



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

ADDRESS ON NATIONAL INDUSTRY, (Continued.)

The assertion that wages are too high to permit us to manufacture the necessities of life, assumes a new aspect, as we extend its application. Let us suppose that the crop of cotton in 1819, in the United States, was 360,000 bags. This quantity, if sold abroad, at 16 cents per pound, and allowing 2 cents per lb for freight, would have produced about \$19,000,000 to the country. Let it be admitted, that this crop was manufactured in England, and exported from thence to the United States in its manufactured state; at a fair wholesale price in our markets, it would be worth more than 100,000,000 dollars. Here the value of the raw material would be enhanced say 81,000,000 dollars.—The value, of course, includes the high price of American labor in raising the cotton. But in what is this 100,000,000 dollars worth of manufactured goods to be paid? The opposers of the tariff say, in the agricultural products of the country, and, of course, in American labor. What is the deduction? Why, that one year's product in cotton, when exported to Great Britain and converted into commodities by British labor, cheap as it is, and delivered in the United States, ready for consumption, will cost more than five years' labor of the same people who produced the original crop, extravagant as the standard of American wages may be.—Now suppose, that, instead of sending this 360,000 bags of cotton to England to be manufactured, it had been sent to the middle and eastern States, and there converted to useful commodities? Would not more than 80,000,000 dollars have been saved to the country? It is, indeed, most extraordinary that the profits of manufacturing industry are so erroneously estimated on this side of the Atlantic. Mr. Colquhoun, in his work on the Wealth, Power and Resources of the British Empire, estimates the annual profits of that country, in the manufacture of cotton, wool, linen & leather alone, to be dollars 270,000,000; and the aggregate annual profits of all their manufactures, in which three millions of people only are employed, at 507,688,883 dollars. One solution of our mistake is, that we forget the almost incalculable productiveness of labor-saving machinery, which can be applied but to a small extent in agriculture, but to an astonishing latitude in manufactures. A war is waged against the only branch of industry in which this great discovery can be extensively and successfully applied. According to the calculation of Mr. Owen, the superintendent of an extensive manufacturing establishment in Scotland, the manual labor of G. Britain, in 1817, was equal to that of 6,000,000 of men, while her manual labor and labor-saving machinery united were equal to 217,250,000—or, in other words, 6,000,000 laborers can, with machinery, do the work of 217,250,000 without machinery. Labor-saving machinery can be applied with as much ease in the United States as in England, and even with less expense, and the phantom of high wages may thus be driven from our affrighted economists.

But let us admit that wages are high in the U. States. If we should pay 50,000,000 dollars annually to the manufacturers of cotton, wool, glass, iron, paper, hemp, flax, and other articles, in our own country, and their employments were lucrative, who would be the gainers? The American nation. If paid to France, Spain, England, or Russia, those nations would be the gainers. If manufacturing labor is high in the United States, agricultural labor is also high, and they will balance each other. Internal exchanges will correct themselves, and wherever the profit falls, it ultimately falls to the increase of national wealth. The great object is, to husband and command our own resources, and not waste them to hire foreign artificers to feed, clothe, or defend us. This an effectual tariff will accomplish.

Far be it from the friends of national industry to wish to plunge the government into financial embarrassments. The prejudicial tendency of the proposed tariff, as respects the revenue, could easily be obviated. Our importations of cotton, woolen, iron, glass, and other protected manufactures, would, of course, be diminished, and the revenue affected. This decrease, would, in some degree, be supplied by the augmentation of duties on these very commodities. Thus, if we imported less of iron, glass, & cotton goods, yet, as the duty would be advanced, the loss would be much less than might be imagined. But we would go further. It is universally granted, by sound political economists, that the most wholesome tax is that imposed on the luxuries of a people. This principle could now be applied in this country. The duty on wines, brandies, gin, malt liquors, spices, European silks, China silks, worsted goods, linen

fabrics, crockery and china-ware, hardware, and plated ware, could be increased to an extent more than sufficient to meet the deficit produced by restraining the importation of cottons, woollens, iron, glass, paper, lead, hemp, flax, and other manufactures, for which we have an abundance of the raw material, and yet the consumption of the former articles be not materially lessened: for it is a truth perfectly evident, that by augmenting our general ability to consume, the present demand for them could not only be sustained, but even extended. The expedient is fair, plain—and would be effectual, and surely ought not to be rejected when the lasting prosperity of the nation is at stake.

From the tariff we pass to the second consideration, the cash payments.

On this subject, it is natural that much prejudice and much contrariety of opinion should exist. When a portion of any community have their habits moulded to a particular manner of collecting revenue, and neither its advantages nor disadvantages come before the eyes of the great mass of the nation, changes, however rational and necessary, will excite some apprehensions. This is the precise case before us.

The system of custom-house credits, as it now operates in the United States, extends a bounty to foreign capitalists, who monopolize the sale of foreign goods in the American market. A British merchant may export one hundred thousand dollars, in British manufactures, to this country: on arriving here, they are entered at the custom-house, bonds given for the payment of the duties with a long term of credit. By means of our sales at auction, these goods, however defective in point of quality, are forced upon the people, and sold off for cash. The avails of the cargo can be sent to England, and a second, third, and fourth cargo, sent out to this country, before the whole amount contained in the custom-house bonds, for the first cargo, is paid. The current expenses of the shipping manufacturer, or foreign merchant, who thus exports cargoes to the United States, are nothing to be compared with those of the American importer. The former pays a commission on the goods sold by the auctioneers, and that, with other incidental charges, may amount to five or six per cent.; while the importer of this country must keep up a regular mercantile establishment, pay his store rent, his clerk hire, taxes, sustain the expenditures of his family, perform civil and military duties, and defray other heavy disbursements. The foreign importer and the foreign agent, perfectly understand the means of controlling the markets of this country, & have had this knowledge for many years. The fluctuations of demand are always known, and shipments are made accordingly.

The disadvantages resulting to the United States from the toleration of this state of things, are numerous and striking. The employment and circulation of American capital are prevented, & our wealth is drawn away. The home market is destroyed, and the foreign market, for our products, in no degree benefited. For, while money and stock can be received in return for British goods, reciprocity of commercial exchange will be discarded, and necessity alone govern the consumption of American produce. While vast quantities of foreign fabrics thus fill the country from foreign workshops, and their introduction and sale are thus directly protected, facilitated and encouraged by the government, a fair competition can never be enjoyed by the American manufacturer or merchant. He has no chance; neither capital nor enterprise will avail him.

By abolishing the present system of custom-house credits, and resorting to cash payments, the foregoing evils will meet a remedy. Overtrading and wild and disastrous speculation will be greatly corrected, and a healthy and regular state of things ensue. American capital, skill, and enterprise, will be placed on a basis that is fair and equal. Suits on custom-house bonds, which now include an amount of between three and four millions, will be obviated, and the government be enabled to know the extent, and have the immediate use, of its pecuniary resources, free from loss and disappointment.

The most plausible objection brought against the adoption of cash payments, is the assertion, that they would have a tendency to destroy small, and benefit large, capitalists. This objection is more specious than valid. What is now the course pursued by the slender capitalist? If he makes importations of foreign goods, he must give bonds at the custom-house, for the payment of the duties. Sound and responsible sureties are required. The object in giving bonds, is the enjoyment of credit. Why then will not good sureties at the custom-house be good endorsers at the banks? Notwithstanding the manner in which the interests of the government are guarded when it assumes the capacity and relations of a creditor, the extended credit at the custom-house, and the liability of failure in the concerns of small capitalists, render the character of a surety highly responsible in this case, and probably more so, than endorsements at bank. In the present state of this country, no difficulty occurs in obtaining libe-

ral discounts at the banks, and they can always be had by importers, when they are deserved. There is more money in the nation than can find employment.—The advantages which must result to the community from bringing a large banking capital into circulation, are of no considerable import. The effect of the credits at the custom-house in causing extended and ruinous credits, in all the minor transactions of business, is worthy of attentive consideration. Not only merchants, but the farmers and the consumers of goods generally, have suffered much from this credit system.

We now come to our last clause, the proposed duties on Sales at Auction.

The present auction system is the counterpart of custom-house credits; but its friends are far less numerous. Among all the violent opposers of a new tariff and a resort to cash payments, none have stood forth to vindicate the monopoly of the auctioneers. On the contrary, they are compelled to allow, that it prostrates American industry, and carries ruin equally to the doors of the regular merchant, the trader, the manufacturer, and the consumer. We shall here glance at some of its manifold evils.

It has been estimated, and we believe the calculation is within bounds, that foreign manufactures, to the amount of 50,000,000 dollars, have been annually sold in the United States, at auction. It has also been estimated, the sales in the city of New-York being data, that three-fourths of this immense aggregate belong to foreigners. If we suppose that the foreign goods consumed annually, in the United States, have amounted to 60,000,000 dollars, we can easily calculate the extent of the auction monopoly, and the degree in which foreigners displace the employment of American capital, and control the supplying of our markets. Four-fifths of the primary sales, in some of our principal commercial cities, are now effected by the auctioneers. Goods of inferior quality, manufactured abroad, for the auction markets of this country, and the remnants of large stocks, are sent here, sometimes, merely for the sake of the drawbacks and bounties on exportation, and sold for cash. Every thing is reduced to system, and the practice of bidding up the articles on sale, is well understood by the owners and vendors. So long have the people been accustomed to resort to auctions—such an allurement do they hold out to gambling and speculating propensities—such a stable command of the markets have they obtained—that, with all their pernicious effects, they will still flourish amid the general ruin which they create. It is apparent, that they cause continual fluctuations in trade, baffle the calculations of the most discreet and discerning, prevent any settled value to property, encourage fraudulent contracts, operate frequently to the great detriment of honest creditors, when debtors choose to rid themselves of their effects, and realize the avails in the most rapid way. The loss to purchasers at auction is oftentimes immense. Goods are vendid at different prices, varying from 10 to 50 or 60 per cent. and again sold by regular traders.—Those who buy low, can afford to sell low, while the purchaser who obtains his merchandize at an extravagant rate must see himself undersold, and his commodities remaining upon his hands.

While these things exist, and the manufacturers and shippers of foreign nations can thus send \$30,000,000 or \$40,000,000 of their merchandize, annually, to the United States, and have a long credit at the custom-house on the duties; while, without paying rent, taxes, or clerk hire, they can place this merchandize in the hands of the auctioneers, and carry away every thing like convertible capital; while their advantages are worth from 10 to 15 per cent. over those of the American citizen—can we expect to flourish? Do we wonder that domestic manufactures are prostrated and nearly excluded from our markets? Can we wonder that national industry is unproductive, and its prospects so gloomy and cheerless?

But what is the remedy? Let such a tax on sales at auction be imposed, as will place American industry, capital, and enterprise on fair and equal terms with the industry, capital, & enterprise of foreigners frequenting our markets. This seems to be the only practicable method of doing away monopoly, and relieving the country from the gross evils which are now suffered from this source. We have said, that by means of the auction system, the advantages enjoyed by foreigners over ourselves are equal to from 10 to 15 per cent. and they are often more. A duty, then, graduated by the advantages, would but open a theatre of fair competition, and the vital interests of the American community require it.

The friends of national industry, in closing this examination of the three foregoing measures, which they ardently hope may engage the favorable attention of the general government, will here advert to another result which will flow from the adoption of their views—the promotion of INLAND TRADE.

No country on the face of the globe is so well calculated to sustain an extensive and profitable inland trade as the United States; and yet it has been left to struggle with the obstacles of nature as well as

those of an adverse policy. When the navigation of our great rivers is improved to the extent which they will easily admit; when canals are opened, roads constructed, and domestic manufactures duly encouraged, this country will present a new and unparalleled spectacle of national prosperity. Different climates, different habits, different soils, different agricultural and manufacturing pursuits, directly conspire to favor internal commerce.—Whatever may be thought of the doctrines of Adam Smith when applied in *extenso* to the policy of nations, they may at least be considered binding on those who continually urge them, to dissuade the American government from protecting the industry of the community. We will here quote the words of this celebrated writer, upon the subject of home or inland trade. "The capital," he observes, "employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption, when this purchase is made with the produce of domestic industry, replaces too, by every such operation, two distinct capitals: but one of them only is employed in supporting domestic industry. The capital which sends British goods to Portugal, and brings back Portuguese goods to Great-Britain, replaces by every such operation only one British capital. The other is a Portuguese one. Though the returns, therefore, of the foreign trade of consumption should be as quick as those of the home trade, the capital employed in it will give but one half of the encouragement to the industry or productive labor of the country."

But the returns of the foreign trade of consumption are very seldom so quick as those of the home trade. The returns of the home trade generally come in before the end of the year, and sometimes THREE or FOUR times in the year. The returns of the foreign trade of consumption seldom come in before the end of the year, and sometimes not till after two or three years. A capital, therefore, employed in the HOME TRADE will sometimes make twelve operations, or be sent out and returned twelve times before a capital employed in the foreign trade of consumption has made one. *If the capitals are equal, therefore, one will give four and twenty times more encouragement and support to the industry of the country than the other.*

How far a nation adopts these principles of policy when she suffers foreign nations to crush her productive industry, by flooding her with foreign manufactures to the amount of 30, 40, 50, & sometimes 100,000,000 annually, without extending a market to her raw produce, is left for rational calculators to say. The products of agriculture and domestic manufactures must constitute the grand support of internal trade and exchange; and inland trade will flourish in proportion as these products are multiplied, and channels for their distribution opened.

The present deplorable state of our fiscal concerns, is too important to be forgotten in this place. The late report of the secretary of the treasury has exploded all the fine-wrought theories of speculative economists, concerning the dependence upon revenue derived from commerce. We have been told that since the institution of the government, commerce has paid \$350,000,000 into the treasury of the nation; while the fact, that, not commerce, but the consumers of foreign products and manufactures, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, have paid this sum, has been studiously kept out of sight, and no notice taken of what those consumers, the laborers, the farmers of the country, have paid in war debts, appropriations for foreign missions, for building and supporting a navy, & other heavy disbursements to protect commerce. We have again been informed, that unless we encourage importations of foreign merchandize, to the discouragement of our own industry, that our revenue will fail, and the government be driven to seek for new sources of pecuniary supply—and we have been told this too with as much solemnity as though our coffers were now full and overflowing. But do these politicians who thus oppose the highest interests of the country, pretend still to make us believe that commerce sustains the government in its annual expenditures? Do they vainly imagine that the people of the country are blind and ignorant? What does Mr. Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury, inform us?—He informs us that the net revenue of the present year will fall short of the estimates about 4,500,000 dollars, the loans authorized not being included; and, without those loans, short of the expenditures about 10,000,000 dollars. He recommends a further loan: but is it not time for the nation to protect its industry, and lay a foundation for a regular and permanent revenue, instead of annually sustaining the public expenses by an increase of public debt?

(To be concluded in our next paper.)

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December 29.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

On Thursday evening the 18th inst. the 4th annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, was held at Dr. Laurie's church in the city of Washington.

Walter Jones, Esq. informed the meeting that he had received a letter from the Hon. Bushrod Washington, President of the Society, stating his regret that a severe indisposition prevented his attending the meeting, and his undiminished confidence in the ultimate success of the Society, and his ardent wishes for the final accomplishment of its great and benevolent objects.

The Hon. Henry Clay, one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair, on the taking of which, he made a handsome and appropriate address, principally urging persevering efforts in the prosecution of the original objects of the Society, & obviating the objections which have been made against its success, from the occurrences of the past year; and justly concluding, that whilst there was much to animate the members to perseverance, there was nothing to create despondency or alarm.

The annual report of the board of managers was then read by the Secretary.

The following resolutions were moved and adopted, accompanied by very appropriate remarks from the Hon. Daniel P. Cook, the Hon. C. F. Mercer, Walter Jones, Esq. and Francis S. Key, Esq.—setting forth the great advantages which the measures of the Society promised to this country and to Africa; particularly its importance in aiding the friends of humanity in putting an end to the slave trade.

The highest encomium was made by several of the speakers, on the conduct of the officers and crews of our navy, employed on that service, in suppressing the slave trade, for that humanity and kindness which have so often distinguished our navy officers, in the attention, kindness, and liberality, which they had shown to our suffering settlers.

On motion of the hon. Daniel P. Cook, Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be given to the Board of Managers, for the zeal and ability with which they have conducted the concerns of the Society; and the report now read be received and adopted; and that it be published under the direction of the Board.

Resolved, That while the Society laments the calamities which have befallen it during the past year, it does not despair of that success, the hope of which led to its organization, and which from its moral and political importance, is so desirable.

On motion of the hon. Charles F. Mercer, Resolved, that, with mournful regret for their untimely death, the Society entertain a high respect for the memory of the Rev. Samuel Bacon, and J. P. Bankson, agents of the United States, and of Samuel A. Crozer, agent of the Society.

On motion of Walter Jones, Esq. Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be given to Capt. Edward Trenchard and Capt. Alexander S. Wadsworth, and to the officers and crews of the U. S. armed ships Cyane and John Adams, for the aid, advice, and succor, which they have given to the agents and people sent to form a settlement on the west coast of Africa.

On motion of the Rev. William Hawley, Resolved, that the thanks of the Society be presented to Capt. Randall, of Cape Shilling, for his hospitality in receiving into his house the late Rev. Saml. Bacon, and his kind attention to him during his sickness and death.

On motion by Dr. Smith, Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be given to the Auxiliary Societies, for the continuance of their support in aiding the funds of the Society.

On motion of the hon. Chs. F. Mercer, Resolved, That the Officers of the Society appointed at the last annual meeting, be continued during the ensuing year. The Society then adjourned.

MRS. LUCAS
RESPECTFULLY makes known that she is prepared to instruct Female Pupils of the Academy, and other young Ladies, on the PIANO FORTE, the ensuing year. Lessons on a well-tuned, and in every respect, suitable instrument, will be given at her residence, and every facility in her power, for the acquisition of this ornamental branch of Female education, will be afforded to those who may think proper to confide in her.
Her terms will be 10 dollars per quarter.
Raleigh, Jan. 1.

BLANKS
Of every description may be had at this Office, And Printing in general done on the shortest notice.

* People employed in agricultural pursuits in England, 5,300,000, annual products, 216,317,620/ In Manufactures, 3,000,000, annual profits, after deducting the raw materials, 114,230,000/ Or \$507,688,883 88