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Our streets the place of fair, delightful peace, Unwarped by party rage, to Hvelke Brothers.

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

No. 12. Philadelphia, June 24, 1819. FELLOW CITIZENS—We have presented for your consideration, the able and luminous report of Alexander Hamilton, then secretary of the treasury, on manufactures. The principles contained in that admirable state paper, are the principles of political economy, that have been practised by those statesmen, whom the concurrent testimony of ages, have pronounced the most wise; and have constituted the policy of every nation, that has advanced in civilization; in which the principles of free government have been developed; or which has grown in wealth and power.

Did it comport with the design of these essays, it would be no difficult task to establish by historical references the facts that the amelioration of society; the evolution of these just rights, which are the inheritance of every individual; and the weight and influence of the people in their government, had the origin in the establishment of manufacturing industry. With its progression, have they progressed, and by the diffusion of wealth thro' every class of the community which is its necessary concomitant, have been diffused civilization and knowledge. The principles by which these important results have been effected; we shall shortly elucidate. But other considerations first invite attention.

The arguments, by which Mr. Hamilton has sustained the principles he advocated, are lucid and conclusive. We believe them to be irrefutable. At least, we have not as yet met with any opposing writers, who have shaken one of the positions he advanced. Those diversified combinations, which grow out of, and affect all human transactions, did not escape his penetration. They are too commonly overlooked by theorists, who intent on general principles, disregard the minuter circumstances, that arise out of their very action, and render them impracticable in operation, however just they may be in themselves.

In no science, are the general maxims of theorists more delusive, and more to be distrusted than in political economy. This branch of knowledge is yet in its infancy. It is composed of relations commingled and commixed together, that like a skein of tangled thread, they require to be traced out with great patience, perseverance, and close attention. Its principles are not yet established. Those which have been considered as the most fixed, have been overthrown—those which have been taught as self evident, are questioned; and the whole are the subject of ardent discussion. In this state of the science, general maxims can serve no other purpose, than to give flippancy on an abstruse subject, and to overlook difficulties, that cannot be removed.

While the elements of political economy are thus undetermined, we are called upon to set at nought the harmonizing examples of the most prosperous states; the accumulated experience of centuries; and to confide the character, the resources, the power of this nation; the wealth and happiness of this people; the safety perhaps of the government itself, to the operation of abstract principles, which have not yet been tested by practice, nor even settled by authority.

In human affairs, abstract principles though they may captivate the fancy by their simplicity, are ever defeated by those subordinate accidents which they must necessarily exclude. The principles of "political justice" of the English, and the "perfectibility of human nature" of the French philosophers, as well as unlimited freedom of moral action, in the abstract, may be true. But overlooking the very constitution of human nature, the discordancy of its sentiments, the complexity of its affinities, the variety of its affections, the perverseness of the human heart, an obliquity of human intellect, they can only be regarded as the visions of benevolent enthusiasts.

The abstract principles of political economy are of similar character. Resulting from general reasoning, which seldom descends to minute particulars, they bear all the evidences of correct deductions, until brought into practice. Their inefficiency is then disclosed, and their partial nature made manifest. The innovations and compound nature of human interests, we are convinced, set distinctive limitations at defiance. They often open suddenly into new channels that have not been traced, or flow thro' others, so obscure, that they have escaped our notice. Our generalities are defeated by unanticipated combinations, which give results never calculated, and re-actions are produced, that work effects never suspected.

In a science thus uncertain, and in things thus complicated and indistinct, it is the part of prudence to tread the paths of sober experience; to trust those guides whose long practice has imparted substantial knowledge, and whose knowledge is verified by their success. To reject the long acquired wisdom of ages, and the well earned experience of mankind,

from confidence in their superior wisdom, may justly subject us to the imputation of self sufficiency, and hazard the dearest interests of our country.

It is against such visionary projects that we have raised our hands; it is to warn you from the closer speculations of theorists, to invite you to common sense practice, founded on the nature of things, that we have intruded with the best intentions on your notice. We have presented to you in succession, the systems of various powers in Europe, for the advancement of their welfare; and have shown some errors of policy, bearing a strong similarity to the principles generally entertained in the United States, which proved fatal to those by whom they were adopted. We have, finally, presented you with a system that has been proposed by one of our most enlightened statesmen, as best adapted to promote the wealth and power, by exciting and fostering the industry of this country, in the circumstances of a general and continued peace in Europe. This system was prepared with an experience of the operation of the peace policy of Europe on our affairs, subsequent to the peace of 1783, and after mature reflection on the commercial relations between this country and foreign powers. Its principles, founded on well substantiated facts, are drawn from the examples of the most prosperous and most powerful nations; and its materials derived from the abundant sources of European commercial legislation. These are circumstances which entitle it to great weight, and to be received with the most marked and serious attention.

Let it not be presumed that we are influenced by any feelings of political partiality in favor of Mr. Hamilton. Most of those who thus tender the tribute of their applause to his merits as a statesman, and thus highly appreciate this particular fruit of his labors, were and continue to be, the decided opponents to his political principles. It is bigotry alone that denies or would obscure merit in those beyond the pale of its own belief, in church or state. To this feeling we wish to have no claim, and while we confess a contrary sentiment on some essential points, we would not withhold our acknowledgment of the brilliancy of the genius, the extent and solid nature of the acquirements, and the strength of intellect that distinguished Alexander Hamilton.

In the present situation of the country, when it cannot be concealed, that its progress has received a sudden check, and society labors under the shock of a rapid recoil, the discussions of political parties, sink into minor importance, in comparison with the great principles of the prosperity and happiness of the people and of the nation. These are the principles that should rise paramount in view, occupy the thoughts and animate the feelings of every citizen of the great American republic. Divesting yourselves, therefore, of party feelings, prejudices and partialities; casting aside, as derogatory to the character of American citizens, the petty jealousies of sectional interests, take into candid consideration that system of policy, which in the early establishment of our government, was deemed best to comport with our interests as an independent people. If its principles should appear to you just, and the reasoning by which it is sustained, consonant to truth; if you should be satisfied, it is the best adapted to our present and probable future circumstances, you will not hesitate to trust to it for the advancement of individual and national prosperity.

An inquiry naturally arises into the causes which led the government, after having matured this system, and contemplated its adoption, to lay it aside. They are developed in our commercial history, and will be found to strengthen the principles and views on which it was erected, and for which we contend.

The peace concluded in 1783, continued undisturbed. Europe offered but partial markets to our productions, while it closed its commerce to our marine. The annual value of our foreign exports was less in amount than the annual value of our consumption of foreign commodities, and we possessed no collateral sources of wealth to compensate the deficiency. The government had assumed a large debt, which subjected it to heavy annual interest—other expenses were accumulating, the increase of which might be confidently anticipated; and the prospects of revenue from foreign commerce, or an impoverished people were but gloomy. In these circumstances the attention of our statesmen must have been directed to internal resources. Yet from this quarter could be derived little to inspire their hopes. Commerce bro't money into the country; circulation was limited and slow; the industry or labor power of the country was but partially exerted, and consequently much wealth lost, that might have been created. Without a circulating medium and full employment for industry, revenue must have been oppressive to the people, of difficult collection to the government, and uncertain in its proceeds.

The difficulties of the colonial governments, and the evils endured by colonists,

were then fresh in remembrance, and their causes were well understood. The commerce to which they had been limited, was that, which at this time is recommended to our adoption. Confined almost exclusively to the tillage of the soil, they exchanged their raw productions, for the manufactured articles of the mother country. This kind of barter, or "mutual exchange," to which the colonies were forced by the colonial system of England, kept them poor to favor industry at home. This commerce to which the jealous policy of Great Britain, limited her colonial possessions in America, it was acknowledged both in and out of parliament, in the colonies & in England, and cannot now be denied, was intended solely to render them subservient to her interests, to which theirs were unhesitatingly sacrificed. Their progression in wealth and power, was looked upon with a distrustful eye. In order to its retardation, to keep them poor and dependent, they were forbidden to manufacture, and compelled to supply their wants from England. Even the Earl of Chatham, who is considered to have been the friend of America, as he was the advocate of her rights, was still so much an Englishman in this respect, he was unwilling that a single hob-nail, should be manufactured in America.

The cultivation of the soil to its greatest extent excited no apprehensions, that it would enable the colonies to become independent. England well knew, that in the mutual exchange of raw products for manufactured goods, all the advantage was on her side, the loss on that of the colonies; she therefore, restricted them to the cultivation of the soil, except permitting a few handicrafts of first necessity, and the fisheries of the New England colonies, which raised no productions she required.

This system kept the colonies in a wretched condition. They were totally destitute of the precious metals, either to constitute or regulate a currency. Every hard dollar that found its way into them, was immediately exported to England in payment of debts. "Those that are acquainted with America, know as I do," said Capt. Luttrell, in a debate in Parliament, "that from Rhode Island, northwards, they have no money; that their trade is generally carried on by barter, from the most opulent merchant to the most necessitous husbandman. Sir, before your feet and armies visited their coasts, you might almost as soon have raised the dead, as one hundred pounds in specie, from any individual, in those provinces."

In order to procure some kind of currency to make those mutual exchanges, which the wants of civilized life render indispensable, and which cannot with inconvenience be effected by barter, the colonists were forced into various expedients. They altered the standard of money; they issued paper money of different kinds; they constituted it a legal tender. But all was ineffectual. While they had to hire workmen in England to perform their labor, they could not retain their gold and silver, which was sent to pay wages abroad. Altering the standard did not affect the value of gold & silver, which could not be restrained by an arbitrary limitation; and their paper money having no guarantee for its safety, constantly depreciated.

Such, it was known to our government, were the results that had been produced by a commerce, engaged in the exchange of the productions of the soil, for manufactured goods. They could not therefore, anticipate, that a similar commerce, would have other effects; and consequently that by such a commerce a metallic currency could be given to the people, or even a metallic basis acquired, for an adequate paper currency. There was then, no other course left them to pursue but to adopt the manufacturing policy of Europe. By supplying a portion of those wants with our own industry, in which the colonies had been compelled by the parent country to hire and pay for labor in England, would diminish the amount of our imports, without diminishing the amount of our exports. Because England took from us no more of our productions, than she really wanted, and those she would take under any circumstances, while the other nations to which we traded, were never influenced by other views than the mere supply of their wants. Thus the balance of our trade with the West Indies, which had always been paid in specie, but immediately remitted to England, would have been retained in circulation; while a portion of the balance with France & the Mediærranean would also have found its way back to this country instead of always being transferred to England. In this manner, and in this manner only, in a state of general peace in Europe, could a circulating medium have been procured, that could be kept pure, free from depreciation and fluctuations.

But the rapid occurrence of events wholly unexpected, unfolded new prospects, and enabled the United States to acquire, with ease & rapidity, the wealth and power necessary to give stability to their recently formed institutions. In the midst of the agitations of the French revolution, the crops failed in France and other parts of Europe. At once a mar-

ket was opened to our agricultural productions, stimulated to its greatest energy. The labor power of the country, was instantly employed to the full extent of its capacity. The war that soon ensued, & involved almost every power in Europe, constituted us at once the carriers of an immense commerce. Our sails swelled on every ocean, and our flag streamed on every shore. Every dollar of capital we possessed or could borrow, and every hand in the nation, before idle, found employment. A road was thus opened to rapid acquirement of wealth, and it was a natural policy to pursue it. The capital and industry of the country, before stagnant and depressed, rushed into the new formed channel. Manufactures, under these circumstances were neglected, and the project was dropped. All the benefits that were expected to arise from them, were to be obtained with certainty and expedition, by prosecuting our newly disclosed and widely extended commerce. Wealth rolled in apace, and the metallic capital alone, in the space of ten or twelve years, was increased to twenty or twenty-five millions of dollars. But the whole of this prosperity depended on contingencies. A general peace in Europe would bring it to a close. As it was, we could not enjoy it undisturbed. The celebrity of our progress awakened the jealousy of a rival. It was sought to destroy by new principles of neutral law, the advantages we derived from our national character. The difficulties that were thus generated, terminated finally in war, which arose, let it be remarked, not from a spirit of manufactures, but from a spirit of commerce. The expenses and sacrifices necessary to its prosecution, were in fact, a tax upon the country in favor of commerce; yet it was cheerfully borne by the agricultural and manufacturing interests.

Out of this contest, the nation came with an accession of character; whilst the rapidity of circulation, the full employment of capital, and its retention in the country, caused individuals to feel but little comparative distress, notwithstanding its burthens. The attack directed against the physical strength of the country, only served to develop its power and resources. The war now waging against its moral strength has paralysed its energies, and laid it prostrate in the dust. It is no exaggeration to assert, that the two last years of peace have produced more commercial embarrassment and distress, a greater destruction of capital, and increase of individual misery, than was caused by the whole war; and instead of invigorating, have enfeebled the nation.

This apparent anomaly deserves to be examined. We believe its solution will be attained in the following considerations. The general pacification of Europe, had preceded the treaty of Ghent, and most of the powers of the eastern hemisphere, had resumed their usual peace policy. The object of this policy is, to foster their own marine, agriculture, and manufactures, to the exclusion of those of other nations. We consequently had lost the commercial relations that had existed in a state of European warfare. In fact, we reverted back to the old commercial position, prior to the French revolution, or when colonies. Had this circumstance been understood, it would have been foreseen, that the same effects would have grown out of the same causes now as formerly. The principles, views and reasonings, adapted to the then situation of the country, it would have been perceived, were again applicable. But the habits and modes of thinking which had been formed during twenty years of a lucrative commerce; the complete mutations which had taken place in the commercial world, during that time, leaving few individuals possessed of a practical knowledge of the effects of a general peace on the interests of the country, occasioned the revolution our commerce had undergone to be overlooked or disregarded.

Most of those engaged in commerce, who also it will be recollected, preside over the mined institutions which regulate our currency, had little other experience of commerce than such as existed during the wars of the French revolution. They naturally supposed that it would continue to work the same effects as during that period, except in smaller amount. The failure of two successive crops in Europe, in 1815 and 1816, which stayed for a time the operation of the new state of affairs, served to continue this delusion. The time, however, is not remote, when we shall be awakened to the true situation of our commercial relations with Europe, and its consequences. The evils which now press on us, many vainly flatter themselves, are mere temporary effects, similar to those which have before arisen from slight derangements of commerce. We are firmly persuaded they are of a very different character, and of a more formidable nature. We have no doubt that they are the same, as the evils under which this country suffered when colonies and during the peace subsequent to the revolution. The sooner we satisfy ourselves that such is the case, the earlier we shall extricate ourselves from the embarrassments that must grow out of the position, in which we are placed. We propose to enter into the examination of

this subject in a future number, and trust we shall exhibit by a comparison of the commerce of the colonies, and the effects it produced on them, extracted from authentic documents, with the present commerce of this country, and the effects now begun to be felt, that they are of a similar character. We fear, that from this view of the subject, though little flattering to our pride it will be apparent, that after having expended the best blood of the nation, and millions of treasure, to shake off the yoke of colonization, we have voluntarily adopted the colonial policy of England, and placed ourselves with respect to her, and in truth to most of the world, in the situation of colonies. From this state of humiliating and injurious dependency, the United States are bound to vindicate the sovereignty of a free people. For in vain will they make pretensions to a perfect independence, while they incur, through the medium of their wants, all the consequences of sub-

A NURSE WANTED.

LIBERAL Wages will be paid for a Girl or Boy to attend a small Child. Apply to the EDITOR. 44 2w. September 22, 1819

DRY GOODS AT AUCTION.

ON Monday the 11th of October, at the Store of Messrs M'GOWAN & COLLINS, in the Town of Petersburg, will be sold at Auction, their entire Stock of

STAPLE, FANCY & DRY GOODS, Consisting of about \$25,000 worth of well selected Goods, suitable for the approaching Season. The Sale will commence at 10 o'clock and continue from day to day, until the whole are disposed of.

Country Merchants generally, will find it to their interest to attend this Sale, as every article will be sold without reserve, and consequently great Bargains may be expected. Terms Under \$100, Cash—over and not exceeding \$300, ninety days—over \$300 and not exceeding \$500, four months, over \$500, and not exceeding \$1000 six months, and over \$1000 nine months credit, for negotiable paper, satisfactorily endorsed. By order of the Assignees, WILLIAM MOORE, AUCTIONEER. Petersburg, Sept 16, 1819. 44s

WHEREAS the Cape-Fear Navigation Company having made considerable progress in improving the River between Fayetteville and Wilmington, by removing logs and other obstructions, from the channel of the River, and consequently having incurred considerable expense, in consideration of which the Stockholders at their annual meeting in July last, established agreeably to Charter, the annexed rates of Toll upon commodities transported upon the Cape-Fear, between Fayetteville and Wilmington. All persons whom it may concern, will therefore TAKE NOTICE, That from and after the 1st of October next, the amount of the Toll estimated at the annexed rates on the Cargoes of all Boats, will be required to be paid by the Owner or Master to the Collector for the Company, previous to the departure of the Boat from the Landing at Fayetteville, or previous to unloading on arrival at Fayetteville. To facilitate which it will be necessary for the Shipper or Owner to keep a correct list of Freight when taken on board, a true transcript of which must be delivered to the Collector, otherwise the Boat will be subject to detention, until the cargo can be examined. The following clause of the charter will be enforced against all Boats that pass without paying the Toll, viz: "and if any vessel shall pass without paying the Tolls, then the said Collector respectively, may lawfully seize such Boat or Vessel, and sell the same at auction for ready money, after advertising the Sale at least ten days; the money arising from which sale, so far as is necessary, shall be applied towards paying the said Tolls, all expenses of seizure and sale, and the balance, if any, shall be paid to the Owner; and the person having the direction of such vessel, shall be liable for such Tolls, if not paid by the sale aforesaid."

The following are the rates of Toll established by the Company, to wit: Rates of Toll down the River. Cents. On each & every Hhd. Tobacco 20 Bar of Cotton 10 Barrel of Flour 3 Bushel of Wheat 1 do Corn 1 Barrel of Spirits 5 Cask Flax Seed 7 All other articles 10 per cent on the amount of Freight to be estimated from the printed rates of January 17, 1819.

Rates of Toll up the River. Cents. On each and every Bushel of Salt 1 Hhd or Pipe of Spirits, Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, Crockery, Hardware, Dry Goods, or other articles 25 On each & every Ton of Bar Iron 20 Barrel of Merchandise 5 Tierce of do 10 Tierce of Lime 5 Dry Goods and all other packages of Merchandise or articles not enumerated, 10 per cent on the amount of Freight by the printed Rates of January 17, 1819. Plaster free. JOHN CLARK, Pres't Cape-Fear Navigation Company