

# THE TRUE REPUBLICAN, OR AMERICAN WHIG.

"THE TRUTH OUR GUIDE—THE PUBLIC GOOD OUR END."

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## EXTRACTS

From a pamphlet lately published at Boston, entitled, "An Address to the People of New-England," signed Algernon Sidney, and attributed to the pen of GIBBON GRANGER, Post Master General.

"It is said that our prosperity and happiness ought not to be interrupted to try a political experiment—nor have they been—they were interrupted, and, as far as they depend on foreign concerns, destroyed by foreign powers; and the experiment was tried to restore them: not at their hazard. Every act of government, every improvement in arts, sciences, and the ordinary pursuits of life: and every effort to open a new trade, is an experiment. So was the settlement of this country, and so was your confederation, the declaration of independence, and the constitution.

What is the course opposition would have pursued? Would they consent to pay tribute? Tribute! from whom? America! to whom? England? It is impossible! You settled this question when you were colonies, at the edge of the Hebian Sabre, and the Indian tomahawk, and the mouth of the British cannon. You were then few, poor and infantile; without arms, without resources, and without a government. And on what question? whether you should pay a tribute of six cents on a pound of tea; a luxury of foreign growth. It was the principle, not the tax, that roused your passions, called your hidden energies into action, and in view of the astonished world, led you to triumph over the most powerful nation then on earth. And will you now, a numerous, powerful people, with the best government, replete with resources & arms, whenever you wish to sell a cargo of your own products to an European power, pay tribute for permission? If you would not then pay it for a single luxury of Asia, will you now on all the products of America? On your cotton its full value, and one fifth on all other articles?

If you will! act up to the principles that govern you: at the loss of your and your country's honor and independence. Save as much as you can. As England's law stands, you have to pay, going and returning, double freight and double charges. You convey your products, and the return cargo, to England; land and store them; pay storage, lightage, wharfage, & tribute; and then, and then only you may reload your vessel and sail for the destined port. You had better petition his Gracious Majesty, in tender regard to the ease and happiness of his American subjects, to appoint proper officers at his ports and harbors in these United States to receive your (not our) contributions; and to allow you to sail direct to the ports of destination. The saving will be great in money, and greater in feelings: and his majesty may grant the request, if his stewards, wharfingers, bakers, victuallers, deputy collectors, tavern and store keepers, alarmed at the loss of profits, do not object. I dissolve the opposition from the most distant thought of such baseness. In conjunction with the republicans they have voted "That the United States cannot without a sacrifice of their rights, honor and independence, submit to the late edicts of Great Britain and France." What then remains? War or intermediary measures.

My principal object is, to convince you beyond a reasonable doubt that the national government merits general confidence: that it ever has been, and is attentive to the rights of commerce; that it is your interest, as well as your duty, to yield it every support; and that the separation of New-England from the other States would to a certainty terminate in the ruin of that part of the nation.

Proceeding to elucidate these points, it will not be useless to consider for a moment the three great objects of agriculture,

commerce and manufactures. They are sisters. Agriculture is the parent of wealth, strength, and virtue: without her commerce cannot exist, and manufactures cannot flourish: without her, in modern, if not in ancient days, no nation has become great and powerful, except Holland, and the circumstances which led to her prosperity, have long ceased to exist.

The wealth of the farmer is fixed; it cannot be removed or destroyed. It is visible; it is tangible; it possesses in inherent power of producing wealth; and it forever remains a corner stone and pillar of national security. This employment gives health and energy; he knows no country, other than his own: and he and the manufacturer are ever at their posts, ready to defend the nation.

The wealth of the merchant, as well as himself, may be here to day, to morrow in Europe. They may be withdrawn the moment they are the most wanted. This wealth is fleeting and transitory. It has no country, no home. It seeks all climates, and for all it has nearly an equal respect, labouring only for self multiplication. But agriculture flourishes most when commerce is most active: and the manufacturer thrives better when aided by both, than when deprived of either.

The principal of the four reasons which induced the formation of our constitution was to give life to commerce, and through it to derive a revenue.

Recur to the period between peace and the present government. Did not the commercial states, enrich themselves at the expense of the agricultural? Did not Maryland effect the vital resources of Virginia? Did not New-York and Massachusetts lay North Carolina, Jersey, Connecticut, and Vermont under contribution? Did the farmer thrive, or was his visage marked with a smile of content?

If our commerce be annihilated, will not the period of agricultural discontents and dependency return?

If it be transferred to a foreign power, will not that power, in imitation of the commercial states, enrich herself at this nation's expense?

The national benefits of our manufactures are apparent, and political considerations should induce us to foster them. They depend for their success, not less on commerce, than on agriculture. Commerce supplies the manufacturer with capital, with raw materials, vends his wares and manufactures in different countries, and in different parts of the same country, and returns to the artist his profit and reward.

That such is the opinion of the manufacturer is evident from his establishing himself, almost universally, within the reach of navigation, and in the commercial parts of the country, in, or near towns.

The correctness of his opinion is proved by these facts. In 1805, notwithstanding the infancy of our manufactures, our merchants vended in foreign countries two millions seven hundred and seven thousand dollars worth of American manufactures, to produce which, eight hundred and eighteen thousand dollars worth of foreign materials were used.

No man of reflection will deny the wisdom of progressively aiding our manufactures, by laws prohibiting the introduction of such articles as our citizens can supply at a reasonable price, or imposing such duties as will give them a decided advantage. Nor will this operate materially to the injury of the merchant—when it takes from him an article of import, it furnishes an article of export to a foreign country, or to a distant part of his own, and the change will be gradual and almost imperceptible. The merchant may turn his capitals, a different commercial channel.

But great and sudden changes are dangerous to all governments, and the remark applies with additional force to a republic. Nothing is more difficult than to force

the people of a profession or a section, to abandon a favorite pursuit, and to assume one which they detest, and in which they are not skilled.

It may be possible for a tyrant to effect it, by scourging his nation with a rod of iron. This weapon does not belong to a free government.

I come now to speak of that interest, in which the greatest portion of your prosperity is at stake—I mean commerce.

In its most extensive sense, it includes the internal traffic, which is carried on between citizens of the same state or nation, or different states, by purchase or exchange, as well as that intercourse which is carried on between different nations and countries by navigation. The former is usually called internal trade, the latter foreign commerce.

The former is calculated by economists, to be from five to twelve times as extensive as the latter, varying its proportion according to the extent of foreign enterprise. This internal trade is assisted by its freedom from taxation, by the activity of foreign commerce, and by occasional bounties granted by states for the culture of particular articles. It ought to be stimulated by public, improved roads, canals, and bridges, and by every thing which facilitates internal intercourse between the sea board and the country, and different parts of the interior.

Nothing is more certain, than that as you increase the safety of internal transportation, and lessen its expences, you increase the value of each man's farm—open an additional country to market, extend the amount of your products for foreign commerce, & enlarge the means of acquiring the comforts and elegancies of life—Nor is it less clear that by internal improvements the national domain might be increased in value, a sum equal to the necessary ex-enture; so that by a judicious and liberal plan, the facilities of intercourse might be furnished to the interior, even without the inconvenience of a temporary advance. When to these considerations is added one of higher importance—the amalgamation of local interests and feelings which these improvements would produce, without injuring the rights of state sovereignties, is it not matter of deep regret, that notwithstanding the repeated attempts of the President to induce an attention to this subject, no one step should have been taken? What is easier than by a rule which shall do equal justice to each state, to effect these necessary and all important improvements?

And is it not worthy of serious reflection, that while more than twenty eight millions of dollars, have been advanced to aid foreign commerce, in which five sixths of the nation have only an indirect and partial benefit, not one cent has been advanced to aid the farming interest directly, although it would indirectly give an equal aid to commerce?

Few men entertain a higher opinion than I do of the value of foreign commerce; it produced before the revolution a great portion of the capital that enabled us to carry through the struggle. It generated that spirit of hardy enterprise, which aided by our nautical skill, severely annoyed the trade of the enemy, and supplied this nation with many articles of the first necessity. It encouraged that love of liberty, and independence of thought and action, which eminently contributed to our becoming a nation.

It has since given life and spirit to agriculture, raised the value of our lands, and furnished an extensive American capital, equal, and indeed superior, to the demands of our whole commerce. A capital which may constitute a fund for the support of the nation in the day of necessity.

Nothing is more unfounded than the suggestion that American commerce is indebted to Europe; the reverse is the fact, to the amount of many millions. Eng-

land's pretended balance embraces all the insolvencies and bankruptcies of sixty years; and British merchants have more of American capital than sufficient to pay British demands.

It has furnished funds, for the most of our banks, insurances, turnpikes, bridges, and canals.

To this it has been principally owing that New England has arrived to her present state of improvement and wealth. In New England it is coeval with her existence. The revolution and constitution both found you highly commercial; in that character you became parties to both compacts of civil government, and your right to a reasonable support in your favorite pursuit is as clearly and fully guaranteed, as is to any other class in society, its pursuits and interests.

In further considering the rights of this commerce to the countenance and protection of government, its division into classes will lead to a more perfect knowledge and more correct decision.

First. The carrying trade.

It is that commerce where the merchant sends his vessel with a cargo of our products or commercial capital to any foreign port, and brings in return the merchandise of that port, destined for foreign consumption, or in such quantities as exceed the demands of our market; and after it has been incorporated with the body of our merchandise, it is sent to another foreign port for sale. Often it is extended still further—after leaving our ports, it disposes of its cargo at the port of its first destination; procures another, sells it at a third, and so on; till finally it returns home enriched with the commerce of many countries. It always exists in a limited extent; but its profits are principally derived from a state of warfare among the great nations of Europe.

From it this nation derives the following benefits.

1st. An annual increase of wealth drawn in time of war from foreign countries, equal to from ten to twenty millions of dollars.

2d. A more perfect knowledge of the commerce of the world, from which our merchants are enabled to make more correct calculations in favor of our necessary foreign commerce.

3d. The increase of our navigation; our seamen and their skill.

4th. A reduction of price, effected by the surplus quantities on hand, of from twenty to forty per cent. on many of the articles for home consumption.

5th. An income to the public coffers, exclusive of the expenditure it occasions, equal in time of war between foreign nations, to about one-twelfth of our revenue. This is a tax actually defrayed by other countries, and is the only revenue that is not eventually paid by the people of this nation.

This trade merits the attention of government, and its services by the appointment of necessary agents, by negotiations, and by an enforcement of the law of nations as far as practicable; but as the vital interests of no class of citizens, and consequently of no section are involved in it, its maintenance is not to be expected at the expense of war.

Secondly. Necessary foreign commerce.

This embraces the export of our products, and the importation of such articles of foreign growth and manufacture as contribute to our necessities, comfort, and happiness. This commerce can never be surrendered for any considerable time under any possible circumstances—it is essential to our prosperity and happiness, and even to our independence. It is fairly guaranteed to the commercial interests, and its annihilation might produce consequences the most disastrous.

To resign this commerce in the present state of the world, would make us vassals to England; this nation exercised there