



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

MANUFACTURES, NO. II.

FOR THE REGISTER.

Messrs. Editors.—The propriety, and even necessity, of employing extraordinary means for promoting the establishment of manufactures in the United States, arise from the following considerations:

1st. Our State having been originally colonial, and nearly altogether agricultural; and not having been changed completely, either by the course of ordinary enterprise or the policy of our government.

2d. Because, under such circumstances, we labor under all the disadvantages of the everlasting changes which occur in the commercial world; are fettered by our state so that we become the sport of foreign nations at their pleasure; and can never make an independent stand without throwing our whole community into a state of embarrassment.

3d. Because no calculations can be made with certainty upon our own resources for supporting our revenue in case of a collision with foreign nations; as our own resources are not made available to all the purposes of domestic supply; and consequently of furnishing revenue by their circulation, independently of external means.

4th. Because manufacturing requires regular habits of instruction, practice and experience, to render them useful in the manner in which they are at present used amongst civilized nations; and therefore a greater exertion is necessary to stimulate the efforts of the citizens in their production, than is requisite for the pursuit of agriculture or commerce.

It requires no argument to prove the facts of our original condition. When we felt the oppressions of the parent country, in imposing upon us more burdens than we could bear, not directly, (for we were more free than we are at present, in respect to mere taxation,) but in the regulation and restraint of our commerce and manufactures. And when we had thrown off the galling yoke of colonial servitude, we were flattered with the hope, that, having the full disposal of our resources, we could render ourselves as prosperous as those overflowing resources promised. But, after our independence was acknowledged, we had to conflict with our peculiar circumstances. Destitute of manufacturing establishments, we made some feeble efforts to raise them, and the public voice was loudly expressed in their favor. Our commerce was opened through new channels, and soon our condition was improved. This satisfied us. We left our prosperity to its fate. Manufactures were fostered by patriotism for a short time; but receiving no strong stimulus from the resources of our government, the exertions which were made by British agents, and factors soon overcame them. Meanwhile, fortuitous circumstances, particularly those growing out of the French revolution, gave momentary energy to our commerce, and sustained our agriculture, by which means the necessity of manufactures was done away. Prudence and sound policy would have dictated more regard for our manufactures, from a fair calculation of events; but the present was suffered to be estimated as a proof of the future, and the confidence of its never changing begat an opposition to the voice of patriotism. The cry was vociferated, "Support commerce, the promoter of agriculture, and let trade in other respects regulate itself." And why not let commerce and agriculture regulate themselves? If we look at the course of our policy, we shall find that much has been done for commerce. Agriculture has always been our element without farther assistance; for it was the common drudgery of our infant state. This deficient state of national improvement has continued to the present day.

This we find, in proceeding to our second point, that we stand upon the basis of our commercial prosperity, and are called upon seriously to consider its effects. Have we, as a nation, formed a just estimate of the value and use of commerce? Or have we not yielded up thereto those pillars and foundations of national prosperity, strength and independence, which are found in the variety, abundance and circulation of our natural and agricultural productions? The very circumstance that we have not yet emerged from our colonial state by becoming our own manufacturers, at least of necessary articles of clothing and domestic use, is self-evident proof that the resources for procuring them can only be derived from commerce. If we buy from abroad, we must sell abroad; and if we cannot sell enough to those from whom we buy, we must get the deficiency somewhere else. Thus commerce must be extended through innumerable channels, to answer the purpose of necessary supply. A very superficial examination will prove, that where we get our necessary supplies, we are not permitted to carry our products with that freedom which our government permits in the importation of those supplies. We rely then upon the wider range of enterprise and hazard, where commercial and political cupidities have not barred our course, or upon those openings which the revolutions and convulsions of modern times have, for the moment, placed before us. Here we find that

much of our profitable resource is procured in ranging, with immense labor and risk, the wide Pacific; in supplying the revolutionary regions of the Southern American Continent, and the unsettled state of foreign possessions in the West-Indies. Every change in the state of those countries, every thing like a return to national order, under whatever government, changes our prospects of commercial gain. Does a Spanish colony revolt, become the seat of contending parties, they require the means of sustenance, and we fly to drain their resources. Do they become impoverished, we lose our profits. Do they settle down in the tranquil pursuit of their occupations, they need not our products.—Do they return to their subjection, or change foreign masters, whose policy is to restrain the commercial communication of other nations, this resource is cut off. As, for instance, since the distraction of Spanish affairs, the island of Cuba has furnished us a fruitful harvest; but the mere rumor of the cessation of that island to Great-Britain, presents this result, that hereafter we must expect to reap less advantages from our commerce there. The view of this fact makes us tremblingly alive to the event; and even some of our politicians talk of war rather than sufferance under it, as though we could, upon any lawful principles, make it cause of war. Every new ordinance of foreign government, affecting commerce, operates a new scene in our own commercial pursuits; and yet, this is the prevailing medium of our efficient resources in a very considerable degree!

I am far from decriing commerce, when placed in its proper sphere. But my objection is to its being made the chief regulator of national, and consequently individual prosperity. While we continue to render ourselves dependent upon commerce for our necessary supplies, we cannot meet foreign nations upon equal ground, and vary its operations without embarrassment. Our produce loses its value when the demand is checked. Our credit fails when we have not the means of remittance. Our internal trade is disordered, and our currency depressed; because the channels of internal trade are made dependent upon foreign commerce.—Thus we have not the free control of our affairs; and whenever a powerful foreign nation finds her interest in embarrassing us, she is apt to do so. Or whenever the angry passions, or conflicting designs of their rulers, render the prosperity or peace of mankind of inferior importance to their own misrule, and they find that they can stab their enemy by forcing us out of their course, they will not hesitate to do so. Hence we see the effects of the British orders in council, and of the French decrees of Milan and Berlin. A Guelph and a Bonaparte alike made us the sport of their malignity; and that without our being able to make a prompt and effectual resistance. We were not following commerce for the mere advantage and convenience of commerce, but for subsistence. Our agriculture depended upon it; it was the means of covering our nakedness! Such will ever be our state as long as we decline taking the efficient means which are requisite, in our peculiar situation, for throwing a preponderating balance of national and patriotic stimulus into the scale of manufactures.

On the third point, I have to observe, that the collection of revenue, without oppression, depends on two circumstances: first, that the source from whence it is derived affords the quantity required by its ordinary circulation; 2dly, that the revenue has either a direct or indirect tendency to return to the source from whence it is derived. Unless revenue be collected in time, it must be obtained from a source that by circulation in trade affords a sufficient quantity of money, over and above what the necessities of those who furnish it, to spare the amount of the revenue. Hence, when a government resorts to direct taxation, it never can collect, without greater oppression, as much revenue as one that seeks out the circulation of resources, and draws from the most easy channels, the revenue required. For instance—suppose three farmers, of equal circumstances in all respects, are taxed each ten dollars: One of them, from various causes, has a redundancy of products, which, in the exchange, yield a large sum of money: Another has only what is barely sufficient for his present supply; while the third is greatly deficient in such supply. The difference in the effect of this equal tax is easily conceived. But if the whole thirty dollars is levied upon the circulation of their products in exchange (by means of money) it all comes from the redundancy; and the oppression is not felt. Such has been the policy of British statesmen, who, by their superior intelligence in financing, have raised as much revenue as a tenfold portion of Europe besides, without more oppression.—Direct taxation is scarcely known in the British dominions; and although oppression has followed the steps of her revenue collectors, it arose from the enormous quantity of revenue collected; not from the mode of taxation. In this last particular we may learn a lesson of wisdom, while from the other we should be deterred by her evil example.

It follows then, that where there may be great national resources of agricultural or mineral productions, if they do not yield superabundant means of revenue by their circulation, or if they must necessarily be expended for the products of art, equally necessary by use, oppression will be felt when resort is had to these sources of revenue.—And, in an agricultural country, which depends on foreign nations for the supplies separate from its own pursuit, its commerce can yield no more than the profits of a precarious adventure. The means of revenue are thus limited and uncertain. It cannot take even a step in its own defence, without great risk; and peace is the only state in

which it can provide for its national expenditure; because, as well the common wants of the people must be supplied from abroad, as the very expenditures of the government prevent the revenue from returning to its original source.

In a nation, possessing the resources necessary in some degree or other, to supply all its own necessary wants; composed, in a necessary measure, of agriculturists and artisans, the wants of each, and of each other, are supplied by mutual trade; and all the means of circulation being in view of the government, without the control of foreign dominion; and this circulation affording all the objects on which the government itself expends its revenue, the very revenue itself promotes the circulation, by which it is supported. Hence the amount of revenue may rather be increased than diminished in a state of war. In that state, wise statesmen will see the mode of turning the circulation to its own support without annoying the people; while, if some means of wealth receive a check from the state of war, the additional action of governmental operations will often supply the defects.

This reasoning has been amply elucidated by the example of Great-Britain. She felt less the oppressions of her monstrous government in time of war than on the return of peace. Because her excessive follies and desperate extravagance had created wants beyond the ordinary capability of the people; but these wants gave the stimulus to exertions beyond her ordinary strength.—She is no example in her political career; but she is a great example in the management of her national resources. She is indeed placed by her despotism in similar circumstances with ourselves; but the causes are at antipodes. She has wared war for the promotion of despotism, till her expenditure has outstripped the power of her own resources of agriculture and art, so far, that domination and monopoly are necessary to support her corrupt and outrageous system of government. We have neglected our resources and true policy so far, that wild adventure is deemed the only mode of keeping alive our political edifice. For her to emerge from the gulph of ruin, she ought to adopt our political principles. To emerge from our imbecile dependence, we ought to adopt, in its main practical features, (laying aside her system of monopoly) her plans of political economy. She, a small country, has risen to superlative greatness by wise plans.—We, a superabounding and extensive country, languish by our neglect. A well-balanced stimulus has raised her to an elevated pinnacle of towering despotism. We require to be stimulated by the same means to the strength and energy of a just, solid and peaceable republic. Stimulus has been used to the production of disease and madness with her. We require stimulus to give us the health and strength of manhood.

Nothing can be more absurd, in deciding upon measures of political economy, than the cry of "let trade regulate itself," in application to the promotion of manufactures, under our peculiar circumstances. Not only the force of habit is opposed to their promotion, but the ignorance of their fabrication. As well might we say, that because a child will learn to talk and call the names of things by hearing and seeing, that therefore he will learn to read, construe, and demonstrate problems in science, without instruction.—Instruction in manufactures is absolutely necessary to their knowledge. Practice, too, is equally necessary to facility, the means of competition. Experience in both can alone lead to the perfection necessary to make them acceptable.

How then can this instruction, practice and experience be pursued without affording some superior inducements to make sacrifices required for their attainment? Don't we, in all the necessary callings of civilized life offer superior inducements where unusual qualifications are necessary? If there are no competent schoolmasters in our neighborhoods, don't we combine and offer inducements of pecuniary advancements and guarantees for their introduction? The answer is found in the known fact. If then, as a nation, we would introduce and promote manufactures, we must offer both advancements and guarantees. If we are averse to monopolies, by the location of manufactures in particular places, we must, in our own individual and local stations, exert our patriotic zeal to disseminate and encourage their general operation.

The clamor about monopolies, where there is no exclusive grant, is absurd. Greater zeal and greater industry, will give to their exertions greater success; and if a Yankee is more industrious, and better supported by the patriotism of his countrymen, than a buckskin of the South, he stands a better chance of success; but the fault is our's, and we must lose the benefits of the enterprise. But in the question of national policy, while this is a wicked, it is also a foolish argument against manufactures. It is wicked, because it can only be founded on a miserable jealousy; since, if the Yankee becomes our manufacturer, instead of the Briton, we shall lose nothing, although the Yankee will gain. It is foolish in the extreme, because the nearer the approach of manufacturing establishments to us, and the more easily will our Southerners imitate them; and the more certainly, because there are no laws here, as in Great-Britain, to prevent the removal of artisans, by which they mean to prevent us especially from acquiring instruction.—Besides, if the Yankee becomes rich, his resources are within the reach of our own government, whereby it can make him contribute more, and us less, to its support. To say that manufactures must necessarily concentrate to the North, is the fruit of pure unadulterated ignorance. Their position and circumstances may place them on the threshold of improvement, but the door being open, when once the thing is fairly brought

to our side of the way, we must be worse than drunk, not to take advantage of it.—There is no State in the Union: there is no territory which is habitable, where manufactures would not flourish, if fairly introduced, and only guarded by common measures. No section of the country is better adapted for manufacturing establishments than the upper parts of North-Carolina. At a distance from commerce, they are requisite for the well-being of the people; and ignorant indeed of the operations of trade must he, who cannot see, that if located there, the whole State would feel their effects. England, the most manufacturing country in the world, has not an equal distribution of manufacturing establishments.—The cotton trade of Lancashire is in the interior of the country. The supplies and commerce are furnished from and appertain to the sea-board. The woolen trade of Yorkshire is carried on almost exclusively, nearly forty miles (a great distance there) from the coast. The lowlands nearer the coast furnish provisions and wool.

AN INDEPENDENT CITIZEN. Warren County.

FOREIGN.

LATE FROM EUROPE.

New-York, April 7.

The March packet ship Columbia, Capt. Rogers, which arrived on Saturday, sailed from Liverpool on the 7th of the month, having been detained, from the 1st, by head winds. We understand her latest letter bag was accidentally left behind, but we have received London papers to the evening of the 4th ult. and a Liverpool of the 5th.

War had not yet commenced between France and Spain. In a late debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Canning said, "the hopes of preserving peace between those powers were materially diminished, BUT NOT DESTROYED."

It is said that France has informed the British Minister at Paris, that his further attempts to mediate between the French and Spanish governments would be unavailing. The Courier, of the 4th of March, considers the hopes of preserving peace as almost extinguished. The same paper objects that England should espouse the cause of Spain, because she would thereby recognize the principle of all the revolutionary movements which have taken place of late years on the Continent, and thereby unite against her every crowned head in Europe; because it would require the renewal of the 5,000,000 taxes just repealed, and other burthens upon the people; and because Reason, Justice, and Policy, forewarn her to avoid it.

The Courier calls the men who now govern at Madrid "a band of factious demagogues."

In France, the movement of the troops towards Spain continued. The question on the appropriation bill of 100 millions, was not yet decided in the Chambers. The debate on the subject continued stormy.

The fleet from Brest had sailed, and it was reported they were destined against Cadiz.

Disaffection has appeared among the French troops on the Spanish Frontier.

The Spanish Cortes are said to have granted letters of marque against French vessels—and 40 commissions had been taken.

The Session of the Spanish extraordinary Cortes was terminated on the 19th Feb.

LONDON, MARCH 4.

There having been no political news since Saturday, the funds have advanced 1 1/2 per cent. Consols to-day are 73 1/2. All foreign securities are steady—Spanish 30.

Dispatches arrived yesterday from Madrid, dated 22d of February. It appears that the accounts published in the French papers were exaggerated. It is true, that the removal of the King from Madrid was pressed by the Ministers; but the King refused to quit the capital, and the Ministers, in consequence, resigned. A considerable ferment then took place; and the Cortes and Palace were assailed by the people, with violent and treasonable outcries. The King became alarmed, and refused to receive the resignation of the Ministers, entreating them to remain in their stations till he could form a new government. To this they assented, and it was supposed the King would accede to their recommendations to leave Madrid.

A motion in the H. of Commons, to amend the Corn Laws, by reducing the import price of wheat to 60s per quarter, was rejected by a large majority.

It appears that Parliament has agreed to a reduction of taxes to the amount of 5,000,000. Mr. Canning has declared that this is all that can be proposed for the relief of the agricultural interest.

A public dinner was to be given at the London Tavern on the 7th March, to the Spanish and Portuguese ministers, and the Duke of San Lorenzo.

Opoto is now open to the admission of foreign grain: about 1600 tons had arrived; but such is the extent of the wants of the country, that it produced little or no impression on the markets. It is expected that Lisbon will also be opened. Barcelona has also been opened, for two months, from the 14th of February. There is no doubt but that scarcity exists in all the provinces of Spain and Portugal.

The exportation of munitions of war to Spain and her dependencies, is permitted in England. France is fitting out several squadrons for sea.

Two vessels are said to have sailed from England for Spain, with arms and ammunition.

Besides allowing arms to be exported to Spain—it is proposed in England to permit equipments for her service.

PORTSMOUTH, MARCH 1.

We hear that Lord Exmouth had offered his services to command a small squadron of observation, which is to be fitted out in case of hostilities between France and Spain. Recruiting parties have been sent out to complete the corps of marines to the number voted by the House of Commons. About 700 will be required for this purpose.

FRANCE.

In the French Chamber of Deputies, on the 26th of February, the discussion on the project of a law relative to an extraordinary credit of one hundred millions, was resumed. The debate which ensued was turbulent in the extreme, the chamber exhibiting a scene of uproar throughout the day. This was occasioned by the speech of M. Manuel, who contended that the war was unjust, and disapproved of by the nation. The ministerial members waxed warmer and warmer as M. Manuel proceeded to develop the policy which had been pursued by France in former wars, &c.

The minister interrupted him at every sentence, using such language as this: "Your assertions are atrocious; his language is directed by his hatred to the Bourbons."

M. Manuel proceeded. Foreign war would, instead of preventing the excesses of civil war, only aggravate them. If they wished to save the life of Ferdinand, he implored them not to renew the circumstances which hurried to the scaffold those whose fate inspired them with regret so intense.

Mr. Benoit—"so legitimate!"
Mr. Pardessus—"so legitimate!"
M. de la Bourdonnaye—"so legitimate!"

A voice on the right: "This is dreadful; we cannot endure such flippant language."

M. Manuel—"so legitimate!" You anticipated my intention. It was the intervention of foreigners in the Revolution, that led to the fate of Louis XVI.

M. Lemaissieux—"You are justifying regicide."
M. Forbin d'Isarras—"It is the language of the Convention."

M. Manuel—"What caused the fate of the Stuarts? It was the protection of France, which placed them in opposition with public opinion, and prevented their looking to the English nation for support. Thus I say that the moment in which the danger of the Royal Family of France had become the most serious, was after France, Revolutionary France, felt that it was necessary to defend herself by new strength, and by an energy wholly new!"

Scarcely had this inconceivable sentence been uttered, than a general movement of indignation was manifested by the entire right side, and the spectators in the tribunes. Even some members of the left evinced their disapprobation. The members of the right simultaneously rose and demanded that M. Manuel should be called to order.

M. the President—"It is impossible to tolerate such language. He has said, in an allusion to an event which all France deprecates, that the nation was bound to act with redoubled energy."

M. Demarecay, M. Fry, and M. Girardin, (successively) he did not say so.

M. Forbin d'Isarras—"You do well to deny it—you blush to avow it."

M. Hyde de Neuville—"It was clearly a sentence of horrible import."

M. Forbin d'Isarras—"It was a wish for the death of Ferdinand."

The members of the right side quitted their places, declaring that they would not again sit in a Chamber where such a man could speak his sentiments, and be the apologist of regicide.

M. Hyde de Neuville rushed to the Tribune, (M. Manuel stepped on one side.) He commenced, amidst general tumult, to reply