread on this subject.

The great mass of manufactured articles imported into this country, are subject to duties *ad valorem*. There are five different classes of those duties, seven and a half, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, and thirty per cent. The amount of the importations of all these descriptions for 1818, was 58,795,574 dollars. There are, however, some manufactured articles subject to specific duties. But the amount is trivial; as the duties on this description in 1818, except those on teas, wines, molasses, spirits, sugar, coffee, and salt, were only 1,591,701 dollars; under which were included oils, cocoa, chocolate, almonds, currants, prunes, figs, raisons, cheese, tallow, mace, nutmegs, cloves, pepper, pimento, cassia, indigo, cotton, ochre, white and red lead, hemp, coal, fish, &c. &c. When the duties on these is deducted from the above sum of 1,591,701 dollars, the manufactured articles on which the remainder is collected, will, as we said, appear quite trivial.

The articles paying *ad valorem* duties, were divided as follows:—

§				Per cent. of the whole.
2,387,693	a $7\frac{1}{2}$ * per cent.	equal to about	- - -	4
19,445,525	a 15	equal to	- - -	33
9,524,531	a 20	equal to	- - -	16
24,804,188	a 25	equal to	- - -	42
2,633,637	a 30	equal to	- - -	$4\frac{1}{2}$
<hr/>				
58,795,574				

We annex a statement of the chief articles subject to those several duties.

* To all the *ad valorem* duties herein stated is to be added 10 per cent. Thus 15 per cent. is actually 16 1-2, &c. &c.

TABLE I.

*Articles subject to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem.**

Articles composed wholly or chiefly of gold, silver, pearl or precious stones,	Lace veils,
Embroidery,	Lace shawls,
Epaulets,	Lace shades,
Gold watches,	Pastework,
Gold lace,	Pearls, and other stones, set,
Jewelry,	Silver lace,
	Watches, and parts of watches of all kinds.

TABLE II.

*Articles subject to 15 per cent. ad valorem.**

Farming.	Manufactured.
Apricots,	Bricks,
Apples,	Brass in sheets,
Beans,	Brazing copper,
Barley,	Bolting cloths,
Boards,	Combs,
Buckwheat,	Copper bottoms,
Butter,	Clocks, and parts thereof,
Beef,	Corks,
Cider,	Gold leaf,
Feathers for beds,	Hair powder
Flour,	Ink powder
Grapes,	Linens,
Hams,	Lampblack,
Hay,	Maps and Charts,
Honey,	Manufactures of flax not enumerated,
Hair,	Paints,
Indian corn,	Printed books,
Linseed,	Pictures,
Malt,	Prints,
Nuts,	Paper toys,
Onions,	Paper snuff boxes,
Oats,	Paintings,
Potatoes,]	Silks,
Perry,	Slates,
Pearl Ashes,	Starch,
Pitch,	Stuff shoes,
Peas,	Silk stockings,
Pork,	Sealing wax,
Pears,	Thread stockings,
Peaches,	Tiles,
Potashes,	Worsted shoes, &c.
Quills,	
Rosin,	
Rice,	
Rye,	
Tobacco in the leaf,	
Tar,	
Turpentine,	
Wheat, &c. &c.	

* Add ten per cent. as before.

TABLE III.

Articles subject to 20 per cent. ad valorem, wholly manufactured.*

Buckles,	Japanned wares,
Buttons,	Lead manufactures,
Brass manufactures,	Muskets,
Brass wire,	Printing types,
Button moulds,	Pottery,
China ware,	Pewter manufactures,
Cannon,	Pins,
Cutlery,	Plated ware,
Cloth, hempen	Steel manufactures,
Cotton stockings,	Stone ware,
Earthen ware,	Side arms,
Fire arms,	Sail cloth,
Gilt wares,	Tin manufactures,
Glass,	Wood manufactures,
Iron manufactures,	Woollen stockings.

To a candid public, we submit these three tables for their most serious consideration. The deductions from them are of immense importance to the future prosperity and happiness of this country. We trust they will be found to prove that the prevailing opinions on the exclusive protection of manufactures are destitute of foundation—and that, so far as these tables extend, the balance is most unequivocally in favour of agriculture, although agriculture itself is not sufficiently protected. Lives there a man who will not admit that

Beef,	Indian Corn,
Pork,	Flour,
Hams,	Wheat,
Butter,	Tar,

are incomparably better protected at 15 per cent. than

Clocks,	Printed books,
Gold leaf,	Silk and thread stockings,
Linens,	Stuff or worsted shoes,
Manufactures of Wax,	

at the same rate? or than

China ware,	Plated ware,
Cotton and woollen stockings,	Printing types,
Manufactures of steel,	Sail cloth, &c.
Pins,	

at 20? We submit the question to the most decided opposer of manufactures in the country, and cannot for a moment doubt the issue. It cannot be denied that hams, boards, Indian corn, tar, and turpentine are better protected by 15 per cent. than buckles, buttons, or cotton stockings, would be at 40 or perhaps 50.

* Add ten per cent. as before.

The manufactured articles subject to 25 and 30 per cent. remain. The former are confined to cotton and woollen goods, manufactures of copper, silver and plated sadlery, coach and harness furniture.

Half of the articles subject to 30 per cent. duty, are unimportant; do not interfere with our manufactures; and are not to be taken into view—as

Artificial flowers,	Mustard,
Balsams,	Olives,
Bristol stones,	Ornaments for head dresses,
Cosmetics,	Perfumes,
Comfits,	Pickles,
Crapes,	Sallad oil,
Canes,	Sticks for umbrellas,
Fans,	Sweetmeats of all kinds,
Feathers,	Walking sticks,
Mats of flags, or grass,	Washes, &c. &c.
Millinery,	

There are, however, some important articles included in this class; among which are manufactures of leather, hats, clothing ready made, carriages, cabinet wares, &c. But the amount of the whole class is insignificant, not four per cent. of the importations of the country for 1818, as may be seen above, p. 238.

We will now compare the highest duties on productions of the soil and on manufactures. We select from the former, four articles, cotton, coal, hemp, and cheese; and shall add manufactured tobacco and snuff, the duties on which are calculated to aid the planter; also, spirits, the duties on which are imposed to aid the farmer directly in the production of peach brandy, apple whiskey, &c. and indirectly in the consumption of his grain.

	Cost. \$ Cts.	Duty. \$ Cts.	Per cent.
Liverpool coal, per bushel - -	13	5	38 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bengal cotton, per lb. - -	10	3	30
Russia hemp, per ton - - -	114	30	26
Holland cheese, per lb. - -	10	9	90
French cheese - - -	13	9	70
English cheese - - -	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	49
Manufactured tobacco - - -	10	10	100
Snuff - - -	20	12	60
Jamaica rum, per gallon -	70	48	68
Geneva - - -	55	45	80

Comparison.

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Cotton manufactures*	- 25	Cotton, raw,	- 30
Woollen manufactures	- 25	Hemp	- 26

* Add ten per cent. as before.

Plated Sadlery	-	-	-	25	Tobacco	-	-	-	100
Manufactures of leather	-	-	-	30	Snuff	-	-	-	60
Hats	-	-	-	30	Coal	-	-	-	38 1-2
Carriages	-	-	-	30	Cheese	-	-	-	49,70,90
Cabinet wares	-	-	-	30	Rum	-	-	-	68
					Geneva	-	-	-	80

Three of the agricultural articles, which are raw materials, claim particular attention, flax, cotton, and hemp, with the corresponding fabrics.

	Duty per cent.					Duty per cent.			
Flax*	-	-	-	15	Linen*	-	-	-	15
Hemp	-	-	-	26	Hempen cloth	-	-	-	20
Cotton	-	-	-	30	Cotton goods, (above 25 cents per square yard)	-	-	-	25

Here we find raw materials subject to higher duties than the articles manufactured of them! A case that is probably without a parallel in the annals of trade and commerce! The general practice of the wisest nations of the old world, is, to discourage the exportation of raw materials; to admit them duty free, or at least under very light duties; and to burden the manufactured articles as high as they will bear. The whole of these regulations have two grand objects in view, of which a wise government will never lose sight—the protection of domestic industry, and the promotion of the national wealth, power, and resources.

Another view of the subject.

Cotton, we see, is subject to three cents per lb. duty. The freight is equal to the duty—amounting together to 60 per cent. Whereas the duty on cottons (above 25 cents per square yard) is 25 per cent.—and freight about one per cent!!

Wonderful contrast!—

	Freight and duty. Per cent.					Freight and duty. Per cent.			
Raw cotton	-	-	-	60	Cotton manufactures†	-	-	-	26

We are fully persuaded, that the tariff of no country, in the darkest ages of the world, presents such a fact as this, so admirably calculated to tear up industry by the roots! It is a century at least behind the policy of Edward III. and six behind the light of this age. That prince bestowed bounties, immunities, privileges and premiums for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture, and prohibited

* Add ten per cent. as before.

† Yet manufacturers are gravely reproached for their ingratitude for the protection they enjoy.

the export of the raw material, and the importation of the manufactured article!

We will contrast this portion of our tariff, with corresponding parts of the tariff of France, England and Russia.

<i>French Tariff.</i>						
Duty per cent.						
Flax	-	-	-	-	1	Linen prohibited.
Hemp	-	-	-	-	1	Hempen cloth prohibited.
Cotton	-	-	-	-	1	Cotton goods prohibited.

Cotton is admitted in Russia, *duty free*—but *all kinds of printed, stained, or painted cotton goods are wholly prohibited.*

Cotton pays only six per cent. duty in Great Britain, according to the latest regulations; but calicoes are wholly prohibited, and all kinds of cotton goods, which are admitted, are subject to 85 per cent. duty.

It is hardly possible to conceive of a greater contrast than is here exhibited between our policy and that of those great nations, which, however, was the policy of Colbert, Sully, the Great Frederic, and all the other celebrated statesmen, who rank so high in history. We are in a dilemma. Either we are wiser than all the practical statesmen of Europe, or our system is radically wrong. If we “judge of the tree by its fruits,” we may easily decide. Its results have been of the most destructive character.

Here we close the subject as respects the comparative protection afforded to the productions of the earth, and to manufactures. We trust that every reader who has given it a fair consideration, will readily agree that the interests of agriculture have not been overlooked; that the prejudices that prevail on the subject of the extraordinary protection afforded to manufactures, are not only not true, but the reverse of truth; and that a large portion of our manufacturing establishments, for want of adequate protection, are prostrate, and their proprietors ruined.

Protection of Commerce.

It now remains to ascertain whether the mercantile interest has experienced the fostering care of the government—and whether the merchants are justified in uniting in the everlasting clamour against the manufacturers for “taxing the many for the benefit of the few.” We hope to make it appear, that the policy of our government towards the commercial part of our citizens has been magnani-

mous and liberal to the last degree, and that it has afforded them as complete protection as was in its power. Happy for this country would it have been, had the same liberal and national spirit presided over its councils so far as regards manufactures! Instead of the lamentable scene we now present to the world, we should exhibit as grand a picture of happiness and prosperity as has ever been witnessed.

The policy of England, the wisest nation in the old world on the subject of trade and commerce, is not, we hope to make appear, superior to that of our government on this point.

In a former address, No. 11, we enumerated sixteen acts, or parts of acts, passed for the especial protection of commerce, out of a much larger number to be found in our statute books. Being limited for room, we shall refer to the above address, and shall here confine ourselves to four acts, which will be amply adequate to establish our position on this subject.

The attention of congress was early alive to the interests of the mercantile part of the community—and it has never ceased to watch over them with the most laudable solicitude. By the second act passed by the first congress, the China trade was at one stroke secured to our merchants, by a decisive difference in the duties on teas—viz.

	In American vessels. Cents.	In foreign vessels. Cents.
Bohea, per lb. - - -	6	15
Souchong and other black teas - -	10	22
On all Hyson teas - - -	20	45
On all other green teas - - -	12	27

There was, moreover, a discrimination of ten per cent. made by the same act in favour of American tonnage in the duties on imports.

The third act had the same marked and decided character. The tonnage on foreign vessels was fixed at 50 cents—and on American only 6. But even this discrimination was not deemed sufficient; for the former were obliged to pay tonnage for every coasting voyage; whereas the latter paid but once a year.

“Our discriminations operated powerfully in favour of our shipping. Vessels not of the United States, of two hundred tons burden, on entering our ports, paid twenty pounds sterling tonnage duty; and for a cargo of the value of two thousand pounds sterling, they paid fifteen pounds sterling, extra duty, more than did the vessels of the United States, of the same tonnage, and la-

den as aforesaid. These extra charges were sufficient to drive from our ports, the greatest proportion of the foreign tonnage. All foreign nations were affected by the system we had adopted. It seemed to operate like magic in favour of the ship owners of the United States. The diminution of the foreign tonnage employed in our trade, was, with very few exceptions, rapid, regular, and permanent. In 1793, our tonnage exceeded that of every other nation, except one.*

From these facts there is no appeal. They are conclusive, and set the question at rest for ever. The effect was to multiply the American shipping to an extent unparalleled in the history of commerce. The following table exhibits the results.

TABLE

Of the tonnage employed in the Commerce of this country for twenty-two years.

	American vessels.		Foreign vessels.
	Coasting trade.	Foreign trade.	Foreign trade.
1796	195,423	675,046	49,960
1797	214,077	608,708	76,693
1798	227,343	522,045	88,568
1799	220,904	626,945	109,599
1800	245,295	682,871	122,403
1801	246,255	849,302	157,270
1802	260,543	798,805	145,519
1803	268,676	787,424	163,714
1804	286,840	821,962	122,141
1805	301,366	922,298	87,842
1806	309,977	1,044,005	90,984
1807	318,189	1,089,876	86,780
1808	387,684	525,130	47,674
1809	371,500	603,931	99,205
1810	371,114	906,434	80,316
1811	386,258	948,247	33,202
1812	443,180	667,999	47,098
1813	433,404	237,348	113,827
1814	425,713	59,626	48,301
1815	435,066	706,463	217,376
1816	479,979	877,031	259,017
1817	481,547	780,136	212,420
	7,310,333	15,741,632	2,459,909

Total coasting trade, American tonnage	-	-	-	tons 7,310,333
Foreign trade	do.	-	-	15,741,632
<hr/>				
American tonnage	-	-	-	28,051,965
Foreign tonnage in Foreign trade	-	-	-	2,459,909
<hr/>				
Grand total	-	-	-	25,511,874

* Seybert 294.

Thus it appears that the merchants have, from the commencement of the government, enjoyed an entire monopoly of the coasting trade, which employs above 28 per cent. of the whole of the shipping of the country; and above 90 per cent. of all the foreign trade.

The above two acts were the first passed by our government in favour of commerce. We will, as stated above, pass over the long list to be found scattered through our statute books, and confine ourselves to the two last passed with the same view—We mean the act on the subject of plaster of Paris, and that magnanimous national measure of prohibiting the entry into our ports, of vessels from those colonies of Great Britain, into which our vessels were prohibited to enter—an act of the most decisive and energetic character.

Besides the preceding protection to commerce, which, by the exclusion of foreign competition, produces the effect so much inveighed against in the case of manufactures, of "*taxing the many for the benefit of the few*," that is, in plain English, of enhancing the price of freight, at the expense of the whole nation, for the benefit of the merchants, there is another species of protection extended to commerce, of a more costly character. It is comprised under four heads. Expenses incurred for—

1. Foreign intercourse—
2. Barbary powers—
3. The navy—
4. War.

That the first and second items are chargeable wholly to commerce, will not be denied. Some question may arise respecting the third—but it is obvious, that for every other purpose than the protection of commerce, 100,000 dollars per annum would be adequate for the navy of the United States. The expenses for four entire years, 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1794, were below 70,000 dollars.

On the subject of the fourth item, there will be still more diversity of sentiment. It requires, however, but a moderate portion of candour to admit, that nine-tenths of all the difficulties we have had with foreign powers, have arisen wholly from commerce. From the wholesale depredations of 1793, down to the orders in council and the Berlin and Milan decrees, every page of our history bears this solemn truth in legible characters, that we should have steered our bark in peace through all the tremendous convulsive

struggles of the wars arising from the French revolution, but for the collisions caused by our commerce. We state two facts within the knowledge of every man acquainted with our affairs for the last twenty-five years. When about three hundred of our vessels, engaged in the trade with the French colonies, were seized in 1793, we were in the most imminent danger of war—various retaliatory measures were proposed in congress, among which the sequestration of British debts stood conspicuous. Nothing saved the country from a recourse to arms at that time, but the interference of the president, and the mission of Mr Jay to London. In 1805--6, the depredations were renewed with additional violence, and the merchants from Newburyport to Baltimore were most importunate in their requisitions on congress, for protection and redress, whence arose that series of restrictive measures which a few years afterwards eventuated in war.

We will now state the expense incurred for the naval department, foreign intercourse, and Barbary powers, for 20 years—and for the military department for four, embracing the three years in which war raged and the succeeding one.

	Naval department.	Foreign intercourse.	Barbary powers.
1796	274,784	109,739	75,120
1797	382,631	172,504	390,284
1798	1,381,347	242,711	214,767
1799	2,858,081	199,374	72,000
1800	3,448,716	185,145	210,142
1801	2,111,424	139,851	155,285
1802	915,561	416,253	134,672
1803	1,215,230	1,001,968	108,866
1804	1,189,832	1,129,591	57,063
1805	1,597,500	2,625,767	142,259
1806	1,649,641	1,613,922	146,299
1807	1,722,054	419,845	157,980
1808	1,884,067	214,233	90,759
1809	1,427,758	74,918	91,387
1810	1,654,244	48,795	32,571
1811	1,966,566	181,746	83,158
1812	3,969,365	297,327	50,376
1813	6,446,600	153,791	56,170
1814	7,311,290	163,879	13,300
1815	8,660,000	223,781	67,110
	\$52,065,691*	\$9,615,140*	\$2,349,568*

* Seybert, 713.

<i>Expenses of the military department during the years 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815.</i>						
1812	-	-	-	-	-	12,022,798
1813	-	-	-	-	-	19,747,015
1814	-	-	-	-	-	20,507,906
1815	-	-	-	-	-	15,208,794
						<u>67,486,513*</u>

Aggregate.

Expense incurred in twenty years for the naval department,	52,065,691
Foreign intercourse	9,615,140
Barbary powers	2,349,568
Military department, for four years	67,486,513
Total	<u>\$131,516,912</u>

In order duly to appreciate the proportion these expenses bore to our commerce, we annex a statement of the exports from the United States for the same twenty years, from 1796 to 1815, inclusive.

	Domestic Exports.	Foreign Exports.
1796	40,764,097	26,300,000
1797	29,850,206	27,000,000
1798	2,527,097	33,000,000
1799	33,142,522	45,523,000
1800	31,840,903	39,130,877
1801	47,473,204	46,642,721
1802	36,708,189	35,774,971
1803	42,205,961	13,594,072
1804	41,467,477	36,231,597
1805	42,387,002	53,179,019
1806	41,253,727	60,283,236
1807	48,699,592	59,643,558
1808	9,433,546	52,997,414
1809	31,405,702	20,797,531
1810	42,366,675	24,391,295
1811	45,294,043	16,022,790
1812	30,032,109	8,495,127
1813	25,008,152	2,847,845
1814	6,782,272	145,169
1815	45,974,403	6,583,350
	<u>700,606,879</u>	<u>568,583,572</u>

Domestic exports	-	-	-	-	-	700,606,879
Foreign	-	-	-	-	-	568,583,572
Total exports	-	-	-	-	-	<u>1,268,190,451</u>
Expended for protection of commerce, as above stated						<u>\$131,516,912</u>

It therefore irresistibly follows, that the *actual disbursements* for the protection of commerce for twenty years, have been eleven per cent. of the whole amount of our exports, domestic and foreign—and nearly twenty per cent. of the former. And yet we repeat, the merchants unite in the cry against the expense incurred for the protection of manufactures! although the government from its first establishment has never paid one dollar, as loan, premium, or bounty to encourage, foster, or promote that portion of the national industry employed in manufactures!

Let it be observed that the manufacturers, while they have been so frequently the objects of jealousy with their fellow citizens, have had the magnanimity never to prefer a complaint against the protection afforded to either farmers or merchants, or the enormous expense incurred in defence of the latter. Nor would we wish it understood that we regard the fostering care bestowed on them as otherwise than the duty of the government. Our object is merely to bring the subject fairly before our fellow citizens, and to prove that both agriculture and commerce are far more adequately protected than manufactures.

It may be useful to compare our system of "*purchasing where goods can be had cheapest*," and not "*taxing the many for the benefit of the few*," with that pursued in France, and to cast a glance at their results.

Mons. Chaptal, minister of the Interior, during the reign of Bonaparte, published, a few months since, a detailed and most exhilarating view of the affairs of France, and of the policy that has led to her present prosperity. The product of the manufactures of that country, in 1818, was 1,820,000,000 francs, composed of the following items:—

Domestic raw materials - - - - -	francs 416,000,000
Foreign do. - - - - -	186,000,000
Labour - - - - -	844,000,000
Various expenses, as interest, firing, repairs, &c. - - -	192,000,000
Profits of the manufacturer - - - - -	182,000,000
	<hr/>
	1,820,000,000
	<hr/>
Equal to about - - - - -	\$360,000,000

France waged the most sanguinary wars for above twenty years. She was afterwards crushed by rapacious and depredating armies—and subject to a military contribution of above 100,000,000 of dollars. Yet she has already recovered from all her disasters, and is now the most pros-

perous nation in Europe. Should the mighty secret be asked by which this all-important change has been effected, it is reducible to a few words—she was not afraid of the ideal danger of “*taxing the many for the benefit of the few.*” She protected the industry of her subjects, making a small temporary sacrifice for an immense permanent benefit. While our statesmen were calculating about saving a quarter, or half, or three quarters of a dollar per yard, by buying goods in Europe and in the East Indies, she for a while bought at home at double price, in preference to purchasing cheap abroad. She trusted that competition would produce the effect it has ever produced, that is, to bring prices to a proper level. The magnanimous policy succeeded—and now affords a rich harvest of private happiness and public prosperity. We have bought cheap abroad—and distress overspreads our land! She bought dear for a while at home, and is repaid ten fold for the temporary sacrifice!

It is but just to state her policy in Chaptal's own words;—We hope they will sink deep into the minds of the statesmen and politicians of this country.

“Our casimers cost twenty-five francs per ell, *to the manufacturer*, at the commencement of our operations. The English offered them at half price, *to the consumer*. Our cambrics and calicoes, ill manufactured, cost us seven to eight francs. The English delivered theirs at three.

“Ought we, therefore, to have renounced this project of manufacturing conquest? No. It was our duty to persist and improve. This therefore is the course we pursued. And we have arrived at such a degree of perfection, that our industry excites the jealousy of those from whom we have borrowed it.

“If during twelve or fifteen years, in which we pursued our essays, our researches, our experiments, we had not *excluded the competition of foreign rival articles by prohibitions*, I ask of the partisans of fifteen per cent. duty, what would have become of this admirable industry, which constitutes the ornament, the glory, and the riches of France?”*

* “Nos casimirs coûtoient 25fr. l'aune au fabricant, dans le principe; et les Anglois offroient les leurs au consommateur, à moitié prix; les percalles, les calicots, mal fabriqués, nous revenoient à 7 à 8 fr. l'aune; les Anglois les livroient à 3 fr.

“Falloit-ill renoncer à ce projet de conquête manufacturière? Non, il falloit persister et se perfectionner. C'est aussi la marche

Smuggling.

While ruin was successively swallowing up various manufactures, and reducing to bankruptcy their owners, who were shut out of the markets of foreign nations by the wisdom of those nations—and deprived of their own by the want of protection, their prayers and supplications were met by a clamour against the danger of smuggling that would arise from high duties. On this real or supposed danger, the changes have been rung from New Hampshire to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. It has been regarded as a conclusive and unanswerable argument, and as forming an insuperable bar against making such a radical change in the tariff as would afford protection to the manufacturers, whatever might be their sufferings.

An objection which is regarded as so powerful, and which closes our ears to the cries, and shuts our eyes against a view of the distresses of so large a body of our fellow citizens, ought to be founded on an impregnable basis—and demands the most rigorous scrutiny before it be admitted as orthodox. An error on such a point is liable to produce deleterious consequences.

We shall therefore once more investigate the ground on which it rests. Reduced to plain English, it is—

1. Smuggling is a dreadful and demoralizing evil that ought to be avoided.

2. High duties encourage smuggling.

3. Therefore high duties ought to be avoided.

To render this syllogism applicable to the case in hand, two things are necessary to be proved. If either fail, it falls to the ground:—

1. That the duties requested by, or necessary to afford adequate protection to, our manufacturers, would be so immoderately high as to encourage smuggling.

qu'on a suivi: et nous sommes arrivés à un tel degré de perfection, que notre industrie excite aujourd'hui la jalousie de la nation qui nous l'a transmise.

“ Si, pendant douze à quinze ans qu'ont duré nos essais, nos recherches, nos tâtonnemens, on n'avoit pas écarté du concours, par la prohibition, les produits étrangers, je demande aux partisans des 15 pour cent, ce que seroit devenue cette belle industrie qui fait l'ornement, la gloire et la richesse de la France? ”—*De l'Industrie Francoise, tom. II. p. 431.*

2. That our duties, in general, are calculated on a moderate scale, predicated on a dread of the danger of encouraging smuggling by high duties.

Neither of these positions is founded.

We will specify a few out of a great variety of manufactures, which have been either wholly ruined, or greatly impaired in their progress, since the peace, by the inundation of rival articles, and hope it will appear to our readers, that the duties might have been raised to double their present amount—so as to preserve the manufactories, without danger of smuggling—and without impairing the revenue.

Gold Leaf,	Slates,
Linens,	Sealing wax, &c. &c.
Manufactures of flax,	

are subject to fifteen per cent.—

Manufactures of Steel,	Earthen ware,
Brass,	Japanned ware,
Glass,	Pottery,
Iron,	Stone ware,
Lead,	Woollen stockings,

are subject to twenty per cent.—And

Fine cottons, and	Woollens,
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are subject to twenty-five per cent.

Of these manufactures, several, which, in consequence of the exclusion of foreign rivalship, were in a flourishing state during the war, have since been laid prostrate. A duty of 30 per cent. on some, and 40 on others, would have effectually secured them.

Now, we freely appeal to men of candour and fairness, whether those duties would have been more likely to produce smuggling than the duties we have stated, on snuff, tobacco, rum or gin at sixty or eighty or one hundred per cent. ? or those which we shall produce in the next table?

Will it be asserted, that if pottery, for instance, had been subject to a duty of 60 or 80 per cent. it would have been more likely to be smuggled than any of those articles? Surely not. The idea is inadmissible.

On the second head, the objection still more completely falls to the ground. Our tariff imposes duties on various articles extravagantly high.—We have already stated the cases of cotton, cheese, manufactured tobacco, snuff, rum, and Geneva. We proceed to wines, teas, and salt.

	Price,* cents.	Duty. cents	Duty per cent.
Sherry wine, per gallon,	100	60	60
Lisbon wine - - - -	125	60	48
Imperial tea - - - -	65	50	78
Hyson - - - - -	40	40	100
Young Hyson - - - -	40	40	100
Hyson Skin - - - - -	24	28	116
Souchong - - - - -	27	25	98
Bohea - - - - -	13	12	90
Salt, per bushel - - -	16	20	125

Thus it appears that there are no terrors felt on the subject of smuggling, when those articles are in question which do not interfere with the national industry! On these 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, and 125 per cent. are unhesitatingly imposed.— But when those manufactures are to be duties, of which we have the raw material to the utmost extent of our wants (as, for instance, cottons, and, with some qualification as to present supply, we might add woollens) water power to manufacture them without limitation—and industry and enterprise never exceeded in the world—then the appalling spectre of smuggling arises, at the mention of 35, 40, 45, or 50 per cent. to blunt the feelings of our legislators—to ruin a large and valuable portion of our citizens—to make us tributaries to all the nations of the civilized world, on whom our treasures are wantonly and prodigally lavished—and to tear up by the roots a large portion of the productive industry, the wealth, power, and resources of the nation!!

To these facts we most earnestly invite the attention of those who have any thing at stake on the welfare of their country. In five years, we repeat, without war, pestilence, or famine, we have fallen from a towering eminence into an abyss, where we find bankruptcy; character impaired at home and abroad; forced idleness, misery, and distress, among thousands able and willing to work; demoralization; emigration of our citizens in quest of an assylum which their own country does not afford them; and finally *legislative suspensions of payment*. We believe the great mass of those evils due to the policy we have pursued, the antipodes of that of all the wise nations of Europe—but the counterpart of that of Spain and Portugal.—Nothing can save us but a full and complete protection of the domestic industry, which we fervently pray, may take place without

* Cost at the places of shipment respectively.

delay, for the happiness of our citizens, and for the honour of our republican form of government.

P. S. In order to afford our fellow citizens a fair view of the deleterious consequences of the policy we have pursued, on the welfare and happiness of this nation, we annex authentic documents of the calamitous situation of Philadelphia and Pittsburg, which afford a practical commentary on the delusive system of "*buying cheap goods abroad*," and unfeelingly consigning our fellow citizens to ruin, and our country to a premature decrepitude. The destruction has been in about the same proportion throughout the state.

"*Philadelphia, Oct. 2, 1819.*

"The committee appointed by a meeting of the citizens of the city and county of Philadelphia, held on the 21st August, at the county court house, to make inquiry into the situation of the manufactures of the city of Philadelphia and its vicinity, in 1814, 1816, and 1819, beg leave to report—

"That they have performed the duty assigned them with as much attention as in their power; and regret that notwithstanding all their diligence, they have been unable to procure the necessary information from more than thirty branches of manufactures, of which they annex the result.

Branches of manufactures.	No. of hands employed.			Average value of their labour per week.			Value of goods manufactured per week.		
	1814	1816	1819	1814	1816	1819	1814	1816	1819
Cotton	1761	2325	149	\$3 75	\$3 67	\$4 65	\$	27380	\$
Hosiery	96	48	29	4 51	4 47		778	382	145
Thread	444	191	20	4 24	3 50	3 6 ¹ / ₂	2690	1198	600
Silver Plating	114	210	30	9 00	8 00	6 00	3420	3200	1732
Smithery	852	750	149	9 00	8 00	6 00	15036	18500	1675
Coach making	220	185	67	9 00	9 00	8 00	5600	4625	629
Chemicals	71	52	16	6 63	7 55	6 44	5479	2755	
Hatting	134	172	60						
Carving & Gilding	62	121	24	7 50	8 50				
Potteries	132	132	27	5 48	5 48	5 83			
Tobacco Pipes	33	33	none	4 17	4 17				
Printing Ink	5	5	1	7 00	7 00	7 00			
Book Printing	198	241	170	7 70	7 21	5 83			
Type Foundry	74	90	42	4 35	4 32	4 46			800
Brass Foundry	300	240	80	6 33	6 00	5 00	2800		
Wire Factory	60	22	6	6 67	7 00	7 50			
Floor Cloth manufactory	50	30	25	6 00	6 00	4 50			
Woollen	1310	1226	260	3 12 ¹ / ₂	3 12 ¹ / ₂	3 12 ¹ / ₂			
Iron Castings	1093	1152	52	6 44	6 62 ¹ / ₂	11 54 ³ / ₂			
Paper making, 95 vats	950	950	175	5 00	5 00	5 00			
Copper smith's and tin ware	77	77	35	5 75	5 75	2 00	2272	2272	381 25
Gunsmithery	154	124	93	7 23	3 75	8 67	2567	2145	1759
Cabinet making	180	250	70	7 00	7 00	7 00			
Brush making	65	112	50	6 00	7 50	5 00	1560	2688	1200
Plaster & Stucco	120	150	90	8 00	10 00	7 00			
Bricklaying	250	300	150	9 00	10 00	8 00			
Patent Lamp making	6	5	1	7 50	7 50	7 00			
Morocco Leather, &c.	68	111	84	8 26	7 66	8 52	2581	5358	2548
Rope making	110	200	100	6 48	7 50	5 52			
Paper hanging & playing cards	189	168	82	2 70	3 36	3 8			
	9188	9672	2137						

"The following is a list of the branches of business, on which we found it impracticable to procure the necessary information:

Shotmakers
Plumbers
Coopers
Umbrella makers
Bookbinders
Sugar bakers
Chocolate makers

Stone cutters
Glass manufacturers
Brewers
Tanners
Curriers
Dyers
Brick makers

Snauff and tobacco manufacturers	Chair makers
Carpenters	Glovers
Painters and glaziers	Embroiderers
Manufacturers of gunpowder	Calico printers
Shoemakers	Turners
Engravers	Wheelrights, &c. &c.

"It is obvious that these branches must have partaken of the general decay of business—but it is impossible to ascertain in what proportion.

"We do not pretend that the above statements are critically exact. It is obvious, that it would be hardly possible to render them so, unless they were collected officially by public authority. But from the characters of the citizens who have furnished our data, we can confidently assert, that if there be any errors, they are neither numerous nor important; and that any slight excess in some is amply counterbalanced by deficiencies in others; of the latter description some have already fallen within our knowledge.

Analysis of the preceding table.

	Average of 1814. and 1816.	1819.	Diminution.
Persons employed	9,425	2,137	7,288
Weekly wages	58,340	12,822	45,518
Wages per annum	\$3,033,779	666,744	2,366,935

"Thus in the article of wages alone, there is in thirty branches of manufacture, an actual loss of 2,366,935

"Supposing the materials only equal to the wages, they amount to 2,366,935

"Annual amount of productive industry smothered by our present system 4,733,870

"In this city, and vicinity, there are, it appears, 7,288 persons thrown idle. And it is far from unreasonable to presume, that on every person thus deprived of employment, at least two other persons depend. Hence it follows that no less than 21,864 persons are bereft of maintenance in thirty branches of business, in one single district of no great extent, not forty miles in diameter.

"The pecuniary loss arising from this state of things may be calculated with tolerable certainty. But who can calculate the injuries of another description that flow from it? The demoralization that necessarily results from want of employment, and its attendant dissipation? The heart-rending pangs felt by parents, whose prospects of supporting their families are blighted and blasted? The numerous es-

timable females accustomed to earn a subsistence by spinning, and other employments adapted to their sex, and whose wants and distresses may force them to a life of guilt and wretchedness? The vice and immorality, to which children are exposed by a career of idleness? In a word, the flood of evils, moral and political, which are let loose on society, by the existing state of things?

"It would far exceed the bounds of this report, to enter into details on those various branches of business. This must be left to the reflection of our citizens and of the legislature of the United States, who alone are competent to apply a remedy to the existing evils. But we cannot forbear casting a glance at one particular branch, in order to establish the impolicy of our system.

"The basis of the paper manufacture is a raw material, completely worthless for any other purpose. All the produce of it, therefore, is clear gain to the community, and a solid substantial addition to the wealth of the country. We therefore exhibit a comparative view of the state of this branch in 1816, and 1819.

	1816.	1819.	Diminution.
Workmen employed	950	175	775
Annual wages	247,000	45,900	202,000
Annual production	760,000	136,000	624,000
Tons of rags worked up	2,600	472	2,128

"Thus in one single branch, of little comparative importance, an annual loss of 624,000 dollars is incurred in the vicinity of this city; and 775 persons are rendered destitute of employment, many of them men and women with large families. This is independent of the sacrifice of the capital of the employers, which in many cases is reduced to one half of its former value.

"We beg leave to repeat, what we stated in our former report, that most of these manufactures are prostrated not for want of protecting duties, but in consequence of the general impoverishment of the country, arising principally from the want of protection to the great leading branches of cotton, wool, and iron. A large portion of our manufactures, including the chief of those depending on manual labour, have succeeded completely; and it is a singular and striking fact, notwithstanding the high price of labour is so often urged against the encouragement, and against the chance of success of manufactures here, that we yield the palm chiefly in those branches depending on machinery, in which, from our numerous mill-seats, we have advantages beyond any nation in Europe."

A statement of the comparative extent and value of the Manufactures of Pittsburg and vicinity in the years 1815 and 1819, Reported to a town meeting, Dec. 24. 1819.

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MANUFACTORIES.	Number of hands employed in 1815.	Value of the Manufactures in 1815.	Number of hands employed in 1819.	Value of the Manufactures in 1819.
Steam Engine Factories - -	290	300,000	24	40,000
Founderies and Iron casting -	163	190,000	40	80,000
Iron and Nail Factories - -	65	241,200	30	40,500
Blacksmiths and Whitesmiths -	90	90,000	39	40,000
Glass Manufactories and Glass Cutting* - - - - -	169	235,000	40	35,100
Hat Manufactories - - - -	69	122,000	30	50,200
Woollen Factories and Hosiery	63	48,500	16	16,150
Saddlers - - - - -	68	90,100	28	36,000
Breweries - - - - -	28	91,050	18	35,000
White and Red Lead Factories -	25	110,000	9	35,000
Tobacconists - - - - -	48	45,850	27	27,550
Brass Founderies - - - -	35	49,633	12	11,700
Ropemaking - - - - -	18	30,000	15	15,000
Saddletree Factories - - -	28	29,900	12	14,000
Tin Factories and Copper Smiths	100	200,000	40	45,000
Chair Factories and Cabinet Making	66	90,000	40	24,500
Silverplating - - - - -	30	32,450	8	8,500
Cotton Factories - - - -	42	42,000	0	0
Plane Making - - - - -	20	25,000	10	9,500
Wire Weaving - - - - -	10	12,000	7	6,000
Wire Making - - - - -	8	21,000	0	0
Button Making - - - - -	6	6,250	3	2,100
Umbrella Making - - - -	2	1,600	0	0
Piano Forte Making - - -	4	2,000	1	700
Tailors - - - - -	66	65,000	29	28,500
Shoemakers - - - - -	140	125,500	50	49,000
Patent Balances, Scales and Steel-yards - - - - -	10	10,000	4	3,500
Yellow Queensware - - - -	9	10,000	0	0
Pipe Making - - - - -	3	1,800	0	0
Linen Factory - - - - -	20	25,000	0	0
Wagon Making and Wheelwrights	40	40,000	20	18,500
Paper Making - - - - -	50	40,000	30	30,000
Auger Makers, Bellows Makers, Brush Makers, Cotton Spinners, Weavers, Curriers, Cutlers, Locksmiths, Spinning Machine Makers, Tanners, Tallow Chand- lers, Pattern Makers, Silver- smiths, Gunsmiths, and Soap- boilers	175	195,000	90	130,000
	1,960	2,617,833	672	832,000

(Signed)

GEORGE SUTTON,
HENRY DOANE, } Committee.
ROB. PATTERSON,

PITTSBURG, December 24th, 1819.

* On Flint Glass alone, the reduction has been \$ 75,000.

The following memorial, adopted at a late town meeting in Pittsburg, is now in extensive circulation in the western country.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.

We, the people of the western counties of Pennsylvania, suffering under great and numerous evils, arising, as we believe, from the erroneous policy of the government in relation to domestic manufactures—ask leave to approach your honourable bodies, and solicit a redress of our grievances. Upon a subject already exhausted by discussion, any reasoning drawn from general principles is unnecessary. We need not now reiterate the arguments so often advanced by the friends of domestic manufactures, and which yet stand unanswered and unanswerable. Nor shall we now remind your honourable bodies, of the mournful anticipations, which, in a great variety of ways, were brought before congress at the time the present tariff of duties was established, and the next session afterwards. It is sufficient to say, that the predictions of those days are more than verified; that the present actual distress far surpasses in depth and extent the forebodings of those who were then deemed the most visionary.

To present to congress a faithful picture of the present state of the country would be an impracticable task.

The sacrifice of estates, the ruin of families, and all the complicated miseries of private suffering, which pervade the country, exceed any powers of description.

Agriculture is declining, and interior trade is nearly extinguished.

Foreign goods have banished the precious metals from the land; and domestic manufactures, the greatest resource of our wealth and prosperity, are in the last struggles of dissolution.

Establishments which gave employment and sustenance to thousands, are idle.

An immense capital, invested in more auspicious days, has become perfectly dormant, and the whole country is overspread with despondency and gloom.

In this state of general suffering, the eyes of the people are turned to the constitutional guardians of their welfare. We indulge the confident hope, that the wisdom and the justice of congress will be exerted to save the country.

It is most obvious, that no temporising measures will

avail. The wants, the calamities of the people demand an interposition radical in its character, and vigorous in the means of its accomplishment. Every man of reflection sees and feels, that the excessive use of foreign goods has brought our country to the verge of destruction, and that nothing short of permanent and ample patronage to our own manufactures, can afford any relief. The fallacy of buying at the cheapest market no longer stands in our way: nor will congress be again alarmed with the danger of imposing regulations upon trade. We have practical lessons on these subjects, infinitely more instructive than the dreams of political economists. The cheapest market has already extracted the life blood of the country, and the want of regulations upon trade, has made us the tributaries of a foreign people.

Men whose fortunes are staked upon the ruin of manufactures, have essayed to keep in repute the old illusion of a foreign market for the productions of agriculture, and have ascribed our embarrassments to the great number of ephemeral banks, and the inundation of spurious paper. Experience has tested this reasoning also, and fixed upon it the seal of refutation.

We look in vain throughout the world for a market. Agricultural produce has no value but at home, and the drain of gold and silver has shaken the stability of the wealthiest banks in the union.

All confidence is impaired, and distrust is becoming as rooted as it is universal. Still our foreign debts are unpaid, and their burden, stupendous in magnitude, hangs like the inextricable mill-stone about the people's necks. To devise palliatives against impending ruin is worse than idle. When its cause stands in the clearest light, and is even admitted by many of the rankest foes of manufactures, does not every consideration that gives value to free government, require its extirpation?

Despotism itself is tender of social rights, and under it private property is generally sacred. Is a republican government so dear to man for its *name* alone? Has it a foresight less keen, a patriotism less ardent, a vigor less prompt and efficacious than monarchy?

In Great Britain, government is the ally of domestic industry. A rivalry tending to prostrate manufactures, would be resisted by its whole power. Shall an American congress do less?

We are not the enemies of commerce. We wish its protection at every hazard. But we are not in the number of those who think that government was instituted to subserve the interests of commerce alone. The people of the United States have other rights not less dear, and other interests equally precious, which fall within the scope of impartial legislation. And while commerce exacts its annual millions from the treasury, they ask, that their own manufactures may not wither and perish through the cold neglect of their *own* government.

We are no longer a neutral nation, busied in gathering the harvest of European conflicts.—The state of the world is changed, and our domestic policy must be adapted to the permanent relations of peace.

The subject to which we have presumed to call the attention of congress, is worthy their earliest consideration. Clouds and darkness hang over the prosperity and the hopes of the country—the power of the national government is alone adequate to the crisis. Partial restrictions, or expedients calculated for a temporary relief, will but protract the mischief. While the luxuries of the Indies shall be burdened, as they ought to be, with accumulated duties; it is hoped that the arm of government will be outstretched in the general defence—that *every species* of manufacture, of which the raw material is produced at home, will receive immediate, decided, and permanent protection. Those who would limit the care of government, to particular branches of manufactures, have taken a very imperfect survey of the wants and means of the country. We disdain all narrow views. We deprecate the sordid jealousies of sections and climates of the same nation. Reposing the highest confidence in the wisdom of congress, we ask them to protect the *whole people*, to foster *every branch* of the *national industry*, and especially to guard the infancy of our manufactures from the baneful competition of foreign nations. This, and this only will produce a substantial and permanent redress of the grievances that afflict our country.

It has been often argued that the proposed system of domestic manufactures, would impair the resources of the *treasury*. What are its resources at the present moment! Commerce has already suffered an alarming decay. The peace and the rivalry of Europe oppose eternal obstacles to its renovation. Under the present operations of trade, better times are hopeless, and the general pecuniary ex-

haustion will blast the revenue itself. How can a republican government be rich, while the people are poor?

A Sermon delivered at Litchfield, on the day of the Anniversary thanksgiving, December 2, 1819. By Lyman Beecher, pastor of the first church of Christ in Litchfield.

ECCLESIASTES. V. 9.

Moreover the profit of the earth is for all: the king himself is served by the field.

THE most obvious truths are frequently the most overlooked. No fact is more manifest, than the dependence of society upon the labours of the husbandman; and no fact, of so much importance, is perhaps less realized. In an extended machinery where every movement obeys one mighty impulse, the reality of the power may be obvious, and the apprehension of it be prevented, by those very movements, which are the evidence of its energy. In like manner, the employments of men are so various from the throne downward, and our eye is so filled with this variety, that agriculture, the spring of this extended action, is liable to be thrown into forgetfulness, by the abundant evidence of its power. But let the sun for one year withhold his ordinary smiles, and the clouds their accustomed treasure, and the earth her increase, and the paralytic shock, extended to every limb of the body politic, will quickly indicate where is the seat of life, and what is the spring of motion. When the fields languish, no substitute for their product can be found, and our dependence upon God and the husbandman is realized.

Convened at this time, in accordance with the dictates of religion, the exhortation of the supreme executive of the state, and the immemorial usage of our fathers, to render praise to God for the mercies of the past year, and associated in this employment with a greater portion of the nation than have ever at one time observed this delightful anniversary, I have thought that the *means of national prosperity*, might be an appropriate subject of contemplation.

The general nature of the subject will not, it is presumed, prevent our interest in it, when it is considered that the present is a period of great embarrassment, brought upon us in a time of peace and of great fruitfulness of the earth:

brought upon us of course by our own indiscretions, and demanding the efforts of the government and the families of the nation, to apply a remedy.

An outline only can be given in the illustration of so extensive a subject; but if that be correct, your own discretion may supply the filling up. Among the means of national prosperity we mention,

First—*The encouragement, and successful prosecution of agriculture.*

There is no wealth of nations which is not obtained from the earth; and no wealth yielded by the earth but as the consequence of cultivation. The curse of barrenness can neither be repealed nor mitigated but by the hand of industry; while at her touch the earth opens her bosom and pours out her munificence. The indolent cannot prosper. Their affairs will rush into confusion, and end in nakedness and shame. Inspiration has told us ages since what the providence of God has not to this day failed to verify: "The hand of the diligent shall bear rule; but the slothful shall be under tribute." "He becometh poor that dealeth with a slack hand; but the hand of the diligent maketh rich." "The way of the slothful man is as an hedge of thorns;" he is always embarrassed in his affairs, and moves onward as if cutting his way at every step through an hedge of thorns. "He that is slothful in his work is brother to him that is a great waster." "The desire of the slothful killeth him, for his hand refuseth to labour,"—his desire is abundance of idleness, and it prevents exertion and destroys him.

"The slothful man saith there is a lion without, I shall be slain in the street,"—The efforts of industry are as terrific to him as the thoughts of meeting a lion. "Slothfulness casteth into a deep sleep the idle soul." "By much slothfulness the building decayeth, and through idleness of the hands the house droppeth through." "Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep. So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth, and thy want as an armed man." "The soul of the slothful desireth and hath nothing; but the soul of the diligent shall be fat." "The sluggard will not plough by reason of the cold—therefore shall he beg in harvest and have nothing." "I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding—and lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down." Did any of you

ever behold such a farm? Never, in the hand of the diligent man; and never otherwise, in the hand of the slothful. The passages recited disclose the invariable laws of Providence in respect to the consequences of industry and sloth. Forests will not fall, and harvests will not wave, without labour. The family composed of inefficient members cannot thrive, and the nation composed of such families must be tributary to those nations whose policy protects and stimulates national industry.

The product of agricultural enterprise, remaining after the wants of the husbandman are supplied, is the sustenance and the means of wealth to that whole portion of society devoted to other employments. If the husbandman has nothing to spare, by whom shall the professional man be fed? What raw material shall the artizan manufacture? Or what product of industry shall the merchant barter? Cut the sinews of agricultural enterprise, and reduce the ambition of the husbandman to the simple supply of his own wants, and you consign to famine every professional man, stop the movement of every machine, silence the hum of business in cities, furl every sail opened to the favouring gale, and recall from the ocean every ship, to rot in ignoble indolence beside the dock. The surplus product of the farm is the spring of universal activity, without which civilized society would fall back upon barbarism.

Agriculture may be encouraged, by awarding honour to the employment, in accordance with its utility; by associations and premiums for the collection and dissemination of agricultural knowledge; and by the excitement of a spirit of improvement in all kinds of husbandry; by the improvement of roads, the construction of canals, and multiplication of the various facilities of inland navigation; and by wise acts of legislation, calculated to secure the husbandman a steady market and a fair price.

With respect to honour, as an encouragement to industry, I intend not merely verbal applause: much less offering incense to pride. By honour rendered to the agriculturist, I intend, that practical estimation which gives to him his relative place and weight in society, according to his intelligence, his virtues, and his usefulness.

That employment which God assigned to man in a state of innocence, and re-enjoined upon him after his exile from Eden, and the commencement of the work of salvation, which is so congenial to health, courage, strength of body,

vigour of intellect, patriotism, piety, morals, domestic enjoyment, and national wealth, ought not to be in equity, and will not be in policy, regarded as second in respectability to any employment whatever. Much less can it be regarded as a vulgar or mean employment.

Slaves may toil at the crack of the whip, and tenants in despotic countries may receive with gratitude from the landlord the privilege of ignoble industry. But freemen, the enlightened, independent owners of the soil, will not cultivate the earth in disgrace. That portion of the population best qualified, by vigour of intellect and capacity of knowledge, to guide the process of national agriculture, will escape from it to other employments more honoured. The consequence will be, that these will be overstocked, and that agriculture will languish, both for want of hands to till the earth, and for being thrown into the hands of the least intelligent and vigorous class of the community. I intend that honour, then, which leaves the way open to the farmer, to the best society and to the highest public honours of the nation; not without appropriate qualifications, merely because he is a farmer, but unobstructed, whenever qualified, by any relative disgrace attached to the employment. I intend that estimation of the agriculturist, which shall illustrate the proverb, "Seest thou a man diligent in business; he shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men."

To supersede the necessity of repetition, I would here observe, that the honour due to the husbandman should be awarded upon the same terms to the mechanic and manufacturer, and to that entire class of the community who sustain their families and bless their country by manual labour. That nation cannot be prosperous and free, whose labouring population are consigned to relative ignominy. The hard hand of labour must not be the token of disgrace, but the badge of honour.—The Romans prospered while toil was honourable, and were enslaved only when the sword and sceptre fell into the hands of the effeminate. Let the road to honour and influence be open alike to all classes of society, and the competition be that only of intellect, knowledge, enterprise, and virtue, while ignorance, indolence, and immorality constitute the only impediment to public favour; and the heart of national industry will be cheerful, and the arm of national industry will be strong, and the consequence will be, contented families, and na-

tional wealth.—We shall have no mobs of discontented labourers to annoy us—and no standing armies to protect and enslave us.

Agricultural societies bring together the respectable agriculturists of a district, give them a place in the public eye, and induce the respectable characters of the other departments of society to pay to the husbandman their tribute of respect. They tend also to increase judicious experiments, to quicken the eye of observation, to collect and disseminate the scattered results of individual experience, as well as to afford that excitement to industry, which honour and profit fail not to afford. Those countries of Europe, which have carried their improvements in agriculture to the highest state of perfection, have resorted to such associations, and experienced their benign effect.

The improvement of roads shortens often the distance to market, increases the amount transported, diminishes the muscular toil, and other wear and tear, of transportation, while it increases the value of the surplus produce, and diminishes the price of imported articles. Those, therefore, who improve the highways of their country, stand high on the list of national benefactors. That enterprise especially should be honoured with public approbation, which connects the profit of the present generation, with the comfort and advantages of ages to come. The Appian Way, paved by the Censor, whose name it bears, remains in many parts entire to this day, after the tread of more than two thousand years;—and there are bridges which have witnessed for ages the descending flood, and borne across them the labours of industry.

Canals, connecting rivers and lakes with the ocean, break down the distance of three or four hundred miles land transportation, bring the market to the farmer's door, and save millions annually, as the increased reward of industry, and as capital for more extended enterprise.

By the application of steam to the navigation of rivers, the most rapid currents are overcome, and the same bark that bore down the flood the abundance of harvest, brings back the reward augmented by the cheapness of the transportation, and the rapidity of the return.

I have mentioned a steady market, and a fair profit, as among the encouragements to be afforded to agriculture. No human skill can indeed control the elements, or regulate the seasons, so as to secure the equable fruitfulness of

the earth, in this or other climes; or so control the family of nations as to prevent the fluctuations of demand and price, occasioned by the interchange of peace and war. But much may be done, by a wise policy, to check these fluctuations of the market, and especially to withhold them from extremes, which are destructive to national industry. No calamity is greater than a capricious market, baffling the sober extended calculations of industry, and converting the husbandmen of a nation into a body of speculators.— Tempting at one time, by high prices, to adventurous purchases and lavish family expenses, and then by the glut of the market and the fall of produce, dashing the hopes of thousands of families, and rearing upon their ruins a monied aristocracy. A steady market, and a fair profit, for the product of the field, is among the greatest national blessings, and noblest objects of national policy. Like the steady attraction of the sun, it keeps up the motion of surrounding bodies, and like his light, diffuses cheerfulness and activity through all the works of God. With these remarks in view, I am prepared to say,

Secondly—*That the protection and encouragement of manufactures* is essential to national prosperity.

Manufacturing establishments, by the introduction of machinery and the division of labour, save time, and give us the consequences, while they save the sustenance and wages of increased population. They afford employment also to classes of the community which would otherwise be idle, or less usefully employed; call into action the diversity of talents with which God has endowed men, and lay open to the active mind of enterprise a greater choice of employment, and more powerful excitements to industry. But the vital utility of manufactures consists in their subserviency to agriculture, by affording to the husbandman a near and steady home market, and by diminishing the competition of exported produce in foreign markets, increasing the demand and the price. It gives him the advantage of two markets instead of one.—The home market a steady one, and the foreign market less fluctuating and more productive than if glutted by the entire surplus product of a great agricultural nation. In the mean time, instead of quickening the industry and augmenting the resources of other nations, we stimulate the industry and augment the capital of our own nation. We secure the entire fast capital of the manufac-

turer, and all the circulating medium, necessary to keep his machines in motion, and to speed the plough, beside the whole annual profit of manufacturing the raw material. A single fact will make the subject plain. In England the annual proceeds of her manufactures of cotton, woollen, linen and leather, amount to 85,000,000*l.* sterling. The cost of the raw material is 22,000,000*l.* sterling, and the gain in value, by manufacturing the raw material, is 63,000,000*l.* sterling. Now suppose that England could acquire from her own territory this whole raw material; would it be her wisdom to neglect her own agriculturist, and send this 22,000,000*l.* sterling abroad, to stimulate the agriculture of other nations?—Or having on hand the raw material, will she send them three thousand miles across the ocean, and pay for the transportation and re-transportation; and 63,000,000*l.* sterling beside for the manufacture, and drain herself to bankruptcy of her circulating medium, to pay the annual debt? Could England at this rate have sustained her navy upon every wave, and stood collected in her strength against the assault of the civilized world, and at length have subsidized one half of it to fight her battles, and conquer for her universal peace? England better understands the way to wealth. By protecting her agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, she has laid under contribution the world around her, and made herself mistress of nations. National industry is national wealth. That policy which secures productive employment to the greatest portion of the population of a nation, consults her highest prosperity. But this can be accomplished so effectually, by no means, as by making the manufacturers of the nation the customers of the farmer, and the farmers the customers of the manufacturer. If we would be independent in reality, of other nations, we must encourage agriculture, by the steady demand of a home market, and secure within ourselves the capital which results from the manufacture of our own raw materials. The foreign market is always precarious and partial from the vicissitudes of peace and war, plenty and want, as well as from restrictions upon imports endlessly varied by nations to protect from foreign competition the industry of their own subjects. In this manner, foreign nations exert an efficient legislation over our substance, and raise or sink the value of our property, often from fifteen to fifty per cent. Such a state of uncertainty, and subjection to foreign caprice, no nation ought to endure. In time

of war, if we depend on foreign markets, our produce is often excluded from its accustomed market, and our supply of imports, made necessary by habit, comes to us, at enhanced prices, and finds us with our produce rotting upon our hands, and without the means of purchase.

But the most fatal evil of dependence on foreign manufactures and foreign markets is, the temptation to overtrading, and the drain of specie from the country, to pay the balance of our imports above our exports. A state of things more ruinous than war; and which at this moment is filling the land with bankruptcies and distress, beyond the calamities of any war in which we have been engaged.

A civilized nation cannot conduct its business by barter. --There must exist a circulating medium, the representative of property, to a sufficient extent to answer the purposes of the exchange of property. But where, by the importation of foreign manufactures, a debt is contracted abroad, to a greater amount than the surplus of raw materials will pay for, the difference must be paid in specie. This will occasion annually a diminution of the solid circulating medium, and this, an increase of paper credit, as extensive, and for as long a time as the folly of the borrower and the capital of the banks will permit. This abundance of paper currency depreciates the support of all who live upon a specific monied income, tempts to adventurous speculations in trade, and to indiscreet expenses in the family, while, by the smiling aspect of seeming prosperity, it hides from the thoughtless multitude the day of destruction.—For the banks, at length, alarmed at the disappearance of specie, which the adverse balance of trade has borne to other lands, and at the extent of credit to which the desire of gain has tempted them, retrench at once their discounts, and call upon their customers to pay their debts. These, the venders of foreign manufactures over the face of the nation, call upon the consumers to pay their debts. But the paper medium is retrenched, and the solid medium of trade is gone, and the payment in money cannot be made—and in lands and other kinds of capital it cannot be made but at a sacrifice of one half and two thirds of the real value. And now commences a scene of failure and fraud, and sacrifice of property, of blasted hopes and family distress, of national embarrassment and stagnation of business, which beggars description. This evil is radical in the system of hiring other nations to manufacture for us; for as long as

22,000,000*l* sterling of raw material costs 63,000,000*l* manufactured and we have only the price of our raw materials to pay the hire of foreign workmen, to whatever extent we trade, a monied capital must leave the country to pay the adverse balance. A steady stream of money, entering the country at one end, would wind its way through it, and find its way out of it, in spite of standing armies to prevent. Whereas, if our wants are supplied by our own manufacturers, though we should over-trade, the debt is contracted among ourselves, and the representative of property is at hand, to facilitate the sale of solid capital at a fair price; and then the only evil will be, that they who live beyond their income must part with their capital: and, if they will not consent to retrench their expenses, must go down to poverty. But no such earthquake as now rocks the nation, and throws in many places the income and capital of the farmer, merchant, and manufacturer, into one common heap of ruin, can possibly exist in a time of peace and of prolific agricultural enterprise.—For though we are in debt, our distress is not occasioned by want of capital enough to pay our debts, but by such a want of circulating medium, as that fast property cannot be sold but at a destructive sacrifice. The recurrence of such a state of things, manufacturing establishments in our own country would to a great extent prevent, and no other remedy would seem to be adequate and permanent.

To say that families must be more industrious, and live within their income, is good advice, which I intend to inculcate; but to expect that the families of a nation will do this, in the presence of a market stocked with cheap foreign merchandize, and so limit by their discretion the national consumption, as to prevent the balance of trade against us, and the drain of specie to pay it, is to dispense with our knowledge of human nature, and build castles for national security upon the air. The same families, when the smarting of their folly has passed away, will repeat their folly; and other families, that every year come upon the stage, will tread heedlessly on, in the footsteps of their predecessors.

If there ever was a subject which demanded governmental wisdom to prevent the evils of individual indiscretion, amounting to national calamity, it would seem to be that of limiting the national consumption of foreign manufactures, by fostering our own, thus preventing the adverse

balance of trade, and securing the steady presence of a circulating medium; adequate to the exigencies of national enterprise.

But the only adequate encouragement to manufactures, and safeguard against periodical embarrassments, would seem to be the protection of manufactures, by such duties on imported fabrics as shall exclude the great capitalists of Europe from a destructive competition with our infant establishments.

The voluntary preference given to domestic manufactures by patriotic associations and individuals, though honourable and desirable, can never be made sufficiently universal to prevent the inundation of the market from abroad, or sufficiently inflexible and enduring to resist the temptations to cupidity, where policy makes temporary sacrifices to undersell, with the view of remuneration, when our establishments are in the dust.

None of the great manufacturing establishments of Europe have arisen without governmental protection, from the effects of foreign competition; nor with all their experience, strength of capital, capacity of credit, and extent of custom, dare they expose them, even now, to foreign competition. They stand as the apple of the eye, environed by prohibitory and protecting acts of legislation. But if these immense establishments, in the maturity of age, and sustained by such capitals, cannot stand before competition, how shall our establishments rise from infancy to manhood, in the face of such gigantic opposition.

Is the demoralizing influence of manufacturing establishments feared? A statistical account of pauperism and crimes, in three counties of England, most decidedly agricultural, and three the most decidedly manufacturing, furnished by Colquhoun, decides, that in the three manufacturing counties, the paupers are eight in an hundred, in the agricultural about fourteen in an hundred, and that in the manufacturing counties there is one criminal to every twenty-five hundred, and in the agricultural, one to every sixteen hundred; completely overturning the received opinion concerning the immoral tendencies of manufacturing establishments, as drawn from the experience of England. But if in England their effect were peculiarly adverse to morality, it would not follow that in this country their effect would be the same. No reasoning is more conclusive than that which includes, as its premises, matters of fact, and yet none through inadvertence is more liable to fallacy; for

to be valid, the same causes must be attended by the same circumstances, to justify the conclusion that they will produce the same effects. England, stocked by a dense population, and destitute of adequate agricultural territory, and manufacturing for herself and half the world beside, employs in manufacturing establishments a much greater proportion of her population, than we for our own supply should need to employ; and these, too, are thrown together in compact masses; while ours, invited by favourable stations, the presence of raw materials, and a market, will be extended through the nation. The weight of our population will always be agricultural, and our manufacturers, intermingled with agriculturists, will not assume the specific character, or contract the vices of a dense population, devoted to manufacturing employments. By intermarriage, also, with other classes of society, and by enjoying with them the same rights of suffrage, and means of mental improvement, and moral instruction, they will constitute a vigorous, useful, and honourable portion of the great family. But the decided answer to this objection is, that a capricious foreign market, the glut of foreign merchandize, and the balance of trade against us, and the drain of specie to pay that balance, exert upon the nation an influence superlatively demoralizing.

Where at the present moment is public confidence at home or abroad? Amid our wide-spread bankruptcies, what temptations to fraud, speculation, swindling, conflagration, theft, robbery, and murder, exerting a more destructive influence upon national morality, in one year, than ages of successful manufacturing industry!

Is the tax feared, which the domestic manufacturer would impose, if favoured by a monopoly of the home market?

That monopoly, if enjoyed, is granted by the suffrage of a thousand consumers to one manufacturer. If he abuses the privilege, and practises extortion, the same suffrage, that excluded foreign competition, can let it in upon him, and so certainly will do it, that he must be more than covetous to afford the provocation—he must be insane. But the entire monopoly of the home market is not to be desired or expected. The existing power of capital and of machinery is not equal to the national demand. The encouragement to be desired, is that which shall rescue from ruin, and put into lucrative motion, existing establishments, and so guarantee the fostering hand of government, as shall encourage such a gradual investment of capital and extension

of machinery, as shall meet ultimately the exigencies of the nation.

Is it still apprehended that even such partial protection, as would secure the increase and ultimate establishment of manufactures, will raise the price of manufactured articles?

This effect can be but momentary. The rapid extension of manufacturing establishments, to meet the demands of the nation, would soon throw into the home market such a supply, as that the competition for sale would reduce domestic products to a fair price. This is the effect in England, where the monopoly of the home market is entire. In no nation are domestic manufactures offered cheaper.

This is now the effect, in our own country, of those minor branches of manufacture, which have escaped the jealousy and competition of foreign capitalists, until they have come into a quiet monopoly of the home market. But do the manufacturers of such articles practise extortion? They supply the market on as favourable terms as foreign manufacturers would do. Granting, then, a momentary rise of manufactured articles, in consequence of protecting duties, this would be compensated to the nation collectively, by a better home market for agricultural produce, and by exempting us from the exorbitant war price of foreign merchandize, as often as wars shall embarrass our intercourse with Europe. But is a great question of national policy to be decided, by the narrow calculations of covetousness?—or on the broad basis of its own merits, as it shall affect permanently the solid interests of the nation? The policy of government ought to be prospective, and every generation ought to live, in part at least, for the benefit of those who shall come after it. The generations who have preceded us, in clearing the soil, forming roads, and founding governments, colleges, and schools, have sustained an ample taxation for our benefit—and at the point of the bayonet, and by a copious shedding of their blood, have conducted to us the stream of national prosperity. Shall we arrest this noble stream on its way downward to other ages? or refuse to cast into it a tributary drop, which our avaricious thirst cannot draw back before it leaves our own horizon? If manufactures are naturally constituent parts of national industry, and essential to the perfection of national prosperity, a wise government will protect them with inflexible decision; for the point is settled, that without governmental protection they cannot prosper.

Will the higher price of labour in our own country render it impossible for our manufacturers ever to afford us their merchandize as cheap as it can be introduced from abroad? That inequality may be more than balanced by a more extensive use of labour-saving machinery, than consists with European policy; by the expense saved in the transportation and re-transportation of the raw material and manufactured product, and by the higher taxation which the European capitalist is obliged to pay on his capital and income. But beside this, it is a fact that those domestic manufactures, which have gotten possession of the market, are those which depend most on manual labour, and yet are sold as cheap as imported articles of the same kind.

Is the diminution of the national revenue feared as the consequence of such duties upon foreign imports, as shall protect domestic manufactures?

If manufacturing establishments are sources of national wealth, their gradual introduction cannot so impair the revenue, as to forbid their protection. It is a calamity, that so great a portion of our national revenue should be the sport of winds and waves, and dependent on the caprice of other nations, and gone the moment we most need it. A partial substitute would be desirable. And when a sufficient power of manufacturing capital is accumulated in our country; that may easily make up the desideratum of impost. The manufacturers of England more than refund the impost lost by their protection. They are her tax-gatherers, by which the world around her is laid under contribution, and her boundless resources created.

Is the occupancy of our new lands, and the encouragement of agriculture thought by any to be more desirable than the introduction of manufacturing establishments?

The rapidity of our emigrations, and extension of our agricultural territory, is itself a national evil, demanding a remedy, instead of an increase.

The prosperity of a nation depends on the moral qualities of its population, the vigor of its institutions, the relative proportions of its materials, and the compactness of its organization, by means of which, one heart may beat the pulse of life to every extremity, and one arm extend protection and control to every member. But such a state of society cannot be created by the fever of emigration, which inflicts on the older settlements the debility of consumption, and extends to the new ones the bones and sinews only of socie-

ty, without flesh and skin to cover them. As fast as we can extend the institutions of civilized society, so fast it may be safe to extend our borders; but to do it beyond this, creates national debility, instead of strength. This nation, so extensive in territory, so powerful in resources, so energetic in enterprise, so high minded in independence, cannot be held together and governed by force merely. Ties of blood and kindred, institutions and interests, must lend their amalgamating influence. But these ties, by rapid emigrations, are weakened, and strengthened only by the more slow and regular march of well organized society. Had this nation been peopled at first by adventurers who rushed upon our shores in quest of land and agriculture, leaving schools and religious institutions to lag after them, as they might volunteer their aid, and find their way, we had scarcely been rescued from barbarism. And even now, if we push prematurely a vast population into distant wilds, in a state of half formed society, we shall, ere we are aware of it, create a nation for our neighbour and rival, fierce, heady, high-minded, to teach us our folly, by eternal wars, and a protracted frontier of desolation and blood. When the calamity of unprotected manufactures shall have driven off our population so rapidly and so far, as to have broken the alliance of kindred sympathies, and institutions, and interests, our folly will have produced its results without a remedy.

The true policy of the nation would seem to be, to occupy our vacant lands at home, by a regular encouragement of industry, and a regular growth of all the constituent parts of society. Thus to augment our disposable capital, secure the presence of a circulating medium, and such a steady demand at home, for the product of the field, as may consist with a regular course of national industry. And as to the extension of our borders, this may be done as the surplus population of the old settlements shall demand, and with such rapidity only, as that the hand of charity, the favour of government, and the exertions of the emigrants themselves, shall enable them to carry with them the elements of a good state of society. Such an occupancy of our vacant lands, manufactures will not prevent, but will greatly favour. The political health, and cheerfulness, and capital of the older states, will enable them to extend the helping hand of charity to their brethren who emigrate; and their aid, and the sameness it will give to their habits and institutions, with those of the land of their nativity, will render that land still

dear to them, and bind the extremities to the heart, by joints and bands which no ordinary convulsion will burst asunder.

But dispensing with all this calculation, what is to be gained by the extension of agricultural territory, without manufacturing establishments? Only the same evils extended to the wilderness subdued, which drove our hardy population into it. The more you extend agriculture without manufactures, the more you increase your debt abroad, by the consumption of foreign merchandize, and sink the value of your exports, by the increasing surplus of the farm, which every year holds increased competition in foreign markets. You may as well recommend to the lunatic tormented by his shadow, to *go back*, to escape its persecution, as to recommend emigration as a remedy for the evil of dependence on foreign merchandize and foreign markets. So long as we purchase abroad more than our surplus product in raw materials will pay for, we must make up the deficiency in specie, and that will create want of capital, which will cripple great undertakings. And when banks, to parry the evil, have augmented it by a credit, dangerous to their existence, and are compelled to collect their debts, then will commence again and again, ten times in a century, a scene of embarrassment and bankruptcy, which will shake the nation to its centre, and render it forever feeble and dependent, however extensive its territory, or copious its resources of soil or men.

Thirdly.—*The existence and encouragement of commerce* is required as a means of national prosperity.

The industry of a nation of agriculturists and manufacturers, will support itself, and produce a surplus for exportation. The power of capital and of machinery, adequate to the supply of the nation, will no more stop at the line of domestic supply, than the agriculturist will limit his exertions to the supply of his own family. But to keep the plough and the loom in motion, this surplus product must find a demand in some foreign market; and falls, of course, into the hands of the merchant, whose employment leads him to understand the wants of nations, and like the wind, to supply the vacuum by pouring in the superabundance of his own country. By this means, we collect the rich products of other climes, in exchange for our own, and keep in constant vigor the spring of national industry. Man, indolent by nature, needs a stimulus to industry, more power-

ful than the supply of his own wants, to put into steady requisition all his powers. This stimulus, commerce affords, by laying open the prospect of indefinite gain, in the disposal of the surplus produce of labour. It is this single excitement, applied by means of commerce, that keeps awake and puts in requisition the energies of the world. Subtract it, and soon a scanty supply for domestic use would be raised, and indolence, and profligacy, and barbarism would ensue. This branch of national enterprise, both as an encouragement to agriculture and as a means of national revenue, has experienced, from the beginning, the fostering care of the government, and will doubtless continue to experience that protection and favour, which its importance demands.

Fourthly.—*Literary institutions, and scientific men*, are essential to national prosperity.

The effect of science, upon the best interests of a community, is not so universally appreciated, or so easily illustrated to popular apprehension, as the effect of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, partly because its tendencies are not as obvious, and partly because its effects are not so immediate or so embodied in any one great result.

The influence of science is rather, like the light of heaven, a cheering, all pervading influence; or, like the purified atmosphere, diffusing, imperceptibly, health and vigor, or, like the gentle dew, descending in silent munificence upon the abodes of men. There are objects of vital consequence to nations, beside agriculture, the arts, and commerce, to which those devoted to these employments cannot attend, and which, upon the principles of the division of labour, must be committed to other hands.

The common school education of a nation is of immense importance. But literary institutions are the fountains whence the streams of knowledge descend through the higher schools, to those which bless every town and village. Literary men, mingled in due proportion with other members of the community, are the natural guardians of national education, whose influence, in legislation and in their respective local spheres, is the leaven that leavens the whole lump. Without colleges, the branches of English education, obtained in academies, and the higher order of common schools, would soon cease, for want of competent instructors. The elevation which these give to common school education would fail; and national education would fall into the hands of men less and less qualified to enligh-

ten the minds of freemen, until darkness, visible, would rest upon the land. A great proportion of all the graduates of our colleges devote themselves, one year at least, to the instruction of youth. How powerful and important must this constant impulse of our colleges be, in the great work of national education!

The health of a nation is an object of immense magnitude. An enlightened practice in the healing art is like the brazen serpent lifted up, among the expiring Israelites, while ignorance and rashness, which always exist in partnership, are like the fiery flying serpent, let loose to sting and destroy. This vital interest of a community can be safely committed only to men of enlightened minds, expanded by reading, disciplined by study, and conversant with the laws of the animal system and the power of medicine.

The framing of laws, to favour the successful movements of national industry, in the accumulation and preservation of property, is a subject of great intricacy and difficulty; demanding the attention of an order of men, whose sole employment it shall be, to stand upon an eminence, and survey at one view the complex movements of national labour, and the relation of one nation with another, and with the world; and to provide protection and encouragement to the busy millions, whose employment precludes such comprehensive views and mature counsels. A single impolitic law may be more disastrous to national industry, than a long war. A single article in a treaty of England with Portugal blasted forever her extended manufactures of woollen, dried up an important stream of national wealth, and rendered her, ever since, tributary to the power that overreached her, in negociation.

The intelligent and impartial administration of justice is of immeasurable importance to a nation. Nothing can be more fatal to public industry, than insecurity of property — The fairest and most fertile portions of the earth, by the insecurity of property, are turned into barrenness. In Egypt, Greece, and Palestine, because of the oppressor, the fig tree has ceased to blossom, and fruit to be found on the vines; the labour of the olive has failed, and the fields yield no meat; the flock is cut off from the fold, and there is no herd in the stall.

Nothing can guard against such insecurity of property, but equitable laws, faithfully administered, by judges learned in the law, and the aid of advocates, enlightened, and

above chicanery. The decisions of English and American jurists exert every moment a powerful and benign influence upon almost half the world—an influence, not confined to the immediate effect of their decisions, but, by the operation of general principles, extending security to the whole amount possessed by nations.

In what nation did even agriculture itself arrive at its best estate, without the cooperation of scientific men, in the invention or improvement of implements, or in the conducting of experiments, in reference to soils, manures, and the management of flocks and herds? In what nation did the mechanic arts ever flourish, or commerce and navigation prosper, but as science lit her lamp, and led the way? What land did civil liberty ever protect and cheer, upon which the sun of science did not shed his beams; and where did the church of God ever arise, and shine, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners, where science did not lend her aid to explain and enforce the reasonable service of God?

Subtract from the agriculturalists, the mechanic, and manufacturer, the merchant, and professional man, the illumination which science has shed upon his path, and the business of the *civilized world* must stop.

The extermination of science, by the incursion of the northern barbarians, brought upon the Roman empire the dark ages of superstition; as the revival of letters, which preceded the reformation, brought the nations back to day, and produced, by the blessing of heaven, all the civil and religious liberty, which at this moment inhabits the earth.

The national prosperity, resulting from an enlightened jurisprudence, is millions to one of the expense incurred in the support of colleges for the education of civilians. The single discovery of Jenner, and consequent expulsion of the small-pox ultimately from the family of man, will leave to the world, in life and active labour, more than all the expenses of all the colleges on the globe. The machine of Whitney, (an alumnus of Yale College,) for cleaning cotton, brings to our doors every yard of that fabric at a reduced price, and saves annually more to the nation than all the expenses of Yale College, from its first foundation to this day.

All the important concerns of society, described under this head, are, by common suffrage, consigned to men, who have been qualified, directly or indirectly, by the efficacy

of our literary institutions. Let me not, on this subject, however, be misunderstood, as I have been heretofore. I do not say or believe, that no man can be qualified for usefulness in the learned professions, but by a public education.—My meaning, is, that literary institutions are the *means*, *without which*, the facilities of a private education would not exist, adequate to the exigencies of the nation. Our ancestors were wise on this subject, and laid the foundations of colleges contemporaneously, almost, with the foundations of their own dwellings.—And the legislature of this nation, guided by a policy that demands our confidence and gratitude, have made ample reservations of land, in territories yet to be inhabited, for the encouragement of colleges and schools.

Finally—*The institutions of the Christian religion* are an important means of national prosperity.

Intellect, power, and wealth are not happiness, but alike the means of happiness or misery, as they are wisely improved or are perverted. Their destination depends upon the heart, upon the national will. But this, depraved as man is, no laws of men have been able to withhold, from deeds of destruction, where ample resources have furnished the means of dissipation. The history of nations is a record of enterprise and wealth, of luxury, dissipation, and death. There is no safe way of raising a nation to wealth and power, but, at the same time that you make it great, to make it good. It is God only, speaking to the heart by his word, institutions, and Spirit, that can cause the sun of national prosperity to stand still at its meridian height. Abundance of wealth, in the hands of an irreligious nation, is the sword of suicide in the hands of a madman. No flood of wealth can equal the power of dissipation to scatter. No vigor of constitution can resist the poison of sin, and no policy evade those judgments, by which God, as the moral governor of nations, avenges his abused goodness. If the culture of the earth, then, be important, how much more important is that culture of the heart, upon which the correct disposal of the whole product of industry depends? Is the breed of animals worthy of attention? how much more worthy of attention is the breed of men? Are commerce and manufactures sources of national wealth?—alas, where the national heart is neglected, they pour their ample treasure *into a bag with holes*.* And what is nation-

* Haggai i. 6.

al intellect, however improved, perverted by a heart desperately wicked, and abandoned to its own lusts? National wealth, without national morality, is ruin. But by what means more appropriate can that morality be secured, than by those institutions, which the wisdom and benevolence of God have provided for that purpose? What should prevent legislators from favouring the institutions of religion, as a means of national prosperity? May not the fear of God be promoted by legislators, without superstition? and may not his institutions be honoured without persecution or fanaticism?

Give to the institutions of religion their place in that system which God has ordained, to make nations great, and they will be the power of God and the wisdom of God, for national prosperity. They will rid us from strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood. Our sons will be as plants grown up in their youth, and our daughters as corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace.—Our garners will be full, including all manner of store, our sheep will bring forth by thousands and ten thousands; our oxen will be strong to labour, and there will be no breaking in or going out,* or complaining in our streets. Happy is that people that is in such a case, yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord. Be wise then, therefore, O ye Kings, be instructed, ye judges of the earth; serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little.

But if the institutions of religion are important, as the means of national prosperity, how much more important are they, when we consider the life of man as the embryo of immortality; and in what rapid succession the whole population of a nation is swept into eternity! Are kings and governments immortalized, by that beneficent administration which consults the welfare of successive generations in time? What glory and honour shall be rendered to those, whose policy, including the highest good of their subjects, in time, exerts upon them, in another state of being, a benign influence which will be enjoyed forever?

From the preceding account of the means of national prosperity, it appears, *That there is no collision of interest,*

* No destructive emigrations!

or foundation for envy, between the several classes of men, whose exertions are required to promote the general welfare of a nation.

They are all parts of one whole, and so mutually dependent on each other, that if one prospers, they all prosper, and if one suffers, they all suffer, and if not immediately, yet inevitably, in the course of events. There is no agricultural interest at war with the commercial or manufacturing interest; and no interest of science or religion, which does not include the prosperity of the entire community. The farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the faculty of colleges, the instructors of schools, the physician, the statesman, the judge, the lawyer, and the divine, are constituent members of the great family, and indispensable to its highest prosperity. The constitution of man, and of the earth, demands this division of labour. All cannot be farmers; for who, then, would purchase the surplus product of the earth? and without a demand, who would raise it?—and with only the excitement to labour, of providing a supply for his own family, who would escape from the imbecility of sloth, and the vices of idleness? Nor can all be manufacturers: for who then would provide the raw material, or sustain the labourer? Nor can all be devoted to science, or the learned professions. Nor can all be rich, so long as God has moral purposes to answer, by having the poor always with us, or gives to men, in various degrees, intellect, bodily vigor, health, and providential favour. Indeed, wealth is a relative term; expressing a more than ordinary amount of property, and can no more become universal, than the whole earth can become one mountain or one valley.

As to the relative honour, attached to the different employments of men, in a state of civil equality, like our own, it can be only that which results from the relative utility of different employments, or the voluntary respect paid to talents and office for the public good. He then is an honourable man, who serves his generation faithfully, in the employment to which, in the providence of God, he is called; and he, who, from the elevation of wealth, or office, looks down with disdain on the labouring classes of society, is a man of a weak intellect, or of a bad heart. In this country, where our greatest and best men rise often from poverty, and usually from the labouring classes of society, that upstart nobility, which despises the level from which

it has just arisen, and to which, as the wheel rolls, it will soon return, is supremely ridiculous and pitiable. Whose blood, in this land of freemen and industry, has not flowed through the heart of a farmer or an artizan? and who does not exult in his honourable and athletic ancestry? The man who is ashamed of it is a fool.

On the other hand, he who is not contented with the useful and respectable station in society, assigned him in the providence of God, but fosters in his heart murmuring and envy, is moved to discontent by the same pride which he censures in others, and if elevated to wealth, would exhibit, probably, the same contempt of poverty, and the same ridiculous vanity, which now so annoy him in others. This spirit, which lusteth to envy, is pride, murmuring at the inequalities of condition, incident to civilized society, and the constitution of things, which God has ordained. It is as odious in itself, as hateful to God, and as mischievous in its effects upon society, as the same pride is when it is enabled to array itself in haughtiness, by means of wealth or official consequence. It is also the deceivableness of unrighteousness, for multitudes indulge it, and never dream that, in all their philippics against pride, they are inspired by pride and moved by envy. It exists, unseen, often in the sanctified heart. It occasioned to the apostles some of their earliest and greatest difficulties in the primitive churches. It exists still in the church of God for a lamentation, and will exist for a lamentation, it is feared, till the more ample measures of grace in the latter day shall teach Christians to be in subjection to the father of spirits, and in whatsoever state they are, therewith to be content. No instruction seems adequate to bring to the heart under its influence a conviction of its own haughtiness—And no change in the constitution of society can take place to remove the provocation. *The death of pride, by the reign of grace in the heart, is the only remedy.—The fault is in the heart, not in the constitution of society, or in the providence of God.* All cannot be head, or eye, or ear, in the human body, and yet there is no cause for schism, or discontent, at the relations and employments which God has assigned to the different members. In like manner God hath set the members of civil society, every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him. If they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, I

have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you; for God hath tempered the body together by mutual dependencies and honours, that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another.

The man, who, to answer the purpose of ambition or irreligion, avails himself of this pride of the human heart, to alienate from each other the different classes of society, is more execrable in his deeds than the assassin or the incendiary. The one kills at once a single victim, the other afflicts the entire community, with a poison that perpetuates the exasperations and spasms of a living death. The one lays in ashes cities that can be rebuilt, the other kindles in society a fire, as if fed from beneath, which, like the burnings of the volcano, no storms nor floods can extinguish, and which not unfrequently extends its ravages through many generations. Especially are the interests of society vitally assailed, when the *pious* are industriously alienated, and the *ministry of reconciliation* is made the object of suspicion and the butt of scorn. I intend not that religion, by such hostility, can be destroyed; but that its salutary influence upon society must be limited, in proportion as scorn and distrust are extended, is self evident. Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, and avoid them, for they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and, by good words and fair speeches, deceive the hearts of the simple. Remember the words of our Lord Jesus, how he said, every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand. Such is the unhappy selfishness of man, and the jealousy of his pride, that it is easy to alienate, and difficult to unite, the members of the great family. Men without talents or honesty can engender strife, and conduct a nation to destruction. But talents and wisdom, and integrity and virtue, are required to elevate a nation to prosperity and glory.

It is equally manifest from what has been said, that *there is no collision of interest, or cause for jealousy, between the different sections of this nation.*

The highest aggregate of national prosperity will carry to every section of the union, and to every dwelling, the highest amount of relative wealth and enjoyment. Whatever temporary advantages may be reaped by a local

policy, adverse to the general prosperity, will end in ultimate injury to the favoured portion.

Indeed, so terrific are the consequences of national dismemberment, and so glorious are the prospects before us of national energy, well directed, that if a compromise of local interests were demanded, it would be compensated a thousand fold, by our exemption from the wars of rival neighbours, and the mischiefs, in that case, of European intrigues and armies, and by a stream of blessings more deep, and broad, and inexhaustible, than ever flowed through a nation. No nation ever possessed in a higher degree the means of national prosperity.—An ample territory, fertility of soil, variety of climate and product, a sea coast of three thousand miles, facilitating foreign commerce, fisheries, and the coasting trade, and though separated by mountains, this physical cause, adverse to our unity, is overcome by our rivers, canals, coasting trade, and steam navigation, which create unparalleled facilities of national intercourse. This vast territory is to be tilled by freemen, a race as hardy, intelligent, and enterprising, as ever turned the soil. The surplus of our raw materials falls into the hands of artizans, not surpassed in ingenuity, and soon not to be surpassed in skill, by any on the globe; and the surplus of their labour, and of the farm, beyond what they consume, falls into the hands of merchants, whose enterprise knows no limits. In the mean time, we have no rubbish of feudal ages to remove, or remaining, to embarrass. We commenced our national existence in a state of civilization. The whole land was before us, to frame our laws and fashion our institutions, as experience and an enlightened intellect should dictate. Our colleges, academies, and schools, have given us able men in the professions, and have diffused intelligence to an unparalleled extent among the common people, and their power may be indefinitely augmented, to meet the exigencies of the nation.

The bible and the institutions of Christianity are with us, and the heart and hand of every denomination of Christians is now engaged, to give to every family, and to the nation, the entire benefit of their moral influence. Thus circumstanced, the government of a nation, which is so soon to number its hundreds of millions of population, ought not to be embarrassed in its policy, by the bickerings of local covetousness, but ought to be left, with the illumination of concentrated wisdom, to lay broad and deep the foundations

of our future glory. Indeed, no compromise of local temporary interest is demanded by that policy which will conduct to national prosperity. In every part of the nation, manufactures may rise, and busy commerce, inland and foreign, distribute our surplus, augment our capital, give energy to industry, improvement to roads, patronage to arts and sciences, vigour to schools, and universality to the institutions of religion; reconciling civil liberty with efficient government; extended population with concentrated action; and unparalleled wealth, with national sobriety and morality. Give, then, to the government of our nation the confidence which they ought to possess, and demand of them only that they put in requisition the physical, intellectual, and moral resources of the nation, and if they are faithful to their trust, they will make us the greatest, wealthiest, happiest nation, that ever dwelt upon the earth.

It is also manifest, from the preceding discourse, that while no voluntary economy in the family can remedy the balance of trade against us, created by the consumption of foreign manufactures, or shield the manufacturer from a ruinous competition, *it is not in the power of government to render a nation of improvident families great and happy.* Those habits of dissipation, which have squandered the wealth and paralyzed the energy of other nations, are coming in upon us. This encroachment, nothing but individual and family discretion can effectually prevent. To accomplish this, it is indispensable that children be early accustomed to profitable industry. That nation is becoming effeminate, in proportion as the number of families are increased, who merely consume, but add nothing to the stock of labour. These families are also the pioneers of dissipation, letting in upon us the fickle flood of fashion, creating envy, and tempting to ruinous expense. And these same are the aristocracy of supercilious indolence, who would throw into relative disgrace the labouring classes of the community, a nation's wealth, and strength, and virtue.

Upon us, then, the members of this society, as a part of the nation, devolves the duty, of setting our own houses in order, of checking, by our example, the innovation of expensive and gaudy fashions, of maintaining simplicity of living, and resisting that expensive luxury, which is creeping in under the cover of festivity, and the hospitalities of friendship, and of rearing up our families in habits of useful industry. To us it appertains so to conduct the education of our children, that what is bestowed upon the exte-

rior shall be subtracted neither from the head nor the heart, nor from bodily vigour. Polish is beautiful, but it should be laid on solid materials. The happiness of domestic life depends on substantial realities of care and labour. The young man who is too indolent or too proud for useful activity, is in the road to ruin, and the daughter of folly, of the same sentiments and habits, is fit only to be the companion of his sorrows and disgrace. Far from our dwellings be the calamities of an effeminate education; but let piety rather, and cultivated intellect, and habits of industry and economy prevail in them, and each succeeding anniversary will find them in the grateful enjoyment of that blessing of the Lord that maketh rich and addeth no sorrow.

Extracts from a Circular Letter of a Committee appointed by a Meeting of the Citizens of the City and County of Philadelphia, dated October 13, 1819.

THAT distress and embarrassment pervade our country, to an extent probably never before felt here, except during the period that elapsed between the close of the revolutionary war and the adoption of the federal constitution, cannot be denied. A large proportion of our manufacturing establishments are suspended, and nine-tenths of those that are in operation have greatly curtailed their business. Of the proprietors many are ruined, and those whom strength of capital or other advantages, have enabled to maintain the struggle, are encouraged to persevere, merely by the hope of a favourable change in the policy of our government. The situation of a large portion of the workmen is truly deplorable. Numbers of them, with their families, are destitute of the means of subsistence; hundreds are working at laborious employments, for little more than their bare food; and many estimable men and women, with large families, are absolutely driven to beggary. Numerous emigrants, who, under many inconveniences, have come to this country, in the flattering expectation of having full employment in their various arts and trades, and enjoying the benefits of a free government, have been placed in the melancholy alternative of begging or starving. No small portion of those who had the means, have returned to Europe, with disappointed hopes and broken spirits.

Real estate has every where fallen one-third, one-half, and in many cases three-fifths; our bread-stuffs are greatly reduced in price, chiefly in consequence of their exclusion from the markets of that country which has maintained with us as lucrative a commerce as ever existed; a country which purchases our cotton at twenty, twenty-five, or thirty cents per pound, and returns it to us, improved by machinery, at two, three, and four dollars per pound. Our towns and cities, instead of being peopled with an active population, whose productive industry would add to the power and resources of their country, and promote their own happiness, are crowded with hucksters and retailers of the products of the industry of foreign nations, who are so numerous that the business affords them but a sorry subsistence. Of the merchants, who, a few years since, carried on an extensive commerce, some for twenty, thirty, and forty years, one-third, or one-half, are ruined. Our ships are a burden to their owners, whose utmost sagacity can hardly find out profitable employment for one-fourth of them; they are rotting at our wharves, and are often sold for thirty, twenty-five, and even twenty per cent. of their cost. The farmers have not escaped the general distress; as thousands of farms throughout the United States, are under execution; and, whenever brought to auction, are sacrificed, on an average, at half what they would have sold for two or three years since.

In this appalling state of affairs, indifference would be criminal. The sacred duty every citizen owes to his country, imperiously requires exertion. It behoves every man who has acquired property by honest industry, and finds it, without any fault of his own, melting in his hands, like snow before the sun; who has goods which he cannot sell; real estate which he cannot mortgage or dispose of, to relieve himself; debts due, which his honest debtors are unable to pay, in consequence of the general stagnation; who has industry or talents of any kind, on which he relies for a decent support, but is unable to find employment for them; in a word, it behoves every man, who has a spark of public spirit, or any stake in the general welfare, to probe the festering ulcer of public distress to the bottom, in order to ascertain its real source, and whether a cure is hopeless; if not, to discover what is the remedy, and how, when, and by whom, it ought to be applied.

We are persuaded that it may be laid down as a gene-

ral rule, which will scarcely admit an exception, that a nation like ours, whose citizens are ingenious, enterprising, and industrious; which possesses almost every variety of soil and climate, as well as of vegetable, animal, and mineral productions; enjoys a free and unexpensive government; is unburdened by tithes or grinding taxes; and whose agriculturists generally own the fee simple of the lands they cultivate—cannot, unless by war, famine, or pestilence, suffer such general distress as we experience, without some enormous and radical error in its political economy.

Our vital error, to sum the whole in a few words, is, wasting our wealth and resources to foster and promote the agriculture, arts, manufactures, trade, and commerce of other nations, and neglecting to protect those of our own country. Decay, decrepitude and ruin, have uniformly attended such a system, in all past ages; and, by the eternal laws of the moral world, cannot fail to produce the same effect to the end of time. We have added our experience to that of Spain and Portugal, to prove this theory, and the deplorable state to which nations are reduced by a neglect to protect domestic industry.

Many of our citizens ascribe the whole of our distress to the misconduct of the banks, which, they assert, first by extravagant emissions, and then by pressing on their debtors, have produced the present stagnation.

We do not pretend to defend the banks. There are, in various parts of the country, three or four times more than are necessary. Many of them have been very ill managed, and have done much mischief. But when the great mass of distress existing in this country, is charged to the account of those institutions, the effect is mistaken for the cause. The support and stay of banks is specie; and, being drained of this in immense quantities, to pay for foreign luxuries, they must, in their own defence, curtail their business, press on their debtors, and produce stagnation and distress. As well may we expect a human being to retain his elasticity and energy, when, from a wide orifice in one of his arteries, his life's blood is gushing out, as that banks can accommodate the public, and by loans promote trade and commerce, when they are drained of what may be styled their life's blood, and themselves brought to the verge of ruin.

The first step requisite towards a cure, in every case of

malady physical or political, is to ascertain the nature and extent of the evil. The best mode to accomplish this object, in the present instance, is to appoint suitable committees to investigate the real state of the agriculture, manufactures, trade and commerce of the United States; how far they have advanced, maintained their ground, or declined; and if they have declined, to what cause it is owing.

We therefore earnestly request you will, as early as may be, convene the citizens of your district, in order to appoint committees for the above purpose, and to take their sense on the all important question, whether we are to continue to lavish the treasures of our country on the manufactures of Europe and Hindostan, while our own are consigned to ruin, and while the nation is, in consequence, impoverished, to procure articles abroad which we either do not want, or can produce ourselves.

When this nation was in its colonial state, it complained most grievously of the oppression it suffered by the restrictions and prohibitions of the mother country, whereby its industry was restrained and paralyzed, and its resources drained away. This was one of the most serious evils of its dependent situation. And it cannot be denied, that our present system, which equally paralyzes our industry and impoverishes our country, entails on us some of the worst consequences of the colonial state.

The party distinctions that have heretofore so long divided our citizens, distracted our country, and, during the war, endangered its safety, have, in a great degree subsided. We hope and trust, that henceforward they will assume a new form; and that the question will be between those who, by destroying the productive industry of the country, are disposed virtually to colonize us; and those who are for securing us a real independence. Unless our citizens be wanting to themselves, the friends of the colonial policy will, in future look in vain, on the day of election, for the support of an enlightened body of electors, and have leave to retire to the shades of private life.

The syren song of "*buying cheap goods abroad*," has been re-echoed in our ears with unceasing industry. We have fatally been seduced by it, and led to the brink of destruction. What are the facts of the case?

A few short years have elapsed, since the productions of our soil and our manufactures commanded high prices. Cotton was thirty cents per pound; wheat, two dollars and a half,

and three dollars per bushel; flour, eleven and twelve dollars per barrel; prime beef eighteen cents per pound; oak wood seven dollars per cord; merino wool four dollars per pound; superfine cloth, ten or twelve dollars per yard; and all other articles in the same proportion. What was the result? Was the nation miserable or wretched, in consequence of paying these high prices? No: far from it. We enjoyed as high a degree of prosperity as any nation ever did. To this strong and important fact, we hope you will pay due attention. All our labouring people were fully employed. Our capitalists derived liberal profits from their wealth. Splendid manufacturing establishments arose, as it were by magic. The farmers and planters had high prices and ready markets for their produce. And, for a large portion of the time, commerce likewise thrived, under those high prices. In a word, the face of the country exhibited an appearance cheering to our friends, and appalling to our enemies.

But now we have fallen on those "*cheap times*" which have been so much wished for, and so highly extolled by those political economists, whose counsels have unfortunately prevailed over the wise and profound system of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson.* And what is the result? Has "*cheapness*" shed those blessings on the nation, that we were led to expect? Can those who have enabled us to buy cheap, congratulate themselves on the result of their plausible but destructive system of political economy? Can we find safety or happiness, in taking them for guides in our future career? No: it is fatally the reverse. Our country exhibits a scene which excites our friends to mourning, and affords matter of exultation and triumph to our enemies.

Wheat is one dollar and ten cents per bushel; flour is six dollars per barrel; cotton eighteen cents, and beef six to ten cents per pound; oak wood, five dollars per cord; merino wool, one dollar per pound; superfine cloth six or eight dollars per yard. And has this state of things produced the millenium with which its patrons flattered us? Is the house owner, whose rents have fallen from two thousand dollars per annum to twelve hundred or a thousand,

* "We must place the manufacturer beside the agriculturist."

Jefferson.

This single line embraces an abstract of political economy, of incalculable importance.

compensated by the saving of four dollars per barrel in eight or ten barrels of flour, and three dollars per yard in two or three suits of clothes, in the year? Where, we ask, and earnestly request a reply from those citizens who, with Adam Smith for their guide, advocate the purchase of goods abroad, where they can be had cheap, is the advantage to the workman whose labour was worth six, eight, or ten dollars per week, and who is totally bereft of employment, that the price of a barrel of flour is only six dollars, whereas he does not now earn six dollars per month, and has not wherewith to purchase, if it were reduced to three? Is it any consolation to the farmer, who expended a fortune on merino sheep, which the prostration of our woollen manufactures has condemned to the butcher's knife, and who sold his wool for four dollars per pound, of which the price is now one dollar, that he can buy broadcloth at six or eight dollars per yard, instead of ten or twelve? The loss on the fleeces of a dozen sheep outweighs all the advantages he derives from the destruction of the capital, the prospects, and the happiness of his manufacturing fellow-citizens. What are the mighty benefits derived by the cotton planter, who saves from fifty to a hundred dollars per annum in his clothing and that of his slaves, when, in consequence of the want of a domestic market, he loses ten cents per pound, or a thousand dollars in a year, on his crop of cotton of ten thousand pounds? He saves by cents, and loses by dollars.

While all the energies of the human mind are called into activity, on the question who shall be president, governor, member of congress, representative in the state legislature, sheriff, and even county commissioner, so comparatively uninteresting to the major part of the community, it is lamentable to see what torpor and indifference prevail on this vital topic, which decides the important question, whether Washington, Greene, Montgomery, Warren, Mercer, Laurens, Clinton, Wayne, Stark, Pulaski, Fayette fought and bled—whether Franklin, Adams, Hancock, Jefferson, Otis, Randolph, Jay, Lee, Livingston, and Henry, pleaded—in vain. We have no hesitation in saying, this is the real state of the question: for the man whose capital is destroyed, whose talents are rendered useless, whose means of supporting himself are torn up by the roots by a false policy, looks in vain for the boasted blessings of the revolution. He compares his situation with that of the ma

nufacturers of England, France, Austria, and Russia, and envies the fostering care bestowed on them by their monarchs, which forms such a contrast with the destruction to which he is consigned by his fellow-citizens. So far as property is concerned, there is little difference between the citizen of the United States, who is ruined for want of protection, as so many of our manufacturers have been, and the cringing slave, whom the despotism of the dey of Algiers or the emperor of Morocco plunders of his substance. "Disguise it as we will," it is the same destruction, that robs existence of its charms, although differently administered: for, without property to render life comfortable, life itself is of little value. In one respect, the case of the American citizen appears worse than that of the Algerine slave. The former had every right to calculate on an exemption from the ruin that has blasted his prospects of happiness; whereas, the latter inherited from his ancestors the cruel destiny of holding not merely his property, but his life itself, on the precarious tenure of the mercy of a barbarous tyrant.

On the subject of "taxing the many for the benefit of the few," prolix essays and pamphlets without number have been written, and frothy speeches delivered. This has been adduced as an unanswerable argument against extending any protection to manufactures, further than what is afforded by the duties laid for the purpose of raising a revenue. It is a fertile subject, and would require much detail: but the limits of a letter are already transcended, and we must be brief. We will state a few cases, in which one part of the community is heavily taxed for the benefit of another, without murmur. The beneficial coasting trade has been secured to our merchants, by a total prohibition of foreign rivalship, under penalty of confiscation; whereas there is no manufactured article whatever prohibited. The protection of commerce has probably cost the nation one hundred millions of dollars, for foreign embassies,* fleets, and a wasting war, which commerce alone

* Some idea may be formed of the enormous expenses incurred for the protection of commerce, from a statement of two facts:—The expense of foreign intercourse, that is, for ambassadors, charges des affaires, consuls, agents, bearers of despatches, &c. &c. for twenty-four years, have been 10,872,494 dollars, or above 450,000 dollars per annum, (Seybert, 713.); and for the Barbary powers, in twenty years, 2,457,278 dollars, or above 120,000 dol-

has rendered necessary. Of all this immense sum, not one cent has been levied for the benefit of manufactures. Foreign spirits are subject to duties from eighty-six to one hundred and twenty per cent., and cheese to about ninety per cent., for the protection of agriculture: while woollen and cotton-goods pay only twenty-seven and a half per cent., (except the latter, when below twenty-five cents per yard) manufactures of brass, steel, tin, lead, glass, earthenware, pottery, sail-cloth, &c. pay only twenty-two; and linens only sixteen and a half. We do not censure, on the contrary we approve, the protection those duties afford to agriculture. We only deplore the lamentable difference between one hundred and twenty per cent. on gin, to protect domestic peach brandy and whiskey, and twenty-seven and a half per cent. on cottons and woollens!

Should you pursue the plan herein recommended, we respectfully advise that you communicate the result of your inquiries, in the form of a memorial, to the members of your state legislature, and to your members of congress. Should the former body be impressed with an idea of the correctness of the views we have taken of this mighty subject, they will doubtless use their constitutional right to request your representatives, and instruct your senators, in Congress, to exert their influence to have the tariff so far modified, that it shall be no longer possible to say, as, alas! we can now say with perfect truth, that the manufacturers in the most arbitrary governments in Europe are fostered, cherished, and protected from foreign competition; while, under this free government, ours are exposed, by their fellow-citizens in Congress, to the competition of the whole world! The appointment of a committee, to correspond with the different towns in your state, would be a highly beneficial measure; and is most earnestly recommended to your attention.

It is to be presumed, that our representatives in congress are disposed to do their duty, and only require to be well informed on the subject, to induce them to pursue a cor-

lars per annum. (Ibid.) Thus, in these two items, there is a *positive disbursement*, for the protection of commerce, of above half a million of dollars annually: whereas, the government has never paid one dollar, as bounty or premium, to foster, protect, or promote the productive industry employed in manufactures; and has never laid a dollar of duty, beyond what was called for by the exigencies of the treasury.

rect course. We therefore respectfully suggest to you, to take into serious consideration, the propriety of an application to congress, from the manufacturers of the United States, to be heard by counsel, at their bar. The most salutary consequences have resulted from this procedure in Great Britain; and it could not fail to produce consequences equally salutary here; as it must elicit such a mass of information as would destroy the deleterious prejudices, whose operation our country has so much reason to deplore.

There is one point to which we invite your serious attention, as of paramount importance. Notwithstanding the ruin that has overtaken so large a portion of our manufactures and manufacturers, there are some citizens, with immense capitals, engaged in the cotton branch particularly, who deprecate the idea of any further protection, and have impressed on the minds of the constituted authorities, that the present duties are amply adequate. This phenomenon in trade—a renunciation of further aid from government, of which the world has never hitherto had a parallel case—must arise from such a pure spirit of patriotism, as would reflect honour on Greece and Rome, in the most brilliant period of their history, or from some motive of a very opposite character. It has been successfully used by the friends of the existing system, as an irresistible argument against the host of petitioners, who have besought additional protection. As it has been thus employed, it becomes a duty to investigate it thoroughly, and ascertain, as far as may be practicable, the source from whence it springs. It is asserted, that the proprietors of those establishments prefer, as the least of two evils, encountering the desultory competition of foreigners, whose goods are often of inferior quality, to the steady and unceasing rivalry of a vast number of their fellow-citizens, who, in the event of a full protection to manufactures, would enter the lists, and divide the market with them. On this delicate point we cannot pretend to decide: we merely present it to view, for public consideration.

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ERRATA.

Page 140, line 13, for *nine thousand*, read ninety thousand.

Page 222, line 27, for 62, 428, 800, read 52, 428, 800.

Page 245, line 5, for 90 per cent., read 85 per cent.

Sundry other errors have escaped, which the reader is requested to excuse, and correct with the pen.



