



"Ours are the plans of fair, delightful Peace,  
"Unwarped by party rage, to live like Brothers."

ADDRESS  
ON NATIONAL INDUSTRY.  
(Continued.)

In adopting a new system of policy, in the United States, both internal and external, two considerations should be kept in view:

FIRST—What hostile and prohibitory regulations now exist, in foreign countries, against the commerce of this country, and what are their bearings and effects upon our prosperity?

SECONDLY—What will most effectually tend to counteract the effects of these prohibitions and restraints, and encourage and protect the industry of the country—embracing agriculture, manufactures, inland trade, foreign commerce—and the general cultivation of our resources.

As to the first point, we would ask those who oppose such measures as will go to protect ourselves, to take a candid view of the policy of other nations, towards the United States. Where is there a nation to which we can send an article of domestic manufacture, but upon terms that would be ruinous? On what shore can the fruits of American skill and industry be landed, without meeting a hostile tariff? England, France, Russia, Spain, and the German States, are equally jealous and rigorous when an article of foreign manufacture interferes with their own ingenuity and labor. It is a policy that distinguishes their political history. It plants an impassable barrier around their frontiers. But we shall be told, that it is immaterial what the tariffs of foreign nations may be, as to the importation of manufactured articles, since this country alone, depends on the export of the raw material. This position brings us directly to the question—what is the state of foreign markets, and what are the advantages which we now derive, or which we have a prospect of deriving, hereafter, for the sale of our agricultural products?

While we had the carrying trade of continental Europe, and our vessels were employed in conveying commodities from the colonies to the mother countries, and in occupying those channels of commerce from which other nations were excluded; which the products of our soil were demanded to aid in sustaining the armed millions of Europe, as well as millions whose employments were broken up by the general confusion of internal and external relations; we were enabled to sustain the importation of foreign fabrics, and to tolerate the neglect of the home market. But the commercial relations of the world are permanently changed. Consumers have become producers. The soil of Europe is cultivated with new ardour, and the protection of home industry is the ruling system of European policy. The old world is every day becoming more productive in agriculture, while labor-saving machinery is extended far and wide. The vigorous policy of the Russian Emperor, which reaches the borders of Asia, the extension of the British possessions in India, and the fertile sources of commerce opening in South-America, denote a still more radical revolution in the maritime world. Do these facts point out the United States as the future granary of nations? Do they not rather indicate, that the foreign markets for our produce must diminish, instead of increasing?

A glance of the state of our foreign markets, for the last two or three years, will cast much light on this subject. The raw materials exported from the United States may be principally included in the articles of Cotton, Tobacco, Rice, Bread stuffs, salted Provisions, Ashes and Lumber. What countries afford a consumption and demand for these articles, and how are they received? Let us begin with England. From necessity she takes our cotton, tobacco, and rice to the extent that they are not supplied to her by her colonies and by South America. Flour is prohibited from Great-Britain and from her colonies, including the West India markets. Bread stuffs and salted provisions are also prohibited both from the mother country and the colonies. Pot and pearl ashes are received under a restrictive duty that protects the supplies from the Canadas. As to lumber, the duty excludes it as well from the mother country as from her colonies. The articles formerly consumed by France, that were the products of our soil, were cotton, rice, tobacco, and ashes. In consequence of the French regulations, retaliatory upon our Tonnage law passed at the last session of Congress to regulate trade, the direct commerce in these articles is destroyed. The markets afforded to us by Spain and Portugal are very different now from what they were during the wars in Europe, when we exported provisions to the peninsula to an immense amount. Agriculture is now attended to in these regions, Spain, by a recent law, prohibits corn and bread stuffs of every kind. The consequence is, that the former demand for our products has ceased. As to the other parts of the continent of Europe, including Italy, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and the German states, they afford no market for our grain, and none for other products worthy of consideration. Deduct from the foregoing article the prohibited and restricted items, and see

what remains to send to foreign markets, to pay for importation of foreign goods, equal to our demands for consumption.

It is apparent from the foregoing facts, that we must rely chiefly on the sale of our cotton, to defray the monstrous annual contribution levied upon us in the importation of foreign manufactures. The staple articles of the eastern and northern States are no longer demanded abroad. The same may be said of the whole immense country north west of the Ohio river. What then are the prospects for the sale of our cotton in England and on the continent of Europe? From two causes, the growing of cotton in the United States must hereafter depend much on the consumption of the domestic market. In the first place, England, the great consumer of this article, finds it more for her interest to draw her supplies from her own East and West India colonies and from South-America, whose commerce she is aiming to command, and which Mr. Pitt designed to control twenty-five years ago. In 1817 the whole imports of cotton into Great Britain amounted to 198,917 bags from the United States, and 232,261 from India and South-America. In 1818 she imported 205,881 bags from the United States, and 227,681 from the other two quarters. In 1819 she imported 286,000 bags from this, and 341,000 from other countries. During the first eight months of the current year, according to the estimates of respectable merchants, England has imported 280,000 bags from the United States, and 164,000 from other sources—chiefly from South-America; much of the old importation from India, and 100,000 bags from this country, still remain on hand in her markets; yet a few years since, American cotton had the monopoly of the English markets. But it is not the growing competition of other countries alone of which we would speak—the change of prices is still more important. In 1818, the estimated receipts for the sale of 205,881 bags amounted to \$31,334,258. In 1820, the proceeds of 280,000 bags will not amount to \$15,000,000—the estimate is \$13,000,000. But another view of the subject occurs here. If the exportation of cotton is to prevent the protection of domestic manufactures, then its demand and value in the foreign market should keep pace with the increase of our population, and our extensive consumption of foreign manufactures. If we this year consume \$30,000,000 in British goods, ten years hence we may require from \$60,000,000 to \$70,000,000. If we now export 300,000 bags of cotton, in a few years we should require to export 600,000 bags. And who will consume it abroad? No nation on the globe. Thus while our cotton plantations increase with the acquisition of southern territory and the augmentation of population, the foreign demand keeps no proportion in point of quantity, and falls in its annual value. Tobacco and rice have also fallen 30 to 50 per cent. and we export less now than we did twenty years ago. So much for foreign markets, concerning which so much is said by the opposers of the protection of national industry. It is estimated that our exports the present year will amount to from 20 to \$25,000,000, and our imports to \$40,000,000. Our wheat has no market, and cotton has fallen 50 per cent. and rice and tobacco vastly diminished in their prices.

We are safe then in drawing these deductions:—First, that the nations of Europe preserve a rigid and unvarying system of protection to their industry, and that foreign competition is precluded by the adoption of effectual laws. Secondly, that foreign markets, for the staple articles of American produce, fail to extend a consumption that will enable us to induce the importation of foreign manufactures as we have for a few years past. Hence a change of policy, as we before remarked, must ensue.

No rational man will deny the capacity of this country to resort to a new course of measures, for the protection of the industry of the nation, without giving any shock to her social system, without doing any violence to the relations of society, and without destroying our internal peace and harmony.

Nor ought we longer to be told to "buy where we can buy the cheapest." No one destitute of the grossest prejudices will advocate the literal application of the maxim. We may indeed purchase cheap; we may drain the workshops of Manchester and Leeds; we may clothe our wives and daughters in the fine fabrics of the east; we may give employment to our shipping, by going out in ballast and coming home with importations that will amount to eighty or an hundred millions annually—but in what shall we make our payments? Here is the great question, that no one has answered. There must be an end to our national infatuation: for the time has come, when the cultivators of the soil, and thousands of others, cannot afford to lose the fruits of their industry, and contract debts to sharpers and to banks, upon bonds and mortgages, by the purchase of foreign commodities, for daily consumption!

The establishment of Domestic Manufactures will prove the protection of national industry and productive labour. It will directly increase consumption, and aid the profitable cultivation of the soil.

It will convert the raw material into articles of necessity and comfort, and effect a positive creation of wealth. It will open new divisions of labor, call a vast and inactive capital into operation, give employment to a great portion of the working community now idle for want of it—correct the evils of a disordered currency—favor the lucrative investment of money in our own country, and advance the prosperity of inland exchange, and of the coasting trade. Real estate will then be saleable and assume its proper value.

It is to be deeply regretted, that hitherto the opposers of national industry have induced many to believe that domestic manufactures constitute an interest distinct from general interests, and hostile to agriculture and commerce. In this, violence has been committed upon the soundest as well as the simplest principles of political economy, and upon the experience of every nation that ever existed. But a revolution in public opinion is taking place; and it will be enforced, by looking back upon the long neglect of government of this great source of wealth, strength and prosperity. In the time of the Revolution, the patriots and sages of the day saw and expressed the propriety of giving an early and uniform encouragement to domestic manufactures, and the home market.

In 1789, under the administration of Washington, the Congress of the United States called on Gen. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, for his great and luminous Report, which advocated premiums, bounties, and prohibitions.\* But the golden harvest reaped amid the convulsions of the old world—the immense avails accruing to us from the carrying trade, and the demands of foreign consumption for our produce, consigned the reasons and the arguments of this immortal statesman to silence and forgetfulness. From 1807 to 1815, and more particularly during the late war with England, when our troops were covered with British blankets, because we could not furnish them ourselves, and many a gallant soldier perished for want of them;—when American skill and American manufactures were unable to supply the munitions of a defensive war, there was a general voice in favor of Domestic Manufactures. The public authorities of the Nation, and the public authorities of the different States, were loud in their appeals to patriotism, in favor of national industry.—The ardor, the ambition, and the energies of the nation were roused—capital and enterprise were found, and manufactories sprung up in various quarters of the Union. The double duties were laid, and the internal resources of the country rapidly unfolded. From the reports of committees on manufactures in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate of the United States in 1816, it appears that in the manufacture of cotton and woollen alone, there was an investment of capital amounting to between fifty and sixty millions of dollars; and to this should we add the capital invested in the manufacturing of iron, glass, and other articles of which the raw material is found among us, the whole could not fall short of eighty to a hundred millions of dollars. The home market was vastly increased, the staple articles of produce extensively consumed, & internal prosperity every where visible. What came next? With the return of peace, there was a return of our errors and delusions; we were credulous enough to believe, that the carrying trade would again fall into our hands—the nations of Europe rush to the theatre of war, and again demand our produce for subsistence. The double duties were taken off—our ports thrown open to the introduction of foreign manufactures, and the importations, in a single year, amounted to one hundred and eighteen millions of dollars! The manufactures of foreign workshops—the accumulation of years were poured in upon us, & the tide of inundation rolled on its irresistible course, from the seaboard to the western wilderness, overwhelming the establishments of American industry; our own factories, with few exceptions, were ruined; a system of pernicious credit, overtrading and wild speculation prevailed, and our internal affairs underwent a destructive revolution. From that time to the present moment our prosperity has been declining, and our embarrassments becoming more multiplied and more severe, until a crisis of no common aspect has arrived—and yet we hear, from some, of the great protection afforded by the government to domestic manufactures!

As free citizens, involved in the common fortunes of the country, we would respectfully submit our views in favor.

I Of altering the present tariff to an extent that will effectually protect those branches of American manufacture, which

\* On the 20th Oct 1774, the members of the first American Congress entered into articles of association in behalf of the different colonies. Among other stipulations we find the following in 1st vol. Journal, from p. 33: "We will use our utmost endeavors to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent. We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool."

depend upon the raw materials produced in the country:

II. Of abolishing custom house credits, and demanding cash payments of the duties on foreign importations:

III. Of such duty on sales at auction as will destroy the advantages which are now derived by foreign agents & foreign capitalists over our own citizens.

These three measures would lay a broad and solid foundation of that change now required in our policy.

The first object in adopting a new tariff, should be the complete protection of those branches of domestic manufacture for which we can furnish the raw material, and the importation of which from foreign countries is now draining the nation of its circulating capital. Among these branches, we would enumerate those of cotton, iron, wool, glass, paper, lead, hemp, and flax. To the entire manufacture of these important commodities, our mineral treasures, and the fertility of the soil, are abundantly adequate. One fact is certain, that we do not supply ourselves directly with those articles now; and another fact is equally certain, that we could do it, and secure an immense and annual profit to the American people. What is the consequence of taking our cotton, our wool, our flax and hemp, and converting them from the raw to the manufactured state? It is an augmentation of wealth, clear and absolute. Should we manufacture cotton, wool, hemp, and flax, to the amount of forty millions annually by our surplus labor, the saving to the nation would be the value of the manufactured articles over what the raw materials would have sold for, in foreign markets. As the component substances which we can furnish for the manufacture of iron, glass, paper, and lead, for which we can find no market, the creation of wealth, and the ultimate saving to the community, are equal to their entire value. But, we shall be asked, could not the labor employed in the manufacture of these articles be employed more profitably in some other pursuit? We answer, no.—Every nation will be wealthy and prosperous in proportion to the aggregate of the industry of her people; and whatever, therefore, extends the most profitable employment must be kept in view. A portion of the American people are now out of employ, and would even work in our factories, in many parts of the country, for their food. Another portion is engaged in occupations that are not productive. This remark applies, in a great degree, to the cultivators of the soil, in the northern and western States. The wages, whatever they might be, which should be paid to American, instead of to foreign artificers, would be so much clear profit to the nation; and more than this, if a portion of the people thus brought into employment were consumers, without producing the means of their own subsistence. Even where the labor of a people is productive, it is always sound policy to transfer it to new channels, if a greater productiveness can thus be secured.

It is probable, that such a protection from the general government against foreign competition, as is now required, to promote the successful manufacture of cotton, wool, hemp, flax, iron, glass, paper, lead, and some other articles of prime necessity, to the extent of our domestic consumption, would bring from six to eight hundred thousand people into productive employments, and open a market that would consume millions of American produce annually, more than is now consumed, reckoning the articles to be manufactured, and the food required for sustenance. But do we mean to create mouths to eat? is the question frequently put. No—but we propose to transfer the labor of a portion of the population from an unprofitable to a profitable employment; that while they convert raw materials into articles of utility, they may consume the products of the industry of others instead of their own, and thus open a new market to agriculture. It is true, the manufacturer may consume as much when he works on the soil as when he labors in the workshop; but when he is in the latter department of industry, he is fabricating articles to meet the extraneous necessities of the farmer, and the farmer is toiling to raise commodities which he can exchange for those articles, instead of borrowing money and contracting debts with banks and sharpers, to purchase them from abroad. Instead of growing wheat to perish in his granaries, the farmer will find a market for wool, flax, hemp, and provisions of various descriptions; and new divisions of agricultural labor will be embraced. It seems incomprehensible, how a policy grounded on such a basis as this, should be denounced and opposed by any class of citizens.

Suppose the number to be 700,000, and that we should employ this population in manufacturing for the country at the rate of \$3 each person per week—this would be paying to our own people, instead of paying to foreigners \$2,100,000 per week, or 109,200,000 annually, besides opening a home market for our raw produce, and invigorating every other branch of industry. Put it at one half of the sum, and we should pay \$50,000,000 to a portion of American population now idle and unproductive, instead of paying the same amount to sustain the paupers of Great Britain.

who take a liberal and comprehensive view of our national welfare.

But we are told, that if the tariff is raised, the high price of labor, and the extent of soil in the United States, will long prevent us from successfully embarking in manufactures—even for our own consumption. While the avails of our agriculture fed a great portion of Europe, agricultural as well as all other labor was high, because it was productive; but it would be a strange perversion of facts to say that labor is now high in this country, when it is well known that thousands and hundreds of thousands have no steady employment; that thousands would be glad to work for their food; and when the cultivation of the soil opens no road to wealth, for want of markets. The United States at this moment has a capacity for as much effective labor as Great-Britain, speaking distinctly from the application of labor-saving machinery.—When we reflect on the cheapness with which we can furnish the raw material, and the abundance and low rate of subsistence; the superior skill, assiduity and enterprise that mark every industrious pursuit; our coal mines, and more particularly, our water privileges for mechanism; we cannot rationally doubt our ability to compete with foreign manufactures, under the parental protection of the government. The cry for bread will never generate insurrections, while the tendency of free laws, and the operation of our social system, will enable one American citizen to accomplish more than five English paupers. Another fact is to be here recollected. Most of our own manufactures possess a superiority, in their substantial qualities, over those vended to us from abroad;—and so visible is the difference, that during the last season, American cottons have been consumed in the Canadas to no inconsiderable extent, although the nominal price of British cottons has been much below them, and they are subject to a duty of ten per cent.—In some articles we have already driven foreign manufactures from us;—for instance, those of hats and leather; and we need nothing but protection, until manufactures requiring extensive capital and machinery are in full operation; and our markets are placed under our own command, to extend the same success to the manufacture of cotton, woollen, iron, glass, flax, hemp, and other branches of industry. But it is very singular, that among other things, the high rate of agricultural labor has never been glanced at by the opposers of the tariff. If labor is so much cheaper in Europe than it is in the United States, and that is a sufficient reason for obtaining our goods from them, why is it not better also to import our food? According to the doctrine of our opponents, it would be; and we might bring wheat, salted provisions, bread-stuffs, and every thing of the kind, into the United States to great advantage; but in what shall we pay? is the question: and it certainly applies with great force, but not with more in this case, than it does to the purchase and consumption of foreign fabrics, that we make at home.

(To be continued.)

BY AUTHORITY.

An act to alter the time of holding the District Court in the District of Mississippi.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the District Court, in the District of Mississippi, heretofore holden on the first Mondays in May and December, shall hereafter hold its regular terms only on the first Monday in January and July; any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That every writ, process, subpoena, or recognition, returnable, according to law, or the tenor thereof, to either of the aforesaid terms, holden on the first Mondays in December, shall be returnable to the next succeeding term of said Court, to be holden on the first Monday in January and July.

Approved—Jan. 11, 1820.

An act making a partial appropriation for the military service of the United States, for the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums be, and they are hereby, appropriated, on account of the Military Service for the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, to wit:

For the subsistence of the army of the United States, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

For arrearages on the settlement of outstanding claims, twenty thousand dollars.

For the quarter master's department, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the said sums be paid out of any moneys in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated.

Approved—January 17, 1821.

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Of every description neatly executed at this Office.