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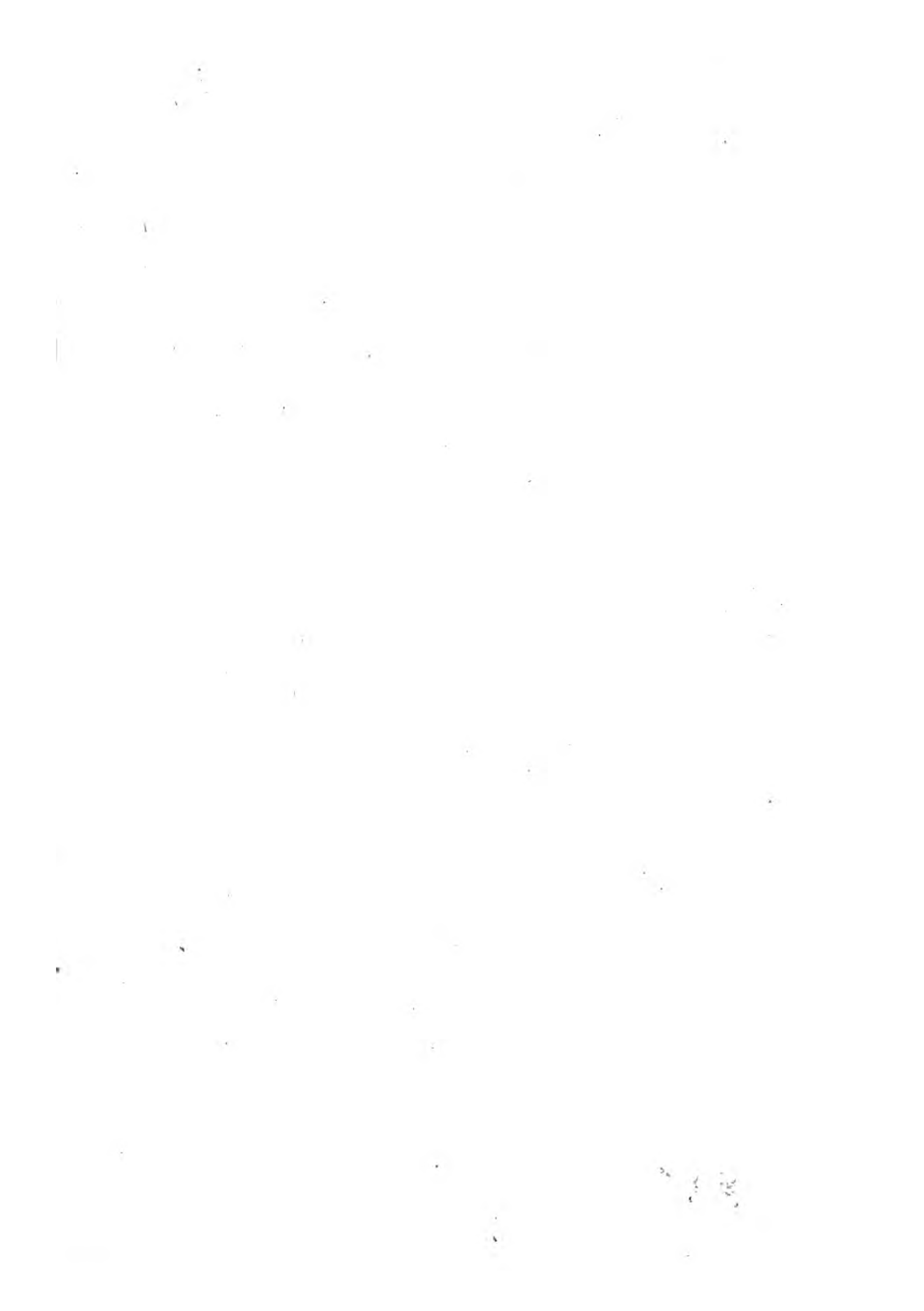
John Torbert
" "

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FOR SALE BY M. CAREY & SON,

(Price three dollars,)

VINDICIÆ HIBERNICÆ: OR, IRELAND VINDICATED: AN attempt to develop and expose a few of the multifarious errors and falsehoods respecting Ireland, in the Histories of May, Temple, Whitlock, Borlase, Rushworth, Clarendon, Cox, Carte, Leland, Warner, Macauley, Hume, and others, particularly in the Legendary Tales, of the Conspiracy and Pretended Massacre of 1641. By M. CAREY.

Extract from the Analectic Magazine, for May, 1819, page 417.

“Mr. Carey is one of the many Irishmen, that, relinquishing the endearments of their native soil, have sought, under our free institutions, an enjoyment of that civil liberty and unrestrained exertion of honest industry, which the tyranny of its oppressors denied to them in their much injured country. The lapse of many years, since he has been a citizen of the United States, the success which has crowned his labours in an arduous occupation, the new attachments formed by him during a long residence among us, and the respectability acquired by him as a member of our community, have not, however, had the power to obliterate from his memory the land of his fathers, nor to chill the fervour of youthful devotion, imbibed among the scenes of his boyhood, towards suffering and slandered Ireland. He has, therefore, been induced to apply his moments of leisure in a laborious examination of some of the calumnious imputations cast upon the character of that nation by the policy or malignity of the British historians. And by a patient investigation of the sources from which they derive their facts, and a careful collection and comparison of the numerous authorities, has been enabled to exhibit to the world, in this publication, a most interesting and curious picture of the systematic rapine and misrepresentation which the Irish have endured at the hands of the government and writers of England: and, at the same time, a conclusive refutation of the most serious and most injurious charge which has rested on the national character of Ireland.

“The story of her manifold wrongs has been so often told, that all but Irishmen are tired of the theme; and her sufferings have called forth so much of the finest eloquence, both of verse and prose, that a repetition of them now would command a very faint attention.

“Mr. C. has wisely avoided such a detail, and limited himself to a disquisition on a few prominent circumstances, relative to which the friends of Ireland have been generally silent. Nor is his book a mere querimonious descendant on the inhumanity of the British sway in that country; it is an indignant and impassioned, but certainly a most convincing argument, to prove the falsity of certain accusations against the Irish people, which have been so boldly pronounced, and acquiesced in so generally, that, at first view, it seems idle now to controvert them.

“Clarendon, Voltaire, and Anquetil, besides all those authors of less note mentioned in the title page, join in the hue and cry against the Irish. Yet, strange as it may seem, Mr. Carey satisfactorily establishes these remarkable positions—that there is no reason to believe a conspiracy existed for a general insurrection in Ireland on the twenty-third of October 1641; still less a general conspiracy to cut the throats of all the English throughout the whole kingdom; and that the stories of the massacres perpetrated by the Irish, are founded on the most palpable falsehood and perjury. He further shews, conclusively, that the rebellion, such as it was, far from being unpro-

voked, was exacted by a system of treatment in the greatest degree cruel and unjust, on the part of the government, arising from a predetermined plan to despoil the unhappy Irish of their lawful possessions.

“When an author performs such service to the cause of truth, and successfully attempts a vindication of a whole people from calumnies, strengthened by the acquiescence of nearly two centuries, it would be worse than hypercriticism to quarrel with the collocation of his words, or the cadence of his sentences.

“Polished diction undoubtedly adds charms to truth; but important truths are not the less valuable because clothed in the plainest language. We shall not, therefore, enter at all into a discussion of our author's style; and if his frequent use of strong epithets may seem to evince a greater degree of angry feeling than is consistent with the calmness of elegant composition, the theme will surely be allowed to supply a justification for even warmer indignation.

“The testimony of O'Conally, and the proceedings consequent thereon, are too long for insertion. But it is, we may safely say, *not such proof as any court of criminal jurisdiction in our country would consider sufficient for the foundation of a conviction for the most trivial crime.*

“Such is really the character of the information pretended to be given by O'Conally; and upon the contradictory ravings of this besotted wretch, uncorroborated by either fact or testimony, has been founded the imputation upon the whole body of Irish Catholics, of the most infernal plot of which civilized or savage man was ever guilty.—And yet so little do writers of history (so called) investigate the authorities, that the veracity of this informer has never before, so far as we have seen, been called in question. To every student of the annals of Ireland, therefore, we may safely recommend the work of Mr. Carey, as essential to a right understanding of her story: unless, indeed, he be willing to undergo the fatigue of perusing that huge mass of books and records, from which Mr. C. has selected the substance of his *Vindiciæ*—And even to such, if such there be, this book would be a most useful guide and assistant.”

FOR SALE AS ABOVE,

(Price half a dollar,)

THREE LETTERS TO MR. GARNETT, on the Present Calamitous State of Affairs. By M. CAREY.

Extract from the Analectic Magazine, for March, 1820, page 238.

“Mr. Carey's Three Letters are worthy the attention of all such as desire to form their opinions impartially on the subject. He is a zealous, a persevering, and an able advocate. He has written much and thought much on this question: and his writings have the advantage of being free from the crudeness and looseness, as to statistics, that impair the value of so many productions of less experienced champions on either side.

“An answer to these Letters, and to the Addresses of the Philadelphia Society, made not hastily and heedlessly, but after careful research, and in a style of sober argument, is an undertaking worthy the ambition of the ablest among the opponents of manufactures; until such appear, the palm of logic rests with Mr. Carey and his co-labourers.”

(Price three dollars,)

THE POLITICAL OLIVE BRANCH: OR, FAULTS ON BOTH SIDES—FEDERAL AND DEMOCRATIC. A Serious Appeal on the necessity of Mutual Forgiveness and Harmony.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Extract of a letter from James Madison, Esq. President of the United States.
Washington, January 28, 1815.

"I have not been able at yet to do more than glance at the plan of the work, and run over a few of its pages. The course adopted of assembling authentic and striking facts, and addressing them impartially and independently, but with becoming emphasis, to the attention of the public, was best fitted to render it a valuable and seasonable service: and it appears that the success of your labours will well reward the laudable views with which it was undertaken."

Extract of a letter from Thomas Jefferson, Esq. ex-president of the United States.
Monticello, Feb. 9, 1815.

"I thank you for the copy of the Olive Branch you have been so kind as to send me. Many extracts from it, which I had seen in the newspapers, had excited a wish to procure it. A cursory view over the work has confirmed the opinion excited by the extracts, that it will do great good."

Extract of a letter from W. Sampson, Esq.
New York, Feb. 15, 1815.

"I have read your Olive Branch; and I can now express my sincere satisfaction. I must offer you my best compliments upon a production, which breathes the sentiments of pure and manly patriotism."

Extract of a letter from the Hon. Wm. Eustis, Esq. now minister of the United States in Holland.

Boston, Nov. 16, 1814.

"The Olive Branch is certainly calculated to do great good. It bears, as you observe, the marks of rapidity:—but it is the rapid, rectilineal course of an enlightened mind, directed by strong common sense."

Extract of a letter from Richard Rush, Esq. now Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of St. James's.

Washington, April 28, 1815.

R. R. has been free to declare upon all occasions, and the sentiment is now still further strengthened, that he thinks the country owes Mr. C. a very large debt for the patriotic, the zealous, and the intelligent efforts of his pen during the late struggle; for his energetic, spirited, yet candid defence of public principles and public measures; for his just exposition of our institutions; for his discriminating and indefatigable selection of authentic documents illustrative of our history, and the forcible, perspicuous, and unanswerable commentaries which he has superinduced upon them. R. R. places, at a very high rate, the share which Mr. Carey's publications have had in serving to rescue us from danger, and to secure our triumphs; and he anticipates in the mass of truth which they have diffused throughout the Union, effects from them of further and more lasting benefit."

"There is perhaps no book extant, that in so small a compass contains so great a quantity of momentous political truth. Like the two-edged sword, said to have been wielded by the angel of light against "Satan and his angels," it dispels and puts to flight an army of error and falsehood."—*Weekly Register*, vol. vii. page 371.

(Price 50 cents,)

ADDRESSES OF THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR
THE PROMOTION OF NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

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 No., 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 Nos. 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 Nos. 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 Farmers' 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.”

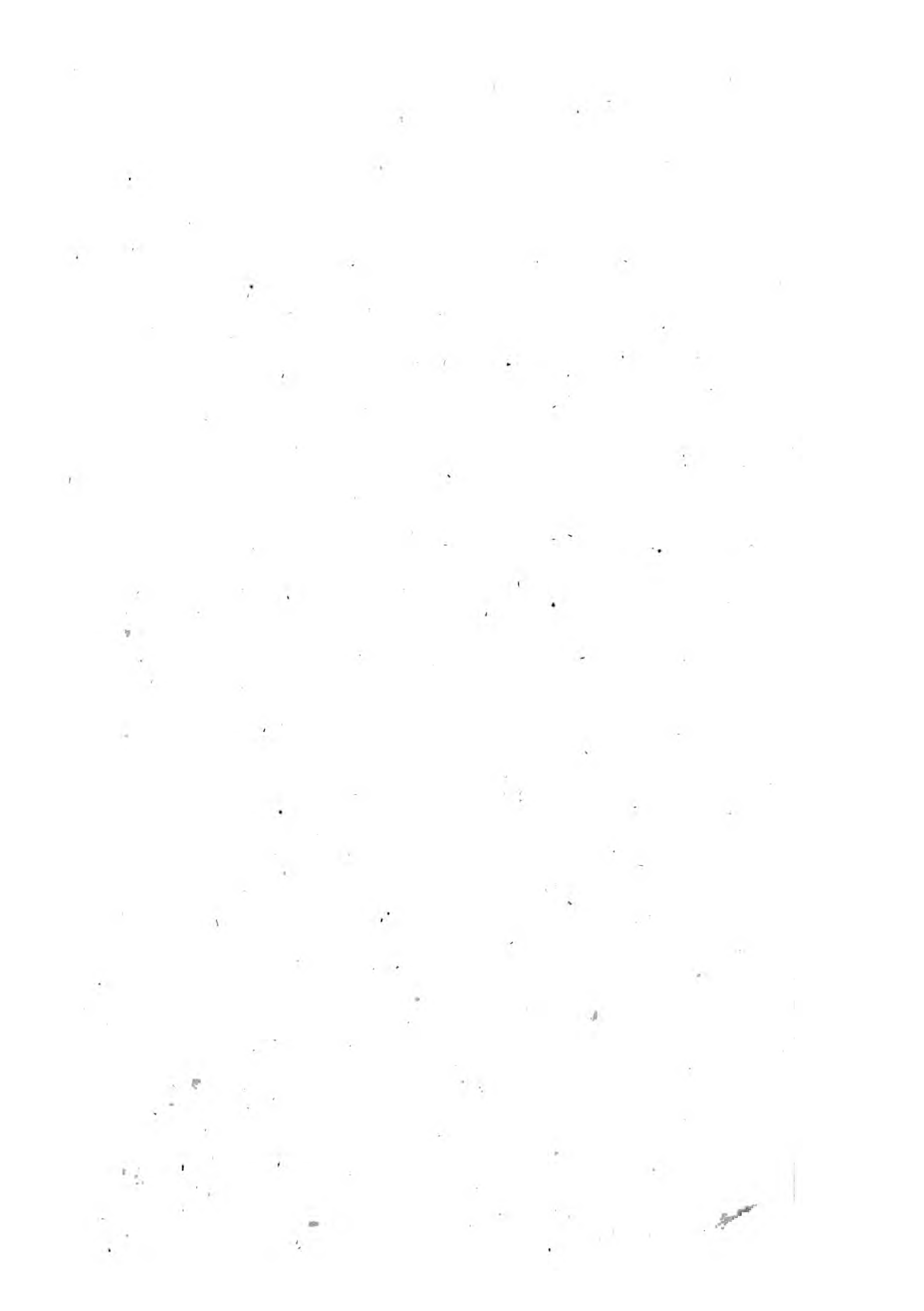
Extract of a letter from General Harrison, to the publishers.

“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.

“Yours, &c.

W. H. HARRISON.

“Columbus, Dec. 27, 1819.”



FOR THE NEW OLIVE BRANCH.

National progress to prosperity or to ruin.

Dedicated to the Legislature and Executive of the United States.

"CHOOSE YE."

NATIONAL INDUSTRY

"In all its shapes and forms,"

PROTECTED.

19. Cordial attachment to a good government.
18. New towns springing up.
17. General prosperity.
16. Property rising in value.
15. Debts easily collected.
14. Capital, talent, and industry, sure of success.*
13. Revenue increasing.
12. Credit preserved at home and abroad.
11. Numerous houses building.
10. Great accession of immigrants and capital.
9. Bankruptcies rare.
8. Poor rates diminishing.
7. Population rapidly increasing.
6. Early and numerous marriages.
5. Every person able and willing to work employed.
4. Industry fostered and prosperous.
3. Moderate importations.
2. Protecting duties.
1. Prohibitions of what can be made at home.

UNPROTECTED.

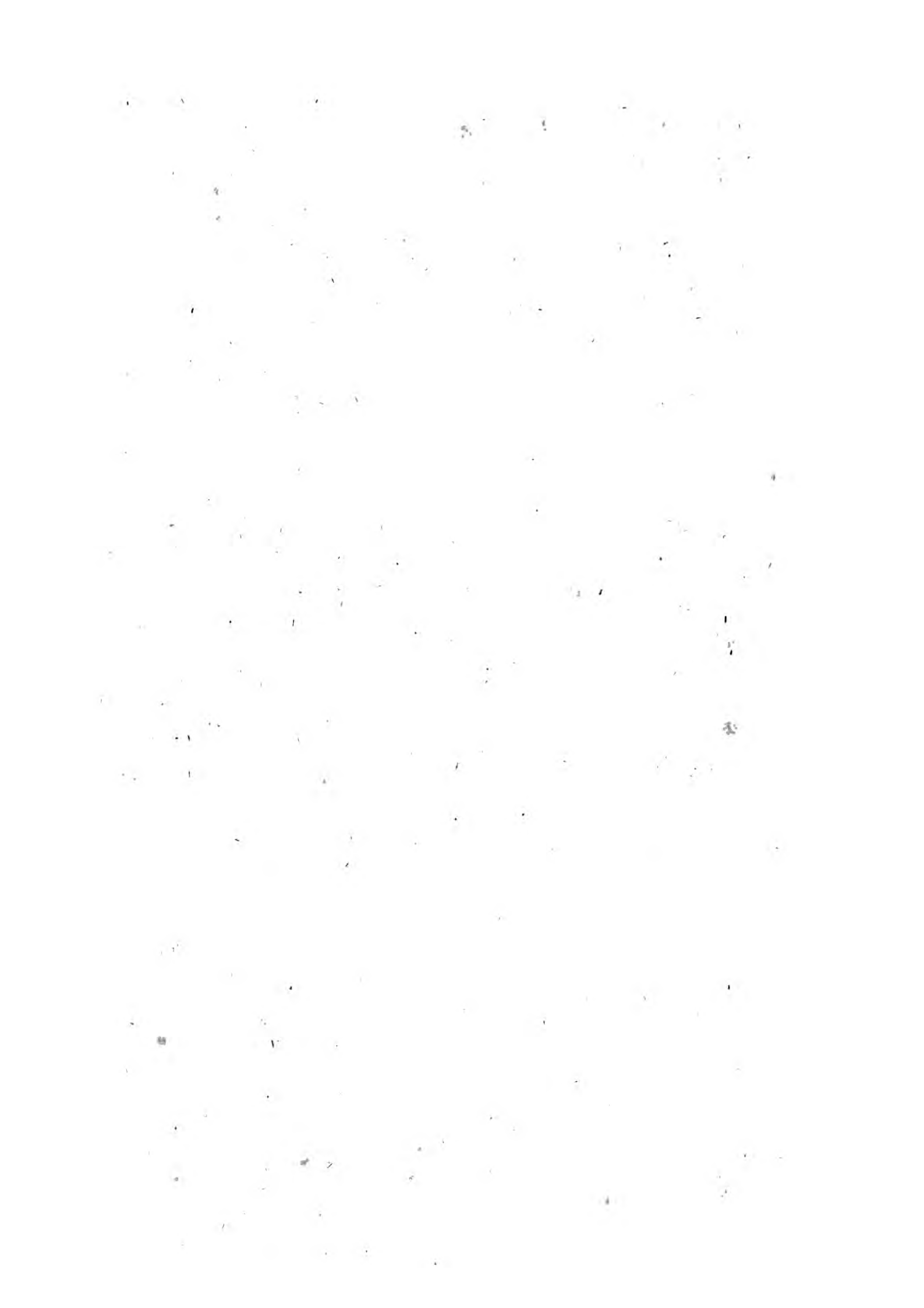
31. Disaffection to a government regardless of the sufferings of its citizens.
30. Applications for relief wholly disregarded, or unfeelingly rejected.
29. Legal suspension of the collection of debts.
28. Failure of revenue.
27. Monied men engrossing the estates of the distressed.
26. General distress.
25. Houses falling to decay.
24. Rents reducing.
23. Sheriffs' sales.
22. Banks stopping payment.
21. Credit impaired at home and abroad.
20. Staples sinking in price.
19. Capital, talents and industry, without employment.
18. Emigrations in quest of an asylum abroad.
17. Immigration discountenanced.
16. Population sluggish.
15. Marriages rare.
14. Merchants and traders following in their train.
13. Manufacturers bankrupt.
12. Manufacturing establishments in ruins.
11. Soup houses.
10. Increase of idleness, pauperism and guilt.
9. Poor rates augmented.
8. Workmen discharged.
7. Decay of national industry.
6. Remittances of government and bank stock.
5. Drain of specie.
4. Great bargains of cheap foreign goods.
3. Immense importations.
2. Light duties on manufactures.
1. Heavy duties on teas, wines, coffee, spirits, &c.

For the New Olive Branch.

Dedicated to the Legislature and Executive of the United States.

AN EXEMPLAR OF FREE, EQUAL, AND RIGHTEOUS GOVERNMENT.
"All men have equal rights."—"Allegiance is due only to protection."—Bishop of Derry.

AGRICULTURE.	MANUFACTURES.	COMMERCE.																																																																																
<p>Our farmers and planters have, from the organization of the government, enjoyed $\frac{99}{100}$ths of the domestic market; and, until lately, have had excellent foreign markets.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Protecting duties.</i></p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>Cheese</td><td>Per cent.</td></tr> <tr><td>Coals</td><td>90</td></tr> <tr><td>Spirits</td><td>38½</td></tr> <tr><td>Manufactured tobacco</td><td>70 to 80</td></tr> <tr><td>Snuff</td><td>100</td></tr> <tr><td>Cotton</td><td>90</td></tr> <tr><td>Hemp</td><td>30</td></tr> <tr><td>Tobacco in the leaf</td><td>26</td></tr> <tr><td>Potatoes</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Rice</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Wheat</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Beans</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Oats</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Pitch</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Tar</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Turpentine</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Beef</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Pork</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Hams</td><td>-</td></tr> </table> <p style="text-align: right;">} 15</p>	Cheese	Per cent.	Coals	90	Spirits	38½	Manufactured tobacco	70 to 80	Snuff	100	Cotton	90	Hemp	30	Tobacco in the leaf	26	Potatoes	-	Rice	-	Wheat	-	Beans	-	Oats	-	Pitch	-	Tar	-	Turpentine	-	Beef	-	Pork	-	Hams	-	<p>Our manufacturers are supplanted in the domestic market by France, England, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Russia, Sweden, the East Indies, &c. And are almost altogether shut out of all the foreign markets.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Protecting duties.</i></p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>Watches</td><td>Per cent.</td></tr> <tr><td>Silks</td><td>7½</td></tr> <tr><td>Clocks</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Linens</td><td>15</td></tr> <tr><td>Worsted shoes</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Woolens</td><td>25</td></tr> <tr><td>Cottons</td><td>25</td></tr> </table> <p style="text-align: right;">} 15</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Expenses for the protection of Manufactures.</i></p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>Bounties</td><td>\$ 0000</td></tr> <tr><td>Premiums</td><td>0000</td></tr> <tr><td>Loans</td><td>0000</td></tr> <tr><td>Immunities</td><td>0000</td></tr> </table> <p>Total expense for protecting manufactures for 30 years } \$ 0000</p>	Watches	Per cent.	Silks	7½	Clocks	-	Linens	15	Worsted shoes	-	Woolens	25	Cottons	25	Bounties	\$ 0000	Premiums	0000	Loans	0000	Immunities	0000	<p>Our merchants have enjoyed the whole of the coasting trade for 30 years. Their shipping has carried on 86 per cent. of the foreign trade for the same space of time.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Past expenses for the protection of Commerce.</i></p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>Foreign intercourse for 20 years, from 1796 to 1815</td><td>\$ 9,615,140</td></tr> <tr><td>Naval department</td><td>52,065,691</td></tr> <tr><td>Barbary Powers</td><td>2,349,568</td></tr> <tr><td>War debt</td><td>78,579,022</td></tr> <tr><td>Total for 20 years</td><td>\$ 142,609,421</td></tr> <tr><td>Average per ann. from 1796 to 1815</td><td>\$ 7,130,471</td></tr> </table> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Present expenses for Commerce.</i></p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>Interest on \$ 78,579,022, debt contracted during the last war</td><td>\$ 4,714,741</td></tr> <tr><td>Secretary's estimate for navy, 1820</td><td>3,527,640</td></tr> <tr><td>Actual annual disbursement for commerce</td><td>\$ 8,242,381</td></tr> <tr><td>Average annual domestic exports, from 1790 to 1819</td><td>\$ 35,293,363</td></tr> </table> <p>Thus the actual disbursements are 23 per cent. on the average of the domestic exports for 30 years!!</p>	Foreign intercourse for 20 years, from 1796 to 1815	\$ 9,615,140	Naval department	52,065,691	Barbary Powers	2,349,568	War debt	78,579,022	Total for 20 years	\$ 142,609,421	Average per ann. from 1796 to 1815	\$ 7,130,471	Interest on \$ 78,579,022, debt contracted during the last war	\$ 4,714,741	Secretary's estimate for navy, 1820	3,527,640	Actual annual disbursement for commerce	\$ 8,242,381	Average annual domestic exports, from 1790 to 1819	\$ 35,293,363
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THE
NEW OLIVE BRANCH:

OR,

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH AN IDENTITY OF INTEREST

BETWEEN

AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE;

AND TO PROVE,

THAT A LARGE PORTION OF THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY OF THIS
NATION HAS BEEN SACRIFICED TO COMMERCE; AND THAT
COMMERCE HAS SUFFERED BY THIS POLICY NEARLY
AS MUCH AS MANUFACTURES.

BY M. CAREY,

AUTHOR OF POLITICAL OLIVE BRANCH, VINDICIAE HIBERNICÆ, &c. &c.



“But few examples have occurred of distress so general and so severe as that which has been exhibited in the United States.”—Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

“If any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new councils; a sincere change, from a sincere conviction of past errors.”
Chatham.

“Men will sooner live prosperously under the worst government, than starve under the best.”—Postlethwait’s Dictionary.

“A merchant may have a distinct interest from that of his country. He may thrive by a trade that will prove her ruin.”—British Merchant.

“Manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort.”—Jefferson.

“It is the interest of the community, with a view to eventual and permanent economy, to encourage the growth of manufactures.”—Hamilton.

PHILADELPHIA :

M. CAREY & SON.

1820.

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March 17, 1820.



J. B. A. SKERRETT, PRINTER.

020 . 3 . 1820

**TO THOSE
CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES,
WHOSE EXPANDED VIEWS
EMBRACE THE KINDRED INTERESTS
OF
AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE;
WHO BELIEVE THAT
NATIONAL INDUSTRY
IS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE SOURCE OF
NATIONAL WEALTH AND PROSPERITY ;
WITH DR. FRANKLIN,
“ THAT INDUSTRY IN ALL SHAPES, IN ALL INSTANCES, AND BY ALL
“ MEANS, SHOULD BE PROMOTED ;”
WITH THOMAS JEFFERSON,
“ THAT MANUFACTURES ARE NOW AS NECESSARY TO OUR
“ INDEPENDENCE AS OUR COMFORT ;”
WITH ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
“ THAT THE INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY OF A COUNTRY
“ ARE MATERIALLY CONNECTED WITH THE PROS-
“ PERITY OF ITS MANUFACTURES ;”
WHO ARE OPPOSED TO THE POLICY OF
LAVISHING THE WEALTH OF THE NATION TO SUPPORT FOREIGN
GOVERNMENTS AND FOREIGN MANUFACTURERS,
AND IMPOVERISHING
OUR OWN COUNTRY AND OUR FELLOW CITIZENS ;
WHO HOLD THE SOUND DOCTRINE,
THAT NATIONS, LIKE INDIVIDUALS, MUST SUFFER DISTRESS AND
MISERY WHEN THEIR EXPENSES EXCEED THEIR INCOME ;**

AND THAT A POLICY
WHICH CONVERTS A LARGE PORTION OF OUR CITIZENS INTO HUCK-
STERS AND RETAILERS OF FOREIGN PRODUCTIONS,
INSTEAD OF
PRODUCERS FOR HOME CONSUMPTION,
IS RADICALLY UNSOUND ;
AND FINALLY, THAT
THE RUINOUS EXPERIMENT WE HAVE MADE OF OUR PRE-
SENT SYSTEM FOR FIVE YEARS,
POINTS OUT WITH A PENCIL OF LIGHT
THE IMPORTANT TRUTH PUT ON RECORD BY LORD CHATHAM,
"THAT IF ANY THING CAN PREVENT THE CONSUMMATION OF
"PUBLIC RUIN, IT CAN ONLY BE NEW COUNCILS ;
"A SINCERE CHANGE, FROM A SINCERE
"CONVICTION OF ERROR,"

THIS WORK
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THE AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS work may be considered as a second edition, much enlarged and improved, of the Three Letters to Mr. Garnett, recently published ; as it contains nearly the whole of the matter of those letters. It is nevertheless presented to the public in a state that requires apology for its imperfections. This apology rests upon the circumstances which have given rise to it, and the situation of the country. Books, written as this has been, on the spur of the occasion, to shed light on passing subjects of policy, on which the decision may be precipitated previous to their appearance, (if not hurried through the press,) cannot, without injustice, be tried by the rigorous rules of general criticism. This would be almost as unfair as to scan a house erected in haste for a new settler in the wilderness, by the rules laid down by Palladio—or to criticise the dress of a lady whom circumstances have forced to appear before the eye in entire dishabille, as rigorously as if she had made her entrée into a ball room on a gala evening.

The grand object of such books is to convey information. Ornaments of composition are but secondary considerations. Whatever effect they are likely to produce, depends on the time of their appearance. The object may be wholly defeat-

ed by the delay of a week, perhaps of a day. I therefore trust, that the pretensions of the *New Olive Branch*, as a literary composition, being humble, and its author only claiming the merit of sincere devotion to the best interests of his country, its imperfections will be regarded with a liberal spirit of indulgence.

It has been written with a thorough conviction, that there is a complete identity of interest between agriculture, manufactures and commerce; that when any one of them suffers material injury, the others largely partake of it; and that a great proportion of the distress of this country has arisen from the erroneous views of our statesmen on the subject of manufactures, which have been cramped and stunted, and finally in part annihilated in the most important branches, for want of that fostering care bestowed on them in England for ages, and recently in France in the most exemplary manner, and with the most beneficial effect.

I have, therefore, endeavoured to prove—

1. That the policy pursued by this nation in its tariff, from the commencement of its career, has been radically wrong.

2. That this tariff has sacrificed a large portion of the national industry; to the incalculable injury of the United States, and to the immense advantage of the manufacturing nations of Europe.

3. That its tendency has been to render us tributary to those nations—converting a large portion of our population into hucksters and retailers of their productions, instead of producers for our own consumption; and rendering the great mass of the remainder consumers of those productions—thus prodigally lavishing our wealth to support foreign manufacturers and foreign governments—and impoverishing the nation to an alarming degree.

This system has had the obvious and pernicious effect of narrowing the field for the exercise of native industry and talent—and consequently of crowding immoderately those professions that were open to the national enterprise. From this source has arisen the great number of merchants, so far beyond what was required by the commerce of the country.

4. I have hence deduced the ruin of so large a proportion of that class. It was a necessary consequence of the over-driven spirit of competition. This may be exemplified in every department of human industry. In a town which would support two storekeepers genteelly, three would barely make a living, and four be ruined. And finally—

5. I have endeavoured to shew, that a due degree of protection to manufactures would have been highly serviceable to agriculture and commerce.

These views of our affairs are presented to the public with a sincere belief of their soundness. But, like other theorists, I may have deluded myself. However, whether right or wrong, the discussion cannot fail to prove useful—as it will shed light on the most important subject that can occupy the public attention—the means of promoting individual happiness, and national “wealth, power, and resources”—of removing the present intolerable evils, of which the secretary of the treasury, in his report of the 21st ultimo, has justly declared, that “*few instances have occurred, of distress so general, and so severe, as that which has been exhibited in the United States.*” This important subject is worthy of the undivided attention of every man interested for the public welfare.

If my views be incorrect, I shall rejoice to have the errors pointed out, and shall cheerfully recant them. Any suggestions on the subject will be received with thankfulness, and attended to. But if the ground I have taken be correct, I hope and trust the investigation may lead to a different course of policy, calculated to enable us to realize the blessings promised to us by our constitution and our natural advantages, which at present so provokingly elude our grasp.

M. C.

Philadelphia, March 17th, 1820

NEW OLIVE BRANCH.

CHAPTER I.

Preliminary observations. State of the nation. Whence it arises. Short-sighted policy. Decline of commerce inevitable. Substitutes ought to have been provided for the superfluous mercantile capital, talent and industry.

IT is impossible for any one who can say with Terence—"I am a man—interested in whatever concerns my fellow men"—to take a calm and dispassionate view of the existing state of affairs, in this heaven-favoured land, without feeling deep distress, and a melancholy conviction, that we have made a most lamentable waste of the immense advantages, moral, physical, and political, we enjoy—advantages rarely equalled, scarcely ever exceeded; and that our erroneous policy has, in five years, produced more havoc of national wealth, power, and resources, and more individual distress, than, *in a period of profound peace,** has taken place in the same

* Other nations usually and naturally recover in peace from the injuries inflicted by war. We rose in war—and alas! are sinking in peace!!! What an awful view!

space of time, within two hundred years, in any nation of Europe, except Portugal.

That governments are instituted for the protection, support, and benefit of the governed, is a maxim as old as the dawn of liberty in the world. The administrators are the mere agents of their constituents, hired to perform certain duties, for which they are here paid liberal salaries.

The grand objects of their care are—the security of person—security of property acquired, and in the acquisition of property—with the right of worshipping God as each man's conscience dictates. And government, by whatever name it may be called, is only estimable in proportion as it guards those sacred deposits. Our dear-bought experience proves, that the happiness of individuals and the prosperity of nations are by no means proportioned to the excellence of their forms of government. Were that the case, we should rank among the happiest of nations, ancient or modern: whereas, unfortunately, at present we occupy a low grade.

It is a mealancholy feature in human affairs, that no institutions, however perfect—no administration, however upright or wise, can guard the whole of a nation against distress and embarrassment. Accidents, not to be foreseen, or, if foreseen, not to be guarded against—imprudence, extravagance, and various other causes,

will frequently, in the most prosperous communities, produce a large portion of distress. This state of things is no impeachment to the goodness of the form of government, or the wisdom of its administrators.

But when large bodies of people, whole sections of a nation, are involved in distress and embarrassment—when capital, talents, industry, and ingenuity afford to their possessors no security of prosperity—when productive industry is laid prostrate—when the most useful establishments, the pride, the glory, the main spring of the wealth, power, and resources of nations, are allowed to fall to ruins, without an effort to save them on the part of the legislative power—when the constituents, writhing in distress and misery, call in vain on their representatives for relief, which is within their power to afford—there must be something radically wrong in the people, or in the form of government, or radically vicious and pernicious in its legislation.

The policy of a free government, good or bad, emanates from the legislative body, which has the destinies of the nation in its hands. The executive officers in such nations, who are generally stiled the administration, have little power to avert the evils of a vicious, or to prevent the beneficent consequences of a wise legislation. This is peculiarly the case in our country.

Preparatory to stating the plan I propose to pursue in this pamphlet, it is proper to exhibit a view of the actual situation of the country, to justify the strong ground I mean to take. And believing the sketch given in the second Address of the Philadelphia Society for the promotion of National Industry to be correct, and its brevity being suited to the limits I am obliged to observe, I annex it.

1. Our profitable commerce is 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 numbers of them falling to decay.

5. Many of their proprietors ruined.

6. Thousands of citizens unemployed throughout the United States.

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 to 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 woollen 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 !

14. Hundreds of useful artisans and mechanics, who, allured by our form of government, migrated to our shores, have 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, obliged to stop payment.

24. Legislatures driven by the prevalence of distress, to the frightful measure of suspending the collection of debts.

That such an awful state of things could not exist in a time of profound peace, without some great natural calamity—some radical defects in the people—great vice in the form of government—or an unsound system of policy, will not be controverted.

Our distresses do not arise from any natural calamity. None has befallen us.

Nor from the people. They are shrewd, intelligent, industrious, active, and enterprising to a high degree. A wise legislator or statesman could not desire sounder materials to form the structure of a happy and prosperous society, and render his name immortal.

Nor from the form of government. That, like every work of man, it has defects, must be conceded. But that it is the best the world ever witnessed, is susceptible of full proof on fair comparison with any that at present exist—or that ever existed.

They are therefore chargeable to our policy, which, I repeat, emanates from our general legis-

lature, to whom, if our evils are not irremediable, we must apply for relief.

This declaration, as to the source of our distresses, requires qualification, so far as regards the diminution of our commerce, and the depreciation of the prices of our staples generally, which congress could not have prevented.

Cotton is an exception. For the ruinous reduction that has taken place in that article, they are answerable to their country. They might have readily made a domestic market, which would have preserved the price from any material depreciation, and saved the cotton planters above 7,000,000 of dollars, and the merchants who purchased before the reduction, nearly 4,000,000.

Had our statesmen considered the subject profoundly, as their duty demanded, they might have readily foreseen that the new state of affairs throughout the world required a total change of policy. As we could no longer hope to be the carriers for Europe ; and as the immense armies disbanded by the different belligerents, would be devoted partly to the labours of the field, and partly to work-shops and manufactories, whereby not only the markets for our staples, breadstuffs particularly, would be diminished, but the quantity of manufactures there would be greatly increased ; it required but little sagacity to see that a large portion of the talents, the capital,

and the industry of our merchants, would be bereft of their usual employment, and that every motive of policy and regard for the public and private welfare required that *some other channel should be opened to give them activity*. But these were views beyond the grasp of most of our statesmen; and far from holding out any new inducements to enter on manufacturing pursuits, which would have absorbed all the superfluous mercantile capital, they unwisely diminished those that existed, by repealing the double duties in June, 1816, whereby the revenue lost millions of dollars, and the manufacturing industry of the country received a mortal wound.

It required but slender consideration to have foreseen, at an early period, the goal to which the policy we pursued after the late war, tended. The domestic exports of the country, the grand legitimate fund for the payment of our imports, for twenty years, from 1796 to 1815, inclusive, amounted to only 698,676,879 dollars, or an average of nearly 35,000,000. Whereas our imports in the year 1815, exclusive of re-exportations, amounted to above 118,000,000. Lives there a man who could for a moment doubt where such a course of proceeding would land us? or, that our exports, which, under the immense advantages we enjoyed during the French revolution, only rose to the above average,

would never, in a time of peace, enable us to pay for such extravagant importations? It was impossible to take a most superficial view of the subject, without being satisfied that we were as completely in the high road to destruction as a young man who has attained to the possession of a large estate, and who expends more than double his income.

A wonderful feature in the affair is, that the net impost which accrued in 1815, was 36,306,022 dollars, being one million more than the preceding average of our exports for twenty years!!

Independent, therefore, of all concern for our manufacturers, and indeed, were there not a single manufacturer in the country, some decisive efforts ought to have been made to diminish our imports, in order to arrest the career of national impoverishment. But the flourishing state of the revenue, which with too many of our statesmen, absorbed all other considerations, appeared to promise a new fiscal millennium. And hence the fatal repeal of the internal duties, which was carried by the overwhelming majority, in the house of representatives, of 161 to 5, in December, 1817—than which a more wild and injudicious measure could hardly have been devised. We have lived to see its folly, and to deplore its consequences.

What would be thought of the skill of a

physician, who, while bleeding his patient to a state of inanition, was congratulating himself on the quantity and excellence of the blood pouring out of his veins!—such is the case precisely of those statesmen, who form their ideas of national prosperity from the great extent of the customs, more frequently a sign of decay, as it has proved with us. What a sound lesson Ustariz, a Spanish author, gives on this subject!—how deserving of attention! but how little attended to!

“ It aggravates the calamity of our country that the customs have improved and yielded more by the increase of imports; since it is so unfortunate a circumstance for us, that *in order to advance them a million of dollars, estimating one duty with another at the rate of eight per cent., after an allowance for frauds and indulgences, there must be drawn out of the kingdom twelve millions of dollars.*”*

It cannot be too deeply lamented, that in placing before congress the calamitous situation of our manufactures and manufacturers, (which, by the way, is but very lightly touched on) both the president and the secretary of the treasury, the former in his message, and the latter in his annual report, in recommending attention to the relief of this suffering class of citizens, express some hesitation on the subject, and speak hypothetically, particularly the secretary.

* Ustariz on the theory and practice of commerce and maritime affairs, vol. I. p. 6.

The president states:—

“ It is deemed of importance to encourage our domestic manufactures. In what manner the evils which have been adverted to may be remedied, and how it may be practicable in other respects, to afford them further encouragement, *paying due regard to the other great interests of the nation*, is submitted to the wisdom of congress.”

The observation of the secretary is—

“ *It is believed* that the present is a favourable moment for affording efficient protection to that increasing and important interest, *if it can be done consistently with the general interest of the nation.*”

Good heavens! what an appalling *if!* Was there ever such an unlucky word introduced into a public document! “ *If it can be done consistently with the general interest of the nation!*” As if a statesman could for an instant doubt whether protecting and fostering the national industry—reducing our imports or expenses, within our exports or income—and arresting the progress of distress and decay, could, in any possible case, be otherwise than “ *consistent with the general interest of the nation!*” As if it could be a matter of doubt, whether the contingency of a farmer or planter paying twenty, thirty, or forty dollars more per annum, (supposing that to be the case, which I shall prove to be as destitute of foundation, as the sublime theory that this earth rests upon a tortoise) is to be put into competition with the

bankruptcy of our manufacturing capitalists—the beggary of our working people—and the impoverishment of the nation!

Intending to investigate the rise and progress of the calamities of this country, I shall divide the subject under the following heads:—

1. Present calamitous state of affairs. Causes.
2. State of the nation from the peace of Paris till the year 1789.
3. Adoption of the federal constitution. Consequences of that measure. Tariff of 1789. Fatal errors. Mr. Hamilton's Report.
4. Tariff of 1804.
5. Declaration of war. Disgraceful situation of the country.
6. State of the nation at the close of the war.
7. Mr. Dallas's tariff.
8. Ruin of the manufacturers and decay of their establishments.
9. Dilatory mode of proceeding in congress.
10. Destruction of industry in Pennsylvania.
11. Erroneous causes assigned for the existing distress.
12. The complaint of taxing the many for the benefit of the few.
13. Immense advantages enjoyed by the farmers and planters for thirty years.

14. Fallacy of the clamours on the ground of extortion.

15. Advantages to agriculture from manufacturing establishments.

16. General reflexions on commerce. View of that of the United States.

17. Fostering care of commerce by congress.

18. Contrast between the conduct of the British government and that of the United States.

19. Advantages that might have arisen from the proper encouragement of manufactures, by the accession of immigrants.

Some of my friends have endeavoured to dissuade me from using the freedom of style, which prevails in this work. They declare it imprudent, as likely to irritate congress, and prevent their attending to the applications of the manufacturers. I have duly weighed this very prudent advice, and cannot persuade myself to adopt it. The manufacturers require no favours. They only seek justice. Believing the system pursued radically vicious and pernicious, it is the right and the duty of every man who suffers by it, to enter his protest against the ruinous course pursued—to trace it to its causes—and to display its consequences. I have used the language of a free-

man. If the conduct I denounce, betrays a manifest departure from duty, can there be any impropriety in marking the departure? In countries less free than the United States, far greater severity is used in discussing the conduct of government. Why then should it be criminal or improper here? If any of my statements be incorrect, or my inductions illogical, I shall freely retract and apologize for them. But till then, I throw myself on the good sense of the community, and dare the consequences.

CHAPTER II.

Sketch of the state of the nation from the peace of Paris till the organization of the present federal government. Analogy with our present state. Unlimited freedom of commerce fairly tested.

At the close of the revolutionary war, the trade of America was free and unrestrained in the fullest sense of the word, according to the theory of Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, the Edinburgh Reviewers, and the authors of the Encyclopædia. Her ports were open, with scarcely any duties, to the vessels and merchandize of all other nations.

The rate of duties in Pennsylvania, was only two and a half per cent. Even these were nugatory: because there was a free port established at Burlington, by the state of New Jersey, where goods intended for Philadelphia were entered, and conveyed over to this city clandestinely. The same fraudulent scenes were acted in other states, and thus trade was, as I have stated, wholly free.

If enthusiasts did not too generally scorn to trammel themselves by attention to facts, which are so very troublesome, and refuse to be dove-tailed into their specious theories, this case would settle the question of unrestrained commerce for ever—and prove, that the system ought to be postponed till the millennium, when it is possible it may stand a chance of promoting the welfare of mankind. But till then, woe to the nation that adopts it. Her destruction is sealed.

To a theorist “facts are stubborn things,” not unlike those formidable obstructions in the Mississippi, which, in the elegant diction of the navigators of that immense river, are called *snags* and *sawyers*. When their barks come in contact with them, a wreck ensues. They therefore take all imaginable care to avoid them. Thus it is with the true theorist. He carefully avoids all the facts that endanger his system, how strong or convincing soever they may be. This saves an immensity of trouble. Hence in some of the grand systems of political economy, which have acquired great celebrity, you may travel through fifty or a hundred pages together, of most harmonious prose, all derived from a luxuriant imagination, without your career being arrested by a single fact. But on a little reflection or examination, you may as readily

find a single fact, recorded elsewhere in ten lines, which demolishes the whole.

From almost every nation in Europe, large shipments were made to this country—many of them of the most ludicrous kind, which implied an utter ignorance of the wants, the situation and the resources of the United States. Among the rest, the recesses of Monmouth street, in London, and Plunket street, in Dublin, the receptacles of the cast-off clothes of the two metropolises, were emptied of a portion of their contents ; for it was supposed that the war had rendered the nation destitute of every thing, even of covering. Happy was the man who could send “ *a venture*,” as it was called, to this country, which the misguided Europeans supposed an El Dorado, where every thing was to be converted into gold with a cent per cent. profit at least. Goods often lay on the wharves for many days for want of store room. House rent rose to double and treble the former rates. The importers and consignees at first sold at great advances—and believed they were rapidly indemnifying themselves for the deprivations and sufferings of the war.

But these glorious times soon came to a close, like those of 1815. From “ day dreams ” and delusive scenes of boundless wealth, the citizens awoke to pinching misery and distress. The

nation had no mines to pay her debts. And industry, the only legitimate and permanent source of individual happiness, and national wealth, power, and resources, was destroyed, as it has recently been by the influx, and finally by the depreciation of the price, of the imported articles: for the quantity on hands being equal to the consumption of two or three years, of course the great mass of goods fell below cost—often to half and one-third. All our citizens were at once converted into disciples of Adam Smith. They purchased every species of goods “cheaper than they could be manufactured at home.” Accordingly domestic manufactures were arrested in their career. The weaver, the shoemaker, the hatter, the saddler, the sugar baker, the brewer, the rope maker, the paper maker, &c. were reduced to bankruptcy. Their establishments were suspended. Their workmen were consigned to idleness and beggary. The payment for the foreign rubbish exhausted the country of nearly the whole of its specie, immense quantities of which had been introduced to pay the French armies, and likewise from the Spanish colonies. Two-thirds probably of the specie then in the country were composed of French crowns.

However calamitous the present state of affairs, we have not yet sunk to so low an ebb, as at that period. I have in 1786 seen sixteen

houses to let in two squares, of about 800 feet, in one of the best sites for business in Philadelphia. Real property could hardly find a market. The number of persons reduced to distress, and forced to sell their merchandize, was so great, and those who had money to invest, were so very few, that the sacrifices were immense. Debtors were ruined, without paying a fourth of the demands of their creditors. There were most unprecedented transfers of property. Men worth large estates, who had unfortunately entered into business, were in a year or two totally ruined—and those who had a command of ready money, quadrupled or quintupled their estates in an equally short space. Confidence was so wholly destroyed, that interest rose to two, two and a half, and three per cent. per month. And bonds, and judgments, and mortgages were sold at a discount of twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty per cent. In a word, few countries have experienced a more awful state of distress and wretchedness.

While our citizens were writhing under these evils, destitute of a circulating medium, industry universally paralyzed, thousands every where deprived of the means of supporting their families, bankruptcy daily swallowing up in its vortex our merchants, tradesmen, manufacturers, and artisans—it is not wonderful that recourse was had to various indefensible means

to palliate the evils. The real source, that is, the want of an adequate tariff to protect national industry by high duties and prohibitions, was not explored—and even if it had been, there existed no authority competent to apply a remedy.

Among the expedients employed, emissions of paper money, legal tenders, appraisement acts, and suspensions of the operation of courts of justice in regard to the collection of debts, were the most prominent. These were but miserable palliatives of a disorder arising solely, I repeat, from the destruction of the national industry, and which nothing but its resuscitation could remove.

In Massachusetts, the sufferings rose higher than in any other part of the United States. Riotous collections of people assembled in various parts at the periods for convening the courts of common pleas, to prevent their proceedings, and actually in every instance but one, according to Judge Marshal, carried their purposes into execution. In fact, so severe was the distress, and so numerous were the debtors, that they had a majority in the legislature more than once. The evil under the existing form of government was incurable. It ended in an open insurrection, under Shays, a revolutionary officer, which was crushed by the energy of

governor Bowdoin and his council—and the decision of generals Lincoln and Sheppard.

Some idea may be entertained of the state of public affairs, quite as deplorable as those of individuals, from the circumstance that governor Bowdoin having raised four thousand militia against the insurgents, there was not money enough in the treasury to support that small army for one week; and they could not have been marched but for the patriotism of a number of public-spirited individuals, who subscribed the sum necessary for the purpose.

The insurrection produced a salutary effect, by spreading a conviction of the utter inefficacy of the existing form of government, and of the imperious necessity of adopting a new one. The difficulty under which the federal constitution laboured in its progress, notwithstanding the impetus it received from this alarming event, shews that it would have probably failed of success, had not the public distress arrived at its highest pitch.

Those of our citizens, who ascribe the existing calamities to the baleful career of the banks, are advised to consider this parallel case, wherein banks had no agency. When the war closed, there was but one bank in the United States, that of North America, located in the city of Philadelphia, with a capital of 400,000 dollars.

And in 1785, when distress and misery pervaded the state, many of the citizens, in casting round to discover the source, believed, or affected to believe, that they sprang from the operation of this institution. Accordingly petitions were presented to the legislature to repeal its charter. Counsel were heard at the bar of the house for and against the bank—the late respected Judge Wilson in defence, and Jonathan Dickinson Sargeant, father of the present member of congress from Philadelphia, in opposition. The state, let it be observed, was then divided into two parties, very violently embittered against each other. The repeal was quite a party question, and decided by party views. The majority in the legislature were hostile to the institution, and repealed the charter, which measure they regarded as a sovereign remedy for all the existing evils. Had the repeal been effectual, it would have multiplied instead of diminishing them. But having a charter from congress, the bank set the legislature at defiance, and pursued “the even tenor of its way,” unruffled by “the peltings of the pitiless storm.”

It may gratify curiosity to see the view given of the tremendous influence which was conjured up for this institution, in order to alarm the citizens, and justify the repeal.

The committee to whom the petitions were referred, in their report stated—

“ That foreigners will doubtless be more and more induced to become stockholders, until the time may arrive when *this enormous engine of power may become subject to foreign influence*. This country may be agitated with the politics of European courts; and *the good people of America reduced once more into a state of subordination and dependence upon some one or other of the European powers!*”*

On the 17th of Feb. in the year 1784, the Massachusetts Bank was incorporated, with power to hold in real estate 50,000*l.* and to raise a capital stock of 500,000*l.* The subscription did not, I have reason to believe, exceed at that time 400,000 dollars.

In the same year, the state of New York incorporated the bank of that name, with the extent of whose capital I am unacquainted.

These were the only banks in existence in the United States, previous to the adoption of the federal constitution. And as distress and embarrassment equally pervaded those states where there were none, it is absurd to ascribe the evil to those institutions where they existed.

In North Carolina there were two emissions of paper money, with a legal tender, from 1783 to 1787. They depreciated fifty per cent. in a short time.

The following extracts will convey a tolerably adequate idea of the state of affairs during the

* Journal of the house of representatives, March 28, 1785.

period embraced in this chapter, and exonerate me from the charge of exaggeration. They cannot fail to be worthy the attention of such of our statesmen as are disposed to trace national calamities to their proper causes, in order to guard against their return at a future period.

“ In every part of these states, the scarcity of money has become a common subject of complaint. This does not seem to be an imaginary grievance, like that of hard times, of which men have complained in all ages of the world. The misfortune is general, and in many cases it is severely felt. The scarcity of money is so great, or the difficulty of paying debts has been so common, that *riots and combinations have been formed in many places, and the operations of civil government have been suspended.*”*

“ *Goods were imported to a much greater amount than could be consumed or paid for.*”†

“ Thus was the usual means of remittance by articles the growth of the country, almost annihilated, and little else than specie remained, to answer the demands incurred by importations. *The money, of course, was drawn off; and this being inadequate to the purpose of discharging the whole amount of foreign contracts, the residue was chiefly sunk by the bankruptcies of the importers.* The scarcity of specie, arising principally from this cause, was attended with evident consequences; it checked commercial intercourse throughout the community, and furnished reluctant debtors with an apology for withholding their dues both from individuals and the public.”‡

* Dr. Hugh Williamson.

† Minot's history of the Insurrection in Massachusetts, p. 2.

‡ Idem, p. 13.

“ On opening their ports, *an immense quantity of foreign merchandize was introduced into the country, and they were tempted by the sudden cheapness of imported goods, and by their own wants, to purchase beyond their capacities for payment. Into this indiscretion they were in some measure beguiled by their own sanguine calculations on the value which a free trade would bestow on the produce of their soil, and by a reliance on those evidences of the public debt which were in the hands of most of them. So extravagantly too did many estimate the temptation which equal liberty and vacant lands would hold out to emigrants from the old world, as to entertain the opinion that Europe was about to empty itself into America, and that the United States would derive from that source such an increase of population, as would enhance their lands to a price heretofore not even conjectured.*”*

“ The bonds of men, whose competency to pay their debts was unquestionable, could not be negotiated but at a discount of *thirty, forty, and fifty per centum : real property was scarcely vendible ; and sales of any articles for ready money could be made only at a ruinous loss. The prospect of extricating the country from those embarrassments was by no means flattering. Whilst every thing else fluctuated, some of the causes which produced this calamitous state of things were permanent. The hope and fear still remained, that the debtor party would obtain the victory at the elections ; and instead of making the painful effort to obtain relief by industry and economy, many rested all their hopes on legislative interference. The mass of national labour and national wealth, was consequently diminished!*”†

“ But the public treasury did not afford the means of keeping this force (under Lincoln) in the field a single week : and the legislature not being in session, the constituted authorities were incapable of putting the troops in

* Marshal's Life of Washington, V. p. 75.

† Idem, p. 88.

“motion. This difficulty was removed by individual pa-
“triotism!”*

“*Property, when brought to sale under execution, sold at so*
“*low a price as frequently ruined the debtor without paying*
“*the creditor. A disposition to resist the laws became com-*
“*mon: assemblies were called oftener and earlier than the*
“*constitution or laws required.*”†

“Laws were passed by which *property of every kind was*
“*made a legal tender in the payment of debts, though pay-*
“*able according to contract in gold or silver. Other laws*
“*installed the debt, so that of sums already due, only a*
“*third, and afterwards only a fifth, was annually recover-*
“*able in the courts of law.*”‡

“*Silver and gold, which had circulated largely in the latter*
“*years of the war, were returning by the usual course of trade,*
“*to those countries, whence large quantities of necessary and*
“*unnecessary commodities had been imported. Had any gene-*
“*ral system of impost been adopted, some part of this*
“*money might have been retained, and some part of the*
“*public debt discharged; but the power of Congress did*
“*not extend to this object; and the states were not united*
“*in the expediency of delegating new and sufficient powers*
“*to that body. The partial imposts, laid by some of the*
“*states, were ineffectual, as long as others found their in-*
“*terest in omitting them.*”§

“The people of New Hampshire petitioned; and to
“gratify them the legislature enacted, that *when any debtor*
“*shall tender to his creditor, in satisfaction of an execution for*
“*debt, either real or personal estate sufficient, the body of the*
“*debtor shall be exempt from imprisonment, and the debt*
“*shall carry an interest of six per cent.; the creditor being*
“*at liberty either to receive the estate, so tendered, at a*
“*value estimated by three appraisers, or to keep alive the*

* Idem, p. 121.

† Ramsay's S. Carolina, II. p. 428.

‡ Belknap's History of New Hampshire, II. p. 352.

§ Idem, p. 356.

“ demand by taking out an alias, within one year after the
“ return of any former execution, and levying it on any
“ estate of the debtor which he can find.”*

This distressing state of things accounts for a fact which has always excited deep regret, and which, I believe, has never been traced to its source. I mean the depreciation of the public securities, which the holders were obliged to part with at ten, twelve and fifteen cents in the dollar, whereby a large portion of the warmest friends of the revolution, who had risked their lives and embarked their entire property in its support, were wholly ruined, and many of its deadly enemies most immoderately enriched. Never was Virgil's celebrated line more applicable—

Sic vos—non vobis, mellificatis, apes.

The reader is requested to bear these pictures of distress in mind, during the perusal of the chapter in which I propose to investigate the causes assigned for the evils under which the community labours at present. They shed strong light on the subject.

Well as I am aware of the pertinacious adherence of mankind to theory, and the difficulty of breaking the intellectual chains by which it

* *Idem*, p. 429.

holds the mind, I cannot refrain from again urging the strong case of this country at that period on the most serious consideration of the disciples of Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, and the other political economists of that school. It ought to dispel for ever the mists, on the subject of unrestrained commerce, which that abstruse work, the *Wealth of Nations*, has spread abroad. Here the system had fair scope for operation. The ports of this country, I repeat, were open to the commerce of the whole world, with an impost so light as not even to meet the wants of the treasury. The consequences followed, which have never failed to follow such a state of things. Our markets were glutted. Prices fell. Competition on the part of our manufacturers was at an end. They were beggared and bankrupted. The merchants, whose importations had ruined them, were themselves involved in the calamity. And the farmers who had felicitated themselves on the grand advantage of "buying foreign merchandize cheap," sunk likewise into the vortex of general destruction.

Would to heaven that the precious and invaluable lessons these facts afford may not in future be thrown away on our statesmen and the nation at large! Had they been duly attended to, at the close of the late war, the United States, instead of the afflicting scenes they now exhibit, would present a picture of prosperity,

public and private, which would have realized the fondest anticipations of the philosophers of both hemispheres—anticipations which have been most lamentably disappointed—and “*like the baseless fabric of a vision,*” scarcely “*left a trace behind.*”

CHAPTER III.

Adoption of the federal constitution. Its happy effects. Utter impolicy of the tariff. Manufactures and manufacturers not protected. Hamilton's celebrated report. Glaring inconsistency. Excise system. Its unproductiveness.

THE adoption of the federal constitution operated like magic ; produced a total change in the state of affairs ; and actually removed no small portion of the public suffering, by the confidence it inspired, even before the measures of the government could be carried into effect.

The United States began their career in 1789 with advantages never exceeded, rarely equalled. The early administrators of the government had a high degree of responsibility. They were laying the foundations of an empire which may be the most extensive and powerful the world ever knew, and whose destinies they held in their hands.

The tariff was fraught with errors of the most grievous kind. Disregarding the examples and the systems of the wisest nations of Europe, it was calculated to sacrifice the resources of the

country for the benefit of foreign manufacturing nations. And indeed had it been framed by an agent of any of those nations, it could not have answered the purpose better. It afforded them nearly all the benefits usually derived from colonies, without the expense of their support. It deprived our manufacturing citizens of all the advantages of reciprocity in their intercourse with the rest of the world.

The era is not long passed over, when any man who dared to arraign the conduct of the early congresses under the federal constitution, and accuse them of having established tariffs which sacrificed the dearest interests of their country, and clipped its wings in its flight towards the high destinies to which its extent, its government, the energies of the people, and the great variety of other advantages which it possessed, bid it aspire, would be regarded with jealousy, and covered with obloquy. The voice of reason, of truth, and of history, would have been smothered amidst the loud clamours of prejudice and party. But I trust the fatal results of the system have prepared the public mind to hear with patience, and judge with candour, the facts on which I ground these opinions, and the inductions I draw from them.

To those who consider the mode in which the members of congress are elected—the various quarters from which they come—the differ-

ent degrees of illumination that prevail in the districts they respectively represent—how many neglect to prepare themselves fully for the stations they occupy—it will not appear wonderful that the views of a portion of them are contracted, and do not embrace on a broad and comprehensive scale, the interests of the nation as one grand whole.

The want of adequate protection to the productive industry of the manufacturers, conspicuous in the first and the succeeding tariffs, may be accounted for from the concurrence in one object, of four descriptions of citizens, whose particular views, however, were entirely different..

I. The most influential members of the mercantile class have appeared at all times jealous of the manufacturers, and been disposed to regard adequate protection to them as injurious to the prosperity of commerce. Hence they have too generally and too successfully opposed prohibitions and prohibitory duties as limiting their importations of bale goods. Although there are many gentlemen of this class whose views are expanded and liberal, there is a large proportion whose opposition remains unabated.

II. The agriculturists too have been equally jealous of the manufacturers—opposed the imposition of duties adequate to the protection of their fellow citizens—and not allowed a single

article to be prohibited. They dreaded an extravagant rise of price as a necessary result of securing the home market to our own citizens. It does not appear to have ever entered into their calculations, that, in a country like the United States, where monopolies are excluded, and where industry and enterprize so generally prevail, and are so wholly uncontrolled, the competition would, to use the words of Alexander Hamilton, assuredly "*bring prices to their proper level.*"

III. The third description comprised the disciples of Adam Smith, who contended that trade ought to be allowed to regulate itself—that commerce should be left unrestrained—that all nations ought to buy wherever they could procure articles cheapest, &c. &c.

IV. The fourth class considered themselves, and were regarded by others, as of a higher order. The whole of their political economy was, however, confined within very narrow limits. It never travelled beyond the collection of revenue. The ways and means were their alpha and omega, their sine qua non. Provided the treasury was overflowing, they had neither eyes, nor ears, nor tongue for any other object. The spread of bankruptcy throughout our cities—the decay of splendid manufacturing establishments—the distress of thousands of useful men—the wailings of helpless women and children

—never excited any alarm. The importation of foreign goods, to the amount of 60,000,000 dollars, which exhausted the country of its specie, produced almost universal distress and devoted thousands of workmen to idleness, and part of them to beggary, was a subject of rejoicing—for it brought 15,000,000 dollars into the treasury ! This was the salve for every sore—the panacea, which, like the waters of the Jordan, cleansed off all the ulcers and foulnesses of the body politic.

This statement may appear too severe. But I beg the reader will not decide on the correctness or incorrectness of it, till he has read the chapter on the contumelious and unfeeling neglect of the pathetic applications of the manufacturers to congress for relief in 1816, 1817, and 1818.

The views of these four descriptions of citizens were aided by the extensive prevalence of a host of prejudices, which were sedulously inculcated by foreign agents, whose wealth and prosperity depended on keeping this market open to their fabrics, and repressing the growth of our manufactures.

1. The idea of the immense superiority of agricultural pursuits and agriculturists over manufactures and manufacturers, was almost universally prevalent. It had been fondly cherished by Great Britain and her friends here during the

colonial state of the country, and long afterwards : and no small portion of the citizens of the United States were unable to divest their minds of the colonial trammels, when the country assumed its independent rank among nations.

2. The same keen sensibility on the subject of smuggling was manifested, as we have so often witnessed more recently. This was assigned as a reason for admitting three-fourths of all the manufactured merchandize under a duty of five per cent.!!

3. The miserable outcry on the subject of "*taxing the many for the benefit of the few,*" which is still used as a sort of war whoop against the manufacturers, was then in full force.

4. The back lands, it was asserted, ought to be cultivated before the labour of our citizens was diverted off to manufactures.

5. The high price of labour in this country was by many regarded as an insuperable bar, and a proof that "we were not yet ripe for manufactures."

6. The demoralization asserted to be inseparable from manufacturing establishments, was among the prominent objections.

'There is a magic in great names which renders their errors highly pernicious. That Mr.

Jefferson is a truly great man, is now, I believe, universally admitted, since the baleful passions, excited by party, have subsided, and the atrocious calumnies with which, in the days of faction and delusion, he was overwhelmed, have sunk into deserved oblivion. But that he has had no small degree of instrumentality in giving currency to the system we have pursued, it would be vain to deny. He has drawn a contrast between manufactures and agriculture, so immensely advantageous to the latter, as to have fostered the old, and excited new prejudices against the former, many of which still maintain their sway. Mr. Jefferson was born, brought up and lived in a slave-holding state, a large portion of the industry of which is devoted to the culture of tobacco, one of the most pernicious kinds of employment in the world. It more completely exhausts the soil, and debases and wears out the wretched labourer, than any other species of cultivation. How, under such circumstances, he could have drawn such a captivating picture of the labours of the field, it is difficult to say. His Arcadia must have been sought, not in Virginia or Maryland, but in the tales of Chaucer or sir Philip Sydney.

This is not a place to enter into a comparison of these occupations, otherwise the boasted superiority might be found not to rest on so stable a basis as is generally supposed.

Mr. Jefferson lately retracted his opinions on

those subjects. In a letter to B. Austin, Esq. of Boston, he distinctly states :—

“ 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.”

“ Experience has taught me, that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence, as to our comfort.”

In order to justify the character I have given of the tariff of 1789, I annex a description of two tariffs, one calculated to protect and promote individual industry and national prosperity, and the other to destroy both.

FEATURES.

A sound tariff

1. Renders revenue subservient to the promotion of individual industry and national prosperity.
2. Prohibits such articles as can be fully supplied at home on reasonable terms.
3. Imposes heavy duties on articles interfering with the rising manufactures of the country.
4. Admits articles that do not interfere with the manufactures of the nation on light duties.

A pernicious tariff

1. Regards revenue as the grand object of solicitude.
2. Prohibits no article whatever, however competent the country may be to supply itself.
3. Imposes such low duties on manufactures, as, while they serve the purposes of revenue, cannot promote national industry, or prevent or materially check importation.
4. Raises as large a portion of the revenue as possible on articles not interfering with the manufactures of the nation.

CONSEQUENCES.

A sound tariff

- Secures employment to industry, capital, talent, and enterprize.
- Preserves the circulating medium, and daily adds to the wealth, power, and resources of the nation.
- Extends prosperity and happiness in every direction.

A pernicious tariff

- Deprives a large portion of the industry, capital, talent, and enterprize of the citizens of employment.
- Drains away the circulating medium, and exhausts the national resources.
- Spreads misery and distress through the country, as we find by dear bought experience.

If the tariff in question be tried by this standard, which I trust will be found correct, and by its results, I shall be exonerated from censure. It was extremely simple. It enumerated about thirty manufactured articles, subject to seven and a half and ten per cent. duty—Coaches, chaises, &c. to fifteen—and about eight or ten to specific duties. All the remainder were thrown together, as non-enumerated, and *subject to five per cent.!!* Its protection of agriculture is reserved as the subject of another chapter.

At 7½ per cent.

Blank books,	Tin and pewter ware,
Paper,	Canes,
Paper hangings,	Whips,
Cabinet wares,	Ready made clothing,
Buttons,	Brushes,
Saddles,	Gold, silver, and plated ware,
Tanned leather,	Jewelry,
Anchors,	Paste work,
Wrought iron,	Manufactures of leather,
Gloves,	Hats:
Millenery,	

At 10 per cent.

Looking glasses,	Buckles,
Window and other glass,	Gold and silver lace,
Gunpowder,	Gold and silver leaf,
China, stone and earthen ware,	Paints.

At 15 per cent.

Coaches, chariots, chaises, solos, &c.

Subject to specific duties.

	<i>Cents.</i>		<i>Cents.</i>
Boots, per pair - - -	50	Untarred cordage and	
Leather shoes - - -	7	yarn, per cwt.	90
Silk shoes or slippers -	10	Twine or pack thread,	
Cables, per cwt. - - -	75	per cwt.	200
Tarred cordage, do. -	75	Wool and cotton cards,	
Unwrought steel, per lb.	56	per dozen - - -	50

Non-enumerated articles, subject to 5 per cent.

Bricks,	Cannon,
Brass in sheets,	Cutlery,
Brazing copper,	<i>Cotton goods of all kinds,</i>
Combs,	Fire arms,
Clocks,	Gilt wares,
Copper bottoms,	Hempen cloth,
Hair powder,	<i>Iron manufactures,</i>
Inkpowder,	Japanned wares,
<i>Linens and other manufac-</i>	<i>Lead manufactures,</i>
<i>tures of flax,</i>	Muskets,
Maps and Charts,	Printing types,
Paints,	<i>Pottery,</i>
Printed books,	Pins,
Paintings,	Steel manufactures,
Silks,	Stone ware,
Slates,	Side arms,
Starch,	Sail cloth,
Sealing wax,	Tin wares,
Worsted shoes,	Wood manufactures,
Brass manufactures,	<i>Woollen goods of every kind!!</i>
China ware,	&c. &c.

In order to form a correct estimate of the effect of those duties as protection, it is necessary to take a view of the situation of this country and of those with which our citizens were to

compete—which were principally, Great Britain, France, Germany, and the East Indies.

The United States had recently emerged from a desolating war of seven years duration, and a peace of six years had been as destructive to their resources. Their manufacturers were possessed of slender capitals, and as slender credit. Workmen were inexperienced—and wages high. All the expenses, moreover, of incipient undertakings were to be encountered. The chief counterbalance for all these disadvantages, was the freight and commission on the rival articles.

Great Britain possessed every possible advantage in the conflict. Her manufacturers had the secure possession of their domestic market—and had only to send their surplus productions to this country—their machinery was excellent—they had drawbacks, in general equal to, and often greater than, the expenses of transportation—skilful workmen—and wages comparatively low. Her merchants were possessed of immense capitals, and gave most liberal credits.

The cheapness of living and labour in France, Germany, and more particularly in the East Indies, afforded the people of those countries advantages over our manufacturers, only inferior to those enjoyed by Great Britain.

Under these circumstances, I trust it will be admitted by every man of candour that it would

be a mere mockery and insult to common sense, to pretend that five per cent., which, as appears above, was the duty on seven-eighths of all the manufactured articles imported into this country, was imposed with a view to protection. Revenue alone was the object.

Having to struggle with such a lamentably impolitic system, it is wonderful that our manufactures made any progress. It reflects great credit on our citizens, that they were able to emerge from such an overwhelming mass of difficulties, as they had to encounter.

While the grand leading manufactures of cotton, wool, iron, steel, lead, flax, and pottery; were thus subject to only five per cent. duty, lest smuggling should be encouraged, it may afford some gratification to curiosity to exhibit a statement of the very high duties on tea, coffee, rum, &c. which were wholly unrestrained by any fear of smuggling.

1789.	Price.	Duty.	Per cent.
Souchong, per lb. - - - - -	39	10	25
Hyson do. - - - - -	49	20	40
Bohea do. - - - - -	15	6	40
Madeira, per gallon - - - - -	100	18	18
Jamaica rum, do. - - - - -	40	10	25
Coffee, per lb. - - - - -	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	20
Sugar, do. - - - - -	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30
Salt, per bushel - - - - -	12	6	50

Thus a yard of broad cloth or muslin, value four dollars, paid no more duty than a pound of hyson tea, value 49 cents!

The amount of goods subject to ad valorem duties, imported in 1789, 1790, and 1791, was as follows—

Per cent.	1789.	1790.	1791.
5	\$ 7,136,578	\$ 14,605,713	\$ 11,036,477
7½	520,182	1,067,143	7,708,337
10	305,248	699,149	1,114,463
12½	5		314,206
15	2,700	4,876	5,654
	\$ 7,969,731	\$ 16,376,881	\$ 19,179,137*

The duties on the above were about 2,600,000 dollars: and the whole amount of the impost for those three years, was \$ 6,494,225 dollars.†

The residue, about 3,800,000, was collected principally from teas, wines, sugar, salt, spirits, spices, and coffee! This completely justifies the character of the tariff, that as large a portion as possible of the impost was levied on articles not interfering with national industry; and that the duties on manufactured merchandize were as light as the exigencies of the government would admit.

The manufacturers at this period, as they have done so often since, besought the protection and threw themselves on the liberality of congress; but they experienced the same degree of slight as they have done in 1816-17. On the eleventh of April, 1789, Samuel Smith,

* Seybert, 158.

† Idem, 395.

Esq. of Maryland, presented to congress a memorial from the manufacturers of Baltimore, stating—

“ That since the close of the late war, and the completion
“ of the revolution, they have observed with serious regret
“ the manufacturing and the trading interest of the country
“ rapidly declining, and the attempts of the state legislatures
“ to remedy the evil, failing of their object; that in the
“ present melancholy state of our country, the number of
“ poor increasing for want of employment, foreign debts
“ accumulating, houses and lands depreciating in value, and
“ trade and manufactures languishing and expiring; they
“ look up to the supreme legislature of the United States,
“ as the guardians of the whole empire, and from their uni-
“ ted wisdom and patriotism, and ardent love of their coun-
“ try, expect to derive that aid and assistance, which alone
“ can dissipate their just apprehensions, and animate them
“ with hopes of success in future; by imposing *on all foreign*
“ *articles, which can be made in America, such duties as will*
“ *give a just and decided preference to their labours; discour-*
“ *tenancing that trade which tends so materially to injure*
“ *them and impoverish their country; measures which in*
“ *their consequences may contribute to the discharge of the*
“ *national debt, and the due support of government; that*
“ *they have annexed a list of such articles as are, or can*
“ *be manufactured amongst them, and humbly trust in the*
“ *wisdom of the legislature to grant them, in common with*
“ *other mechanics and manufacturers of the United States,*
“ *that relief that may appear proper.*”*

It would require a long chapter to develop the utter impolicy of this tariff, and its inauspicious effects on the industry and happiness of a

* Debates of Congress, I. 29.

large portion of our citizens, and on the national prosperity. My limits forbid me to display the whole of its deformity. I annex one further view of it:

In 1793, the amount of merchandize imported		
at $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 per cent. was about	- -	\$ 15,328,000*
On which the net duty was about	- -	<u>\$ 1,151,000</u>

This included all articles of clothing, whether cotton, woollen, or silk, (except India goods, subject to twelve and a half per cent.)

The net duty on coffee for the same year was \$ 1,226,724†

Or nearly ten per cent. more than on the whole of the clothing of the nation!

Let us examine how this might have been arranged for the promotion of the prosperity of the country.

Suppose that the duty on coffee had been reduced so as to raise only	- - -	\$ 700,000
And that the duty on cotton and woollen goods had been raised to 20 per cent., which might have reduced the importation to \$ 8,500,000, and produced	- - - - -	1,700,000
		<u>\$ 2,400,000</u>

which is beyond the aggregate of the duties stated.

* Seybert, 158.

† Idem, 438.

Or, suppose that the duty on coffee had remained unaltered, and on cottons and woollens been increased to 25 per cent.—and that the importations had been diminished to 5,000,000 of dollars, the revenue would have been unimpaired.

What an immense difference! In one case nearly 7,000,000, and in the other 10,000,000 of dollars saved to the country! Three or four hundred thousand people rendered happy! A market for the farmers for probably 3,000,000 lbs. of wool! and for the planters for 4,000,000 lbs. of cotton!

But it is a humiliating truth, that very few of our statesmen have ever predicated their measures on national views. They are almost all sectional. They do not fall within Rousseau's description :—

“ It belongs to the real statesman to elevate his views in the imposition of taxes, above the mere object of finance, and to transform them into useful regulations.”

It is a melancholy operation for a real friend to the honour, power, resources, and happiness of the United States, to compare the tariff of 1789, and the principles on which it is predicated, with the preamble to a law of the state of Pennsylvania, passed anno 1785, four years before. The sound policy, the fostering care of its citizens, and of the resources of the state display-

ed in the latter, form a strong and decisive contrast with the utter impolicy of the tariff.

SECT. I. “Whereas divers useful and beneficial arts and manufactures have been gradually introduced into Pennsylvania, and the same have at length risen to a very considerable extent and perfection, insomuch that *during the late war between the United States of America and Great Britain, when the importation of European goods was much interrupted, and often very difficult and uncertain, the artisans and mechanics of this state, were able to supply in the hours of need, not only large quantities of weapons and other implements, but also ammunition and clothing, without which the war could not have been carried on, where- by their oppressed country was greatly assisted and relieved.*

SECT. II. “And whereas, *although the fabrics and manufactures of Europe and other foreign parts, imported into this country in times of peace, may be afforded at cheaper rates than they can be made here, yet good policy and a regard to the well being of divers useful and industrious citizens, who are employed in the making of like goods in this state, demand of us that moderate duties be laid on certain fabrics and manufactures imported, which do most interfere with, and which (if no relief be given) will undermine and destroy the useful manufactures of the like kind in this country: For this purpose,*” &c. &c.

In the year 1790, Alexander Hamilton, who saw the errors of the tariff of the preceding year, presented congress with his celebrated Report on Manufactures, the most perfect and luminous work ever published on the subject. It embraces all the great principles of the science of political economy, respecting that portion of the national industry applied to manufactures,

and is admirably calculated to advance the happiness of the people, and the wealth, power, and resources of nations. It more richly deserves the title of "The Wealth of Nations," than the celebrated work that bears the name.

This Report swept away, by the strongest arguments, all the plausible objections on which the paralyzing influence of the tariff rested for support. The lucid reasoning, as level to the most common capacity, as to the most profound statesman, is not enveloped in those abstractions and metaphysical subtleties which abound in most of the books on this subject, and which, like the airy spectres of the dreamer, elude the grasp of the mind.

I annex a few of those grand and sublime truths, with which this work abounds, and which bear the strongest testimony against, and condemnation of, the course which this country has pursued.

*"The substitution of foreign for domestic manufactures, is a transfer to foreign nations of the advantages of machinery in the modes in which it is capable of being employed with most utility and to the greatest extent."**

How many millions of the wealth of this country have been thus "transferred to foreign nations" during the thirty years of our career!

* Hamilton's Works, Vol. I.

How much of this wealth was used to scourge us at Washington, on the frontiers of Canada, and in the Chesapeake! What a lamentable use we have made of the advantages which heaven has lavished on us!

“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.*”*

What a lesson is here for the farmers and planters, who have been unhappily excited to view with jealousy and hostility those citizens who contribute so largely to their prosperity!

“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.”*

“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.*”*

“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

* Hamilton's Works, Vol. I.

“ all the essentials of national supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, clothing, and defence.”*

“ 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.*”*

Mr. Hamilton, however, displayed an extreme degree of inconsistency. Notwithstanding the conclusive and irresistible arguments of his report, in favour of a decided protection of manufactures, and notwithstanding the failure of many promising efforts at their establishment, in consequence of the deluge of goods poured into the market, instead of recommending an adequate enhancement of duties to supply some deficiency of revenue in 1790, he submitted a plan for an excise on spirituous liquors, which was one of the most universally odious and unpopular measures that could be devised. It excited the western insurrection; thereby tarnished the character of the country; and jeopardized the government in its infancy.

However strong the arguments may be in favour of an excise on spirits, in a moral point of view, it was under existing circumstances extremely impolitic. For the paltry amount raised

* Hamilton's Works, Vol. I.

from it for a considerable time after its adoption, it was not worth while to incur the disaffection of the citizens. The receipts for the first four years were—

In 1792	- - - - -	\$ 208,942
1793	- - - - -	337,705
1794	- - - - -	274,689
1795	- - - - -	337,755
Four years	- - - - -	<u>\$ 1,158,491*</u>
Average	- - - - -	<u>\$ 289,622</u>

What a miserable sum as a set off against the oppression and vexation of an excise—and the insurrection it excited! How incalculably sounder policy it would have been, to have increased the duties on manufactured articles, which would not only have answered the purpose of meeting the additional demands of the treasury, and given a spring to the industry of our citizens; but made an important addition to the wealth, power and resources of the nation!

The importations in 1792, subject to five and seven and a half per cent. duty—

Amounted to	- - - - -	\$ 16,221,000†
1793, at 7½ and 8	- - - - -	14,966,000
1794, at 7½ and 10	- - - - -	17,700,000
1795, at 10	- - - - -	16,447,000
Four years,	- - - - -	<u>\$ 65,334,000</u>

* Seybert, 477. † Idem, 159.

Two per cent. on this sum would have been \$ 1,306,620

Annual average - - - - - \$ 326,655

more than the net revenue arising from the excise, and with scarcely a dollar additional expense in the collection.

CHAPTER IV.

Memorials to congress. Deceptious report. List of exports. Tariff of 1804. Wonderful omission. Immense importations of cotton and woolen goods. Exportations of cotton.

IN the years 1802, 3, and 4, memorials were presented to congress from almost every description of manufacturers, praying for further protection. In the two first years they were treated with utter slight, and nothing was done whatever.

In 1804, the committee on commerce and manufactures made a very superficial report, from which I submit the following extract as a specimen of the sagacity of its authors.

“ There may be some danger in refusing to admit the manufactures of foreign countries ; for by the adoption of such a measure, we should have no market abroad, and industry would lose one of its chief incentives at home.”

This paragraph is superlatively absurd, and indeed more than absurd. It is wicked. In order to defeat the object of the memorialists, it assumes for them requisitions which they did not contemplate, and which of course their memo-

rials did not warrant. No sound man in the United States ever contemplated the total "*exclusion of foreign manufactures.*" It was merely requested that the memorialists should not themselves be "*excluded*" from the domestic market by foreign rivals—and that the industry of our citizens should be so far patronized, that they might be enabled to supply a portion of the thirty millions of dollars, principally of clothing, imported that year.

But admitting for a moment, for the sake of argument, that foreign manufactures had been excluded, who could persuade himself, that we should therefore "have no market abroad for our produce?" War at that time raged in almost every part of Europe, and the West Indies: and those who purchased our produce, had at least as powerful reasons to purchase as we had to sell. The inhabitants of an island in danger of starvation would suffer more from being deprived of supplies, than the producers by the privation of a market.

To evince the futility of the ground assumed in the report, I annex a list of some of the great leading articles exported in that year:—

Flour	- - - - -	barrels	810,000
Indian corn	- - - - -	bushels	1,944,873
Beef	- - - - -	barrels	134,896
Indian meal	- - - - -	barrels	111,327
Hams	- - - - -	pounds	1,904,284

Butter	- - - - -	pounds	2,476,550
Cheese	- - - - -	pounds	1,299,872
Lard	- - - - -	pounds	2,565,719
Candles	- - - - -	pounds	2,239,356
Cotton	- - - - -	pounds	35,034,175
Tar	- - - - -	barrels	58,181
Turpentine	- - - - -	barrels	77,827
Staves and heading	- - - - -	feet	34,614,000
Boards, plank and scantling	- - - - -	feet	76,000,000*

These, gentle reader, are the kinds of produce, which the framers of this very profound report were fearful would not find a market, if “foreign merchandize was excluded.” Such are the displays of wisdom and political economy made to the legislature of “the most enlightened nation in the world.”

This subject deserves to be further analyzed. To reduce it to plain English, it means, that, if the United States laid heavy or prohibitory duties on silks, sattins, shawls, &c. or prohibited East India cotton goods, &c. the people of the West Indies would refuse to purchase our lumber—the Manchester manufacturers our cotton—and the governments of Spain and Portugal, our flour, Indian meal, &c. &c. Such profound views of political economy cannot fail to excite a high degree of respect and admiration.

In the year 1804, the demands of the treasury had greatly increased by an augmentation of ex-

* Seybert, 110.

penditure, and by the \$ 15,000,000 of debt funded for the purchase of Louisiana. This required an increase of duties. But the same impolicy and neglect of affording adequate protection to the productive industry of the country that prevailed in the former tariffs, appear in that of this year.

The old system was continued, of raising as large a portion as possible of the impost on articles not interfering with our manufactures, and laying duties comparatively light on manufactures. Accordingly the duties on teas, wines, coffee, sugar, &c. were raised without fear of smuggling.

1804.	<i>Price.</i> Cents.	<i>Duty.</i> Cents.	<i>Per cent.</i>
Bohea tea per lb. - - -	14	12	85
Souchong do. - - - -	41	18	44
Hyson do. - - - -	56	32	57
Hyson skin do. - - - -	24	20	83
Imperial do. - - - -	75	32	40
Lisbon wine per gallon - -	80	30	37½
London market Madeira do.	160	58	36
Coffee, per lb. - - -	15	5	33

While these articles were dutied thus high, cotton and woollen goods, which formed the great mass of the clothing of the country, were subject to only fifteen per cent., which, in the improved state of the machinery of Great Britain, and, so far as respects cotton, the low price of labour in the East Indies, was so wholly inadequate for protection, that very few attempts

were made to establish them on an extensive scale, and thus the nation was drained of immense sums, for articles of which it could have supplied a superabundance.

It is a remarkable and most extraordinary fact, that *cotton goods were never mentioned in the tariff, before 1804—nor woollen goods before 1816*, when the government had been in operation 27 years! They were passed over, and fell within the class of non-enumerated articles. It is impossible to reflect on this fact, without astonishment, and a conviction that there never was adequate attention bestowed on the concoction of the tariff, which, while it was silent respecting those important articles, descended to the enumeration of artificial flowers, cosmetics, bricks and tiles, dentifrice, dates, dolls, essences, fans, fringes, glue, tassels and trimmings, limes and lemons, mittens, gloves, powders, pastes, washes, tinctures, plums, prunes, toys, wafers, &c. &c.

As few persons are aware of the extravagant extent of the importations of clothing, I annex the amount for five years, of articles subject to 15 per cent. duty, of which about nine-tenths were cotton and woollen goods.

(74)

1804	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 30,285,267
1805	-	-	-	-	-	-	37,137,598
1806	-	-	-	-	-	-	43,115,367
1807	-	-	-	-	-	-	46,031,742
1808	-	-	-	-	-	-	23,780,758
							<hr/>
							\$ 180,350,732*
							<hr/>

The re-exportation of articles of
the same description for these years,
was—

1804	-	-	-	-	\$ 000,000
1805	-	-	-	-	1,587,801
1806	-	-	-	-	2,075,601
1807	-	-	-	-	2,197,383
1808	-	-	-	-	755,085
					<hr/>
					6,615,870†
					<hr/>
Balance	-	-	-	-	173,737,862
Deduct for sundries, say ten per cent.					17,373,786
					<hr/>
Cotton and woollen goods consumed in five years	-	-	-	-	\$ 156,364,076
					<hr/>

Had the duty been twenty-five per cent., and
the imports 100,000,000, the revenue would
have gained, and there would have been an im-
mense saving to the nation of above 50,000,000
of dollars in four years! When will statesmen

learn the grand secret of “*transforming taxes into useful regulations?*”

During these five years, we exported of raw cotton—

1804	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	lbs. 36,034,175
1805	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38,390,087
1806	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38,657,465
1807	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63,944,559
1808	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,630,445
								<hr/>
								lbs. 183,656,713
								<hr/>

Although we supplied Great Britain with more than a third of the cotton she used, so little protection was afforded to the manufacture of the article here, that in the year 1805, our consumption was only 1000 bags; whereas, had the fostering care of the government been extended to it, we might have used 100,000. And this all-important manufacture, for which this country is so peculiarly fitted by its capacity of producing the raw material to any extent; its boundless water powers, its admirable machinery, and the skill of its citizens, never took root here until the non-intercourse and other restrictive measures, affording our citizens a fair chance in their own market, they were encouraged to turn their attention, and devote their talents and capital to this grand object. In five years, that is, in 1810, merely through this encouragement, the consumption increased ten-fold, to 10,000 bales, or 3,000,000 lbs. In five more, in consequence of

the war, it rose to 90,000 bales, or 27,000,000 lbs. This affords a clear and decisive proof that nothing but a sound policy was necessary to have brought it early to perfect maturity.

There is not perhaps in history a greater instance of utter impolicy and disregard of the maxims of all profound statesmen, or of the solid and substantial interests of a nation, than this most lamentable fact exhibits. An inexhaustible source of national wealth, power, and resources, and of individual happiness, was bestowed on us by heaven, and prodigally lavished away, in favour of foreign nations who made use of the wealth thus absurdly bestowed, to jeopardize our independence ;—under the absurd idea that as we had so many millions of acres of back lands uncultivated, we ought not to encourage manufactures !! Ineffable delusion ! As if the thousands of men brought up to cotton weaving, who, under proper encouragement, would have migrated to this country, could be immediately transformed into back country farmers, and induced to encounter all the horrors of clearing the wilderness ! This would be on a level with some of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. And as if the vast numbers of old men, of women, and children, who might be most advantageously employed for themselves and for the nation, in this branch, were in any degree calculated for a country life, even under its most inviting form !

CHAPTER V.

Various causes which prevented the ruinous operation of the early tariffs. Declaration of war. Blankets for Indians. Disgraceful situation of the United States. Governor Gerry. Sufferings of the army. Rapid progress of national industry.

A VARIETY of circumstances, which ought to have been noted in page 47, combined to rescue the United States from the ruinous consequences that would otherwise have naturally flowed from the impolicy of the tariffs of 1789, 1792, and 1804; of which, as I have already stated, the obvious tendency was to afford the manufacturing nations of Europe, nearly all the advantages they could have derived from this country in its colonial state.

The provision in 1790, for funding the debt of the United States, threw into circulation an immense capital, which gave life and activity to business. The establishment, about the same time, of the Bank of the United States, afforded additional facilities to trade and commerce. And the wars of the French revolution opened

a market for the productions of our agriculture, in many instances at most exorbitant prices ; for instance, occasionally from fifteen to twenty dollars per barrel for flour in the West Indies, Spain, and Portugal, and other articles in proportion. We were thus enabled to pay for the extravagant quantities of manufactures which we consumed, and with which we could and ought to have supplied ourselves.

The dreadful scenes in St. Domingo brought immense wealth into this country with the emigrants who purchased safety by flight from their paternal estates and their native land.

For a considerable time, moreover, we were almost the sole carriers of the colonial produce of the enemies of Great Britain ; as her fleets were in full possession of the seas, and there was no safety for the vessels of those powers in hostility with her.

But it was obvious that this system rested the prosperity of the nation on the sandy foundation of the wars, desolation, and misery of our fellow men. And as it was not probable that they would continue to cut each other's throats to promote our welfare, a close of this dazzling scene was to be expected, for which sound policy required provision to be made. But this duty was totally neglected. We proceeded as if this state of affairs were to last for ever. At length we were abruptly cut off from the mar-

kets of Europe, and then a new order of things arose, to dispel the prevalent delusion.

On the 18th of June, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain: This event placed the ruinous and deplorable policy of our government, on the subject of its manufactures, in a glaring point of light. With raw materials in abundance, skill, enterprize, industry, water power, and capital to the utmost extent, to secure a full supply for nearly all our wants, we had, in defiance of the soundest maxims of policy, absurdly *depended on foreign nations for a great variety of necessary articles, and even, Oh, shame! for our clothing, than which the mind of man can hardly conceive of more utter want of policy.*

In consequence of this miserable system, at the commencement of the war, the nation suffered the disgrace of a regular proposition being offered to congress by the secretary at war, *to suspend the non-importation act for the purpose of importing a supply of five or six thousand blankets for the Indians,* for whom the department had not been able to make provision! and who had of course become clamorous at the disappointment! This melancholy tale will hardly find credence. It is, nevertheless, sacredly true; and if dear-bought experience were of any avail in the regulation of the affairs of nations, this simple fact would be an invaluable lesson to our statesmen, to warn them against the rock of

abandoning national industry. But, alas! to the incalculable injury of the nation, it was entirely disregarded in four short years, as will appear in the sequel.

The good old governor of Massachusetts, Elbridge Gerry, felt deep distress at the bitter draught of the dregs of the chalice of humiliation swallowed at this crisis by the government of the United States, and brought the affair before the legislature of that state.

“ It being officially announced, that the Indians complain they cannot receive the usual supplies of goods, by reason of the non-importation act, and that they were not to be purchased within the United States.

“ I submit to your consideration, whether it is not incumbent on this state, to use the means in its power for *enabling the national government to rise superior to such a humiliating circumstance!* In the year 1775, when our war with Great Britain commenced, and when, immediately preceding it, a non-importation act had been strictly carried into effect, the state of Massachusetts apportioned on their towns, respectively, to be manufactured by them, articles of clothing wanted for their proportion of the army, which besieged Boston; fixed the prices and qualities of those articles, and they were duly supplied within a short period.

“ Thus, before we had arrived at the threshold of independence, and when we were in an exhausted state, by the antecedent, voluntary and patriotic sacrifice of our commerce, *between thirteen and fourteen thousand cloth coats were manufactured, made and delivered into our magazine, within a few months from the date of the resolve which first communicated the requisition.*

“ Thirty six years have since elapsed, during twenty-nine

“ of which we have enjoyed peace and prosperity, and have
“ increased in numbers, manufactures, wealth and re-
“ sources, beyond the most sanguine expectations.

“ All branches of this government have declared their
“ opinion, and I conceive on the most solid principle, that
“ as a nation *we are independent* of any other, for the neces-
“ saries, conveniences, and for many of the luxuries of life.

“ Let us not, then, at this critical period, admit any ob-
“ struction, which we have power to remove, to discourage
“ or retard the national exertions for asserting and main-
“ taining our rights; and above all, let us convince Great
“ Britain that we can and will be independent of her for
“ every article of commerce whilst she continues to be the
“ ostensible friend, but the implacable foe of our prosperity,
“ government, union, and independence.”

What a melancholy difference between the two epochs, 1775, and 1812! Strength and vigour in youth—feebleness and decay in manhood! What lamentable havoc of national resources in the interim!

Mr. Gerry says, “ *as a nation we are independent of every other.*” This is a most egregious error. “ *As a nation,*” extent of resources considered, there was not then, nor is there now, a more dependent people, perhaps, in the world. In our towns and cities, one-half of our population, males and females, are covered with the fabrics and in the fashions of foreign nations. He should have said, “ *we may and ought to be independent.*” Two or three small words make an immense difference.

If any thing could add to the mortification

and regret which this circumstance must excite, it is, that the quantity of wool sheared in 1810 was estimated at 13 or 14,000,000 lbs., and in 1812, at 20 or 22,000,000 ;* and that various promising attempts to establish the woollen manufacture, had been made at different periods, during the preceding years, which, for want of protection, had failed of success.

Next to the waste of the immense advantages we possess for the manufacture of cotton, is to be lamented the impolitic and irreparable destruction of the merino sheep, of which we had to the value of about one million of dollars, which government, by an increase of duty on woollens, might have easily preserved. The contrast between our abandonment of them, and the great pains taken, and expense incurred by different nations to possess themselves of this treasure, is strong and striking.

Hundreds of our ill-fated soldiers, it is said, perished for want of comfortable clothing in the early part of the war, when exposed to the inhospitable climate of Canada.†

The war found us destitute of the means of supplying ourselves, not merely with blankets

* Tench Coxe's Tables, preface, page xiii.

† I have heard a story, for which, however, I do not vouch, that the capture of Amelia Island, by Governor Mitchell, was ordered by government with a view to provide blankets for our suffering soldiers.

for our soldiers, but a vast variety of other articles necessary for our ease and comfort, of which the prices were accordingly raised extravagantly by the importers. Our citizens, and among them numbers of our commercial men, entered on the business of manufactures with great energy and enterprize ; invested in them many millions of capital ; and having, during the thirty months which the war continued, the domestic market secured to them, they succeeded wonderfully.

Never was there a prouder display of the (I had almost said) omnipotence of industry, than was afforded on this occasion. It furnishes an eternal lesson to statesmen. Our citizens exhibited a spectacle perhaps without precedent. *Unaided by the expenditure of a single dollar by our government,* they attained in two or three years, a degree of maturity in manufactures, which required centuries in England, France, Prussia, &c., and cost their monarchs enormous sums in the shape of bounties, premiums, drawbacks, with the fostering aid of privileges and immunities bestowed on the undertakers. The supply became commensurate with the demand ; and full confidence was entertained that the government and nation, to whose aid they came forward in time of need, would not abandon them to destruction, after the purposes of the moment were answered. Fatal delusion !

Our exports for 1813 and 1814, were only about 81,000,000 of dollars, or 15,500,000 per annum. Hostile fleets and armies desolated those parts of the country to which they had access. Yet the nation made rapid strides in prosperity by the creative powers of industry. Every man was employed, and every man fully recompensed for his labours. It may, however, be supposed that the farmers suffered heavily by the exclusion of their productions from foreign markets. The fact is otherwise. I state the prices of three articles, flour, beef, and hemp, in the Philadelphia market, in proof of this assertion. Other articles commanded proportionable prices.

		Flour per barrel.	Beef per barrel.	Hemp per ton.
1813.	Aug. 23 - -	\$ 8 25	\$ 15 50	\$ 210
	Nov. 22 - -	10 00	15 50	210
1814.	Jan. 31 - -	8 00	13 50	275
	July 4* - -	6 86	17 00	250
	Dec. 5 - -	8 37	19 00	250

What a contrast at present! We have exported—

In 1816	-	-	-	-	\$ 64,784,896
1817	-	-	-	-	68,338,069
1818	-	-	-	-	73,854,737
					<hr/>
					\$ 206,997,402
					<hr/>
Average	-	-	-	-	\$ 68,999,230
					<hr/>

* Specie payments were continued till August, 1814.

That is, above four hundred per cent. more than in 1813 and 1814—and a premature decay has nevertheless been rapidly gaining ground on the nation by the prostration of its industry! What an important volume of political economy! How much more instructive than Condorcet, Smith, Say, Ricardo, and the whole school of economists of this class!

I am aware that from local circumstances, cotton and some other articles were at reduced prices at the places of production during the war, from the difficulty and expense of transportation. The fall of cotton was a natural consequence of the impolicy of the planters in not having previously secured themselves a domestic market.

The following tables exhibit a statement of the great advancement made; and prove that our citizens only require half the patronage of government, which is afforded by England, France, Austria, and Russia, to enable them to enter into competition with the whole world.

State of the cotton manufacture within thirty miles of Providence, R. I. in 1815, extracted from a memorial to congress.

“ 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

State of the cotton manufacture throughout the United States in 1815, from a report of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures.

“ Capital	- - - - -	\$ 40,000,000
“ Males employed, from the age of seventeen 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

State of the woollen manufacture throughout the United States in 1815, from the same.

“ 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 manufac- turing	- - - - -	12,000,000
“ Value of woollen goods manufactured an- nually	- - - - -	\$ 19,000,000
“ Number of persons employed	{ constantly - 50,000 occasionally - 50,000	
		<u>100,000</u>

In the city and neighbourhood of Philadelphia, there were employed—

In the cotton branch	-	-	-	2325 persons.
In the woollen	-	-	-	1226 do.
In iron castings	-	-	-	1152 do.
In paper making	-	-	-	950 do.
In smithery	-	-	-	750 do.

The value of the manufactures of the city of Pittsburg, which in 1815 employed 1960 persons, was 2,617,833 dollars. And every part of the country displayed a similar state of prosperity. How deplorable a contrast our present situation exhibits!

CHAPTER VI.

State of the country at the close of the war. Pernicious consequences to the manufacturers. Mr. Dallas's tariff. Rates reduced ten, twenty, and thirty per cent.

THE war was closed under the most favourable auspices. The country was every where prosperous. Inestimable manufacturing establishments, in which probably 60,000,000 of dollars were invested, were spread over the face of the land, and were diffusing happiness among thousands of industrious people. No man, woman, or child, able and willing to work, was unemployed. With almost every possible variety of soil and climate—and likewise with the three greatest staples in the world—cotton, wool, and iron—the first to an extent commensurate with our utmost wants, and a capacity to produce the other two—a sound policy would have rendered us more independent probably of foreign supplies, for all the comforts of life, than any other nation whatever.

Peace, nevertheless, was fraught with destruction to the hopes and happiness of a considerable portion of the manufacturers. The double duties

had been imposed with a limitation to one year after the close of the war. And a tariff as a substitute was prepared by the secretary of the treasury, with duties fixed at the minimum rates which he thought calculated to afford them protection. On many of them, these rates were insufficient. Yet had his tariff been adopted, it would probably have saved the country forty or fifty millions of dollars—and prevented a large portion of the deep distress that pervades the land, and which is driving legislative bodies to the desperate measure of suspending the course of justice.* But a deep-rooted jealousy of manufacturers was entertained by many of the members of congress, on the ground of imputed extortion during the war: and the old hacknied themes of “taxing the many for the benefit of the few”—the country not being ripe for manufactures—wages being too high—the immensity of our back lands, &c. &c. &c. were still regarded as unanswerable arguments. In consequence of the combined operation of these causes, the rates were reduced on most of the leading articles ten, fifteen, and in some cases thirty per cent. Every per cent. reduced was regarded by many of the members as so much clear gain to the country. Some of them appeared to consider

* Measures of this description are adopted, or under consideration by four or five states. Others will probably follow the example. It is contagious.

manufacturers as a sort of common enemy,* with whom no terms ought to be observed ; and there was no small number who were disciples of Colonel Taylor, of Caroline county, Va.† who

* Ex-Governor Wright, of Maryland, was among the most violent of the members. His jealousy and hostility were without the least disguise, and were carried to an extent that is hardly credible. A motion for a reduction of the duty on cottons having failed, he attempted to have it re-considered—on the ground that some of the members who voted in the majority, were concerned in the cotton manufacture !

† Colonel Taylor is, I believe, a tobacco planter—and has never, in any of his plausible works, raised his voice against the extravagant duties on snuff and manufactured tobacco. On this tender topic he is silent as the grave. Yet a chapter on it would have come from him with great propriety. It is a subject with which he ought to be thoroughly acquainted. I venture to hint that he might with great advantage read the instructive fable of the lawyer's goring bull, which, with a suitable commentary on snuff and tobacco duties, might be very well prefixed as part of the prologomena to some of the amusing chapters of his *Arator*. It may not be amiss likewise to whisper gently in his ear, that even tobacco in the leaf is subject to fifteen per cent., which is exactly the same duty as that imposed on silks, linens, clocks, brazing copper, gold leaf, hair powder, printed books, prints, slates, starch, stuff and worsted shoes, sealing wax, thread stockings, &c. &c. Who, then, can reflect without astonishment, that this gentleman and Mr. Garnett take a lead in the opposition to the protection of manufactures, although their own rude produce is protected by the same duty as the above finished manufactures ! After this, we may well ask, with amazement, "*what next ?*" Be it what it may, it cannot surprise us.

holds the broad, unqualified doctrine that every dollar paid as duty or bounty to encourage manufactures, is a dollar robbed out of the pockets of the farmers and planters! Wonderful statesman! Profound policy! How all the Sullys, and Colberts, and Frederics of Europe must "hide their diminished heads" when their practice is put in contrast with this grand system of political economy!

To convey a correct idea of the spirit that prevailed in that congress towards their manufacturing fellow citizens, I annex a statement of various articles, with the duties as reported by Mr. Dallas, and as finally adopted:—

ARTICLES.	Mr. Dallas's	Tariff adopted.
	Tariff.	
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Blank books - - - - -	35	30
Bridles - - - - -	35	30
Brass ware - - - - -	22	20
Brushes - - - - -	35	30
Cotton manufactures of all sorts	33 1-3	25
(Those below 25 cts. per square yard, to be dutied as at 25 cents.)		
Cotton stockings - - - - -	33 1-3	20
China ware - - - - -	30	20
Cabinet ware - - - - -	35	30
Carriages of all descriptions -	35	30
Canes - - - - -	35	30
Clothing, ready made - - -	35	30
Cutlery - - - - -	22	20
Cannon - - - - -	22	20
Earthen ware - - - - -	30	20
Glass ware - - - - -	30	20

ARTICLES.	Mr. Dallas's	Tariff adopted.
	Tariff.	
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Harness - - - -	35	30
Iron ware - - - -	22	20
Leather and all manufactures of leather - - - -	35	30
Linens - - - -	20	15
Manufactures of wood - -	35	30
Needles - - - -	22	20
Porcelain - - - -	30	20
Parchment - - - -	35	30
Printed books - - - -	35	15
Paper hangings - - - -	35	30
Paper of every description -	35	30
Printing types - - - -	35	20
Pins - - - -	22	20
Silks - - - -	20	15
Silk stockings - - - -	20	15
Sattins - - - -	20	15
Stone ware - - - -	30	20
Saddles - - - -	35	30
Thread stockings - - - -	20	15
Vellum - - - -	35	30
Walking sticks - - - -	35	30
Whips - - - -	35	30
Woollen stockings - - - -	28	20
Woollen Manufactures generally	28	25
Boots, - - - per pair	200 cts.	150 cts.
Iron in bars and bolts, per cwt.	75	45
Shoes and slippers of silk, per pair	40	30
— of leather - - - -	30	25
— for children - - - -	20	15

The various reductions of two and three per cent. evince the huckstering spirit that prevailed, utterly unworthy of the legislature of a great nation. Mr. Dallas made a difference of five and

one-third per cent. between the two great articles, cottons and woollens, rating the former at thirty-three and a third, and the latter at twenty-eight, in consequence of our possessing a boundless supply of the raw material of the former, whereas that of the latter was rather limited. After an ardent struggle, the duties were reduced, and both rated alike at twenty-five per cent. All the southern members voted for the reduction, except five, Messrs. Jackson, Marsh, and Newton, from Virginia, and Messrs. Calhoun and Mayrant, from South Carolina, who enjoy the melancholy consolation of having endeavoured to stem the storm. The cotton planters who united in the vote for the reduction, have dearly expiated their error, in rendering their fortunes and the prosperity of their country dependent upon the contingencies of foreign markets, instead of securing a large and constantly increasing market at home. This ought to be eternally sounded in their ears. Rarely has there been much greater impolicy—and rarely has impolicy been more severely and justly punished. They fondly and absurdly thought that thirty cents per lb. for cotton would last for ever.

The committee of commerce and manufactures ; many of the most enlightened members of congress ; and the agents of the manufacturers, strongly remonstrated against the reduc-

tion of duty ; and, as with a spirit of prophecy, predicted the fatal consequences, not merely to the manufacturers, but to the nation. But they might as well have attempted to arrest the cataracts of Niagara with a mound of sand. Prejudice was deep, inveterate, and unassailable. It has never in times past had eyes nor ears ; and, notwithstanding the elevation of character, and the superior illumination to which we fondly lay claim, we are not likely to offer to the admiring world an exception to the general rule. Of this unpalatable position our brief history, alas ! affords too many damning proofs.

CHAPTER VII.

Ruin of the manufacturers, and decay of their establishments. Pathetic and eloquent appeals to congress. Their contumelious and unfeeling neglect. Memorials neither read nor reported on. Revolting contrast between the fostering care bestowed by the Russian government on their manufacturers, and the unheeded sufferings of that class of citizens in the United States.

FROM year to year since that time, ruin spread among the manufacturers. A large portion of them have been reduced to bankruptcy, from ease and affluence. Many are now on the brink of it. Most of them had entered into the business during the war, under an impression, as I have already stated, that there was a sort of implied engagement on the part of the government, that having been found so useful in time of need, they would not be allowed to be crushed, afterwards. To what extent there was any foundation for this idea, I am unable to decide. Suffice it to say, that all the calculations predicated on it were wholly and lamentably disappointed. The strong arm of government, which alone could save them from the overwhelming

influx of foreign manufactures, by which they were destroyed, was not interposed in their behalf. Noble establishments, the pride and ornament of the country, which might have been rendered sources of incalculable public and private wealth, and which Edward III, Henry IV, Frederic the Great, and Catharine II, would have saved at the expense of millions, if necessary, are mouldering to ruins. And to crown the whole, millions of capital, which had every claim to the protection of government, has become a dead and heavy loss to the proprietors.

At every stage of this awful progress, the devoted sufferers not only appealed to the justice, but threw themselves on the mercy of their representatives. The utmost powers of eloquence were exhausted in those appeals, some of which may be ranked among the proudest monuments of human talents.

In the second session of the fourteenth congress, 1816-17, there were above forty memorials presented to the house of representatives from manufacturers in different parts of the United States, and some of them, particularly that from Pittsburg, fraught with tales of ruin and destruction, that would have softened the heart of a Herod. *Not one of them was ever read in the house!* The Pittsburg memorial was, it is true, printed for the use of the members.

The following is a list of the applications—

<i>No.</i>	<i>1816.</i>	<i>Memorials.</i>	<i>Subjects.</i>
1	Dec. 16.	From New York	Iron manufactures.
2	16.	New Jersey	do.
3	20.	New York	Umbrellas.
4	27.	Massachusetts	do.
5	30.	New Jersey	Iron manufactures.
6	1817, Jan. 6.	New Jersey	do.
7	8.	New York	do.
8	9.	Philadelphia	do.
9	10.	Connecticut	Iron manufactures.
10	10.	New Jersey	do.
11	13.	Pennsylvania	do.
12	13.	New Jersey	do.
13	14.	Boston	do.
14	16.	Kentucky	Bar iron.
15	20.	Pennsylvania	Bar iron.
16	22.	Pennsylvania	Iron manufactures.
17	27.	New Jersey	Bar iron.
18	28.	Pennsylvania	Iron manufactures.
19	29.	Berkshire,	Manufactures generally.
20	29.	New York	do.
21	30.	New Jersey	Iron manufactures.
22	30.	N. York,	Manufactures generally.
23	30.	Oneida County	do.
24	31.	New York	do.
25	Feb. 1.	Pennsylvania	Iron manufactures.
26	3.	New York	do.
27	4.	Pennsylvania	do.
28	4.	N. York,	Manufactures generally.
29	4.	New York	do.
30	6.	Connecticut	Iron manufactures.
31	6.	New York and Vermont	do.
32	8.	Pennsylvania	do.
33	11.	N. Jersey,	Manufactures generally.
34	11.	New York	Iron manufactures.

No.	1817.	Memorials.	Subjects.
35	Feb. 13.	From Rhode Island	Cotton and woollen.
36	13.	Connecticut	do.
37	17.	Pittsburg, Manufactures generally.	
38	20.	Illinois	Lead.
39	24.	Baltimore, Manufactures generally.	
40	26.	Philadelphia	do.
41	28.	Oneida	do.
42	28.	Berkshire	do.

No description of mine could do justice to the force of some of these memorials. I shall therefore present a few short specimens of the facts and reasonings they placed before the eyes of congress, to enable the reader to form a correct estimate of the extremely culpable neglect of the voice of their constituents, displayed by that body. The applications were as ineffectual as those of the congress of 1774, to the ministers of George III, and were treated with as little ceremony.

From the Philadelphia Memorial.

“ We regard with the most serious concern the critical and
 “ dangerous situation in which our manufactures are placed
 “ by the recent extravagant importations of rival articles;
 “ which, owing to the great surplus of them, and to the pres-
 “ sure for money, are in many cases sold at such reduced
 “ prices, as to render it impossible for our manufactures to
 “ compete with them. We believe that with the interests
 “ of the manufacturers are connected the best interests of
 “ the nation—and that if the manufactures of the country
 “ are deprived of that support from the legislature of the
 “ United States, to which we think they are fairly entitled,

“ the evil will be felt not by us merely, but by the whole nation ; as it will produce the inevitable consequence of an unfavourable balance of trade, whereby our country will be impoverished, and rendered tributary to foreign powers, whose interests are in direct hostility with ours.”

From the Pittsburg Memorial.

“ The committee have found that the manufacture of cottons, woollens, flint glass, and the finer articles of iron, has lately suffered the most alarming depression. Some branches which had been several years in operation, have been destroyed or partially suspended ; and others, of a more recent growth, annihilated before they were completely in operation.

“ The tide of importation has inundated our country with foreign goods. Some of the most valuable and enterprizing 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 enterprize and industry, than a general peace with the calamities arising from the present state of our foreign trade.

“ It was confidently believed, that the destinies of the United States would no longer depend on the jealousy and caprice of foreign governments, and that our national freedom and welfare were fixed on the solid basis of our intrinsic means and energies. But these were ‘ airy dreams.’ A peace was concluded with England, and in a few months we were prostrate at her feet. The manufacturers appealed to the general government for the adoption of measures that might enable them to resist the torrent that was sweeping away the fruits of their capital and industry. Their complaints were heard with a concern which seemed a pledge for the return of better days. The tariff of duties, established at the last session of congress, and the history of the present year, will demonstrate the falsity of their expectations.

“ England never suffered a foreign government, or a com-

“ *bination of foreign capitalists, by glutting her own market,*
 “ *to crush in the cradle, any branch of her domestic indus-*
 “ *try. She never regarded, with a cold indifference, the ruin of*
 “ *thousands of her industrious people, by the competition of*
 “ *foreigners.* The bare avowal of such an attempt would
 “ have incurred the indignant resistance of the whole body
 “ of the nation, and met the frowns, if not the instant ven-
 “ geance of the government. The consequences of this po-
 “ licy in England are well known; her manufactures have
 “ become a source of wealth incalculable; the treasures of
 “ Spanish America are poured into her lap; her commerce
 “ is spread over every ocean, and, with a population com-
 “ paratively small, she is the terror and the spoiler of Eu-
 “ rope. Take from England her manufactures, and the foun-
 “ tains of her wealth would be broken up; her pre-emi-
 “ nence among nations would be lost for ever.

“ For a speedy redress of such pressing evils, we look
 “ to the government of the union. *Will they uphold the sink-*
 “ *ing manufactures of the country, or will they not?* are their
 “ late assurances of aid and protection forgotten with the
 “ crisis that gave them birth? Let them realize the hopes
 “ of the country, and act with decision before it be too
 “ late.

“ In the United States we have the knowledge of the
 “ labour-saving machinery, the raw material, and provi-
 “ sions cheaper than in Britain; but the overgrown capital
 “ of the British manufacturer, and the dexterity acquired
 “ by long experience, make a considerable time, and heavy
 “ duties necessary for our protection.—We have beaten
 “ England out of our market in hats, shoes, boots, and all
 “ manufactures of leather: we are very much her superior
 “ in ship building; these are all the works of the hands,
 “ where labour-saving machinery gives no aid; so that *her*
 “ *superiority over us in manufactures, consists more in the ex-*
 “ *cellence and nicety of the labour-saving machinery, than in*
 “ *the wages of labour.* With all their jealousy, and restric-
 “ tions upon the emigrations of workmen, the distresses and
 “ misfortunes of England will, by due encouragement, send

“ much of her skill and knowledge to our shores ; let us be
“ ready to take full benefit of such events, as England her-
“ self did when despotic laws in Germany, and other
“ parts of Europe, drove their manufacturers into Britain,
“ which laid the foundation of her present eminence.

“ That the cotton trade and manufacture is a concern
“ of vast importance, and even of leading interest to the
“ country, is a truth, your memorialists conceive, too pal-
“ pable, to be denied or doubted. Were not our own con-
“ stant observation and daily experience sufficient to es-
“ tablish it, the prodigious exertions of our ever-vigilant
“ and indefatigable rival, directed against this particular in-
“ terest, would place the matter beyond a question. For
“ where a judicious and enterprising opponent (as England
“ undoubtedly is in this respect) directs her strongest en-
“ gines of hostility, we have reason to conclude there lies
“ our vital and most important concerns. This considera-
“ tion is coming home to us with more and more force ; and
“ *the cotton planter, as well as the manufacturer, must have*
“ *before this time discovered the alarming fact, that our great*
“ *rival has become possessed of both our plants and seeds of*
“ *cotton, which she is employing all her vast means to pro-*
“ *pagate in the East Indies and other British possessions,*
“ *with an energy and success which threaten the most alarm-*
“ *ing consequences.* When your memorialists consider that
“ the article thus jeopardized is the great staple of the
“ country, they cannot but hope the people and their re-
“ presentatives will be generally convinced, that it is not
“ the interest of individuals alone that is at stake, but that
“ of the whole community.

“ *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 the interior of the United States, few articles can*
“ *be raised which will bear a distant transportation ; pro-*
“ *ducts much more valuable when the grower and consumer*
“ *are near each other, are therefore excluded from cultivation.*

*“ A dependence on foreign markets in the most prosperous
“ times necessarily restricts the labours of agriculture to a very
“ few objects ; a careless, decrepit, and unprofitable cultivation
“ is the known result.*

*“ The propriety of these observations may, in some de-
“ gree, be illustrated by the difference in value between the
“ land in the vicinity of a large town, and at a greater dis-
“ tance from it. The labour which produces the greatest
“ quantity of subsistence is bestowed in the culture of arti-
“ cles too cumbrous for transportation; and in general a
“ farm which will subsist fifty persons in its vicinity, would
“ not subsist the fifth of that number three hundred miles
“ off. If the value of land be so much enhanced by the prox-
“ imity of a market, and so rapidly diminished by the dis-
“ tance of transportation, the introduction of manufactories,
“ and the creation of an interior market, ought to be regarded
“ as peculiarly auspicious to the interest of agriculturists.*

*“ Confining our views to the western country, we might em-
“ phatically ask, with what exportable commodities shall we re-
“ store the balance of trade, now fast accumulating against
“ us? How arrest the incessant drain of our capital? Our
“ manufactures are perishing around us, and already millions
“ have escaped, never to return.”*

It will remain an eternal blot on the escutcheon of the fourteenth congress, that this pathetic address received no more attention than if it had been from a party of field negroes to a marble-hearted overseer.

From the Oneida Memorial.

*“ 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 es-
“ tablishments 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 pro-
“ prietors 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, our present and extensive embarrass-
“ ments 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 con-
“ gress, 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.

“ 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, or elsewhere, can he find a market for his abun-*
“ *dant crops?* Besides, the diversion of labour from agricul-
“ ture to manufactures, is scarcely perceptible. Five or six
“ adults, with the aid of children, will manage a cotton
“ manufactory of two thousand spindles.”

These memorials were all referred to the committee of commerce and manufactures, which was then, so far as regarded them, a committee of oblivion. After a lapse of two months, that is, about the middle of February, a bill for the re-

lief of the iron masters was reported—read twice—and suffered to die a natural death ; having never been called up for a third reading. All the other memorials passed wholly unnoticed—and were never even reported on by the committee ! What renders this procedure the more revolting, is, that some of them were from large bodies of men of the first respectability. That from New York was signed by the governor of the state, and other eminent characters. And, moreover, many of the petitioners had agents at Washington to advocate their claims.

The senate displayed the same culpable disregard of the applications, the sufferings, and the distresses of their fellow citizens, engaged in manufactures, as the house of representatives. They afforded no relief—nor did they even once consider the applications of the petitioners. But they paid somewhat more regard to decorum. The petitioners and memorialists had in succession *leave granted them to withdraw their papers*, on the motion of a member of the committee of commerce and manufactures !!

The practice of congress, it appears, is to read the heads of petitions ; and then, without further enquiry, to refer them to the committee to which the business properly appertains. It cannot fail to excite the astonishment of the citizens of the

United States to learn, that when they have found it necessary to meet and address their representatives, elected to guard their interests, and paid liberally for their services, those representatives do not condescend even to hear or read what are their grievances, or the mode of redress proposed! This is really so very indecorous and so shameful as to be absolutely incredible, if the fact were not established on good authority. Many of the most despotic princes of the East usually read the petitions of the meanest of their subjects. But under the free government of the United States, the great cities of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, may combine together to seek relief from intolerable grievances; respectfully address their representatives; and have their prayers not merely rejected, but not even heard! The annals of legislation may, I am persuaded, be ransacked in vain for a parallel to this outrageous conduct.

When we reflect on the waste of time in frothy speeches on points of little importance—or on points of great importance, after the subject has been completely exhausted—and compare it with that economy of time which forbids the spending ten or fifteen minutes in reading a petition from a great city, the capital of a state, with a population of above a million of people, we are lost in astonishment at the

introduction of a practice which so egregiously violates every rule of duty, decency, and propriety.

In the ensuing session, 1817-18, the same pathetic appeals to the justice, the humanity, the generosity, the public spirit of congress were made, and with little more effect.

Two unimportant acts alone on the subject of manufactures were passed at this session. One increasing the duties on iron, and the other on copper, saddlery, harness, cut glass, tacks, brads, sprigs, and Russia sheetings. But on the great and important articles of cotton and woollen goods there was no increase of duty. The additional duties on iron have been ineffectual—as the manufacture is at present in a most prostrate state.

Allegiance and protection are reciprocal duties. To withhold the one forfeits the claim to the other. And it is due to justice to state, that the manufacturers of the United States, who, with their families and persons of every description depending on them, amount to 1,500,000 souls—with a capital of \$ 150,000,000, and producing probably \$ 350,000,000 per annum, have not had that protection from the government to which their numbers and their importance give them so fair a claim.

A large portion of mankind, probably, even in this country, three-fourths, have no property but in the labour of their hands. To so many of them as are divested of this by an erroneous policy, *one of the grand objects of government is destroyed*—And therefore, so far as property is concerned, their situation is no better than that of the subjects of despotism.

I go further. *The situation of the manufacturing capitalist in the United States is incomparably worse than that of the manufacturing subjects of the monarchs of Europe*, so far as regards the protection of property.

This strong expression will excite the surprise of some superficial readers. But it is a crisis that demands a bold expression of truth. And the assertion need not be retracted or qualified. Here is the proof. Let Mr. Garnett, or Mr. Pegram, or any of the agricultural delegates refute it. Let us suppose a subject of Russia,* to invest a capital of one hundred thousand dollars in a manufacture of calicoes. He has no foreign competitor to dread. The fostering care of the government watches over him with the tenderness of a parent. He has loans if necessary. Bounties are also occasionally afforded. No combination of foreign rivals can operate

* The reasoning applies equally to France, England, and Austria.

his destruction. The domestic market is secured to him, with no other than the fair and legitimate competition of his fellow subjects, which always guards the rest of the nation against imposition. His plans arrive at maturity. He reaps the rich reward of his talents, his time, his industry, his capital. He gives support to hundreds, perhaps thousands, and is daily adding to the wealth, power, resources, and independence of the country which affords him full protection; and amply repays her kindness.

Let us turn from this delightful picture of fostering and tender care, under a despotism, to the wretched, depressed, and vilified American capitalist, under a government which in its principles is really and truly the best that ever existed. He invests one hundred thousand dollars in a similar establishment; engages hundreds of people in a useful and profitable manufacture; finally conquers all the various difficulties that new undertakings have to encounter; and brings his fabrics to market, in the hope of that reward to which industry, capital, and talent have so fair a claim. Alas! he has to meet not only the competition of his fellow citizens, but of all the manufacturing world. While he is excluded absolutely by prohibition, or virtually by prohibitory duties, from nearly all the markets in Europe, and indeed elsewhere, the East Indies, England, France, and Italy divide the home market with

him, which is crowded with cargoes of similar articles, by the cupidity or the distresses, but as often by the stratagems, of foreign manufacturers, in order to overwhelm him, and secure the market ultimately to themselves. Their goods are sent to vendue, and sacrificed below prime cost in Europe. He cannot find a market, but at a sacrifice which ruins him. He implores relief from his unfeeling countrymen. But he implores in vain. Their hearts are steeled against his sufferings. They meet all his complaints, all his prayers, with trite common places about "taxing the many for the benefit of the few, free trade," &c. &c.—and he is charged with extortion by men who for thirty successive years received from him and his brethren extravagant prices for all their productions! He becomes bankrupt, and dies of a broken heart. His family, born to high expectations, are reduced to a state of dependence. His workmen are driven to idleness and want, and exposed to the lures of guilt. The state is deprived of a useful citizen, who might have added to her "*wealth, power, and resources.*"—His fate operates as a beacon to others, to beware of his career—And the wealth of the nation is exhausted to pay for foreign articles, substitutes for which he could have furnished of far better quality, and, though nominally dearer, in reality cheaper. This is the policy, and these are its consequences, advo-

cated by the agriculturists of Virginia!! And this is the deleterious policy, fraught with destruction to the happiness of a large portion of its citizens, that is pursued by the United States of America.

Hundreds of capitalists throughout this country—thousands of workmen—millions of destroyed capital—and the general impoverishment of the nation, bear testimony to the correctness of this hideous portrait, so disgraceful to our country, such a libel on its mistaken policy.

To such a man what does it signify by what name you call the government? It is, you say, a republic. True. But, alas! he is ruined by its impolicy. The most despotic government in the world could do no more than ruin him. And some of them, it appears, would have protected him. Therefore, I repeat, so far as property is concerned, the difference is against the United States. In fact, the better the form of government, the more grievous his distress. Under a despotism “to suffer and submit” would be “his charter.” But to be mocked and deluded with the promise of equal rights and equal protection under a free government, and unfeelingly consigned to destruction by his own fellow citizens, and representatives, by the men whom he has clothed with the power to destroy him—barbs the dart with tenfold keenness.

Having submitted this portrait to the citizens of the United States, I ask, whether there be a greater contrast between the conduct of a fond mother towards her only and darling child—and that of a rigorous step-mother, towards a step-child, which interferes with her views towards her own offspring, than there is between the treatment of manufacturers in Russia and in the United States ?

If these views be unpalatable, the fault is not mine. Let those answer for them, who have rendered their exposure necessary. Their truth can be judicially proved.

The situation of a very considerable portion of our citizens, is far worse than in the colonial state. They had then no competitors in the markets of their country but their fellow subjects of Great Britain. Now they have competitors from almost every part of Europe and from the East Indies. The case of the paper makers affords a striking illustration of this position. One-half of them in the middle states are ruined—not by the importation of British paper, of which little comes to this market—but by French and Italian, with which our markets were deluged for two or three years after the war.

CHAPTER VIII.

Dilatory mode of proceeding in Congress. Lamentable waste of time. Statement of the progress of bills. Eighty-two signed in one day! and four hundred and twenty in eleven! Unfeeling treatment of Gen. Stark. Culpable attention to punctilio. Rapid movement of compensation bill.

To every man interested in the honour and prosperity of the country, it is a subject of deep regret to reflect on the mode in which the public business is managed in and by congress. It is among the sources of the distress and embarrassment of our affairs, and requires an early and radical remedy. While in session, a considerable proportion of the members are employed in chatting—writing letters to their friends, or reading letters or newspapers. They pay little or no attention to the arguments of the speakers, except to those of a few of distinguished talents. To some of the orators, however, this is no great disappointment; as their speeches are too often made for the newspapers, and to display their talents to their constituents.

But the lamentable waste of time by the spirit of procrastination in the early part of the session, and by never-ending speechifying throughout its continuance, is the greatest evil, and is discreditable to congress and highly pernicious to the public service. There is in almost every session some subject of real or factitious importance, on which every member capable of speaking thinks himself bound to harangue, and to "keep the floor," for two, three, four, five or six hours. The merits of the speeches are generally measured by the length of time they occupy. They are all, to judge by the puffs in the newspapers, elegant, wonderful, powerful, admirable, excellent, inimitable.

In most cases, it will be found, as is perfectly natural, that the early speeches, on each side, particularly if by men of talents, exhaust the subject; and that those which follow them, do little more than retail the arguments previously advanced. It surely requires no small disregard of decorum for a member to occupy the time of a public body, to whose care are entrusted the concerns of a great nation, with such fatiguing repetitions.

The debate on the repeal of the compensation act cost some weeks; that on the Seminole war, fills six hundred octavo pages; which, if divested of the duplications, triplications, and quadruplications, the rhetorical flourishes, and

extraneous matter, would be reduced to two hundred—perhaps to one hundred and fifty. The Missouri question will probably fill from eight hundred to one thousand pages. Some of the prologues to these speeches are, as was humourously observed by a member long since, like “sale coats,” calculated to suit almost any other subject equally well. And during this miserable waste of time, excitement of angry passions, and seditious threats of separation, there is a total suspension of the business of the nation, whose blood flows at every pore—whose revenues are failing—whose manufactures are paralyzed—of whose commerce one-half is annihilated—whose merchants and manufacturers are daily swallowing up in the vortex of bankruptcy—whose great staples have fallen in price at least thirty per cent.—and which exhibits in every direction most appalling scenes of calamity and distress!

Some idea may be formed of the mode in which the business of this nation is conducted by its legislature, from the following chronological statement of the periods at which the acts of successive sessions were approved by the presidents. Between their passage in the two houses and the dates of the presidents' signatures, there may be some few days difference, for which the reader will make allowance. But be that allowance what it may, it cannot remove

The thirty-one acts signed on the 3d of March, contain thirty-five pages.

This was the ever memorable session of congress, in which the imbecility of the majority and the factious violence of the minority, brought the nation to the jaws of destruction, previous to the close of the war.

Fourteenth congress.—First session. From December 4, 1815, to April 30, 1816.—One hundred and seventy-three acts.

December	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
January	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
February	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
March	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
April 2d to the 24th	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
26th and 27th	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59
29th	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31
30th	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
									<hr/>
									173
									<hr/>

Fourteenth congress.—Second session. From December 2, 1816, to March 3, 1817.—One hundred and fourteen acts.

In December	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	00
In January	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
In February	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
On Saturday, March 1st	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
March 3d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	82
									<hr/>
									114
									<hr/>

The acts of this session are comprised in one hundred pages. Those signed in January occupy three pages and a half—those in February

This system of procrastination has been coeval with the government. I am informed by a gentleman of veracity, that General Washington, when an extraordinary number of acts were presented to him on the last day of a session, more than he could correctly decide upon, has expressed a strong and most marked disapprobation of so incorrect a procedure.

Analysis.

Sessions of congress	- - - - -	9
Duration	- - - - -	months 39½
Acts passed	- - - - -	988
Of which were signed in eleven days	- - - - -	420

Viz.

1812. July 6th	- - - - -	29
1813. March 3d	- - - - -	23
August 3d	- - - - -	24
1814. April 18th	- - - - -	34
1815. March 3d	- - - - -	31
1816. April 26th, 27th and 29th	- - - - -	90
1817. March 3d	- - - - -	82
1818. April 20th	- - - - -	52
1819. March 3d	- - - - -	55
Acts signed in eleven days	- - - - -	420

Thus it appears that in *three years and three months* there were 568 acts signed—and in *eleven days*, as I have stated, 420!! Wonderful system of legislation!

No small share of the censure due to the pro-

crastination of the public business, so visible in the above proceedings, justly attaches to the speaker for the time being. He ought to keep a docket of the business brought before the house, and urge committees to perform their duty. Certain days should be appointed to make reports, which ought then to be called for. If not ready, others should be fixed. And whenever the public business is unnecessarily or wantonly procrastinated, his duty requires the use of strong animadversion. This arrangement would be productive of the most salutary consequences. But for want of this or some other system, a very large portion of every session is literally thrown away. And so much of the business is crowded together at the close, that it is impossible to conduct it properly. Ever since the organization of the government, three-fourths of all the important acts have been passed within the last week or ten days of each session.

Is it then surprising that the national business is egregiously ill-managed? That the reiterated requests of so large a portion of our citizens, for a bankrupt and other salutary acts, are of no avail?—How is it possible for the members—how is it possible for a president—to discharge their respective duties conscientiously, with such a system? Can any powers short of superhuman enable the latter to decide on the justice, the propriety, the constitutionality of

twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, or eighty acts in one or two days? Is not this making a mere mockery of legislation?

Two, three, and sometimes four months are drawled away in the early part of the session—with three, four, six, eight, ten or twelve acts—and afterwards all the business is hurried through with indecent haste. In the one portion of the time, the progress resembles that of the snail or the sloth—in the other, that of the high mettled racer. In fact and in truth, if Congress desired to bring republican government into disgrace, to render it a bye-word and a reproach, it would not be very easy to devise a plan more admirably calculated for the purpose than a considerable part of their proceedings.

One ruinous consequence attending the system pursued, is, that at the close of every session, some of the most important bills are necessarily postponed.

It is frequently said in justification of the procrastination of congress, and the little business that is executed in the early part of the session, that the committees are employed in digesting and preparing their reports. It is obvious, that this must require time. But whoever considers the nature of a large portion of the business that is discussed in that body, will be convinced that it might be dispatched in a fifth part of the time it occupies.

Among the acts hurried through at the close of the session, there are frequently some, and among them private ones, which have "dragged their slow length along" for months before, and which might as readily be decided on in a week as in six months. I annex the dates of introduction and of signature of a few to exemplify this.

	<i>Reported.</i>	<i>Signed.</i>
Act to divide the state of Pennsylvania		
into districts, - - - 1818.	Feb. 4	April 20
Act for publication of laws, - - -	Jan. 16	April 20
Act for relief of B. Birdsall - - -	Jan. 27	April 20
Act for incorporating Columbian In-		
stitute, - - - - -	Feb. 3	April 20
Act for relief of Gen. Brown, - - -	Feb. 9	April 18
Act for relief of T. & J. Clifford	Jan. 20	April 20

The bill for the relief of T. & J. Clifford, which was three months on its passage through the houses, contains about twenty lines, and was for the remission of duties paid on articles not subject to duty. Three days would have answered as well for the discussion as seven years. Such is the case with half the bills that are crowded together at the last day of the session.

It may not be uninteresting to make a few further extracts from the journals, shedding additional light on this important subject.

1819. April 18. "Engrossed bills of the following titles "*(nine in number)* were severally read a third time and passed."
"ed."

April 20. " Bills from the senate of the following titles "*(ten in number)* were severally read a third time and passed." ed."

Eodem Die. " A message from the senate that they have "passed bills of this house of the following titles, to wit— "*(eighteen in number.)*"

By a careful search through the journals of different sessions, we might find three or four hundred bills, thus bundled together, and hastily read off, ten or a dozen en suite.

The case of General Stark deserves to be put on record, to corroborate some of the opinions offered in this chapter.

On the 6th of March, 1818, a petition was presented by this old veteran, representing his necessitous circumstances, and praying that the bounty of the national government might be extended to him, in the decline of life, in compensation of his faithful services in defence of his country. It was referred to a committee, who reported a bill on the 9th, which was read the first and second time on that day. *It then lay over untouched for above five weeks, till Saturday the 18th of April,* when it was passed and sent to the senate, where it was read and referred to the committee on pensions, who reported it on that day without amendments. It was read the third time on Monday the 20th, in committee of the whole, and agreed to *with amendments*. It being against a rule of the senate to pass a bill under those circumstances, on the same day, Mr. Fro-

mentin moved that the rule be dispensed with. *But this motion was unfeelingly rejected.* And as the session was closed that day, the bill of course was lost; and the venerable old hero, about ninety years of age, and bending over the grave, was disappointed at that time of receiving the pittance intended for him. The importance of his victory at Bennington, which led to those all-important events, the battle of Saratoga and the capture of General Burgoyne, which stand conspicuous among the proudest triumphs of the revolutionary war, is so deeply impressed on the public mind, that every good man in the nation felt deep regret at this very ill-timed and ungracious punctilio.

The compensation bill, which was to render *members of congress salary officers, at the rate of 1500 dollars per annum*, passed by a former congress, forms a proper contrast to the bill in favour of general Stark.

It was read the first and second time			
in the house of representatives	-	March 6th,	1815.
Read a third time and passed	-	-	9th
Read first time in senate	-	-	11th
Second time	-	-	12th
Third time and passed	-	-	14th
Laid before the president	-	-	18th
Approved same day.			

What wonderful economy of time !

Thus a bill for their own benefit which introduced a novel principle into the country, in

twelve days passed through all its stages from its inception to the presidential approbation!!

What a reproach to congress arises from a contrast of this case with that of the veteran Stark! How wonderfully their personal interest accelerated their movements!

The citizens of the United States, however, are answerable for a large portion of the derelictions of congress. Most of the members are ambitious of popularity; which forms one of the principal inducements to seek a seat in that body. And the utter inattention too generally displayed by the citizens to the conduct of their representatives, induces a degree of indifference towards the interests and wishes of the constituents. A more frequent call for the yeas and nays, by those members who are sincerely desirous of discharging their duty, and of having the public business punctually attended to, together with a publication of lists of votes on all important questions, previous to elections, would operate powerfully on the feelings of the members. If every member whose votes militated with the substantial interests of his country, were sure to be discarded, as he ought to be, on the day of election, the proceedings of congress would exhibit a very different appearance from what they do at present.

CHAPTER IX.

Attempts to prove the state of affairs prosperous. Their fallacy established. Destruction of industry in Philadelphia and Pittsburg. Awful situation of Pennsylvania. 14,537 suits for debt, and 10,326 judgments confessed in the year 1819. Depreciation of real estate 115,544,629 dollars.

FOR a considerable time elaborate efforts were made to prove that the great mass of our citizens were highly prosperous. Even official messages, at no very distant day, announced this idea. But the veil that obscured the appalling vision of public distress is removed, and there is now no diversity of sentiment on the subject. Bankruptcy of banks—individual ruin—and sheriffs' sales to an extent never known before—the idleness of thousands of those who have no property but in the labour of their hands—resolutions of town meetings—memorials and petitions from almost every part of the middle and eastern states—messages of governors—deliberate instructions of the representative bodies in some of the states—*acts of legislatures, suspending the collection of debts*—and, to close the

long train of calamity, the emigration of American citizens to a Spanish colony, seeking an asylum from the misery they suffer in their own country—all distinctly proclaim a deplorable state of society, which fully evinces a radical unsoundness in our policy, loudly and imperiously demanding as radical a remedy. No temporizing expedients will suffice. Nothing short of a complete and permanent protection of the national industry, so as to enable us *to reduce our demands from Europe, within our means of payment*, will arrest us in the career of impoverishment—and enable us to regain the ground we have unhappily lost—and take that high and commanding stand among nations, which nature and nature's God, by the transcendent advantages bestowed on us, intended we should enjoy—advantages which for five years we have so prodigally squandered.

Although the prevailing depression and distress are generally well known, yet few are fully acquainted with their extreme intensity. Indeed, it is at all times difficult and scarcely possible to realize, from general description, the extent of suffering which mankind endure—whether by war, famine, pestilence, or want of employment. In the last case, it would be necessary to traverse by-lanes and alleys—to ascend to garrets

—or descend to cellars—to behold the afflicted father, after having pawned his clothes and furniture, destitute of money and credit to support his famishing wife and children—his proud spirit struggling between the heart-rending alternatives of allowing them to suffer under hunger and thirst, or else sinking to apply to the overseers of the poor—to ask alms in the street—or to have recourse to soup-houses for relief.* These are afflicting realities, with which, I hope, for the honour of human nature, the presidents and delegates of agricultural societies, who enter the list to prevent the relief of their fellow citizens, and perpetuate their sufferings, are wholly unacquainted.

I cannot here enter into particulars of the awful scenes that overspread the face of the land, and shall confine myself to a slight sketch of the lamentable devastation of national prosperity and private happiness, experienced in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, which so many worthy, but mistaken men are labouring to perpetuate.

By an investigation ordered during last autumn by a town meeting of the citizens of Phi-

* Some idea may be formed of the state of our cities, from the circumstance, that in Baltimore, there are no less than twelve stations for distributing soup tickets. In Philadelphia, the distribution is very great, at the rate of a pint to each person.

Philadelphia, and conducted by gentlemen of respectability, it appears, so great was the decay of manufacturing industry, that in only thirty out of fifty-six branches of business there were actually 7728 persons less employed in 1819 than in 1816, whose wages amounted to \$2,366,935. No returns were procured from twenty-six branches, viz.

Bookbinders	Manufacturers of gun-powder
Brewers	Painters and glaziers
Brickmakers	Plumbers
Carpenters	Shoemakers
Coopers	Shotmakers
Chocolate makers	Sugar bakers
Calico printers	Snuff and tobacco manufac-
Curriers	turers
Chair makers	Stonecutters
Dyers	Turners
Engravers	Tanners
Embroiderers	Umbrella makers
Glovers	Wheelwrights, &c. &c.
Glass manufacturers	

Assuming only half the number, in these twenty-six, that were in the other thirty, the aggregate would be 11,592—and, were only one woman or child dependent on each person, the whole, out of a population of about one hundred and twenty thousand,

Would amount to	- - - -	persons	23,184
Whose wages would be	- - - -	\$	3,550,402

And allowing the work to be double the wages,
which is a moderate calculation, the value
would be - - - - - \$7,100,804

lost in a single city in one year!

Let us now survey Pittsburg, where we shall behold a similar scene of devastation. This city in 1815, contained about six thousand inhabitants. It then exhibited as exhilarating a scene of industry, prosperity and happiness, as any place in the world. Its immense local advantages, seated at the confluence of two noble rivers, forming the majestic Ohio; its boundless supplies of coal; and the very laudable enterprize of its inhabitants, had for a long time rendered it the emporium of the western world. But, alas! the immoderate influx of foreign manufactures poured in there shortly after the peace, produced a most calamitous reverse. The operations of the hammer, the hatchet, the shuttle, the spindle, the loom, ceased in a great degree. Noble establishments, which reflected honour on the nation, were closed; the proprietors ruined; the workmen discharged; a blight and a blast overspread the face of the city; and the circumjacent country, which had shared in its prosperity, now equally partook of its decline.

By a recent and minute investigation, conducted by citizens of high standing, the following appeared to be the—

Actual state of the city of Pittsburg.

Persons deprived of employment, or less employed in 1819 than in 1816	- - - -	1288
Supposing only one woman or child depending on each of the above	- - - -	1288
		<hr/>
It would amount to	- - - -	2576
		<hr/>
The amount of work done in 1816 was	- -	\$2,617,833
In 1819	- - - -	832,000
		<hr/>
Loss to Pittsburg	- - - -	1,785,833
Loss to Philadelphia, as before,	- - - -	7,100,804
		<hr/>
Annual loss in two cities in one state	. -	\$8,886,637
		<hr/>

When the other cities and towns throughout the union, where similar devastation has occurred, are taken into view, it will not be an unreasonable calculation to presume it six-fold elsewhere: but to avoid cavil, I will only suppose it treble—

Which will amount to	- - - -	\$26,659,911
Philadelphia and Pittsburg	- - - -	8,886,637
		<hr/>
Total loss of industry	- - - -	\$35,546,548
		<hr/>

By the wretched policy of fostering foreign manufactures and manufacturers, and foreign governments; buying cheap bargains abroad, and consigning our own citizens to bankruptcy and beggary!

With these overwhelming facts staring us in the face, is it not insanity to be debating about the causes of the existing distress? Who can entertain a doubt as to the grand and primary cause? Is it not as plain as "the hand writing on the wall?" Does it not clearly arise from the destruction of national industry? What! an annual loss in two cities, containing about 125,000 inhabitants, of nearly nine millions of dollars, and proportionable losses almost every where else! Such a course, steadily continued, would impoverish China more rapidly than she has accumulated her immense treasures. It is not therefore wonderful that it has, in a few years impoverished a nation whose sole patrimony was her industry.

Some public documents have recently appeared, which prove the distress of the country far more intense and extensive than had been previously conceived. A committee of the senate of Pennsylvania, appointed to enquire into the extent and causes of the general distress, addressed circulars to all the prothonotaries and sheriffs in the state, whence they collected the following awful facts :

The number of actions brought for debt in the	
year 1819, were	14,537
The number of judgments confessed	10,326
Exclusive of those before justices of the peace,	
about half the number.	

Imprisonments for debt in the city and county of	
Philadelphia - - - - -	1,808
In Lancaster county - - - - -	221
In Alleghany county - - - - -	286

A report made to the house of representatives, by a committee appointed for the same purpose as that in the senate, appears to estimate the depreciation of the real estate in Pennsylvania at one-third of the value ascertained by the United States assessment in 1815, which was \$ 316,633,889—of course the depreciation is \$ 115,544,629.

A memorial referred to in another report, states—

“That embarrassment is universal; that the sordid and avaricious are acquiring the sacrificed property of the liberal and industrious; that so much property is exposed to sale under execution, that buyers cannot be had to pay more for it than the fees of office.”

Would to God, that this affecting picture could be placed in large characters in Congress Hall, in the president's house, and in the offices of the secretaries of state and the treasury, that they might be led to take the necessary measures as early as possible to relieve such sufferings.

This, let it be observed, is far from the whole of the evil. The comparison is only a retrospective one—to shew the precipitous descent we have made from a towering height. Let us now

see the point to which we might, and by a proper policy would, have arrived. In five years, from 1810 to 1815, as already stated, the manufacture of cotton increased from 10,000 to 90,000 bales, or 270,000,000 lbs. The other manufactures of the country increased very considerably, but not in the same proportion.

By the statements of the marshals, and the calculations of Mr. Coxe, a gentleman perfectly competent to this service, it appears that the manufactures of the United States in 1810, amounted to 172,000,000 dollars.

Let us suppose that in place of a multiplication nine-fold, such as took place in the cotton branch between 1810 and 1815, the increase was only double, it follows, that in 1815, the whole of our manufactures must have amounted to nearly 350,000,000 dollars.

Inferring from past experience, they would, under an efficient protection by the government, have increased from 1815 to 1820, fifty per cent. and of course would now be above 500,000,000 dollars.

It is impossible to pursue this train of reflexion, and compare what we might be, with what we are, without sensations of the keenest distress, and a clear conviction of the radical unsoundness of a policy, which has in a few years produced so much destruction of happiness and prosperity.

CHAPTER X.

Causes assigned for the existing distress. Extravagant banking. Transition to a state of peace. Fallacy of these reasons. True cause, destruction of industry. Comparison of exports for six years.

SINCE public attention has been drawn to explore the causes of the existing evils, some of our citizens have ascribed them to the abuses of banking, and others to "*the transition from a state of war to a state of peace*"—overlooking the real cause, the destruction of the national industry—and likewise overlooking the strong fact, that all nations have fallen to decay, in proportion as they abandoned, and have prospered in proportion as they protected, the industry of their people.

Let us briefly examine both of these alleged causes of distress.

It is impossible to defend the legislative bodies, who incorporated such hosts of banks at once. They are deserving of the most unqualified censure ; and it is to be regretted that they cannot be rendered individually responsible for the consequences. But the mischief that has

arisen from those banks, has been greatly over-rated. I submit a few facts and reflexions on the subject.

With the state of Pennsylvania I am more familiar than with any of the others; and shall therefore found my reasoning on the system pursued here. It will apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to all those which have carried banking to excess.

In 1814, the legislature of this state incorporated forty-one banks, of which only thirty-seven went into operation—of these I present a view—

	<i>Capital authorized.</i>	<i>Capital paid in.</i>
Thirty-three country banks	\$ 12,665,000	\$ 5,294,238
Four city banks - - -	3,500,000	2,134,000
	<hr/> \$ 16,165,000	<hr/> \$ 7,428,238

Two reports, recently made to the legislature of Pennsylvania, convey an idea that the capital of these banks was much greater than it really was.

“ The people of Pennsylvania, during an expensive war,
“ and in the midst of great embarrassments, established
“ forty-one new banks, *with a capital of 17,500,000 dollars*
“ —and authority to issue bank notes to double that
“ amount.”*

“ A bill, authorizing the incorporation of forty-one bank-

* Report to the house of representatives.

“ing institutions, with capitals amounting to upwards of
“ 17,000,000 dollars, was passed by a large majority.”*

Several of them had been in operation previous to the act of incorporation—particularly the Commercial Bank in Philadelphia, with a capital of 1,000,000 dollars, and others with probably capitals of \$ 750,000 : so that the addition then made to the banking capital of the state was only about 5,700,000 dollars. It is perfectly obvious, that in calculating the effects produced by these banks, we must have reference not to the capital *authorized*—but to that actually *paid in*.

Had every one of these banks been fraudulently conducted, and become bankrupt, would it account for the excessive distresses of the state? It would be idle to pretend it. The circumstance would have produced great temporary embarrassment—but our citizens would soon have recovered, had their industry been protected.

The population of the state is above 1,200,000. Its manufactures in 1810, as stated by Mr. Coxe, were 32,000,000 of dollars—and had probably risen in 1814, to 45,000,000. Its domestic exports for the last three years, have been above 20,000,000, or nearly 7,000,000 per annum. Now, can it be believed that the specified increase

* Report to the senate.

of banking capital in a state with such great resources, could have produced such ruinous consequences? Surely not.

In cases of great calamities, arising from embargoes, blockades, unexpected war, or peace, New York and Philadelphia have each suffered nearly as much loss as the whole capital of all those banks, and speedily revived like the Phœnix from her ashes.

Let it be observed, that after deducting the capitals of—

The Bank of Lancaster*	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 600,000
Marietta	-	-	-	-	-	239,430
Pittsburg	-	-	-	-	-	316,585
Reading	-	-	-	-	-	299,440
Easton	-	-	-	-	-	211,830
						<hr/>
						\$ 1,667,285
						<hr/>

The remaining country banks only average about 125,000 dollars each. Some of them operate in a space, of which the diameter is thirty, forty, or fifty miles. Surely the doctor's apprentice, who, finding a saddle under his patient's bed, ascribed his illness to his having devoured a horse, was not much more ludicrously in error, than those who ascribe the whole or even the chief part of the sufferings of the state to this cause.

* Four of these towns are places of importance, and carry on trade very extensively.

Let it be distinctly understood that I freely admit that some of those banks have done very great mischief, and that several have been improperly conducted. But had the industry of the state been protected, and trade flourished, the great mass of them would have gone on prosperously, and the whole would not have produced one-tenth part of the injury that has resulted from those that have been ill-managed.

Before I quit this subject, let me observe, that the greater portion by far of these banks have been, I believe, fairly and honourably conducted: and that little inconvenience was felt by or from any of them, from the time of resuming specie payments, till of late, when the unceasing drain of specie exhausted them of the pabulum on which banks are supported, and obliged them to diminish their issues, and to press on their debtors, of whom many were ruined. Notwithstanding all their efforts, several of the banks have been obliged to stop payment.

The idea that the public distresses have been a necessary consequence of "*the transition to a state of peace,*" is still more extravagant. To Great Britain the transition was truly formidable. She had by her orders in council, blockades, and fleets, engrossed the supply of a large portion of the continent of Europe, which, on the return of peace, relied on itself, and there-

fore deprived her of various profitable markets. But I ask any man of common sense, how this applies to our case? Were we, at the treaty of Ghent, excluded from any foreign markets which we enjoyed during our short war? Surely not. Far from having our markets circumscribed by "*the transition to a state of peace,*" they were greatly enlarged. In 1815, our exports were, as appears below, seven hundred per cent. more than in 1814, and treble in the three entire years subsequent to the peace, what they were in the three preceding years.

Domestic Exports from the United States.

1812	-	\$ 30,032,109		1815	-	\$ 45,974,403
1813	-	25,008,152		1816	-	64,781,896
1814	-	6,782,272		1817	-	68,313,500
		<u>61,822,533</u>				<u>179,069,799</u>
Average		<u>20,607,511</u>		Average		<u>59,689,933</u>

That the "*transition,*" from an average export of \$ 20,000,000, to nearly 60,000,000, can account for the lamentable and precipitous fall we have experienced, no person of candour will pretend. It would be equally wise to assert, that a man was ruined by raising his income from two thousand dollars to six thousand per annum. If, however, he renounced his industry, and, when he only trebled his income,

increased his expenses six fold, then his ruin would be as easily accounted for, as the lamentable picture this country exhibits.

I was, however, in error. The "*transition*" did produce the effect. Should it be asked how? I reply—*The war protected the domestic industry of the nation.*—It thrived and prospered under that safeguard, which the peace tore down *de fouds en comble*. And congress, whose imperious and paramount duty it was to step in, and replace the protection, failed of that duty. The consequences were foretold. The industry of the country was laid prostrate—its circulating medium drained away—its resources exhausted—and distress overspread the face of the land. But it is too farcical for argument to assert that a peace which trebled our exports, necessarily brought on a state of distress and impoverishment, which is chargeable wholly to our short-sighted policy.

CHAPTER XI.

The everlasting complaint of "taxing the many for the benefit of the few." Fallacy and injustice of it. Amount of impost for fourteen years. For the year 1818. Impost for the protection of agriculture in that year above 4,500,000 dollars.

THE changes have been rung throughout the United States, since the commencement of the government, on the immensity of the favours conferred on the manufacturers, in point of protection—their insatiable temper—the impossibility of satisfying them—and the dreadful injustice of "taxing the many for the benefit of the few," which has been used as a sort of war whoop for exciting all the base passions of avarice and selfishness in battle array against those to whom the tax is supposed to be paid.

It rarely happens, in private life, that vociferous claims for gratitude can stand the test of enquiry. When weighed in the balance of justice and truth, they are uniformly found wanting. And as a public is an aggregation of individuals,

acted upon by the same views, and liable to the same and greater errors, it would be extraordinary, if similar claims of collections of people were not found to rest on as sandy a foundation.

To investigate the correctness of this everlasting theme has become a duty. To place the subject on its true ground, will dispel a dense mist of error and delusion with which it is enveloped. If the debt can be paid, let it, in the name of heaven, be discharged, and let us commence *de novo*. If it be beyond the power of payment, let the delinquent parties take the benefit of the insolvent act, and exonerate themselves from a load, by which they are crushed as between "the upper and the nether millstone."

The expenses of our government require revenues, which have risen from 4,000,000 to 27,000,000 dollars per annum. Provision must be made for this sum in one or all of three modes—by excise—direct taxes—or customs. The first is universally abhorred here. The second are almost equally obnoxious. It therefore follows, that the impost is the next and grand resource. The sum required must be raised without regard to manufactures or manufacturers—and indeed if there were not a manufacturer in the country. It is out of the power of the government to raise the necessary revenue without laying considerable duties on manufac-

tures—as all other articles, such as tea, sugar, wines, coffee, are dutied as high as they will bear. Therefore the manufacturers, who, let it be observed, *bear their own share of all these duties of every description*, are under no obligation of gratitude whatever for them.

But let us examine the subject more closely. Let us suppose that these duties had been laid solely to serve the manufacturers, without any regard to the emergencies of government—and that the proceeds had been reserved in the treasury. Let us see what would be the extent of the mighty boon.

The whole of this enormous and inextinguishable debt is comprised in the duties imposed on such foreign merchandize as would rival our own manufactures. The utmost cravings on the score of gratitude will not dare to charge to the account the duties on sugar, coffee, tea, wine, salt, &c.

The entire impost for fourteen years, from 1801 to 1814, inclusive, was		\$ 159,762,602*
On Spirits	- - - -	\$ 25,441,543
Wines	- - - -	7,646,476
Sugar	- - - -	19,455,110
Salt	- - - -	4,057,047
Teas	- - - -	8,565,874
Coffee	- - - -	10,777,113
Molasses	- - - -	4,980,650
Sundry articles	- - - -	7,470,317†
		88,434,130‡
Leaving a balance of	- - - -	\$ 71,328,472
† To which add half of the last item of sun- dries, as probably on manufactures	- - - -	3,735,158
Total	- - - -	\$ 75,063,630

This is the whole amount levied on *manufactures* of every kind, for fourteen years, being about five millions and a half per annum !

The white population of that period averaged probably about 7,000,000. Of course the duties paid on *manufactures* amounted to about eighty cents per head ! And this is the sum and substance of the “*taxes levied on the many by the few,*” and the immense favours conferred on “the few” by “the many !” which have furnished matter for so many tedious speeches in congress, tiresome declamations at public meetings, and verbose newspaper essays and paragraphs

* Seybert, 454.

‡ Idem, 398 to 405.

without end or number; with which “the welkin has rung”—and which, I repeat, have called into activity all the base passions of our nature, and excited a deadly hostility in the minds of one portion of our citizens against another. The clamour would have been contemptible, had the whole sum been granted as an alms, or through generosity. But when it is considered that every dollar of this sum has been raised for the mere purpose of revenue, language cannot do justice to the feelings the affair is calculated to excite.

I shall now consider the subject at a more recent period.

The whole amount of duties ad valorem for 1818, was	- - - - -	\$ 11,947,260
To which add for manufactures of lead, iron, and steel; glass bottles, copperas, allum, and other articles subject to specific duties	-	694,493
		<hr/>
Total on manufactures	- - - - -	12,641,753
A large portion of those duties was levied on silks, high-priced cambrics and muslins, gauzes, fine linens, lace shawls, lace veils, pearls, embroidery, gold lace, &c. &c. which our citizens do not manufacture. These duties are by no means chargeable to the protection of manufactures—suppose	- -	1,500,000
		<hr/>
Balance of impost supposed for protection of manufactures	- - - - -	\$ 11,141,753
		<hr/>

Against this we must set off all the duties levied for the protection of agriculture, viz.

On spirits, for the encouragement of the culture of grain, and the protection of the peach brandies, rye whiskey, &c. of the farmers	\$2,646,186
Sugar	1,508,892
Cotton	126,542
Hemp	148,873
Indigo	19,049
Coals	46,091
Cheese	16,694
<hr/>	
Impost for protection of agriculture	\$4,572,327
<hr/>	
Leaving a balance against the manufacturers of	\$6,569,426
<hr/>	

When we consider how frugal and economical the great body of our farmers are in the eastern, middle, and western states; how few of them, comparatively speaking, purchase imported articles, except groceries; and how expensively the inhabitants of our cities and towns live in general; it will appear more than probable, that of the goods on which the above duties are collected, not nearly one-half are consumed by farmers.

A view of the preceding tables and statements affords the following results—

1. That the whole amount of the duties levied on manufactured articles, of every description, for the year 1818, having been only about 12,600,000 dollars, and the population of the United States at present being about 10,000,000, of whom probably eight are white, the average is

only about one dollar and a half for the white population.

2. That of this amount about one-eighth part is levied on articles not interfering with our manufactures.

3. That there are duties levied in favour of agriculture equal in amount to more than a third part of those levied on manufactures.

4. That when the latter duties are set off against those levied for the protection of manufactures, the remainder is about seventy-five cents for each free person in the United States.

5. That probably more than half of the goods on which those duties are levied, are consumed in towns and cities—and of course that the amount paid by the farmers and planters is not above sixty cents per head, notwithstanding the senseless and illiberal clamour excited on the subject.

6. That were all the duties on manufactured articles removed, the burdens of the community would not be diminished a single dollar; as there is no more revenue raised than the emergencies of the government require, and of course some other tax or duty must be devised.

CHAPTER XII.

Immense advantages enjoyed by the farmers and planters for nearly thirty years, viz. a domestic monopoly—and excellent foreign markets. Exorbitant prices of the necessaries of life. Great extent of the domestic market. Internal trade of the United States.

FOR nearly thirty years, the farmers and planters of this country enjoyed a high degree of prosperity. They had almost universally excellent foreign markets for all their productions—and, from the commencement of the government, have had a monopoly of the domestic market, having had the exclusive supply of the manufacturers, who have not consumed of foreign vegetables, bread-stuffs, butcher's meat, fowls, fuel or any other of the productions of agriculture, to the amount of one per cent. per annum. It is, nevertheless, a fact, however incredible, that those citizens, enjoying this important domestic monopoly, and having laid very high duties on all the articles that inter-

fere with their interests, as snuff, tobacco, cotton, hemp, cheese, coals, &c.; accuse their manufacturing fellow citizens as monopolists; who are not only shut out of nearly all the foreign markets in the world by prohibitions and prohibitory duties; but, even in their own markets are exposed to, and supplanted by, foreign adventurers of all countries!!! It is difficult to conceive of a more unjust charge, or one that comes with a worse grace from the accusers.

During this long period, the farmers sold in all cases at high, and in many at most exorbitant prices. To instance a few articles, in order to illustrate the remark: we paid them ten and twelve, and thirteen dollars a barrel for flour—twelve to eighteen cents per lb. for beef and pork—twelve to fourteen cents for tobacco—fifteen to thirty cents for cotton; and in the same proportion for all their other productions, though it is well known, they could have afforded them at half those prices, and made handsome profits. In one word, the history of the world affords few, if any instances, of such a long-continued scene of prosperity as they enjoyed.

The manufacturers cheerfully paid those prices. The cotton-weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, the labourer, who earned

six, seven, or eight dollars per week, never lisped a word of complaint, when they paid twelve or thirteen dollars per barrel for flour, eight or ten cents per pound for mutton, &c. &c. Would to heaven they had experienced the same degree of liberality from their farming and planting fellow citizens! which, alas! they have not.

It remains to ascertain the effect of this monopoly in favour of their agricultural fellow citizens, which our manufacturers have for thirty years afforded them without the least murmur.

It is impossible to ascertain with precision the number of our citizens engaged in manufactures, with their families. The census is miserably defective in this respect. It does not furnish the population of the towns and cities, which would afford a tolerable criterion. We are therefore left to mere estimate.

The highest number that I have ever heard surmised, is two millions; the lowest, one. Truth, as is generally the case, may lie in the medium. I will therefore assume one million and a half.

As there may be some objections on the subject of the number thus assumed, I annex the ground on which it rests.

I suppose, as I have stated, the white population of the country to be about eight millions, and to be proportioned as follows—

10-16ths, agriculturists	-	-	-	5,000,000
3-16ths, artists, mechanics, manúfacturers, &c.	-	-	-	1,500,000
3-16ths, professors of law and physic, gentle- men who live on their income, merchants, traders, seamen, &c.	-	-	-	1,500,000
				<hr/>
				8,000,000
				<hr/>

I believe I would not have been wide of the mark, in adding 500,000 to the second item, and deducting 250,000 from each of the others. But I prefer taking ground as little as possible liable to cavil.

Dirom, an eminent English statistical writer, estimates the average annual consumption of grain in England, at two quarters, or sixteen bushels, for each person.* Colquhoun, strange to tell, estimates it only at one quarter. I will assume the medium of twelve bushels. At this rate the consumption of the manufacturers would be about 18,000,000 of bushels per annum.

The average price of wheat in the United States during the wars of the French revolution, was about one dollar and seventy-five cents per bushel. For the last two years, it has been about

* "The average prices of all these several kinds of grain being 20s. 6d., the price of two quarters for the maintenance of each person in these years, only amounts to 41s." —*Dirom on the corn laws and corn trade of Great Britain, Appendix, page 51.*

one dollar and twenty-five cents. At this rate the amount of grain would be 22,500,000 dollars.

Dirom states the average daily consumption of flesh meat in Paris at about five ounces and three quarters for each person. An average for London he supposes* probably more than double that amount, or eleven and a half, which is about five pounds per week. As our citizens eat meat oftener, and our working people more generally, than those of most other nations, it will be fair to assume six pounds per week for each person, which is equal to about three hundred and twelve pounds and a half per annum. At eight cents per pound, a moderate average till lately, this amounts to twenty-five dollars per annum, or for the whole 37,500,000 dollars.

Allowing for milk, butter, eggs, vegetables, fruit, lard, fire-wood, coals, home-made spirits, &c. &c. one dollar per week, it amounts to 78,000,000 of dollars.

*“ The daily consumption of each individual in Paris, “ is pretty accurately ascertained, from the tax on cattle “ paid at the barriers, to be about five ounces and three “ quarters. In London it is probably more than double.”—
Idem, 248.

Summary.

Grain	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 22,500,000
Animal food	-	-	-	-	-	37,500,000
Milk, butter, fuel, &c. &c.	-	-	-	-	-	78,000,000
						<hr/>
Consumption of the manufacturers	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 138,000,000
						<hr/>

Now, this is the market, for bare subsistence, of which the manufacturers furnish a monopoly to their agricultural fellow citizens, who have uniformly regarded them with jealousy and murmuring—often with decided hostility—and who have *always assumed, that duties imperiously required for the purposes of the treasury are favours conferred on manufacturers!*

That this calculation is not materially wrong, will appear from the following view—A quarter dollar per day, or a dollar and three quarters per week for the maintenance of each individual, which, as our citizens live, is moderate, would amount to ninety-one dollars per annum, or—

For one million five hundred thousand	
people	- - - - - \$ 136,500,000
	<hr/>

Let me further observe, that this is a market which might have been immensely increased annually by emigration, had a sound policy held out any encouragement to invite the manufacturers of Europe.

It is not easy to calculate the extent of the market for raw materials which the manufac-

turers afford their agricultural fellow citizens, and which might have been doubled by a correct system. I will state what I suppose it must have been in 1815, previous to the prostration of manufactures.

Cotton	- - - - -	\$ 9,000,000
Wool*	- - - - -	10,000,000
Hemp	- - - - -	2,000,000
Hides, skins, furs, timber for houses and ship-building, barley, hops, oats, &c.	- - - - -	8,000,000
		<hr/>
		29,000,000
Brought forward for sustenance	- - - - -	138,000,000
		<hr/>
Total	- - - - -	\$ 167,000,000
		<hr/>

As the illiberal prejudices that prevail on this topic, tend to excite jealousies and disgusts, that may eventually prove dangerous to the harmony of the nation, too much pains cannot be taken to remove them. I shall therefore place the subject before the reader in a new and not less striking point of view.

I have shewn that the market afforded to their agricultural fellow citizens by the manufacturers, amounts per annum to \$ 167,000,000.

It is proper to examine the extent of the market reciprocated to them.

It may be assumed that each white person in the union consumes in furniture and clothing, at the average rate of forty dollars per annum.

* Mr. Coxe states an opinion in his tables, that the growth of wool in the United States in 1812, was from 20 to 22,000,000 lbs.

This, for the whole of the agriculturists, whom I have estimated at 5,000,000, amounts to	\$ 200,000,000
And for the slaves, supposed to be 1,500,000, at 15 dollars per head, to	22,500,000 \$
<i>Per contra</i>	<u>222,500,000</u>
One-half the farmers throughout the union make three-fourths of their own clothing, which is equal to	75,000,000
The remaining half probably manufacture about one-third of their clothing, equal to	33,000,000
The clothing for the slaves is principally of family fabrics. This would warrant the deduction of the whole 22,500,000. But I suppose the planters may purchase to the average amount of five dollars for each slave, this is \$ 7,500,000, which leaves of family fabrics	15,000,000
Total amount of household fabrics consumed by the agriculturists.	<u>123,000,000</u>
Leaving the amount of clothing and furniture purchased by them	99,500,000
Of this amount probably 10 per cent. is of foreign manufacture	9,950,000
One-half of the manufacturers, say 750,000, live in country towns or in the country, and purchase probably one-half of their clothing from the farmers in the neighbourhood, say	15,000,000
	<u>24,950,000</u>

Balance, being the whole of the consumption of
articles purchased of manufacturers by agri-
culturists - - - - - \$74,550,000

It thus appears, notwithstanding the clamour against the manufacturers, that they purchase of the agriculturists, nearly 100,000,000 dollars more than the latter purchase of them.

A contrast between the domestic exports and the internal trade of the nation cannot fail to be interesting, as it will enable us to ascertain whether they have borne in the minds of our citizens and statesmen the comparative rank to which they are entitled.

The domestic exports of the United States
for twenty-four years, from 1796 to 1819,
inclusive, have been - - - - - \$955,586,088

Average - - - - - \$39,816,088

I shall proceed on the assumptions on which I have already ventured ; that the agriculturists embrace about 5,000,000 of our white population ; that all the other classes who are consumers of the productions of the farmers and planters are 3,000,000 ; and that each of the latter consumes to the amount of one dollar and

seventy-five cents per week in food and drink.
Let us see the result—

3,000,000 of people at one dollar and seven-	
ty-five cents per week, equal to \$5,250,000	
per week, or per annum	\$ 273,000,000
	<hr/>

Once more.

Our present population is about	{	white	- -	8,000,000
		black	-	1,500,000
				<hr/>
				9,500,000
				<hr/>

The average expenditure of forty dollars per annum, already assumed, for 8,000,000 of white people,

Amounts to	- - - - -	\$ 320,000,000
1,500,000 slaves, each 15 dollars	- - - - -	22,500,000
		<hr/>
		345,500,000
Of which we import about	- - - - -	60,000,000
		<hr/>
Leaving a balance furnished by our own in-		
dustry, of	- - - - -	285,500,000
To which add the above sum for food and		
drink	- - - - -	273,000,000
		<hr/>
It gives a total of	- - - - -	558,500,000
Raw materials as before	- - - - -	29,000,000
		<hr/>
Annual internal trade of the U. States		\$ 587,500,000
		<hr/>

What exhilarating views! The domestic market for food and drink is nearly seven hundred

—and the internal trade fifteen hundred per cent. more than the average of our exports! How infinitely more worthy of the attention of our citizens and to be protected by our statesmen than they have appeared! How transcendently superior to that foreign commerce, which has been fostered with so much care; has excited so many collisions with foreign powers; cost us so much for foreign embassies, navy, and war; and entailed on us so heavy a national debt.

Again.

Our farmers will be astonished to learn that the consumption of Philadelphia in food and drink, supposing the population 125,000 persons, is very nearly equal to the amount of all the *eatable* articles exported from this country to every quarter of the world.

125,000 persons, at one dollar and seventy-five cents per week, consume to the amount of 218,500 dollars per week, or per annum \$ 11,375,000

Total exports from the United States for 1819, of the following articles.

		Custom-house valuation.
Hams	lbs. 700,369	\$ 10,555
Pork	bbls. 28,173	563,470
Beef	bbls. 34,966	454,558
Cheese	lbs. 1,148,380	114,838
	Carried forward	<u>\$ 1,143,421</u>

			Custom house valuation.	
Brought forward	-	-	\$ 1,143,421	
Sheep	-	-	8,445	21,113
Hogs	-	-	2,324	13,944
Poultry	-	-	1,184	3,552
Indian corn	-	- bushels	1,086,762	815,072
Wheat	-	- do.	82,065	103,581
Rye	-	- do.	67,605	54,084
Barley	-	- do.	3,047	3,047
Oats	-	- do.	23,284	11,642
Beans	-	- do.	21,162	37,034
Peas	-	- do.	41,400	72,600
Potatoes	-	- do.	76,506	38,253
Apples	-	- barrels	8,253	24,759
Flour	-	- do.	750,660	6,500,000
Meal, rye	-	- do.	48,388	241,940
Indian	-	- do.	135,271	608,720
Buckwheat	-	- do.	203	812
Ship stuff	-	- cwt.	828	4,968
Biscuit	-	- bbls.	54,603	273,015
Do.	-	- kegs	44,184	33,138
Rice	-	- tierces	76,523	2,142,644
Total of eatable articles	-	-	\$ 12,147,339	

CHAPTER XIII.

Calumnious clamour against the manufacturers on the ground of extortion. Destitute of the shadow of foundation. Take the beam out of thine own eye. Rise of merino wool 400 per cent. Great rise of the price of merchandize after the declaration of war.

THE most plausible argument used to defeat the applications of the manufacturers for relief, and to consign those that have hitherto escaped ruin, to the fate that has befallen so many of their brethren, is the "*extortion*" they are said to have practised during the late war, which, if they have an opportunity, they will, it is asserted, repeat. The justice of this accusation is as firmly believed by a large portion of the people of the United States, as if it were supported by "*proofs from holy writ.*" Great zeal and address have been employed by persons whose interests are subserved by exciting hostility against the manufacturers, to disseminate this prejudice. Unfortunately their efforts have been crowned with success. The accusation, it is true, has been refuted times without number; but, regardless of the refutation, it is still advanced

with as much confidence as if disproof had never been attempted, and, indeed, as if it were impossible.

This reproachful charge has been recently advanced by a respectable body of planters, whose opportunities and situation in life should have shielded them from falling into such an error. The general meeting of delegates of the United Agricultural Societies of Virginia, in a memorial adopted on the 10th of January, deprecate the idea of being placed

“ At the mercy of an association, who, competition being removed, will no longer consider the intrinsic value of an article, or what price would afford a fair profit to the manufacturer, but *how much the necessities of the consumer would enable them to extort. Of this spirit we had a sufficient specimen during the late war with Great Britain.*”

This very gentlemanly, decorous, and veracious accusation is the act of

Thomas Cocke,	W. J. Cocke,	Roger A. Jones,	} Esqrs.
Edmund Ruffin,	Nicholas Fanleon,	Theophilus Field,	
John Edmonds,	Charles H. Graves,	John Jones, and	
George Blow,	Richard Cocke,	Henry Jones,	
W. P. Ruffin,	John Pegram,		

When these gentlemen were thus denouncing “ the extortion practised in consequence of the necessities of the consumer,” it is wonderful they did not pause a little, and reflect on the price of fifteen dollars per cwt. which they received in 1818 for their tobacco, in conse-

quence of *the necessities* of the shippers, whereby so large a portion of those shippers were ruined, and so many illustrious families reduced from a state of affluence to penury and dependence! They might also turn their attention to the extravagant price of two and three dollars per bushel for wheat, and eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen dollars per barrel for flour. These reminiscences would have been rather malapropos, and deranged some of the flowery paragraphs of their memorial. Our own offences are easily forgotten. "They are marked in sand"—while those of our neighbours are "engraven on marble."

As the prejudice on this subject has produced the most deleterious consequences, not merely on the happiness and prosperity of the manufacturers generally, but on the power and resources of the nation, I hope for a candid hearing, while I investigate it, and undertake to prove—

1. That the charge is not only not true, but the reverse of truth; that the rise of price was perfectly justifiable; and that the shadow of extortion did not attach to the procedure.

2. That the charge of extortion would apply with infinitely greater force and propriety to the farmers, planters, and merchants, who in this case are the accusers, than it does to the manufacturers.

The accusation has been more frequently predicated on the rise of the price of broad cloths, than of any other article. As in this case it comes before us in a tangible form, and subject to the talisman of figures, I shall therefore confine myself to this prominent and conspicuous case ; observing, *en passant*, that the facts and reasoning apply equally to other branches. They all stand on nearly the same ground. In every case, in which a rise of price took place, it arose from a cause similar to that which operated on broad cloth. Therefore if the charge be disproved in this instance, it falls to the ground on the whole ; just as when, during the late war, several vessels were captured in circumstances exactly similar, the trial of one decided the fate of the rest.

The facts of the case are, superfine broad cloth was sold previous to the war at from eight to nine dollars per yard—during the war it rose to twelve, thirteen, and fourteen.

On this “*extortion*” the changes have been rung from New Hampshire to Georgia—from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. It is considered as a set off against, and justification of, the widespread scene of desolation, the sacrifice of capital to the amount of millions, the ruin of hundreds of capitalists, and the extreme distress of thousands whose sole dependence is on the labour of their hands—on which congress have

for years looked with unfeeling indifference, without taking a single effectual step to relieve the sufferers, or to remove their sufferings.

The value of every manufactured article depends on the price of the raw material—the cost of workmanship—and the profit of the capitalist by whom it is produced.

That a rise in the price of either or both of the two first will justify a rise in the price of the article, is too manifest to require proof.

Now, to the senseless and calumnious outcry against “*extortion*,” on this subject, it would be sufficient to state the simple fact, that the raw material experienced a most extraordinary rise, as will appear from the following statement of the prices at different periods—

Prices of Merino wool.

1812.	May 1.	-	-	-	per lb.	75 cents.
	July 20.	-	-	-	-	75 to 100*
	Oct. 1.	-	-	-	-	75 to 150*
1814.	May 1.	-	-	-	-	300 to 400*
	Aug. 29.	-	-	-	-	300 to 400*
	Nov. 14.	-	-	-	-	300 to 400*

This alone would settle the question beyond the power of appeal.

Let it be observed, that it requires two pounds of wool to make a yard of superfine cloth. Therefore the difference in the price of the raw material accounts for and fully justifies the rise

* Grotjan's Price Current.

in the price of the cloth. Two pounds in May, 1812, cost one dollar and fifty cents; in May, 1814, they averaged seven dollars. It follows, that the per centage of profit was not so great on the cloth at fourteen dollars as at eight.

I do not know the expense of workmanship; but shall suppose it five dollars per yard.—Any other sum would answer equally well.

1812. May 1.		1814. May 1.	
2 lbs. wool - - -	1 50	2 lbs. wool - - -	\$ 7
Workmanship - - -	5 00	Workmanship - - -	5
	<u>6 50</u>		<u>12</u>
Profit - - - - -	1 50	Profit - - - - -	2
	<u>\$ 8 00</u>		<u>\$ 14</u>
Price of cloth -	\$ 8 00	Price of cloth -	\$ 14
Profit about 20 per cent.		Profit 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.	

Wages, too, rose considerably in consequence of the increased demand for workmen; for however extraordinary it may seem to colonel Pegram and his friends, it is nevertheless true, that a workman thinks he has as clear a right to raise his wages in case of an increased demand, as a planter has to raise the price of his tobacco or cotton in similar circumstances.

There is, moreover, another item of considerable importance to be taken into view.

Owing to the utter impolicy of our government, and the want of adequate protection to the woollen manufacture, the business had not been carried to any extent previous to the war. The establishments were at that time to be

erected, at an enormous expense, and under considerable disadvantages. This warranted an extra price, in the shape of interest.

I now proceed to prove, that had the woollen and other manufacturers raised the prices of their fabrics, without any rise in the raw materials, or wages, or without any extraordinary expense of buildings, neither the farmer nor the merchant could justly censure them, without at the same time pronouncing their own condemnation.

So far as respects the farmer, I might rest the question on the case stated, of the Merino wool. The rise on this article, from seventy-five cents to three and four dollars, in two years, was among the most extravagant advances ever known in the annals of trade. And if the charge of "*extortion*" would ever fairly lie against a rise in price, it would in this case indubitably. Never was the admonition—

"First cast the beam out of thine own eye—and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye,"

more appropriate. Had the Pharisee in the gospel, reproached the publican with pride, he would not have been more culpable than the farmer, who raised his wool four hundred per cent. and reproaches the manufacturer with "*extortion*" for raising the cloth, made of that wool, fifty per cent. Indeed in all the exuberant stock

of human folly, there cannot be found any thing more extraordinary or extravagant.

But the defence does not rest on this ground alone. It is corroborated by almost every article of agricultural produce, which has always risen in consequence of an increased demand. To remove all doubt, if doubt could have existed, I state from the Philadelphia price current the various prices of four articles at different periods, with the very extraordinary advances on them.

Flour.	1809.	Jan. 16.	-	-	per bbl.	\$ 5 50
		March 6.	-	-	-	7 50
	1810.	May 1.	-	-	-	8 00
Aug. 1.		-	-	-	11 00	
Tar.	1813.	Jan. 9.	-	-	-	2 10
		May 8.	-	-	-	4 00
Pitch.	1813.	Jan. 9.	-	-	-	2 50
		May 8.	-	-	-	4 50
		Oct. 9.	-	-	-	5 00
Hams.	1813.	Jan. 9.	-	-	per lb.	9½
		May 8.	-	-	-	11
		Oct. 9.	-	-	-	14½

So much for the farmers. Let us now examine how far they are kept in countenance by the proceedings of the merchants.

War was declared on the 18th of June, 1812. An immediate rise of price took place in every article in the market which was either scarce or likely to become so. Some were at once raised fifty, sixty, and seventy per cent.

(169)

	1812. June 9.	1812. July 13.
Imperial tea - per lb.	§ 1 30	§ 1 87½
Hyson - - - -	96	1 35
Coffee - - - -	15½	20
White Hayanna sugar, per cwt.	14 75	18 50
Brown do. do. - -	12 75	16 00

All these advances took place in less than five weeks.

	1812. June 9.	1812. Aug. 10.
Russia hemp - per ton	§ 242 50	§ 300 00
Havanna molasses - - -	56	72½
Souchong tea - - - -	50	75

Salt, per bushel	1812.	May 1.	-	-	55	
		Aug. 1.	-	-	85	
	1813.	Oct. 1.	-	-	1 35	
		1814.	Aug. 1.	-	-	2 25
			Oct 1.	-	-	3 00
Tin, per box	1812.	May 1.	-	-	28 00	
		Aug. 1.	-	-	32 00	
			Oct. 1.	-	-	33 00
	1814.	Aug. 1.	-	-	50 00	
		1812.	June 1.	-	-	12 37½
Aug. 31.	-		-	14 50		
Oct. 5.	-		-	15 50		
Dec. 14.	-		-	17 50		

This was all regarded as perfectly fair, honest and honourable. There was not the shadow of "*extortion*" supposed to be in it. The merchant, who raised his souchong tea fifty per cent. was so deeply engaged in clearing the manufacturer's eye of the "*mote*," that he quite forgot to "*take the beam out of his own.*"

Can the citizen, who buys flour at six dollars, and sells it occasionally in the West Indies for twenty, twenty-five, or thirty dollars, without a deep blush reproach the manufacturer with "*extortion*" for raising broad cloth, from eight to fourteen dollars, when the raw material rose so extravagantly? or even had the price of the latter remained stationary?

Rise of price, in consequence of scarcity or increased demand, is, or is not, "*extortion*." This is a dilemma, on the horns of which the farmers, planters and merchants are caught. If it be "*extortion*," they have been and are "*extortioners*" in the fullest sense of the word; as they always have and always do raise the price of their produce or merchandize, in consequence of scarcity or increased demand. Indeed, if this be extortion, all mankind are extortioners—lawyers, doctors, apothecaries, house owners, ship owners, money lenders, planters, and farmers, without distinction; for they all raise their prices in consequence of an increased demand. But if this be not extortion, as it certainly is not, then every man, woman, or child in the nation, from the highest, proudest, haughtiest, and wealthiest, down to the lowest scullion, who has advanced the charge of "*extortion*" against the manufacturers, has broken the eighth commandment of the decalogue, and "*borne false witness against his neighbour*."

I trust, therefore, that there is no man of liberality in the country, who considers the subject with due attention, but will allow that the incessant clamour against the manufacturers for extortion, is illiberal and disgraceful to the age—utterly destitute of foundation—in direct hostility with that brotherly regard which fellow citizens owe each other, and which is the surest foundation of harmony and happiness in a community; and that it produces a system of conduct inconsistent with the soundest principles of political economy—as well as destructive to the permanent wealth, power, and resources of the nation.

CHAPTER XIV.

The agricultural the predominant interest in the United States. Great advantages to agriculture from the vicinity of manufacturing establishments. Case of Aberdeen. Of Harmony. Of Providence. Fall of lands the result of the decay of manufactures.

As the agriculturists are now, and are likely to be for a century at least, the predominating interest in this country, and have a decided influence in its legislation, it is of immense importance that they should form correct views on the system best calculated to promote the general welfare. And it is much to be regretted that the endeavours to persuade them, that there is an hostility between their interests and those of their manufacturing fellow citizens, have been but too successful. Never was there a prejudice much more unfounded, or more pernicious to their prosperity and to that of the nation at large.

It is proved, (page 159) that the annual consumption of the city of Philadelphia in food and drink, amounts to about \$ 11,000,000, all paid to the farmers, which is more than one-fifth part of all the domestic exports of the United

States for the last year; within ten per cent. of the whole of the articles of food exported within that year; and almost thirty per cent. of the average domestic exports of the nation for the last thirty years.

To the farmer and planter the home market is incomparably more advantageous than the foreign. Woeful experience proves that the latter is subject to ruinous fluctuations. Whereas the former is permanent and steady, little liable to vicissitude. It furnishes demand for the farmer's vegetables, his poultry, his fruit, his fuel, and various other articles, which are too perishable, or too bulky in proportion to their value, for exportation. The income from all these forms an important item in the prosperity of the farmer. This is true, even in small countries, as England, Ireland, and Scotland, of which every part is contiguous to, or not far distant from the advantages of navigation. But it has ten-fold weight in a country like the United States, of which a large and important portion is from three to fifteen hundred miles distant from the emporium to which its productions must be transported before they are put on shipboard to be forwarded to a market. The difference, to these portions of this country, between a foreign and domestic market, is probably equal to fifty per cent. of the whole profits of farming.

As theories, however plausible, are liable to

great errors, unless supported by the bulwark of facts, I presume that it cannot be unacceptable to the reader, to have these important views supported by facts of undeniable authenticity. I therefore submit for consideration the case of the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, in Scotland, and that of the settlement of Harmony, in the state of Pennsylvania.

“Have we not opportunities of observing every day, that
 “*in the neighbourhood of a ready market, no inducements are*
 “*necessary to excite the common farmer to become industrious,*
 “*and carry on improvements of every sort with success?* A
 “particular case occurs to me just now, that is so directly
 “in point, that I cannot resist the temptation of producing
 “it, as an example of the rapid progress with which improve-
 “ments in agriculture are made when circumstances are fa-
 “vourable.

“The town of Aberdeen HAS MADE GREAT ADVANCES IN
 “TRADE AND MANUFACTURES WITHIN THESE THIRTY OR
 “FORTY YEARS PAST. The number of inhabitants has in-
 “creased greatly within that period. *Money has become more*
 “*plenty there than formerly.* Their manner of living is now
 “more elegant and expensive; articles of luxury have in-
 “creased. In consequence of good roads having become
 “more common, horses and wheel-carriages have also be-
 “come extremely numerous. On all which accounts, *the de-*
 “*mand for fresh vegetables has greatly increased* in that place
 “within the period above-mentioned.

“But on account of the particular situation of that town,
 “it was a matter of some difficulty to augment the produce
 “of the fields in that neighbourhood, and supply the daily
 “increasing demand for these. *This city is placed in the*
 “*midst of a country that is naturally the most sterile that can*
 “*possibly be imagined.* For, unless it be a few hundred acres
 “of ground that lie between the mouths of the rivers Dee
 “and Don, close by the town, *there was not an inch of*

“ground for many miles around it that could supply the inhabitants with any of the necessaries of life. On the east is the German Ocean. On the south the Grampian mountains come close to the river, terminating in a head-land on the south side of the harbour, called the *Girdle Ness*: and on the west and north, it is environed for many miles with an extended waste, the most dismal that can be conceived, in which nothing can be discovered but large masses of stone heaped upon one another, interspersed here and there with a few bushes of starved heath, or disjointed by uncomfortable bogs and spouting marshes, the most unpromising to the views of the farmer that can possibly be imagined.

“But what is it that human industry cannot perform! what undertaking is too bold for man to attempt *when he has the prospect of being repaid for his labour!* Even these dismal wastes, it was imagined, might be converted into corn-fields. The ground was trenched; the stones were blasted by gunpowder, and removed at an immense expense; manures were purchased: and *thousands of acres of this sort of ground are now waving with the most luxuriant harvests, and yield a rent from five to eight pounds sterling per acre.*

“In any other part of the world that I have seen, it would be reckoned impossible to convert such soils to any valuable use; and the most daring improver that I have met with any where else, would shrink back from attempting to cultivate a field which an Aberdeensman would consider as a trifling labour. Long habit has familiarised them to such arduous undertakings,—undertakings which could not be attempted any where else; as, unless in such a particular situation as I have described, the improver could never be repaid. For in what other part of Europe could a man lay out one hundred pounds sterling, or upwards, on an acre of ground, before it could be put under crop, with any prospect of being repaid? yet this is no uncommon thing in that neighbourhood.

“Nor is this all: For to such a height is the spirit for

“improvement risen in that part of the world, that they are
“not only eager to cultivate those barren fields, but even
“purchase these dreary wastes at a vast expense, for that
“purpose. *The last spot of ground of this sort that was to be*
“*disposed of in that neighbourhood, was feued off by the town*
“*of Aberdeen in the year 1773, for ever, at an annual quit-rent,*
“*or, as we call it, feu-duty, of thirty-three or thirty-four shil-*
“*lings sterling per acre, although it was not then, and never*
“*could have been worth six pence per acre, if left in its native*
“*state*—nor could be converted into corn-ground but at an
“expense nearly equal to that above-mentioned.

“Could I produce a more satisfactory proof, that A
“GOOD MARKET WILL ALWAYS PRODUCE A
“SPIRITED AGRICULTURE ?”*

To this Scotch case, which is nearly as strong and conclusive as the mind can conceive, I shall add a more recent American one, which has a peculiar interest.

The settlement at Harmony, in the state of Pennsylvania, was begun in the fall of 1804, and is probably the only settlement ever made in America, in which from the outset agriculture and manufactures proceeded hand-in-hand together. The progress to wealth and prosperity, therefore, has been far beyond any previous example in this country.

“In 1809, they built a fulling mill, which does a great
“deal of business for the country, a hemp mill, an oil mill,
“a grist mill, a brick warehouse, 46 by 36 feet, having a
“wine cellar completely arched over; and another brick

* Anderson on the means of exciting a spirit of National Industry, p. 63.

“building of the same dimensions. A considerable quantity of land was cleared. The produce of this year was 6000 bushels of Indian corn; 4500 bushels of wheat; 4500 bushels of rye; 5000 bushels of oats; 10,000 bushels of potatoes; 4000 lbs. of flax and hemp; 100 bushels of barley brewed into beer; and 50 gallons of sweet oil, made from the white poppy, and equal to the imported olive oil. Of this produce they sold 3000 bushels of corn, 1000 bushels of potatoes, 1000 bushels of wheat; and they distilled 1600 bushels of rye.

“In 1810, a wool-carding machine and two spinning jennies were erected, for the fabrication of broad cloth from the wool of merino sheep. A frame barn was built, 100 feet long, and a brick house built, to accommodate 20 weavers’ looms.”*

“After breakfast, we visited the different branches of manufactures. In the wool loft, eight or ten women were employed in teasing and sorting the wool for the carding machine which is at a distance on the creek. From thence the roves are brought to the spinning house in the town, where we found two roving billies and six spinning jennies at work. They were principally wrought by young girls, and they appeared perfectly happy, singing church music most melodiously. In the weaving house sixteen looms were at work, besides several warpers and winders.”†

“After dinner we visited the soap and candle works; the dye works; shearing and dressing works; the turners, carpenters, and machine makers; and, finally, we were conducted through the warehouses, which we found plentifully stored with commodities; among others, we saw 450 pieces of broad and narrow cloth, part of it of merino wool, and of as good a fabric as any that ever was made in England. We were told, that they could sell the best broad cloth, as fast as made, at ten dollars per yard.”‡

* Melish’s Travels, ii. 68. † Idem, 70. ‡ Idem, 71.

“ The society now [1811] consists of about 800 persons,
 “ and the operative members are nearly as follow: one
 “ hundred farmers; three shepherds; ten masons; three
 “ stone-cutters; three brickmakers; ten carpenters; two
 “ sawyers; ten smiths; two wagon makers; three turners;
 “ two nailors; seven coopers; three rope makers; ten shoe-
 “ makers; two saddlers; three tanners; seven taylors; one
 “ soap boiler; one brewer; four distillers; one gardener;
 “ two grist millers; two oil millers; one butcher; six join-
 “ ers; six dyers, dressers, shearers, &c.; one fuller; two
 “ hatters; two potters; two warpers; seventeen weavers;
 “ two carders; eight spinners; one rover; one minister of
 “ religion; one schoolmaster; one doctor; one storekeeper,
 “ with two assistants; and one tavern keeper, with one
 “ assistant.”*

The original stock, in 1804, was 20,000 dollars, which was expended in the purchase of land, and in supporting themselves till they commenced their operations. And, in 1811, their property amounted to the wonderful sum of 220,000 dollars.

“ 900 acres of land	- - - - -	§ 90,000
“ Stock of provisions	- - - - -	25,000
“ Mills, machinery, and public buildings	-	21,000
“ Dwelling houses	- - - - -	18,000
“ Horses, cattle, hogs, and poultry	- -	10,000
“ 1000 sheep, one-third of them merinoes, of which one ram cost 1000 dollars	- - -	6,000
“ Stock of goods, spirits, manufactures, leather, im- plements of husbandry, &c. &c.	- -	50,000
		<u>§ 220,000†</u>

* Melish's Travels, ii. 77.

† Idem, 80.

To this delightful picture of the blessed effects of a judicious distribution of industry, the statesman ought to direct his eyes steadily. It holds out a most instructive lesson on the true policy to promote human happiness, and to advance the wealth, power, and resources of nations. The history of the world may be examined in vain for any instance of such rapid strides made by any body of men, wholly unaided by bounties, premiums, loans or immunities from government. The Harmonists were true practical political economists. They did not, like so large a portion of the rest of the people of the United States, lavish their wealth on the manufactures of a distant hemisphere, nor buy abroad cheap those articles which they could procure at home. In the sound and strong language of Mr. Jefferson, they "placed the manufacturer beside the agriculturist;" and they have reaped the copious harvest which such a policy cannot fail to secure. One such practical example outweighs volumes of the visionary theories of those closet politicians, who are the dupes of their heated imaginations.

Mr. Gallatin's report on manufactures, dated April, 17, 1810, contains an important statement of the situation of a manufactory in Providence, Rhode Island, which sheds great light on this subject, and which is entitled to the most serious attention.

In this manufactory there were employed, males	-	24
Females	- - - - -	29
And besides the above, there were employed for the establishment, in neighbouring families, males	-	50
Females	- - - - -	75
		<hr/>
		178
		<hr/>

Thus, out of one hundred and seventy-eight persons, there were one hundred and four females. The report is so far deficient, that it does not detail the respective ages of the work people ; but judging from the state of other manufactories, we may assume that at least half of the whole number were children.

If this be admitted, it will follow, that there were men	37
Women	52
Male and female children	89
	<hr/>
	178
	<hr/>

To the farmer this statement presents itself in a peculiarly striking point of light. Of the whole number of persons to whom this manufactory afforded employment, more than two-thirds belonged to the circumjacent farm-houses, who were thus enabled to gather up fragments of time, which would otherwise have been inevitably lost. It is not improbable that the profits of their labour were nearly equal to the profits of the farming.

I might cite the cases of Brandywine, Wilmington, Pittsburg, Providence, Lancaster, and a hundred other places in the United States, where the establishment of manufactories, by affording an extensive and advantageous market to the farmer, doubled and trebled the price of the lands in their neighbourhood—and increased in an equal degree the comforts and prosperity of the farmers. And on the contrary, numberless instances are to be met with, in which the recent decline of manufactures has reduced the lands to one-third, or one-fourth, of the previous price. The average reduction of the price of land in the neighbourhood of Pittsburg is one-half of what it was bought and sold for in 1813, 14, and 15.

The farmers of the United States have been induced to oppose protection to their manufacturing fellow citizens, lest they should be obliged to purchase domestic, at a higher rate than imported manufactures. This erroneous policy has carried its own punishment with it. The reduction in the price of the farmer's produce, which can be obviously traced to the prostration of the manufactories, has in many cases been quadruple the saving in the price of the articles he purchased. I take as examples, raw wool and woollen cloth, and suppose that the farmer could buy foreign cloth for six dollars, and would have to pay, in consequence of pro-

tecting duties, nine for American—a difference that never existed in regular trade. The prices of goods purchased at auction, cannot with propriety be taken into account. They baffle all calculation.

Merino wool now sells for fifty cents per pound: of course it would require twelve pounds to pay for a yard of British cloth. But had the woollen manufacture been duly protected, wool would be at least one dollar. Thus nine pounds of wool would pay for a yard of domestic cloth, at the presumed advance of price.

Let it be added, moreover, that the farmer would probably shear twice or three times the quantity of wool, were the price one dollar, that he does at present: for had the woollen manufacture been protected, the merino sheep, in which such immense sums were invested, would have been preserved, instead of so large a portion of them being consigned to the slaughter-house.

Believing that the prejudices prevailing on this subject have done more injury to this country, and more retarded its progress than all the wars it ever carried on, from the landing of "the Pilgrims" to the present hour, I make no apology for adding another instructive quotation from the respectable writer who figures so largely at the commencement of it. Would to heaven that those farmers and planters

who form the majority of the legislature of the United States, were duly impressed with the soundness of his statements, and predicated the laws of their country on the useful lessons they furnish! The United States would then present a different spectacle from what they do at present to their friends and enemies—a spectacle of gratulation to the former, and of mourning to the latter.

“ A nation peopled only by farmers must be a region of indolence and misery. If the soil is naturally fertile, little labour will procure abundance ; but for want of exercise even that little labour will be burthensome and often neglected. Want will be felt in the midst of abundance ; and the human mind be abased nearly to the same degree with the beasts that graze in the field. If the region is more barren, the inhabitants will be obliged to become somewhat more industrious and therefore more happy.

“ Those therefore who wish to make agriculture flourish in any country, can have no hope of succeeding in the attempt but by bringing commerce and manufactures to her aid ; which, by taking from the farmer his superfluous produce, gives spirit to his operations, and life and activity to his mind. Without this stimulus to activity, in vain do we use arguments to rouse the sluggish inhabitants. In vain do we discover that the earth is capable of producing the most luxuriant harvests with little labour. Our own abundant crops are produced as undeniable proofs of this in vain. But place a manufacturer in the neighbourhood, who will buy every little article that the farmer can bring to market, and he will soon become industrious—the most barren fields will become covered with some useful produce. Instead of listless vagabonds, unfit for any service—the country will abound with a hardy and robust race of men,

“ fit for every valuable purpose: and the voice of festivity
“ and joy be heard in every corner, instead of the groans
“ of misery and the sighs of discontent.”*

The vacancy in this page may be usefully filled with an extract from Parkes' Chemical essays, which bears cogently on this subject.

“ If a line be drawn upon the map of England, across
“ the country from Sunderland to Bristol, all the counties
“ on the west of this line, will be found to contain coal.
“ Formerly these were the least valuable districts, and the
“ parts of the country which were the most thinly populat-
“ ed. Hence, when the constitution of the British parlia-
“ ment was established, the greatest weight of representa-
“ tion was given to the rich counties on the other side of
“ that line. Whereas, now, *owing to the establishment of*
“ *manufactures, the coal counties have become the most popu-*
“ *lous and wealthy:* and the agricultural districts have either
“ been comparatively deserted, or at least have not much
“ increased in population.

“ This accounts in some measure for the inequality of
“ our representation, and shows very distinctly the value
“ of our mines of coal, and that *by the establishment of ma-*
“ *nufactures, even the most sterile and forbidding district may*
“ *be rendered populous, flourishing and opulent.*”†

* Anderson on National Industry, p. 61.

† Vol. II. p. 361.

CHAPTER XV.

General reflexions on commerce. Conducted on terms of reciprocity, highly advantageous. Commerce of the United States carried on upon very unequal terms. Has produced most injurious consequences. Tables of exports. Estimates of the profits of commerce. Pernicious consequences of the competition of our merchants in the domestic and foreign markets. The ruin of so many of them the result of the excess of their numbers.

THE extent and value of the commerce of the United States have long been prolific themes for orators in congress, and writers of newspapers—and it appears generally assumed to be only second to our agriculture, and far beyond manufactures in importance. It has had incomparably more attention bestowed on it by our government, than either agriculture or manufactures. A candid investigation of those sounding pretensions, whereby they may have the seal of certainty imprinted on them, if they be correct; or, if otherwise, may be reduced to their proper standard, cannot fail to be interesting.

That commerce, properly conducted, on fair and reciprocal terms, is highly beneficial, has never been doubted by any sound mind. It tends to civilize, and increase the comforts of, the great family of mankind.

But that it may be, and is occasionally, very injurious, is equally clear. When one nation receives only luxuries from another, and pays for them in necessaries of life, or specie, or in raw materials which would find employment for its own people, it is eminently pernicious.

To make the matter more clear, I will suppose that England were to furnish France with her raw wool, lead, tin, iron, flax and hemp, and to receive in return Merino shawls, silks, satins, pearl necklaces, diamond watches, &c. the most devoted advocate for commerce would allow this species of it to be extremely pernicious.

Again. If England furnished wool, flax, hemp, and iron, and received in return even necessary articles, such as broadcloths, linen, duck, hardware, &c. it would be highly disadvantageous; as she would give the produce of the labour of five, ten, or twenty persons for that of one.

But such a commerce would be transcendently pernicious, if England had a large portion of her population wholly unemployed, and capable of manufacturing those articles for her own consumption.

If this reasoning be correct, as applicable to

Great Britain, it is difficult to prove why the system should not be equally pernicious to the United States. It is as absurd, as impolitic, and as cruel to our citizens, who are suffering for want of employment, and who could manufacture cotton goods for us, to export such quantities of raw cotton, and receive cambrics and muslins in return, as it would be for England to export her wool, and import her woollen manufactures.

“*Strike, but hear,*” said a general, about to offer some unpalatable opinions to a friend. As the views I am going to take of the subject of commerce, however true, are likely to be as unpalatable to the merchants as the opinions of the general to his friend, I say to them “strike, but hear.”

I shall attempt to prove—

1. That a large proportion of the productive manufacturing industry of this country has been sacrificed to our commerce.

2. That the commerce of the United States has been carried on, upon very unequal terms—and that it has produced most injurious results upon the national prosperity.

3. That its extent and advantages have been overrated. And

4. That the numerous bankruptcies among

our merchants have chiefly arisen from the want of protection to manufactures.

These views are so repugnant to the feelings and prejudices of a numerous class of citizens, that I can scarcely hope for a fair discussion. More than half my readers will at once pronounce me deranged—and be disposed to throw the book into the fire. Again, therefore, I say, “strike, but hear.”

I. Sacrifice of productive industry.

To prove the sacrifice of productive industry, I refer the reader to the tariffs of 1789,* 1791, 1792, and 1804, where he will find that the duties on seven-eighths of the manufactured goods imported into this country were originally at five—then seven and a half—then ten—then twelve and a half—and at length fifteen per cent. the advance not the result of the applications of the manufacturers for protection, but to meet the increasing demands of the treasury. Hence, with every possible advantage of water power, raw materials, machinery, talents, enterprise, industry, and capital, until the declaration of war, three-fourths of the clothing of the inhabitants of all our towns and cities were of foreign fabrics—and the wealth of the nation was lavished to support foreign workmen, and fo-

* See page 55.

reign governments, while we had hundreds, nay thousands of citizens capable of supplying them, who were driven in many cases to servile and far less profitable labour.

The experience of our late war, and the immense spring it gave to the industry and manufactures of the country, prove that one-half the protection afforded to the merchants in the China trade would have enabled our citizens to have established the cotton and woollen branches on a liberal scale, and saved many millions of dollars to the country annually. This was unhappily sacrificed by the system of low duties, which was advocated by the merchants and adopted by congress to promote the interests of commerce. The influence of the former has been successfully exerted at all times, to prevent prohibitions and prohibitory duties.

The unsoundness of the policy this country has pursued, by which it has been virtually placed in the situation of a colony to Great Britain and the other manufacturing nations of Europe, appears palpable from the following considerations :

So far as respects the cotton and woollen branches, on a large scale, we were almost as completely excluded from them by the impolicy of our tariff until 1812, as if a law had been passed to render their establishment penal. This declaration may surprize—but is nevertheless

susceptible of proof. The two strong facts already stated—that with all our advantages for the manufacture of cotton, we consumed only 30,000 pounds in the year 1800, although we exported about 30,000,000—and that in 1812, we were so dependent on Europe for woollens, that we had not a supply of blankets for our army, nor were our manufactories at that time in a situation to make provision for the emergency, place the matter beyond doubt. He that will not be convinced by these facts, of the ruinous policy we pursued—and the wanton waste of our resources, would not be convinced, though one were to rise from the dead.

The tariff of 1789, which established the five per cent. duty, might as well have had the following preface, as the one which was prefixed to it :

“ Whereas, although this country has become independent of Europe in its government, and by its arms—it is expedient that it should still continue in the colonial state, so far as respects its supplies of all the essential articles for comfort and convenience :

“ Therefore be it enacted, &c. that the duties to be levied on the importation of manufactures of cotton, wool, linen, pottery, lead, iron, steel, brass, and wood, be no more than five per cent. ad valorem.”

However ludicrous this may appear, it only gives body and substance to the virtual effects of the tariff.

II.

In order to prove my second position, I sub-join a view of our exports and imports, and a statement of the various species of the former for fifteen years.

Our exports have consisted chiefly of four different species of articles—

1. Necessaries of life.
2. Raw materials, which we ourselves could have manufactured, and which constituted one-fourth part of our exports.
3. Naval stores, of indispensable necessity for the nations which purchased them.
4. The luxury of tobacco, which is about one-eighth part of the whole amount.

Our imports consist principally of—

1. Tea, coffee, wines, spices, cocoa, chocolate, almonds, raisins, &c. which we do not raise, and which of course do not affect our national industry.
2. Spirits, sugar, cotton, indigo, hemp, malt, lead, &c. which interfere with the best interests of our farmers and planters.
3. Manufactures of cotton, wool, leather, iron, &c. &c. which interfere with the interests of our manufacturers, and of which we could, by proper protection, supply ourselves with the greater part.
4. Luxuries, which tend to introduce extravagance, and deprave our morals.

*Domestic exports for fifteen years, from 1803 to 1817, inclusive.**

Cotton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 154,179,117
Vegetable food	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	192,564,368
Lumber, masts, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	52,796,000
Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	74,768,000
Animal food and animals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34,712,560
Dried salt fish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16,915,256
Pickled fish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,155,419
Whale oil and bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,819,528
Spermaceti oil and candles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,658,320
Ginseng, peltry, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,130,305
Naval stores	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,579,931
Pearl and potashes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13,990,000
Manufactures	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27,270,000
Uncertain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,836,000
								<hr/>
								\$ 595,374,804
								<hr/>
Average	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 39,691,653
								<hr/>

A cursory glance at our exports, will satisfy the reader, that few nations have carried on commerce to more disadvantage, than we have done a large portion of ours. We have exchanged the most valuable productions of nature in the rudest state, with the least possible degree of labour—and received in return every species of merchandize in its most finished form—of which labour constituted two-thirds, three-fourths, and four-fifths of the value. This more particularly applies to cotton, which we

* Seybert, 146-7.

have shipped at an average of about twenty-five cents per pound, except Sea Island, and received back at an advance about five-fold—thus enabling foreign nations to pay for the whole crop with one-fifth part of it—and wantonly throwing away the remaining four-fifths. And a large portion of the manufacture being performed by machinery, we have given the labour of twenty or thirty persons for one. Never was there a system more admirably calculated to stunt the growth of a nation; to destroy the effect of the advantages bestowed on it by nature; and to render its inhabitants hewers of wood and drawers of water to other nations.

One view of this subject is so appalling, that it will make the heart ache of every man who has any regard for the real interests of this country, or a wish to advance its wealth, power, and resources.

The increase by manufacture of the value of the raw material of cotton, was in 1811, according to Colquhoun, about five-fold. Let us see the operation of this portion of our commerce tested by that scale.

We exported, it appears, in fifteen years, cotton to the amount of	- - -	\$ 154,179,117
This, according to Colquhoun, produced		\$ 770,895,585
Leaving to foreign nations the enormous profit of	- - - - -	\$ 616,716,468
Or an annual average of	- - -	\$ 41,114,431

Two-thirds of which we might by a sound policy have retained among ourselves.

There can be no doubt that Great Britain defrayed the whole expense of the war against us by the profits she derived from this single article, in a few preceding years.

Thus our short-sighted policy tends to aggrandize, at our own expense, foreign nations with which we have had, and may have, most perilous collisions.

It now remains to give a general but concise view of the injurious effects produced by our commerce. I shall confine myself to facts of such universal notoriety as to preclude controversy.

Commerce has—

1. Carried away our raw materials, and deluged us with manufactures, whereby millions of capital invested in manufacturing establishments have been lost—hundreds of the proprietors ruined—and thousands of workmen reduced to idleness, and exposed to the lures of dissipation and crime.

2. Subjected us to an expense for foreign intercourse and for the Barbary powers to the amount of nearly 12,000,000 of dollars in twenty years.*

3. Bankrupted an immoderate proportion of those who pursued it.

* Seybert, 712, 713.

4. Caused a war, by which there is entailed on us a heavy debt of nearly 80,000,000 of dollars, and an annual interest of above 4,700,000 dollars.

5. Rendered a navy necessary, which creates an expense of above 3,500,000 dollars for the present year.

6. Given a prodigious spring to luxury and extravagance, by the superfluous articles it has introduced among us.

7. Drained away the circulating medium of the country, whereby every kind of business is paralyzed, and the nation impoverished.

8. Rendered us dependent on foreign nations for many of the comforts, and even some of the necessaries of life.

That these consequences have resulted from our commerce, I trust will be admitted. They are considerable drawbacks on its advantages, which ought to be immensely great to counter-vail them.

It behoves us then to examine the extent and value of this commerce, so highly prized and so dearly bought.

III.

I now proceed to my third point, to prove that the extent and advantages of our commerce have been greatly overrated.

To simplify as much as possible a complicated subject, I shall consider the commerce of the United States under five several heads.

1. The exportation of our superfluous productions.
2. The importation of necessary supplies.
3. The carrying trade.
4. The coasting trade.
5. The shipping.

The first is beyond comparison the most important. In it the whole nation is deeply interested. Much of its prosperity depends on procuring suitable markets for its surplus productions. This affords a strong stimulus to industry, which would otherwise pine and languish.

To enable the reader to judge correctly on this subject, I annex a table of our exports from the organization of the government. For the first six years there was no distinction between foreign and domestic. I have assumed that there were two-fifths of the former, and three-fifths of the latter, which is about the average proportion of the whole of the subsequent period.

*Exports from the United States from 1790 to 1819, inclusive.**

Year.	Domestic.	Foreign.	Total.
1790	†12,123,094	‡8,082,062	20,205,156
1791	†11,407,225	‡7,604,816	19,012,041
1792	†12,451,860	‡8,301,238	20,753,098
1793	†15,665,744	‡10,443,828	26,109,572
1794	†19,815,741	‡13,210,492	33,026,233
1795	†28,793,684	‡19,195,788	47,989,472
1796	40,764,097	26,300,000	67,064,097
1797	29,850,206	27,000,000	56,850,206
1798	28,527,097	33,000,000	61,527,097
1799	33,142,522	45,523,000	78,665,522
1800	31,840,903	39,130,877	70,971,780
1801	47,473,204	46,642,721	94,115,925
1802	36,708,189	35,774,971	72,483,160
1803	42,205,961	13,594,072	55,800,033
1804	41,467,477	36,231,597	77,699,074
1805	42,387,002	53,179,019	95,566,021
1806	41,253,727	60,283,236	101,536,963
1807	48,699,592	59,643,558	108,343,150
1808	9,433,546	12,997,414	22,430,960
1809	31,405,702	20,797,531	52,203,233
1810	42,366,675	24,391,295	66,757,970
1811	45,294,043	16,022,790	61,316,833
1812	30,032,109	8,495,127	38,527,236
1813	25,008,152	2,847,845	27,855,997
1814	6,782,272	145,169	6,927,441
1815	45,974,403	6,583,350	52,557,753
1816	64,781,896	17,138,556	81,920,452
1817	68,313,500	19,358,069	87,671,569
1818	73,854,437	19,426,696	93,281,133
1819	50,976,838	19,165,683	70,142,521
	\$1,058,800,898	\$ 710,510,800	\$1,769,311,698
Average	\$ 35,293,363	\$ 23,503,600	\$ 58,977,056

The surplus productions of the United States, the great and legitimate basis of our foreign trade, are, as appears from this table, far below what might have been expected from the population, and the resources of the country. They average, as we see, only about 35,000,000 of dollars, or

* Seybert, 93.

† Estimated at three-fifths of the whole.

‡ Estimated at two-fifths.

about 8,500,000 pounds sterling per annum, from the organization of the government to the close of the last year. The average population of that period has been about 6,500,000 souls. It therefore appears that we have exported only about five dollars and a half per head of our whole population. This nearly corresponds with our recent experience.

During the last five years we exported of domestic productions about 305,000,000 dollars—or 61,000,000 per annum. Our population during that period has probably averaged about 9,500,000 souls; which gives an export of only six dollars and a half per head.

It is thus indubitable that this department of our commerce, obviously the most important, has been vastly overrated, and sinks into insignificance, on a comparison with our domestic trade, which, as may be seen (page 158) is nearly fifteen hundred per cent. beyond it. The food and drink of Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Baltimore, supposing them to contain only 370,000 souls, at a quarter of a dollar per head daily, amount to nearly as much as the average of the whole of our domestic exports!

370,000 persons at a quarter of a dollar per	
day, consume per annum	- - - \$ 33,300,000

Yet there are hundreds and thousands of citizens of the United States that are unalterably convinced that the United States owe all their prosperity, all their improvements, all their wealth, to commerce !!

I have in vain sought for a general statement of our imports. It is not to be found either in Seybert or Pitkin. The former, however, gives one for seven years, from 1795 to 1801, viz.

1795	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 69,756,258
1796	-	-	-	-	-	81,436,164
1797	-	-	-	-	-	75,379,406
1798	-	-	-	-	-	68,551,700
1799	-	-	-	-	-	79,069,148
1800	-	-	-	-	-	91,252,768
1801	-	-	-	-	-	111,363,511
						<hr/>
						\$ 576,808,935
						<hr/>
Average	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 82,401,276
						<hr/>

It is not easy to calculate the amount of foreign goods consumed in this country. The foreign exports for the preceding seven years were 236,792,386 dollars. Deducted from the above sum of 576,808,935 dollars, there is a balance for home consumption for that period, of 340,016,549 dollars, being an average of above 48,000,000 dollars. But during this time our commerce was far more flourishing than in other years. I shall, therefore, assume an

average consumption of foreign merchandize to the amount of 40,000,000 per annum, which will not be regarded as far from the fact.

Dr. Seybert has hazarded a calculation, that the profits of navigation, are at the rate of fifty dollars per ton—and he therefore sets down an average annual profit of 34,459,350 dollars! which would amount to 1,033,780,500 dollars in thirty years!

It is easy to perceive how extravagantly erroneous this calculation must necessarily be. A vessel of three hundred tons would make, by freight alone, a profit to her owner annually of 15,000 dollars. Yet many of our merchants have had two, three, four, five, and six vessels of this size constantly employed for years—have not lived extravagantly—and yet have finally become bankrupts.

Were the doctor's statement correct, the great body of ship-owners would have become as wealthy as Cosmo de Medici.

Ten per cent. is regarded as a fair average of the profits of commerce. For freight I shall assume an equal sum.

Hence is deduced the following result—

Average annual domestic exports	-	\$ 35,293,363
Foreign goods consumed here, estimated at		40,000,000
		<hr/>
		\$ 75,293,363
		<hr/>

Ten per cent. profit	- - - -	7,529,336
Add an equal sum for profit on freight	-	7,529,336
Total	- - - - -	<u>\$ 15,058,672</u>

The carrying trade is far less important. Without much participation in it, the nation might have enjoyed, and may still enjoy, a most enviable state of prosperity. And it will probably appear, in summing up its advantages and disadvantages, during the whole of our career, that the latter greatly outweigh the former.

To form a decision on this point, it is necessary to ascertain its extent.

It consists of two distinct branches. In the first, the foreign merchandize *in transitu* touches at our ports. In the second, the voyages are made from one foreign port to another.

Of the first branch we have an accurate account. The treasury returns distinguish between the exports of foreign and domestic articles. But of the second we can only form an estimate.

The foreign exports from the United States, as appears by the preceding table, have averaged 23,683,000 dollars per annum for thirty years.

It is probable that the other branch of the carrying trade is about one-half this amount. Some intelligent merchants whom I have con-

sulted, estimate it at from 10 to 15,000,000 dollars annually. But to afford the utmost latitude to the contrary side of the question, I shall suppose it equal to the other branch.

Thus then stands the account of the carrying trade—

Foreign exports	- - - -	\$ 23,680,000
Voyages from one foreign port to another, estimated at	- - - -	23,680,000
		<hr/>
		\$ 47,360,000
		<hr/>
Profit, ten per cent.	- - - -	\$ 4,736,000
Add an equal profit for freight	- - - -	4,736,000
		<hr/>
Total profit of carrying trade	- -	\$ 9,472,000
		<hr/>

Summary.

Profits of trade in exports, and in imports for home consumption	- - - -	\$ 15,058,672
Of carrying trade	- - - -	9,472,000
Coasting trade, supposed	- -	3,500,000
		<hr/>
		\$ 28,040,672
		<hr/>

These profits are the utmost that can be claimed on the most liberal calculation. But I must observe that it is difficult to conceive that half of them could have ever accrued; as so large a portion of the merchants who are supposed to have acquired them, have been reduced to bankruptcy. This strong fact is utterly in-

compatible with the idea of such profits, and I am persuaded would warrant a reduction of fifty or sixty per cent. of the amount.

The offsets have been immense. Shipwrecks—falling markets—and depredations to the amount of probably one hundred millions by the belligerents, under orders in council, decrees, &c. The aggregate of all these would probably amount to thirty per cent. on the assumed profits.

But even admitting that the whole sum of twenty-eight millions has been gained annually by commerce, it is worth while to consider whether it has not been like the Indian's gun.

It has cost us from 1796 to 1815—

For foreign intercourse	- - -	\$9,615,140
Naval department	- - -	52,065,691
Barbary powers	- - -	2,349,568
War debt	- - -	78,579,022
		<hr/>
		\$ 142,609,421*
		<hr/>
Average per annum	- - -	\$ 7,130,471
		<hr/>

The expenses chargeable to this account at present, and likely to continue, are—

Interest on war debt of \$ 78,579,022	-	\$4,714,741
Secretary's estimate for the navy, 1820	-	3,527,600
		<hr/>
		\$ 8,242,381
		<hr/>

* Seybert, 713.

This is above twenty-five per cent. in perpetuity on those profits of commerce, which are *supposed* to have accrued during the whole of the period in which it had every possible advantage that its warmest advocates could desire. It is moreover, nearly twenty per cent. of the whole average amount of the exports of the country embracing the period in which our staples commanded exorbitant prices, which we are never likely to receive again.

I therefore confidently rely, that those who have condescended to "*hear*," though they may have "*struck*," will, however reluctantly, acknowledge that at the touch of the talisman of truth, the boasted advantages of commerce have greatly diminished in amount—and that it has indubitably cost the country more than it was worth.

In taking an account of the numerous offsets—the collisions with the belligerents—the chief part of the expense of the navy—our war—the war debt—and its interest, it would be unfair not to draw a line of distinction between the different branches of commerce. That important one which consists in the exportation of our surplus productions and procuring necessary supplies in return, ought probably to be exonerated from any portion of these heavy items. It might be carried on for a century, without producing any of those conse-

quences. They have sprung almost altogether from the extraneous trade in the colonial productions of the belligerents, which arose from the general state of warfare of Europe, and from the cupidity with which it was pursued by our merchants. If this point of view be correct, then the account is reduced within a narrow compass.

It may be useful to hazard a calculation on the present and probable future profits of commerce, in order more fully to prove my position, that it has cost too dear.

The domestic exports of 1819, were	-	\$ 50,976,838
Foreign exports	- - - - -	.19,165,683
Foreign goods consumed here, suppose	-	60,000,000
		<hr/>
		\$ 130,142,521

As our markets have stood lately, a profit of five		
per cent. is a large allowance	- - - - -	6,507,126
Present profits on freights	- - - - -	1,000,000
Coasting trade	- - - - -	1,500,000
		<hr/>
		\$ 9,007,126

Thus it appears, that for every dollar of the present gain of the merchants by commerce, the nation at large pays nearly a dollar of tax entailed on it by that commerce!

—◆—

I now invite the attention of the reader to my last position, which is—

IV. That the numerous bankruptcies among our merchants have chiefly arisen from the want of protection to manufactures.

That an immoderate number of our merchants have been reduced to bankruptcy, is universally admitted. The exact proportion cannot be ascertained. It has been carried as high as nine-tenths. This I believe extravagant. I assume two-thirds, which is supposed to be a low calculation. It remains to enquire how this calamitous result has taken place, under what is so generally styled a flourishing state of our commerce.

Various causes have conspired to produce this effect.

Commerce in this country has partaken of the nature of a lottery. The prizes were often immense, but rare—the blanks numerous. It has been attended occasionally with immoderate profits, which have been succeeded by great losses. The profits fostered a spirit of extravagance and luxury, which wasted all the previous temporary advantages, and rendered the merchants unable to contend with the storms of adversity.

But the chief source of the misfortunes of our merchants has been the extravagant number of them—which has proceeded from the ruinous policy of our tariff, as I hope to make appear.

Had the great, leading manufactures of cotton, wool, and iron, with some others, which were arrested by foreign importation, been duly protected, as a sound policy dictated, during the thirty years of the existence of our government, thousands of young men in every part of the United States, who have been brought up to the mercantile profession, and increased its numbers immoderately, would have been devoted to those branches.

Many parents have destined their children to the pursuit of commerce, merely for want of other suitable employment, and without either the talents, the credit, or the friends requisite. Hence most of our merchants have generally had two or three, and some as many as four apprentices, who, when free, have become supercargoes, or commenced a profession for which they were wholly incompetent, and thus added to the long list of bankrupts.

The effect of this state of things is, that there are probably more shipping and importing merchants in the United States than in the British dominions in Europe. Almost every little port from Passamaquoddy to St. Mary's, has its body of merchants, and importers, more or less numerous, who are constantly supplanting each other in the home and foreign markets, to their mutual ruin. The West Indies have thus proved the grave of the for-

tunes and happiness of half the merchants that have carried on trade with them. The trade to that quarter affords neither certainty nor security; as the prices are constantly fluctuating. The markets are either overstocked, or visited by a dearth. When the latter takes place, prices rise extravagantly. Intelligence arrives in this country. Our markets are crowded with shippers, who outbid each other, and raise the prices. Vessels are dispatched from all our ports, with full cargoes. The first, perhaps the second or third, is sold at a great profit. The glut sinks the price, and all the remainder sell at and often far below cost. The business is almost wholly a lottery, or species of gambling. Regular commerce disclaims it altogether.

The price of flour in the West Indies frequently rises, and as frequently falls to the amount of three, four, five and six dollars per barrel, in the course of two, three, or four weeks. Hence the merchant whose vessel sails at the rate of nine knots an hour, often makes a fortune—while his less fortunate neighbour, whose rate of sailing is only eight knots, is ruined.

Thus the inordinate competition at home and abroad, has produced the effect of obliging the merchants to buy our staples dear and sell them cheap. The competition likewise operates ruinously in the purchase of return cargoes, the prices being thereby greatly enhanced. These are among

the most striking causes of the ruin of so large a portion of the mercantile class, and have obviously resulted chiefly, if not altogether, from the depression of manufactures.

I offer a calculation on the subject, which, even if somewhat erroneous, may prove useful.

Suppose the whole number of merchants in the United States, since the year 1789, to have averaged constantly 18,000—and that two-thirds of them have failed. Had manufacturing establishments been properly patronized, there probably would not have been more than 12,000; to the mass of whom the profession would have afforded a decent subsistence. In this case, it is probable that the bankruptcies would not have exceeded 2,000. Of course, 10,000 would have prospered out of 12,000; whereas, only 6,000 have succeeded out of 18,000. Whatever deduction from, or addition to, this calculation, may be made, the inference cannot fail to be highly favourable to the general scope of my argument, and to pronounce a strong sentence of condemnation on the ruinous policy this nation has pursued.

Another view may be taken of the subject.

It appears that a large portion of our commerce consists in the transportation of the merchandize and manufactures of other nations from the places of production to this country, and hence to those of consumption respectively.

But might not our merchants employ themselves as well in lending facilities to the industry of their fellow citizens, as to that of foreign nations? Would not broadcloths from Young's, or Dupont's, or Sheppard's manufactories—or shirtings and sheetings from Schenck's or from Waltham, load a vessel as well, and pay as good a freight, as from Leeds or Manchester? Would it not be at least as profitable to themselves, and as useful to their fellow citizens and to their country, to export cargoes of home-made goods to South America, and import specie, as to deluge their native country with foreign goods, drain it of its specie, and destroy its productive industry?

As I believe that the want of correct views on this point has been among the primary causes of the present distresses of the country, I hope to be pardoned for once more presenting it to the reader. The idea that the want of protection to manufactures has proved highly pernicious to the merchants, by an undue increase of their numbers, will appear plain to those who reflect, that, when by the restrictive system, and the war, there was a market open for, and protection afforded to, domestic manufactures, great numbers of respectable merchants, in all our cities, devoted their time, their talents, and their capital to the cotton and woollen branches, very advantageously for themselves and for the coun-

try, while this protection continued—but ultimately to the ruin of many of them. It is obvious that the inducements to commence a career in manufacturing are greater than to quit another business, and enter on this at an advanced period of life. And therefore I think it irresistibly follows, that the successful opposition to the establishment of manufactures has been the great cause of the superabundance of merchants, and that from this superabundance has flowed the bankruptcy of so large a proportion of them.

It is frequently asserted, that though so many of the merchants have been reduced to bankruptcy, the country has gained even by their ruin. This doctrine, which I have tried to develope, I do not understand. Let us investigate it.

Suppose a farmer to sell 5000 bushels of wheat at two dollars per bushel. The miller grinds it—pays the farmer, and sells the flour to the merchant, who sells to the shipper. The latter becomes bankrupt, and pays three, five, or ten shillings in the pound, as the case may be. Of course the flour merchant suffers a heavy loss. I cannot see how, from a transaction of this kind, which is an epitome of a large proportion of our mercantile business for years past, the country can be said to have gained. Money, it is true, is put into the pocket of one man, but it is withdrawn from the pocket of another. There is no increase of the national wealth.

Having in this chapter taken ground wholly new, with no former lights to illuminate my path, I may have occasionally wandered into error. But I trust the wandering, whatever it may have been, has not led me far astray—and that the positions I have assumed, and the inferences I have deduced, if not wholly right, are not materially wrong.

CHAPTER XVI.

Fostering care of commerce by congress. Monopoly of the coasting and China trade secured to our merchants from the year 1789. Revolting partiality. Wonderful increase of tonnage. Act on the subject of plaster of Paris. Law levelled against the British navigation act. Rapidity of legislation.

THE records of American legislation bear the most satisfactory testimony of the transcendent influence of the mercantile interest, and of the unceasing exertions made to fence it round with every species of protection the government could bestow. No fond mother ever indulged a beloved child more than congress has indulged commerce—attended to all its complaints—and redressed all its wrongs.

My limits forbid a detail of the great variety of acts passed for the exclusive benefit of commerce, with which the statute book abounds. I shall confine myself to a few of the most prominent and important.

I. The second act passed by the first congress contained clauses which secured to the tonnage of our merchants, a monopoly of the

whole of the China trade—and gave them paramount advantages in all the other foreign trade.

The duties on teas were as follow :

	In American vessels.	In foreign vessels.
Bohea teas - - - per lb.	Cts. 9	Cts. 15
Souchong and other black teas -	10	22
Hyson teas - - - -	20	45
All other green teas - - - -	12	27

The annals of legislation furnish no instance of grosser or more revolting partiality than is displayed in this act, which established the first tariff. A pound of hyson tea, which cost fifty-six cents, imported in a foreign, paid *twenty-five cents more duty than in an American vessel*. Whereas a yard of broad cloth, or two yards of silk, cambric, or muslin, value five dollars, *paid but twenty-five cents*, all together, or five per cent. Thus the foreign ship-owner was at once shut out of our ports, beyond the power of competition, for the benefit of the American merchant ; whereas the foreign manufacturer was invited in by a low duty : and the possibility of competition on the part of the American manufacturer wholly precluded ! Let me not be misunderstood, as if I regarded as incorrect the decided preference given to the American merchant. By no means. My object is to point out the immense inequality of the treatment of the two bodies of men, which, to the great discredit

of our legislation, and the incalculable injury of our country, as I hope I have proved in the preceding chapter, runs through our statute book. This is a digression, which the occasion called for. I return.

II. The same act gave our merchants an additional decisive advantage, by allowing a discount of ten per cent. on the duties upon goods imported in American vessels.

III. Such was the fostering care bestowed on the mercantile interest, that the third act was directed wholly for their security. By this act the tonnage duty on vessels belonging to American citizens was fixed at six cents per ton ; on American built vessels, owned wholly or in part by foreigners, thirty cents ; and on all other foreign vessels, fifty cents.

IV. In order to exclude foreign vessels from the coasting trade, they were subjected to a tonnage duty of fifty cents per ton for every voyage ; whereas, our vessels paid but six cents, and only once a year.

These four features of decisive protection, were enacted in a single session, the first under the new government. They placed the mercantile interest on high ground, and gave it overwhelming advantages over foreign competitors. In fact, they almost altogether destroyed competition. I shall state their effects at the close of this chapter.

It is not difficult to account for this parental care. The mercantile interest was ably represented in the first congress. It carried the elections pretty generally in the seaport towns, and had made a judicious selection of candidates. Philadelphia was represented in the senate by Robert Morris, and in the house of representatives by Thomas Fitzsimons and George Clymer, three gentlemen of considerable talents, and great influence. The representation in congress was divided almost wholly between farmers, planters, and merchants. The manufacturing interest was, I believe, unrepresented; or if it had a few representatives, they were not distinguished men, and had little or no influence.

The tariff bears the most unequivocal marks of this state of things. Agriculture and commerce engrossed nearly the whole attention of congress. Their interests were well guarded. Manufactures, as may be seen, (page 55) were abandoned to an unequal conflict with foreign rivalship, which consigned a large portion of them to ruin.

V. 1817. An act imposing two dollars per ton on all foreign vessels arriving from ports to which American vessels are not allowed to trade.

I have shewn the revolting neglect with which the applications of the manufacturers were treated, so highly discreditable to congress. It now

remains to contrast this procedure with the kind attention and fostering care bestowed on the merchants, and the rapidity of motion in their concerns.

On the 29th of July, 1816, the governor of Nova Scotia, by proclamation, announced the royal assent to an act of the legislature of that province, whereby the trade in Plaster of Paris was intended to be secured to British or colonial vessels.

To counteract this insidious measure, Mr. Rufus King, on the 17th February, 1817, moved in the house of representatives of the United States, "that the committee on foreign relations be instructed to report such measures as they may judge necessary to regulate the importation of Plaster of Paris, and to countervail the regulations of any other nation, injurious to our own, relating to that trade."

In four days afterwards, viz. on the 21st, Mr. Forsyth, chairman of that committee, reported a bill to regulate the trade in Plaster of Paris, which was read the first and second time on that day, and the third on the 3d of March. The yeas and nays were called, and it was passed by a majority of eighty to thirty-nine. *It was then sent to the senate*; there read three times on the same day, and passed with some amendments—then returned to the house of representatives, who concurred in the amend-

ments, and finally passed the bill. Thus it was *actually read four times, amended, and passed in one day*—a case probably without example. It was only fourteen days from its inception to its approbation by the president.

Let it be observed further, that the hostile measure which called forth this spirited act, was only about seven months and a half in existence, when it was thus decisively counteracted. What a contrast between this celerity of operation and the lame policy observed towards manufactures !

The all-important act prohibiting the entry into our ports of British vessels arriving from places from which American vessels are excluded, was reported and twice read in senate on the 1st of April, 1818. On the 4th it was read the third time, and passed. On the same day it was read twice in the house of representatives. On the 11th it was read a third time, and passed. On the 16th it was presented to the president—and approved by him on the 18th.

Let any man, however hostile to manufactures or manufacturers, compare the progress of these two bills, involving such important principles, particularly the latter, with the snail's pace of any bill for the relief of manufacturers, and he will be obliged to confess that congress is actuated by a very different spirit towards the

two different descriptions of citizens. Both acts are manly and dignified, and worthy of the legislature of a great nation, determined to assert a reciprocity of advantage in its intercourse with foreign nations. The latter is an attempt to uproot the British navigation act, in one of its most important features, to which that nation is most devotedly attached. Considering its magnitude and importance, it may be justly doubted whether it was not too precipitately passed. It was only four days on its passage in the senate—and eight in the house of representatives. Be this, however, as it may, my present object is only once more to place in contrast the paternal care of commerce and the frigid and withering indifference, not to say hostility, towards manufactures, displayed in that body, which ought to “look with equal eye” upon, and to dispense equal justice to, all classes of citizens.

And to close the catalogue, a bill for the protection of commerce is now before congress, and not likely to meet with much opposition, which cannot fail to affect the agricultural interest severely, by very materially abridging the markets for their productions. It is calculated to effect the object of the last mentioned act, which has failed to answer the purpose intended.

More detail is unnecessary. The position is fully established, that commerce has steadily

enjoyed all the protection the government could afford. Every hostile movement on the part of foreign nations, to the injury of our merchants, has been decidedly met and counteracted.

The consequence of this system has been to insure our merchants—

I. The whole of the coasting trade, amounting to 400,000 tons per annum.

II. Eighty-six per cent. of the tonnage engaged in the foreign trade, viz.

Total tonnage in the foreign trade for twenty-			
two years; from 1796 to 1817,	-	-	tons 18,201,541
Of which there was American	15,741,632		
Foreign	2,458,909		
		—————	18,201,541

And III. An increase of tonnage unexampled in the history of navigation:—

Tonnage of the United States.

	Tons.		Tons.
In 1789	- - - 201,562	In 1804	- - - 1,042,402
1790	- - - 478,377	1805	- - - 1,140,366
1792	- - - 564,437	1806	- - - 1,207,733
1794	- - - 628,816	1807	- - - 1,268,545
1796	- - - 841,700	1808	- - - 1,242,443
1798	- - - 898,428	1809	- - - 1,350,178
1801	- - - 1,033,218	1810	- - - 1,442,781
1802	- - - 892,102	1811	- - - 1,232,502
1803	- - - 949,171	1812	- - - 1,269,997

CHAPTER XVII.

Erroneous views of the tariff. Protection of Agriculture in 1789. Prostrate state of the staples of South Carolina and Georgia. Ninety per cent. on snuff, and one hundred on tobacco. Striking contrast. Abandonment of manufactures.

THE farmers and planters of the United States are under a strong impression—

I. That the tariff affords a decided protection to the manufacturers.

II. That it operates as a “heavy tax on the many for the benefit of the few.”

And III. That there is no reciprocity in the case—as agriculture is not protected.

That the first position is radically erroneous, is self-evident from the lamentable situation of so large a proportion of the manufactures and manufacturers of the United States, on which I have already sufficiently descanted.

The second is disproved in the eleventh chapter.

To the discussion of the third, I devote the present one.

There are not many of the productions of agriculture which require protection, as there are few of them that are imported. Their bulk, in general, and the consequent expense of freight, afford them tolerable security. But such as are imported, or likely to be, have been subject to high duties from the commencement of the government to the present time.

The products of the earth imported into the United States do not much extend beyond hemp, cotton, malt, tobacco, cheese, indigo, coals and potatoes, which, by the tariff of 1789, were subject to the following duties.

	Cents.		Cents.
Hemp - - per cwt.	60	Snuff - - - per lb.	10
Malt - - - per bushel	10	Indigo - - - do.	16
Coals - - do.	2	Cotton - - - do.	3
Cheese - - per lb.	4	Potatoes - - per cent.	5
Manufactured tobacco	do. 6		

The duty on cheese was equal to *fifty-seven per cent.* ; on

Indigo about *sixteen* ; on

Snuff, *ninety* ; on

Tobacco, *one hundred* ; on

Coals about *fifteen per cent.*

The duty on the raw materials, hemp and cotton, demand particular attention. They were about twelve per cent.—imposed, in compliance with the suggestions of Mr. Burke, to aid the agriculturists of South Carolina and Georgia,

because they hoped to be able to raise those articles.

South Carolina and Georgia at that period were at a very low ebb. Their great staples, rice and indigo, had greatly sunk in price—and they had not as yet entered on the culture of cotton.

Ædanus Burke, in a debate on the tariff, on the 16th April, 1789, to induce the house to lay a considerable duty on hemp and cotton, gave a melancholy picture of the situation of those states—

“The staple products of South Carolina and Georgia,” he observed, “were hardly worth cultivation, on account of their fall in price. The lands were certainly well adapted to the growth of *hemp*: and he had no doubt but its culture would be practised with attention. *Cotton was likewise in contemplation among them: and if good seed could be procured, HE HOPED MIGHT SUCCEED!!* But the low strong rice lands would produce hemp in abundance, many thousand tons even this year, if it was not so late in the season.”*

In a debate on the same subject, Mr. Tucker, another of the representatives from that state, re-echoed the plaintive strains of his colleague:—

“The situation of South Carolina was melancholy. While the inhabitants were deeply in debt, *the produce of the state was daily falling in price*. Rice and indigo were become so low, as to be considered by many not objects worthy of cultivation. Gentlemen” he added, “will consider that it is not an easy thing for a planter to change

* Debates of Congress, vol. I. p. 79.

“ his whole system of husbandry in a moment. But accumulated burdens will drive to this, and increase their embarrassments.”*

The duty on manufactured tobacco was intended to operate as an absolute prohibition—and was liberally proposed with this view by Mr. Sherman, a representative from Connecticut.

“ Mr. Sherman moved six cents per pound on manufactured tobacco ; as he thought *the duty ought to amount to a prohibition.*”†

While these high duties were imposed upon such of the productions of the farmer and planter, as were likely to be imported, all the great leading articles of manufactures, as may be seen, (page 56,) were subject to only *five per cent.* !!!

A striking contrast in the tariff for 1789.

	<i>Per cent.</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>
Snuff - - - - -	90	Woollens - - - - -	5
Tobacco - - - - -	100	Cottons - - - - -	5
Indigo - - - - -	16	Pottery - - - - -	5
Coals - - - - -	15	Linen - - - - -	5
Cotton - - - - -	12	Manufactures of iron -	5
Hemp - - - - -	12	lead - - -	5
		copper - - -	5

In the last chapter, I gave a sketch of the fostering care of commerce: Here we see in the very outset of the government the same care

* Idem, 70.

† Idem, 93.

extended to agriculture, and an equal degree of neglect of manufactures—the germ of that cruel and withering system, which has, I repeat, placed this country nearly in the state of a colony to the manufacturing nations of Europe—which, without expending a single cent for our protection, have enjoyed more benefits from our commerce than ever were enjoyed by the mother country, during the colonial state of this continent—and more benefits than any nation ever enjoyed from colonies, except Spain. Perhaps even this exception is superfluous.

In 1790, the tariff was altered, when indigo was raised to twenty-five cents per pound, and coals to three cents per bushel.

In 1792, it was again altered, and hemp raised to twenty dollars per ton, and coals to four and a half cents per bushel.

This was about *twenty per cent.* on hemp, and *twenty-five* on coals—whereas the leading manufactures of cotton, wool, leather, steel, brass, iron, and copper, were only raised to *seven and a half per cent.*

Passing over the intermediate alterations of the tariff, which all bear the same stamp, I shall notice the protection afforded at present to those agricultural articles usually imported.

	<i>Price.*</i>	<i>Rate of duty.</i>	<i>Duty. Per cent.</i>
Hemp, per ton - - - -	\$ 114.00	\$ 30.00	26
Cotton, per lb. - - - -	.10	.3	30
Cheese in Holland - -	.10	.9	90
Coals, per bushel - -	.13	.5	38½
Snuff, average per lb. - -	.16	.12	75
Manufactured tobacco -	.10	.10	100
Segars per M - - - -	5.00	2.50	50
Geneva, per gallon -	.42	.42	100
Jamaica rum do. -	.70	.48	68
Brown sugar, per lb. - -	.8	.3	37½

All the other productions of agriculture are subject to fifteen per cent. duty ; which, be it observed, is the same as on more than half the manufactures imported into this country.

We find the staple article of South Carolina and Georgia, of which the freight is about thirty per cent. secured by thirty per cent. duty—the staple of Virginia by seventy-five, and one hundred—and the peach brandy and whiskey, of the farmers generally, by sixty-eight and one hundred, while the cotton and woollen branches are exposed to destruction, and have been in a great measure destroyed, for want of a duty of forty-five or fifty per cent. !!!

To display the monstrous partiality of this procedure—I shall contrast the duty and freight of a few articles of both descriptions—

* At the places of exportation respectively.

	<i>Duty</i> <i>Per ct.</i>	<i>Freight</i> <i>Per ct.</i>	<i>Total.</i>		<i>Duty</i> <i>Per ct.</i>	<i>Freight</i> <i>Per ct.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Hemp - -	26	24	50	Cotton stockings	25	2	28
Cotton - -	30	30	60	Cambrics - -	25	2	27
Cheese - -	90	15	105	Superfine cloth -	25	2	27
Geneva - -	100	10	110	Silks - - - -	15	1	16
Rum - -	68	10	78	Woollen stockings	20	2	22
Snuff - -	75	5	80	Thread stockings	15	2	17
Tobacco -	100	5	105	Gold leaf - -	15	1	16
Coals - -	38½	12	50½	Linens - - -	15	2	17
Sugar - -	37½	6	43½				

It is hardly possible to conceive of a more revolting arrangement—or one that more completely violates the holy, the golden rule—

“ All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them.”

Now, in the face of this nation, I venture to ask, is there a respectable man in society, who considers the above items, and will not allow that the protection of agriculture is incomparably more complete, than of manufactures?

And yet, wonderful to tell, the extravagant protection bestowed on the manufacturers, and the want of protection to agriculturists—the insatiable appetite of the former, and the liberality and disinterestedness of the latter, are preached in long-winded speeches in, and memorials to, congress, and as long-winded newspaper essays, and are received as sacred and undeniable.

Another contrast.

	Duty. Per cent.		Duty. Per cent.
Potatoes - - -	15	Watches - - -	7½
Butter - - -	15	Jewelry - - -	7½
Flour - - -	15	Inkpowder - - -	15
Malt - - -	15	Printed books - - -	15
Onions - - -	15	Worsted shoes - - -	15
Tobacco in the leaf - - -	15	Linens and silks - - -	15

Potatoes and tobacco—linens, silks, and printed books—subject to the same duty! What wonderful talents this tariff displays! How admirably it corroborates the fond “day dreams” in which we indulge ourselves, of our immense superiority over the benighted Europeans, who, *mirabile dictu*, according to Judge Story, are studying lessons of political economy under congress—

“The statesmen of the old world, *in admiration of the success of our policy*, are relaxing the rigour of their own “systems!!”

So says the celebrated Salem memorial, edited, according to public fame, by this learned judge.

Objections have been made to the classification of manufactured tobacco and snuff among the articles dutied for the benefit of agriculture; as they fall under the denomination of manufactures. They are, it is true, manufactures. But that they are so extravagantly taxed, is not

from any partiality towards the manufacturers of them—but to protect the planters. It requires no moderate share of modesty to assert, and of credulity to believe, that regard for the manufacturers leads to lay a duty of one hundred per cent. on manufactured tobacco, when for five years the manufacturers of woollens and cottons have in vain implored to have the duty on superfine cloth, muslins, and cambrics, raised beyond twenty-five per cent. Even the Jew Apella, capacious as was his gullet, would not be able to swallow this fiction.

I wish it distinctly understood, that as the prices of hemp, Geneva, rum, coals, &c. are subject to frequent fluctuations in foreign markets, I do not pretend to vouch for the critical exactness at the present time, of the preceding quotations. I have collected my information from merchants of character, on whom reliance may be placed, and have every reason to believe that it is substantially correct.

CHAPTER XVIII.

An awful contrast. Distress in Great Britain, because she cannot engross the supply of the world. Distress in the United States, because the home market is inundated with rival manufactures.

THIS shall be a short chapter. But I hope it will make a deep and lasting impression. The subject is of vital importance.

I have drawn several contrasts between our policy, and that of foreign nations, to evince the unsoundness and pernicious consequences of the former. To one more I request attention.

Great distress pervades the manufacturing districts of Great Britain, in which commerce largely partakes. And whence does it arise? Because her merchants and manufacturers cannot engross the supply of the world; for their capacity of producing every article made by machinery is commensurate with the wants of the whole human race; and, could they find a passage to the moon, and open a market there, they would be able to inundate it with their fabrics.

Their government, with a fostering and paternal care, which by the contrast reflects dis-

credit on ours, secures them *the unlimited range of the domestic market*; and loses no opportunity, by bounties, drawbacks, and every other means which can be devised, to aid them in their efforts to engross our and all other markets. But the wisdom of the other nations of Europe, guarding the industry of their subjects, excludes them from various markets which they were wont to supply—and baffles their skill and sagacity. The great mass of their surplus productions is, therefore, disgorged on us, to the destruction of our manufacturers and the impoverishment of the nation.

What a lamentable contrast we exhibit! Our manufacturers suffer equally. Their capital is mouldering away—their establishments falling to ruins—their workmen threatened with bankruptcy, and their wives and children with dependence—their workmen dispersed and driven to servile labour and mendicity—and why? Not because they are excluded from foreign markets. They aspire to none. Their distress arises from being debarred of their home market, to which our mistaken policy invites all the manufacturers of the earth!

Thus, while the British government uses all its energies to enable the manufacturers of that nation to monopolize the markets of the United States, our government looks on with perfect indifference, while the ill-fated, depressed, and vili-

fied American, defeated in the unequal struggle with powerful rivals and an energetic government, is bankrupted or beggared—or in danger of bankruptcy or beggary—and in vain invokes its protection! In a word, the representatives of the freest people on the globe, have less regard for, and pay less attention to the happiness of, their fellow citizens, than the monarchs of the old world to their subjects!

Our citizens merely seek a portion of that protection which the most despotic monarchs in Europe afford their subjects. But they seek in vain. Pharaoh did not turn a more deaf ear to the applications of the Israelites, than congress have, for five years, to those of their fellow citizens who have contributed to elevate them to the honourable stations they occupy—and who pay their proportion for services from the benefit of which they are in a great measure precluded.

What a hideous, what a deplorable contrast! What a libel on republican government! What a triumph for the friends of monarchy—for those who hold the appalling heresy, to which our career affords some countenance, that man was not made for self-government.

This is so shocking a state of things, that with all the evidence of the facts before my eyes, I can scarcely allow myself to credit it! Would to God, it were not true—but alas! it is a most afflicting reality.

CHAPTER XIX.

Encouragement and patronage of immigrants by England and France. Advantages of the United States. Great numbers of immigrants. Their sufferings. Return of many of them. Interesting table.

SOME political economists have asserted that the strength of a nation consists in the number of its inhabitants. This, without qualification, is manifestly erroneous. A numerous population, in a state of wretchedness, is rather a symptom of debility than of strength. Such a population is ripe for treason and spoil. But a dense population, usefully and profitably employed, and in a state of comfort and prosperity, constitutes the pride and glory of a statesman, and is the basis of the power and security of nations. Hence there is scarcely any object which the most profound statesmen and monarchs of Europe, have for ages more uniformly pursued than the encouragement of immigrants possessed of useful talents.

Under all the governments of Europe, therefore, even the most despotic, inducements have been frequently held out to invite a tide of po-

pulation of this description. And the wealth, power, and prosperity of some of the first rate nations, date their commencement from migrations thus promoted and encouraged. The decay and decrepitude of the nations from which the immigrants have removed, have been coeval and proceeded *pari passu* with the prosperity of those to which they have migrated.

The woollen manufacture, the great source of the wealth and prosperity of England, owes its introduction there to the wise policy of Edward III. who invited over Flemish workmen, and accorded them most important privileges.

The horrible persecutions of D'Alva in the Netherlands, and the repeal of the edict of Nantz, in France, at a more recent period drove thousands of artists of every kind, possessed of great wealth, and inestimable talents, to England, whence she derived incalculable advantages.

Spain, whose policy we despise, repeatedly encouraged settlements of immigrants to establish useful manufactures, which had a temporary success. But the radical unsoundness of her system, and her spirit of persecution, blasted all these promising attempts.

France, under Louis XIV. pursued this system to a greater extent than any other nation. That king gave titles of nobility—pensions and immunities, to various artists and manufacturers, who introduced new branches of indus-

try into his dominions: and a great portion of the wealth which he squandered in the splendor of his court, and the ambitious projects of his reign, arose from his protection of those immigrants, and the manufactures they introduced.

If this policy was wise, and had the sanction of the statesmen of nations of which the population was comparatively dense, how much more forcibly does it apply to countries like the United States and Russia, of which the population bears so small a proportion to the territory!

No country affords more room for immigrants—none would derive more benefit from them—none could hold out so many solid and substantial inducements—and there is none to which the eyes and longings of that active and energetic class of men who are disposed to seek foreign climes for the purpose of improving their condition, are more steadily directed. We have the most valuable staples—the greatest variety of soil, climate, and productions—an almost unlimited extent of territory—and the most slender population in proportion to that territory, of any nation in the world, except the Indians, and perhaps the wandering Tartars. And had manufactures, particularly the cotton, woollen and iron, instead of the paltry duty of five per cent. been early and decisively taken under the pro-

tection of the government, at its first organization, after the example of other nations, there is no doubt but we should have had a tide of immigration beyond any that the world has ever witnessed.

From the oppression and misery that prevail in various parts of Europe—from the high idea entertained of the advantages of our form of government—and from a variety of other circumstances, it is fair to presume, that had immigrants been able at once to find employment at the occupations to which they were brought up, we might have had an annual accession of 30 or 40,000 beyond the numbers that have settled among us. But I shall only suppose 20,000.

To evince what might have been, from what has taken place, I annex the only two tables of immigration I have been able to find. And let it be observed that the first is necessarily very imperfect; as there was no governmental regulation to enforce the collection of accurate statements.

In 1817, 22,240 immigrants arrived in ten ports:—

			18,114		
In Boston	- -	2,200	In Baltimore	- -	1,817
New York	- -	7,634	Norfolk	- -	520
Perth Amboy	- -	637	Charleston	- -	747
Philadelphia	- -	7,085	Savannah	- -	163
Wilmington, D.	- -	558	New Orleans	- -	879
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		18,114			22,240*
		<hr/>			<hr/>

In New York, from March 2, 1818, to Dec. 11, 1819, the numbers reported at the mayor's office, were 18,929.†

			18,532		
English	- -	7,539	Portuguese	- -	54
Irish	- -	6,062	Africans	- -	5
French	- -	922	Prussians	- -	48
Welsh	- -	590	Sardinians	- -	3
Scotch	- -	1,942	Danes	- -	97
Germans	- -	499	Russians	- -	13
Spaniards	- -	217	Austrians	- -	8
Hollanders	- -	255	Turk	- -	1
Swiss	- -	372	Polander	- -	1
Italians	- -	103	Sandwich Islanders	- -	2
Norwegians	- -	3	Europeans not described	- -	52
Swedes	- -	28	Passengers do. do.	- -	113
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		18,532			18,929
		<hr/>			<hr/>

The mayor of New York‡ has given a cal-

* Seybert, 29.

† Report of the society for the prevention of pauperism, p. 67.

‡ "The chief magistrate of this city has calculated that "this number does not include more than two-thirds of the "real number."a

a Idem, p. 20.

ulation, that these were but two-thirds of the whole number that arrived. Admitting this estimate, the whole number in twenty-one months was about 28,000, or 16,000 per annum.

Twenty-thousand, which I have assumed, as what might have been annually added to our population by a sound policy on the subject of manufactures, will be regarded as probable on a consideration of the preceding tables—particularly that of the enormous arrivals in New York, notwithstanding a variety of discouraging circumstances, of which the tendency was to repress or even to destroy the spirit of immigration.

Among these, the principal one has been the calamities and wretchedness endured by most of those immigrants, whose fond hopes and expectations were wholly blasted on their arrival here. Thousands and tens of thousands of artists, mechanics, and manufacturers, with talents beyond price, and many of them with handsome capitals, escaped from misery and oppression in Europe, and fled to our shores as a land of promise, where they expected to find room for the exercise of their industry and talents. But the fond delusion was soon dispelled. As soon as they arrived, they sought employment at their usual occupations. None was to be found. Those whose whole fortune was their industry, wandered through our streets, in search even of menial employments, to support a wretched ex-

istence. And numerous instances have occurred, of cotton weavers and clothiers, as well as persons of other useful branches, who have sawed and piled wood in our cities—and some of whom have broken stones on our turnpikes for little more than a bare subsistence. Many hundreds have returned home, heart-broken, and lamenting their folly, after having exhausted all their funds in the double voyage and their inevitable expenses. Their misfortunes operate as a beacon to their countrymen, to shun the rocks on which they have been shipwrecked.

It is easy to estimate the effects that must have been produced by the dismal tales in the letters written by those who remained, and the verbal accounts of those who returned. It is not extravagant to suppose that every returned immigrant prevented the immigration of twenty persons, disposed to seek an asylum here. And the melancholy letters, transmitted by those who had no means of returning, must have had nearly equal influence.

Many of those who were unable to return, rendered desperate by distress and misery, have proved injurious to the country, to which they might have produced the most eminent advantages.

I hazard an estimate of the gain that might have been made by a sound policy, which would have encouraged manufacturing industry, and promoted immigration, to the extent I have as-

sumed, viz. 20,000 additional per annum, since the commencement of our present form of government.

I will suppose the value of the productive labour of each individual to be only a quarter of a dollar per day beyond his subsistence, which for 20,000 would have amounted to \$ 1,500,000 per annum. The whole number that would have arrived in the thirty years, would have been 600,000. The annexed table exhibits a result, which petrifies with astonishment, and sheds a new and strong stream of light on the impolicy of our system.

	<i>No. of im- migrants.</i>	<i>Value of labour.</i>		<i>No. of im- migrants.</i>	<i>Value of labour.</i>
1st year	20,000	\$ 1,500,000	16th do	320,000	180,000,000
2d do.	40,000	3,000,000	17th do.	340,000	25,500,000
3d do.	60,000	4,500,000	18th do	360,000	27,000,000
4th do.	80,000	6,000,000	19th do.	380,000	28,500,000
5th do.	100,000	7,500,000	20th do.	400,000	30,000,000
6th do	120,000	9,000,000	21st do.	420,000	31,500,000
7th do.	140,000	10,500,000	22d do.	440,000	33,000,000
8th do.	160,000	12,000,000	23d do.	460,000	34,500,000
9th do.	180,000	13,500,000	24th do.	480,000	36,000,000
10th do.	200,000	15,000,000	25th do.	500,000	37,500,000
11th do.	220,000	16,500,000	26th do.	520,000	39,000,000
12th do.	240,000	18,000,000	27th do.	540,000	40,500,000
13th do.	260,000	19,500,000	28th do.	560,000	42,000,000
14th do	280,000	21,000,000	29th do.	580,000	43,500,000
15th do.	300,000	22,500,000	30th do.	600,000	45,000,000
		\$ 180,000,000			\$ 697,500,000

The natural increase of the immigrants by generation, at five per cent. per annum, would make the number amount to 1,288,000. Of the addition I take no account. I barely mention, that an immigration of 10,000 annually, would,

according to this increase, have produced the same result as the assumed number 20,000.

Let us then state the results of different numbers:—

The labour of 10,000, with the natural increase of five per cent. per annum, at a quarter of a dollar per day, would produce in 30 years - - - - \$ 697,500,000

That of 5,000 with the same increase - \$ 348,750,000

It is fair to suppose that the articles produced by them would be worth double the labour, or, in the first case, - \$ 1,395,000,000

In the second - - - - \$ 697,500,000

These immense advantages we blindly threw away, while we were scuffling through the world at every point of the compass, and “in every bay, cove, creek, and inlet,” to which we had access, for a precarious commerce, which ruined the great mass of the merchants who pursued it—exposed our hardy seamen to stripes and bondage—involving us in unnecessary collisions with the belligerent powers—and finally in war—and entailed on us a host of foreign ministers—a wasting navy that will cost above 3,500,000 dollars this year—and a debt of nearly 80,000,000 of dollars!

Other views of the subject present themselves.

Although a large proportion of the immigrants who arrive in this and other countries, are dependent on their labour for support, yet many capitalists immigrate; and there would be double the number, could they employ their capitals advantageously. I will assume an average of one hundred and fifty dollars for each immigrant, in money and property. This would amount in the whole to 3,000,000 dollars per annum, or in the whole thirty years, to 90,000,000 of dollars.

The consumption of the productions of agriculture by those immigrants, according to the calculation in page 153, at the rate of a quarter of a dollar per day, would be at present per annum 54,000,000 of dollars, and their clothing at 40 dollars per annum, 24,000,000.

Calculations have been made of the value to a state of an active, efficient individual. In England it was formerly, I believe, supposed to be about 100*l.* sterling. I will suppose each immigrant to be worth three hundred dollars—this would make the amount of the 600,000 immigrants assumed above, \$ 180,000,000.

These calculations are all necessarily crude—and admit of considerable drawbacks. But whatever may be the drawbacks, sufficient will remain to prove to the world, that there probably never was a nation which had so many advantages within its grasp—and never a nation that so wantonly threw its advantages away.

Summary.

Suppose 10,000 immigrants annually, with
the natural increase of five per cent.

Amount of labour in thirty years	-	\$ 697,500,000
Value of their productions	- -	\$ 1,395,000,000
Amount of property imported	- -	\$ 90,000,000
Present annual consumption	- - -	\$ 78,000,000

As this chapter drew to a close, I met with a report made to the house of representatives of the United States, on the subject of immigrants, which deserves some notice.

An application was made to congress by a body of Swiss, for a quantity of land, on more advantageous terms than those on which they are sold by law. The committee, after stating the necessity of lessening the existing indulgences in the sale of the public lands, add—

“ If the public interests should ever justify a relaxation from them, it would be in favour of American citizens:”

And recommend to the house the following resolution—

“ *Resolved*, that the prayer of the petitioners ought not to be granted.

So far there is reason and propriety in the report. The terms on which lands are sold by the United States are sufficiently favourable for foreigners as well as natives. But when the

committee notice the depressed situation of American manufactures, and assign it as a reason against encouraging the immigration of such a useful body of men, possessed of invaluable talents, it is a full proof that they did not study the subject profoundly.

“ In answer to that part of the petition which declares “ that one of the principal objects is ‘ the domestic manufacture of cotton, wool, flax, and silk ;’ the committee will “ only say, that it may be well considered, *how far it would “ comport with sound policy to give a premium for the intro- “ duction of manufacturers, at the moment when, by the almost “ unanimous declaration of our manufacturers, it is said they “ cannot live without further protection.”*

A more obvious idea would have been to have suggested such encouragement of manufactures, as would have relieved our citizens actually engaged in those branches, and held out due inducements for accessions to our population of the sterling character of the applicants in question.

ERRATA.

- Page 70, line 1, for *man* read *mind*.
86, line 15, for *nine*, read *ninety*.
104, for *and were never reported on*, read, *and, except three or four, were never reported on*.
113, line 28, for *octavo*, read *close printed*.
126, line 7, for 115,544,629, read 105,544,629.
The same error is to be found in page 133.
132, line 8, for 125 read 130.
140, line 9, for *seven* read *six*
147, line penult., for 10,000,000 read 9,500,000.
166, line 15, for 16 2-3, read 14 2-7.
205, line 23, dele *often*.
211, line 20, for *sells the flour* to read *sells to the flour*.

Some other errors of minor importance have escaped, which, with the above, the reader is requested to correct with his pen.

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THE END.





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