



ADDRESS

Of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry, to the Citizens of the United States.

No 9.

Philadelphia, May 27, 1819.

In our preceding Addresses, fellow-citizens, we have presented you with sketches of the policy of England, Russia, Prussia and Portugal—and displayed the wisdom and beneficial results of the system of the three first nations, &c. even of the last at one period of her history. We have shown, from authentic documents, the rapid destruction of the prosperity and happiness of Portugal, when she relaxed the system of protecting her national industry—whereby she was precipitated from a most flourishing situation, in two or three years, exactly as the United States have been, and in about the same space of time. We feel a confident hope, that those who have brought to the discussion that spirit of candor and impartiality, which is requisite to a correct decision, and which the importance of the subject demanded, have been convinced of the vital and radical errors in our system of policy.

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

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

When, in opposition to the dictates of his politics, he appeared the strenuous advocate of manufactures, as the grand means of promoting the happiness, the power, the greatness and independence of his country, it behoves those, who in point of mind, are no more to compare with Hamilton, than a dwarf with "the man of Gath," to weigh well the grounds of their opinions, and once for all consider, whether they will continue the disciples of Adam Smith, to the utter rejection of whose theory in all its parts, his own country owes her colossal power—or of Alexander Hamilton, advocating that system which has never failed to insure the prosperity and happiness of every nation, ancient or modern, that has pursued it—that is, the protection of national industry—in other words, whether they will continue to lead their country on "the road to ruin," under the banners of Adam Smith, or take the road to true independence under those of Alexander Hamilton. Light and darkness are not more opposite to each other, than Adam Smith and Alexander Hamilton on this point of political economy, so essential to insure "the wealth of nations."

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

Extract from the Report of Alexander Hamilton, Esq. Secretary to the Treasury, January 7, 1790.

The expediency of encouraging manufactures in the United States, which was, not long since, deemed very questionable, appears at this time to be pretty generally admitted. The embarrassments, which have obstructed the progress of our external trade, have led to serious reflections on the necessity of enlarging the sphere of our domestic commerce; the restrictive regulations which in foreign markets abridge the vent of the increasing surplus of our agricultural produce, serve to beget an earnest desire, that a more extensive demand for that surplus may be created at home. And the complete success which has rewarded manufacturing enterprise in some valuable branches, conspiring with the pro-

missing symptoms which attend some less mature essays in others, justify a hope, that the obstacles to the growth of this species of industry, are less formidable than they were apprehended to be; and that it is not difficult to find in its further extension, a full indemnification for any external disadvantages, which are, or may be experienced, as well as an accession of resources favorable to natural independence and safety.

There still are nevertheless, respectable patrons of opinions, unfriendly to the encouragement of manufactures. The following are, substantially, the arguments by which these opinions are defended:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But, that it has a title, to any thing like an exclusive predilection, in any country, ought to be admitted with great caution. That it is even more productive than every branch of industry, requires more evidence than has yet been given in support of the position. That its real interests, precious and important as, without the help of exaggeration, they truly are, will be advanced, rather than injured, by the due encouragement of manufactures, may, it is believed, be satisfactorily demonstrated. And it is also believed, that the expediency of such encouragement, in a general view, may be shown to be recommended by the most cogent and persuasive motives of national policy.

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

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

Labor bestowed upon the cultivation of land, produces enough, not only to replace all the necessary expences incurred in the business, and to maintain the persons who are employed in it, but to afford, together with the ordinary profit on the stock & capital of the farmer, a net surplus, or rent for the landlord or proprietor of the soil. But the labor of artificers does nothing more than replace the stock which employs them, or which furnishes materials, tools and wages, and yield the ordinary profit upon that stock. It yields nothing equivalent to the rent of land. Neither does it add any thing to the total value of the whole annual produce of the land and labor of the country.

The additional value given to those parts of the produce of land, which are wrought into manufactures, is counterbalanced by the value of those other parts of that produce, which are consumed by the manufacturers. It can therefore only be by saving or parsimony, not by the positive productiveness of their labor, that the classes of artificers can in any degree augment the revenue of the society.

To this it has been answered,

1. "That inasmuch as it is acknowledged, that manufacturing labor reproduces a value equal to that which is expended or consumed in carrying it on, and continues in existence the original stock or capital employed, it ought, on that account alone, to escape being considered as wholly unproductive; that it should be admitted, as a deduction, from the consumption of the produce of the soil, by the classes of artificers or manufacturers, is exactly equal to the value added by their labor to the materials upon which it is exercised; yet it would not follow, that it added nothing to the revenue of the society, or to the aggregate value of the annual produce of its land and labor. If the consumption, for any given period, amounted to a given sum, and the increased value of the produce manufactured, in the same period, to a like sum, the total amount of the consumption and production during that period, would be equal to the two sums, and consequently double the value of the agricultural produce consumed. And though the increment of value, produced by the classes of artificers, should at no time exceed the value of the produce of the land consumed by them, yet there would be at every moment, in consequence of their labor, a greater value of goods in the market, than would exist independent of it.

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

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

of those, who furnish or manage that, which is at any time employed, whether in agriculture or in manufactures, or in any other way."

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

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

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

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

- 1st. The greater skill and dexterity naturally resulting from a constant and individual application to a single object. It is evident, that these properties must increase, in proportion to the complication of objects, and the number among which the attention is distracted.
2d. The economy of time, by avoiding the loss of it, incident to a frequent transition from one operation to another of a different nature. This depends on various circumstances; the transition itself—the orderly disposition of the implements, machines and materials, employed in the operation; to be relinquished—the preparatory steps to the commencement of a new one—the interruption of the impulse which the mind of the workman acquires, from being engaged in a particular operation—the distractions, hesitations, and reluctances, which attend the passage from one kind of business to another.
3d. An extension of the use of machinery. A man occupied on a single subject, will have it more in his power, and will be more naturally led to exert his imagination in devising methods to facilitate and abridge labor, than if he were perplexed by a variety of independent and dissimilar operations. Besides this the fabrication of machines in numerous instances, becoming its if a distinct trade, the artist who follows it, has all the advantages which have been enumerated, for improvement in this particular art; and in both ways the invention and application of machinery are extended.

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

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

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

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

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

(To be continued)

JAMES MONROE,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Whereas a treaty was made and concluded, between the United States of America and the Great and Little Osage nation of Indians, at St. Louis, on the 25th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, by commissioners on the part of the said United States, and certain considerate men, chiefs, and warriors, of all the several bands of the said nation, on the part and in behalf of the said nation; which treaty is in the words following, to wit:

A treaty made and concluded by, and between, William Clark Governor of the Missouri Territory, superintendent of Indian Affairs, and commissioner in behalf of the United States, of the one part; and a full and complete deputation of considerate men, chiefs, and warriors, of all the several bands, of the Great and Little Osage nation, assembled in behalf of their said nation, of the other part; have agreed to the following articles:

ART. 1. Whereas the Osage nations have been embarrassed by the frequent demands for property taken from the citizens of the United States, by war parties, and other thoughtless men of their several bands, (both before and since their war with the Cherokee,) and as the exertions of their chiefs have been ineffectual in recovering and delivering such property, conformably with the condition of the ninth article of a treaty, entered into with the United States, at Fort Clark, the tenth of November, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and as the deductions from their annuities, in conformity to the said article, would deprive them of any for several years, and being destitute of funds to do that justice to the citizens of the United States which is calculated to promote a friendly intercourse, they have agreed, and do hereby agree, to cede to the United States, and forever quit claim to, the tract of country included within the following bounds, to wit: Beginning at the Arkansas river at where the present Osage boundary line strikes the river at Frog Bayou; then up the Arkansas and Verdigris, to the falls of Verdigris river; thence, eastwardly, to the said Osage boundary line, at a point twenty leagues north from the Arkansas river; and, with that line; to the place of beginning.

ART. 2. The United States, on their part, and in consideration of the above cession, agree, in addition to the amount which the Osage do now receive in money and goods, to pay their own citizens the full value of such property as they can legally prove to have been stolen or destroyed by the said Osage, since the year one thousand eight hundred and fourteen; provided the same does not exceed the sum of four thousand dollars.

ART. 3. The articles now stipulated will be considered as permanent additions to the treaties, now in force, between the contracting parties, as soon as they shall have been ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the said United States.

In witness whereof the said William Clark, Commissioner, as aforesaid, and the considerate men and chiefs aforesaid, have hereunto subscribed their names, and affixed their seals, at St. Louis, this twenty-fifth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred & eighteen, and of the Independence of the United States the forty-third.

WILLIAM CLARK,

- Canleuonpe, his x mark,
Voibatic, his x mark,
Touache, his x mark,
Chonqueaga, his x mark,
Voipogua, his x mark,
Mannasoudie, his x mark,
Nequivoife, his x mark,
Nantagregre, his x mark,
Maushopogran, his x mark,
Pachiche, his x mark,
Tacinche, his x mark,
Voiletouchinga, his x mark,
Osabevoiquandagug, his x mark,
Nanchache, his x mark,
Thequalan, his x mark.