

heard to say, 'places its recipient under a sense of obligation which trenches upon that independent spirit that all should maintain. It breaks his pride, and he soon learns to beg and eat the bread of idleness without a blush. But employ and pay him, and he receives and enjoys, with honest pride, that which he knows he has earned, and could have received for the same amount of labour from any other employer.' It would be well for all communities if such views, on the subject of pauperism, were generally adopted and carried into practice. It is hardly necessary to state, concerning one who has done so much business, and with so great success, that his business habits and *morals* were of the highest character. The punctual performance of every engagement, in its true spirit and meaning, was, with him, a point of honour, from which no consideration of temporary or prospective advantage would induce him to depart; from which no sacrifice of money or feeling were sufficient to deter him. There was a method and arrangement in his transactions by which every thing was duly, and at the proper time attended to. Nothing was hurried from its proper place, nothing was postponed beyond its proper time. It was thus that transactions the most varied, intricate, and extensive, deeply affecting, and affected by, the general business of three adjoining states, and extending their influence to thousands of individuals, proceeded from their first inception to their final consummation, with an order, a regularity and certainty, truly admirable and instructive. The master's mind was equally present and apparent in every thing; from the imposing mass of the total to the most minute particular of its component parts."

CHAPTER IV.

MORAL INFLUENCE OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS.

“There is no artist, or man of industry, who mixeth judgment with his practice, but findeth in the travail of his labour, better and nearer courses to make perfect the beauty of his work, than were at first presented to the eye of his knowledge.”

We have already seen that manufacturing establishments exert a powerful and permanent influence in their immediate neighbourhoods, and time, if not already, will teach the lesson, that they will stamp indelible traits upon our moral and national character. Evidences abound, wherever man exists, that his character is modified by localities, by a diversity of pursuits, by a facility of acquiring a living, by the quality and fashion of the living itself, by a restrained or free exercise of his rational powers, and by restraint on the enjoyment of liberty. Different climates and different countries produce indelible peculiarities. In the same climate and in the same country similar changes appear, from the effects of immoral habits, and from what may be termed artificial or mechanical causes. The effects of immoral habits are well known to all observers of human nature.

Those pursuing different occupations are aware that these exert an influence upon character, producing moral, no less than physical, varieties. For example, butchers become hard-hearted and cruel, and in England are excluded from the jury-box ; those who are confined to a particular routine against their will, peevish and discontented ; those who are always ordered or driven, and expect to be so, exercise little control or discernment for themselves.

Manufacturing establishments become a blessing or a curse according to the facilities which they create for acquiring a living, to the necessary articles which they provide, and the general character which they produce. To set up and encourage the manufacturing of such articles, the use and demand of which produces no immoral tendency, is one of the best and most moral uses which can be made of capital. The moral manufacturer, without the power or disposition to overreach, is in reality a benefactor. The acquisition of wealth in this way, is the most laudable. In point of benevolence and real worth of character, it claims a decided advantage over the cent per cent. process of accumulation.

Some have not the requisite ability to carry on manufacturing establishments ; capital, then, with great propriety is loaned to those who have. The moral influence of a community is not promoted by creating or submitting to a manufacturing, or any other aristocracy, solely in the pursuit of interest, in which selfishness is wont to predominate.

The manufacturing interest, in a flourishing state, naturally creates power and wealth. The value of labour and the value of money are then at his disposal ; but, in this free country, there is a sufficient counteracting influence to keep up the price of labour and to equalise the prices of their commodities with the value of the products of the earth. Without such a resisting power, a few would abound in wealth and influence, while the multitude would be in poverty and reduced to servitude. But there always exists a counteracting influence in the rival establishments, and the general spirit of enterprise. On the supposition that the manufacturing interest was strictly benevolent and moral, dispensing its favours according to merit and precisely as they are needed, the community might not be losers by such a state of things. This must be always the case where a people are left free to use and purchase according to their free choice. With the common experience of mankind, it could not be expected so. Only a few look beyond their own interest ; when that is provided for, the employed who have assisted in the provision, are left to shift for themselves. Benevolence is not so general among mankind as to expect it uniformly. But in the progress of manufactures among us, every department becomes interested in its prosperity, the operatives receive a greater emolument for their services than in any other part of the world, whilst capital receives but a small interest, compared with other branches of industry. With such a power established merely by selfishness, morality is promoted so far and no further, than interest ; but the promotion of morals becomes their interest. And if religion appears something in name or in sectarianism, more than in reality, still its promotion is for the interest of the whole community. It is said, on the presumption that the capitalists are aiming at their personal wealth, the facility for acquiring a fair compensation becomes less and less at every pressure. A rise of wages is then adapted to convenience or pleasure. But it must be remembered, that the pressure bears as heavy on the employer as the employed, and renders him liable to lose all the earnings of many years of labour, and the savings of much self-denial, and render him poor and dependent. There are two sides to this question, and the operatives in good times ought

to lay up for time of need. Then they would not be obliged to bring their labour into market the best way they can, to obtain their daily bread. To take advantage of such a position, is one of the greatest immoralities. The liability of its consequences are as bad in creating discord and producing civil commotions. But the owners of factories are not known to stop their mills till obliged by dire necessity : they generally run them till they become bankrupt. The real power belongs to the labouring class ; no one ought to expect to employ this without paying for it, and no one does expect it. It is power when rightly used, and most often ceases to be so when abused. Those who are so thoughtless, negligent, or squandering, as to trust wholly to the present occasion for a bare subsistence, can hardly be thought powerful compared with what they would be did not necessity compel them to take what they can get for the present occasion. It is a mistaken notion to suppose the manufacturing interest promoted by creating poverty, or, in the end, by heavy reduction of wages. The articles manufactured very soon sink in like proportion, and the profits are swallowed up in the payment of the operative. Besides these consequences, the ability to purchase does not exist, a consideration which more or less affects the value of every article brought into market.

Our day has witnessed the surprising effects of the ingenuity of man, in calling into existence and putting in operation labour-saving machinery. If it would be, in reality, promoting human existence and human happiness in our present character and condition, that our food should come to us ready made, our habitations ready built, our conveyances already in motion, and our understandings already improved—the nearer we approach such a state of things the better.

But if not—if the desires and pursuits of objects be no less blessings than their possessions—if human nature be bettered, and the grand object of existence benefited by employment—there must be a point beyond which to obtain food and clothing and other things, without application, would be objectionable. To be moral and desirable, labour-saving machinery must bring along with it some particular benefit to the community, as well as to individuals.

This may be such as more than compensates for the many losses which are sustained in some countries, in consequence of the improvement. When it was proposed to introduce printing into the Prussian dominions, the king objected by saying: it would throw forty thousand amanuenses out of employment. After printing went into operation, to ameliorate the condition of those

who were thrown out of employment, the Prussian government made a law that the initial letters should be omitted by the printers, in order that they might be executed by the amanuensis at a high compensation. That they performed these letters with great ingenuity, and in a manner difficult to be imitated, may be seen from a copy of a bible now in possession of the antiquarian society at Worcester, Mass. It must have been a calamity for so many to be thrown from their pursuits, and be deprived of the means of getting a livelihood. The benefit resulting from the introduction compensated for this loss, more than ten-fold. This is one, among many instances of human invention, which wonderfully adds to the dignity and happiness of mankind.

The first introduction of Hargreaves' and of Arkwright's machinery into England, was not only met with objections, but with popular vengeance. It threatened a speedy destruction to every jenny and water-frame in England, and so in appearance carried in its motions frightful evils. The anticipated evils actually happened; hand spinning met with a speedy overthrow, and those who had earned a few pence per day in following it, were compelled to resort to other employments, and perhaps to be employed in manufacturing on the new plan which they had laboured to oppose.

Similar feelings and similar consequences have happened and are still happening in America. Manufacturing, instead of going on quietly and single-handed in private families, with immense labour, grows into large establishments, which employ and bring into association, masses of population.

This position is moral or immoral according as it furnishes proper stimulants for industry and for exertion, and for improving and directing the mental powers and principles. With little or no inducements or expectation of emerging from a state of ignorance, with no schools, no moral or religious instruction, the liability is great for an introduction of all the evils which the opposers of manufacturing establishments have often predicted.

It is well known that vice grows worse by contact with its kind. If it can be proved that manufacturing establishments tend to accumulate, consolidate, and perpetuate, vicious propensities, and their consequences, on the community, this will serve as no inconsiderable drawback upon the apparent prosperity which is indicated in their immediate vicinity. If found so, the condition must be charged directly to the establishments or to their consequences and abuses. It is evidently an abuse to collect a mass of vicious population, and keep them in a state of ignorance and

irreligion. When this is done, the whole community have a right to complain. If it can be shown that such things are frequently done—it is contended that they are not necessary consequences of manufacturing establishments. The owners of such establishments have it in their power to change the current of vice from its filthy and offensive channel, and make peace, order, and comfort among those they employ.

The dependence between the employed and employers should be mutual. But by employing vicious, improvident, and indigent characters, the dependence falls mostly on one side—yet it is a benefit to the community that such a class should find employment and support. Though in some countries, oppression ensues, poverty and vice show their dismal and disorderly features, and then the honest, upright, and intelligent, are driven from the establishment, and perhaps from the employment; better things can be spoken of this country, where the honest, upright, and intelligent, have always a preference. Such are leaving the old world, they are disappearing, and many of them are in the west, engaged in other employments. Pursuing such a policy, by and by, only the dregs are left, and then without looking for the causes, it appears that factories have been the immediate cause of all the mischief. On a candid enquiry, it is seen to be the abuse, and therefore not chargeable to a proper use.

Slater, the founder of the cotton manufacture in America, abundantly demonstrated, that under right management, they had no immoral tendency. On the contrary, he made it appear, that they might be serviceable to the most moral purposes. Following the plan instituted by Arkwright & Strutt in England, taking the oversight of the instruction and morals of those he employed, and instituting and keeping up sabbath schools, he successfully combated the natural tendency of accumulating vice, ignorance and poverty. Such remedies not only prevented their occurrence, but had a tendency to remove them, when they actually existed.

Industry, directed by honest and intelligent views in moral pursuits, and honourably rewarded, holds a very high rank among moral causes. To maintain good order and sound government, it is more efficient than the sword or bayonet. At the anniversary dinner of the public schools in Boston, the following toast was given by Edward Everett—"Education—A better safeguard for liberty, than a standing army. If we retrench the wages of the schoolmaster, we must raise the wages of the recruiting sergeant." So far as manufacturing establishments have promoted industry, and furnished means for an honest livelihood, thus far they have

exerted a salutary influence on the character of those who have been employed. Multitudes of women and children have been kept out of vice, simply by being employed, and instead of being destitute, provided with an abundance for a comfortable subsistence.

Those who are furnished with an opportunity, and are trained up to lay by in store—moderate and regular returning means, to be used at some future day—are invariably superior in point of character to those who have not. It is not so when means flow excessive and irregular. Many a youth has been ruined by beginning with large wages, and having in prospect plenty of money.

It is believed that there may be found more young men and women, who have laid up a few hundred dollars, or even a few thousands, by being employed in manufacturing establishments, than among those who have followed other employments.

On the score of employment, manufacturing establishments have done much to support the best interests of society. It appears also, at the present time, that they have done so by their improvements. On the supposition that one or a few individuals, by the invention of labour-saving machinery, succeed, so as to furnish any particular article much cheaper than it could be done in the ordinary way, in this country where it deprives no one of a living, and goes to forward and hasten the general improvement, it cannot fail to be a benefit to the community. The diminution of price in the articles has been such, that the people have been doubly paid for all the protection granted; and commerce has been benefited by the opening of a foreign market. The failures and fluctuations in the manufacturing establishments have arisen from their weak and incipient state, and the competition of European fabrics. This cause appears greater than want of management and calculation, for the same men have alternately succeeded and failed on the same ground.

Fluctuations, whatever may be the cause, and whether they relate to business, morality, or religion, exert a wide influence on individual and national character. Those to which we are here attending, give currency to monstrous species of swindling, and form a most suitable juncture for unprincipled and unfeeling knavery to grasp with an unsparing hand, while industry and honesty are thrown into the back ground, or kicked out of doors. When such occurrences happen, and the intriguer goes off rewarded and applauded, while the honest man is stripped, despised and neglected, they give a turn to the whole character of the commu-

nity. The flooding our cities with foreign importations has had this kind of tendency, and produced those evil effects.

Shrewdness and over-reaching are common events. Morality, however much respected in principle, is extremely liable to be set aside in practice. These are some of the bad tendencies of seeking out many useless inventions, and too eager a grasp after traffic and exchange of property, or what is technically called *speculation*. The acquisition and possession of property, are made the main objects of existence, whether it be needed or not. On the other hand, it will be granted, that every objection vanishes, when mechanical inventions acquire permanency, and can be subjected to the regularity of calculations. It may dignify and exalt man to triumph over the known laws of nature, and bring out the hidden treasures of air, earth, and water, in tame submission to his use. For aught we can discern, it would have no injurious effect upon his character, could he extend his journeys and researches further than this globe. One thing is certain, the more he studies and understands the works of nature and Providence, the greater will be his admiration of the display and application of wisdom and goodness. If applied as intended, the more of the resources which have been provided he brings into action, the more he adds to his true dignity and happiness.

Contrivances to favour selfish views and selfish ends are common to the animal creation. The human family are distinguished from the infinity of being, only by a greater possession and cultivation of moral and intellectual faculties. Unlike the most of the animal creation, man is left to provide for himself. Strength and powers are given him, objects are placed before him, and the strongest conceivable motives presented to use this world as not abusing it.

There must be a limit, beyond which refinement will be objectionable. When excessive it is a precursor of a relapse in civilisation.

When wealth and its appearance abound, children are most often brought up in idleness, and indulged in extravagance. Supposing labour a burden, and retrenchment the ruin of happiness, they are made liable to be overtaken by poverty, and with their last energies and ruined characters to be plunged in real misery. Individual calamities of this description, as they accumulate, become national calamities, and foment domestic dissensions. Suffering pride is all the while meditating revenge. It has nothing to lose and will endure any thing to regain what it has lost. Appearances and extravagances are prominent causes of dissention,

when a part are rioting, and a part are suffering. Distinctions of rank are introduced. Individuals and nations who have run into excesses in making and maintaining such distinctions, sooner or later, are wont to be caught in their own snares. Poverty feels the burden of degradation when the power is lost to remove it.

In the present happy condition of the manufacturing districts, there are no advantages enjoyed by the rich, that are not reciprocated with the poor. Labour was never better paid, and the labourer more respected, at any period, or in any part of the world, than it is at present among us. And that man is not a friend to the poor who endeavours to make those dissatisfied with their present condition, who cannot hope, by any possibility of circumstances, to be bettered by a change. This is emphatically *the poor man's country*.*

MORAL EFFECTS OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.

In all the efforts that have hitherto been made for the improvement of the country, by means of rail roads and canals, reference has been made to their physical advantage only. In executive recommendations, and the application for chartered companies to construct these works, the enhanced value of lands through which they pass; the importance of establishing communications between commercial cities; the facilities they afford for conveyance of produce to market; the securing the trade of distant regions, to the ports of our own states, are the principal reasons which are urged

* The philanthropist and the political philosopher will enquire, what is the physical and moral condition of the vast population employed in manufactures? The workmen who construct or attend upon all these machines are not to be confounded with the machines themselves, or their wear and tear regarded as a mere arithmetical question. They are men, reasonable, accountable men; they are citizens; they constitute no mean part of the support and strength of the state; on their intelligence and virtue, or their vices and degradation, depend in a considerable measure not only the character of the present age, but of posterity; their interests are as valuable in the eyes of the moralist as those of the classes who occupy higher stations, yet the enquiry should be, not if the manufacturing population are subject to the ills common to humanity, not if there is not much to be lamented, but what is their condition compared with others. It is the destiny of man to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow; idleness, improvidence, and dissoluteness, are found in our large cities, and are invariably the parents of wretchedness; every where, people of all ages and conditions are liable to disease and death. The principal considerations are, the command which the working classes have over the necessaries and comforts of life, their health, their intelligence, and their morals.

upon us why they should be constructed. These indeed are sufficient, if no other could be given, to justify all the expenditures already made to establish such communications, and many more, as soon as the country can bear it. But their moral effects on the community must not be lost sight of by the philanthropist. The effect of an extensive internal commerce, in as large a country as this, on morals and the arts, science and literature, as subservient to morals and religion, are too obvious and important long to escape the notice of an attentive observer. All experience proves that good morals never did, and never can exist, among an indolent people, and people who are poor in consequence of their indolence. "Idleness is the parent of many vices," says an old proverb, and none more true was ever spoken. But in districts far from convenient markets, idleness is inevitable. Never will men labour in any employment if they can avoid it, unless they can foresee some pecuniary advantages sufficient to reward them for their pains-taking. On the contrary, they are too apt, for want of due encouragement to industrious habits, to throw away their time in worse than useless idleness and dissipation. Whoever has experienced the difficulties attendant on almost all efforts for the moral advancement of a poor and scattered population, without this encouragement, and compares them with the facilities afforded by thriving towns and villages, inhabited and surrounded by an industrious and happy people, will see at once that whatever tends to improve the physical condition of man, must, as it renders him more comfortable, conduce, in no small degree, to the improvement of his morals; and that (whatever some may have dreamed otherwise), in real life, poverty, from want of encouragement to industry, is a condition very unfavourable to the practice of virtue. If a people, under these circumstances, are ever moral in their deportment, no credit is due to their condition for it. Let our legislators be assured, that while they are extending towards its completion that system of improvement planned and hitherto carried forward with so much wisdom, they are putting into operation a moral machine which, in proportion as it facilitates a constant and rapid communication between all parts of our land, tends most effectually to perfect the civilisation, and elevate the moral character, of the people.

The general amelioration in the moral condition of communities, by the healthful encouragement of internal industry, and by affording proper aids to the development of national resources, is well worthy of the serious attention of legislators. An idle population is ever vicious and degraded; and perhaps the perpetuity

of free institutions and with them a sound state of public morals, cannot exist among a people whose energies are not kept constantly in play by the pursuit of some incessant productive employment. Let us look at the contrast given in the following sketch by a North American resident in South America:—

“It is impossible to look at the present state of our neighbouring republics without a mingled feeling of pity for the weakness, and of contempt for the inefficiency, of their governments. The first out-breaking of the revolution there was hailed by the people of this country with enthusiastic joy, as the grand step towards the formation of other governments equally happy with our own; because based upon like principles, and aspiring to like ends. The success of their undertaking we confidently predicted, for, for them it was not reserved to try the first grand experiment,—that trial had been ours; and when the potentates of Europe, following our example, had come forward and acknowledged the independence of those republics, we felt that we, as a nation, were not alone,—that another, as promising, had risen up to prove the practicability of a new and a distrusted form of government;—we felt that a new light had dawned upon the hitherto benighted half of the great western world, which was to guide them to freedom and happiness, and we exulted in the prospect of the noble contrast about to be presented to the tyranny and despotism of the East. But the day-star of their liberty was the brightest at its dawn. Instead of increasing in splendour as it rose, its rays beamed fainter and fainter, till at length, it is now almost totally obscured in the mists of error, discord, and confusion.

“And we are naturally led to enquire, in view of these facts, into the cause of this. We are at a loss to account for this lamentable failure of reaching that high stand which the world was led to believe the new republics would take,—we compare their first efforts with ours, and we find them equal; indeed, more than equal. While ours were furthered and sustained by petition and remonstrance, and partook more of the character of mild persuasion than of determined opposition, *their* first efforts were accompanied with the heat and the fury of sanguinary conflict; and *their* hopes of redress were founded solely on the extermination of their oppressors.

“How sad is the prospect which, to-day, is presented to our view, in sight of all the nobleness of enterprise and undertaking which characterised the first efforts of our sister republics! There can be no hope of their stability, under their present forms of government. The people have shown themselves unequal to the task of

supporting it ; they do not understand, neither can they practise upon, the principles of self-government. And the grand secret of all this inability lies in the universal propensity of the people to indolence, in their want of enterprise, and in the listlessness which must infallibly spring from such propensity. All the better feelings of that people were called into action in the moment of rebellion ; they were kept alive and nurtured by a constant series of almost unhopd for successes in the grand struggle ; and, at such a time, the men who weighed the most in the scale of popularity, and who were looked up to, by the lower orders, with reverence and respect, were military men,—men who had risen by their valour, or their patriotism, or their zeal in the common cause, to a comparatively high and dignified station. While the struggle lasted, there was no want of energy, or stability, or perseverance among them ; the confusion and turmoil of the revolutionary era seemed admirably calculated to give to each and every man an opportunity to display himself in the sphere peculiarly adapted to his powers ; and thus all were occupied and satisfied.

“ But the contention at last ceased, and the time came when it was found necessary to re-organise the government, and establish it upon the principles for which they had fought. With that moment commenced the troubles and internal divisions which have since brought the country to the verge of ruin. Intriguing and ambitious men had grown up in the midst of them,—hundreds of young officers, whose education had been purely military, and whose views and ambitions were limited to one point, were stopped short in their career, and left, without a single resource in themselves, to plot and plan the means of their own advancement in the sphere of action to which they had so fondly looked forward, and for which they believed themselves solely fitted. Among the more advanced in age and acquirements,—those who had taken a more immediate and active part in the strife just finished,—patriotism, love of country, zeal in the advancement of the national interests, all were buried and forgotten in the all-absorbing consideration of how they might secure to themselves, against the pretensions of the less experienced, those temporary advantages and emoluments of station which were theirs at the close of the revolution.

“ Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and domestic industry, although never much attended to, were now less thought of than ever. They depended entirely upon Europe and North America for the ordinary supplies of the most essential necessaries of life. With a soil the most fertile, and an extent of country sufficient to furnish a supply to half the world, they are still dependent upon

North America for the flour they consume. With their prairies teeming with millions of cattle, they are still dependent, in a great measure, upon foreign countries for their butter and cheese. The mechanic and higher arts are attended to almost exclusively by foreigners; indeed, wherever energy, or enterprise, or industry, is requisite, the native plays but a poor part in competition with the foreigner. This can be easily accounted for: in the first place by their excessive indolence, and in the second by a sort of hereditary pride and loftiness of feeling, which will not suffer them to follow any acknowledged trade or occupation; and which feeling, so far from rendering them superior, either in attainments or appearance, places them actually far below the ordinary standard of mediocrity. Many or most of their young men are living, and must continue to live, upon the scanty resources of their impoverished parents, some of whom, from a state of high affluence, have been reduced to comparative poverty by the destructive internal dissensions, which have laid waste and ravaged the country, and shaken, to their basis, her institutions since the revolution.

“How striking the contrast that our own land, or at least New England, presents! Where, among us, is found the youth, affluent or not, high-bred or low, who acknowledges neither occupation or profession? It is, among us, as deep a stigma as exists, that cast upon him who neglects to adopt *some* means of rendering his natural faculties subservient to one grand end of our being—that of usefulness and assistance to our fellow-men,—and who refuses to occupy that station among them to which he seems called by the particular circumstances and wants of the age, and for which his Creator has fully endowed him, with peculiar faculties and advantages.

“What a striking difference do we perceive in the morals, the feelings, and the habits, of the two people! While the billiard-rooms and the gaming-houses of the one are overflowing with the flower of her young men, and fitting them for any thing save for the performance of their duty in the approaching struggle of life, the workshops and colleges of the other are giving birth to men who are to supply the places and walk in the paths their fathers trod,—who are to further the interests and contribute to the respectability and importance of the nation,—young men who are eminently fitted to enlarge upon and improve the present system of things,—to give force and influence to the virtues, and reform the abuses of those who have gone before them.

“National grandeur and elevation of standing are founded, we may say solely, on the industry and enterprise of the people. The

wealth and power of a nation have their existence in them, and the hopes of a nation's prosperity, advancement, and continuance, are, and can be, founded on nothing else. How all-important, then, in view of this, is that great branch of national industry, its manufactures! How evident is the fact that, without them, the noble fabric of our national hopes, and happiness, and freedom, would want, perhaps, the most efficient pillar of its support! The contrast that exists between the moral condition of our own country and that of the South American republics, is too striking to fail of attracting the attention of any one at all conversant with the facts of the case; and we have dwelt thus far on the subject, from the consideration, that thus might be afforded a fresh proof of the superiority, in every point of view, of a nation whose principal resources are in the industry, energy, and enterprise of its people."

DOCUMENTARY TESTIMONY ON THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF
MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS IN NEW ENGLAND.

The following circular was addressed to several heads of manufacturing establishments :—

1. Are there any laws existing in the New England states by which the manufacturers of cotton and wool are prevented from the too constant employment of children? Or from the employment of those of too tender age? Would not such laws prove very salutary?
2. How old are the youngest children usually employed? Are children under fifteen years of age often deprived of opportunities of schooling, by unremitting employment in cotton or woollen factories?
3. Are there not many cotton establishments in which no children under fifteen years are employed? And is this the case with woollen establishments?
4. Are there not many establishments where the proprietors have adopted a regulation, by which children are allowed to work only a portion of the time, with a view that opportunity for schooling may be enjoyed by them? And to what age does this regulation apply?
5. What is the probable proportion of children under fifteen years, to those over fifteen, and adults, employed in cotton factories? What is the proportion in woollen?
6. Are there any factories in New England in which the proprietors employ one set of hands by day and another during the night?
7. How many hours are the operatives employed? Please to specify them. Is there an entire conformity in all the factories?
8. Do the females employed generally live with their parents, or at boarding-houses? And what are the disadvantages attending the system of boarding houses? Are they well regulated, or too large to admit of careful supervision?
9. Are instances of immorality in consequence of the employment of both sexes together, frequent, or otherwise?

10. Do the females employed in these factories generally lay up their earnings, or spend the amount in dress? Are savings banks used by the operatives for depositing their surplus gains?

11. Are first-day or Sunday schools generally established in manufacturing villages, and attended by the children?

12. Are there auxiliary tract societies established generally in these villages, for the purpose of disseminating, at a cheap rate, the excellent moral and religious publications of the American Tract Society? Could not individuals undertake so laudable a work singly?

13. Is it supposed that those persons employed in cotton and woollen manufactories are equally healthy with such as pursue agriculture? If so, can you mention any facts in corroboration?

14. What proportion of the operatives accumulate property? and what classes are generally improvident? Do you not suppose that some of the families who find employment in factories, would, if it were not for such employment, be chargeable to town as paupers?

15. Will you enumerate some of the most striking advantages which have resulted to your town or neighbourhood, by the introduction of manufactories? And also name the prominent disadvantages, if any.

16. What remedies would you propose for those evils which do exist?

17. Do you know of any cotton or woollen factories in which any improved system, or any peculiarly beneficial management, prevails? And will you specify the establishment and give a sketch of its regulations?

18. Are there existing in some manufacturing villages, libraries of useful books which circulate among the operatives?

19. Do you consider the mass of the manufacturing population, equally well educated and intelligent as the mass of agriculturists?

20. Do you know of many instances where families who were in poverty have by their successful industry in the manufactories, made themselves independent? And have you often witnessed the effect of such success in improving their habits and general characters?

21. Is it not the practice in many of the manufacturing villages, for the head of such families as are employed in the mills, to cultivate a small lot of ground, to raise corn, potatoes, and garden vegetables generally and to keep a cow? And is not this productive of much comfort to such families?

From Smith Wilkinson, Esq., Pomfret, Conn. to the author.

“ You ask my opinion as to the tendency of manufacturing establishments on the morals of the people. I answer, that my settled opinion is that the natural or consequent influence of all well conducted establishments, is favourable to the promotion of good morals, for the following reasons:— The helps are required to labour all the time, which people can sustain in regular service through the year, consistent with what is necessary to attend to their personal wants,—for meals, sleep and necessary relaxation, and a proper observance of the sabbath. The usual working hours, being twelve, exclusive of meals, six days in the week,—the workmen and children being thus employed, have no time to spend in idleness or vicious amusements. In our village there is not a public house or grog-shop, nor is gaming allowed in any private house, if known by the agent, and very few instances have

occurred in twenty-nine years, to my knowledge. In collecting our help, we are obliged to employ poor families, and generally those having the greatest number of children, those who have lived in retired situations on small and poor farms, or in hired houses, where their only means of living has been the labour of the father and the earnings of the mother, while the children spent their time mostly at play. These families are often very ignorant, and too often vicious; but being brought together into a compact village, often into the families, and placed under the restraining influence of example, must conform to the habits and customs of their neighbours, or be despised and neglected by them. Thus it happens sometimes that when it becomes generally known that a family are noted for any vice, they are neglected by the rest, and no person, male or female, will visit or be seen keeping company with them, who is at all concerned to sustain a good name. Another reason is, by being in a way to earn the means, they almost invariably clothe better; and it is a fact of common notoriety, that the females employed in factories clothe better or more expensively than others in similar circumstances as to property, or even than the daughters of our respectable farmers. But this disposition to dress extravagantly soon abates, and the helps contract habits of economy, and lay up their wages by loaning the money at interest.

“I have known a great many, who have laid aside \$200 to \$300, in from three to four years, and were enabled to fit themselves out decently, when married, for housekeepers. Others, who remained single, laid by four, five, and some seven and eight hundred dollars, and now have it out on interest. As public opinion goes far in regulating the moral habits and behaviour of cities and towns, so it does in manufacturing villages,—by this influence, it is an established fact, that if a female is introduced into a factory of bad or loose character, she must be discharged as soon as her character is fully known, or the rest of the female help will quit the mill. Perhaps I cannot furnish better proof of the practical tendency and effect on female character, than to state, that in twenty-nine years, during which term I have had the sole agency of Pomfret cotton manufacturing establishment, I can assert that but two cases of seduction and bastardy have occurred. One of these was by means which have often proved fatal—where the object was placed in the most disadvantageous circumstances to withstand them.

“The company of the Pomfret establishment, was formed, January 1st, 1806, consisting of,—James Rhodes, Esq., Christie Rhodes, Wm. Rhodes, brothers, all of Pawtucket, R. I.; Oziel Wilkinson, and sons-in-law; Timothy Green, Wm. Wilkinson, of Providence; Abraham Wilkinson, Isaac Wilkinson. David Wilkinson, Daniel Wilkinson, Smith Wilkinson, all of Pawtucket or North Providence, five sons of Oziel Wilkinson.

“The capital stock invested from April 1st, 1806, to October 1808, was sixty thousand dollars—of which, five twelfths was invested in real estate—it was then known by the name of Conger’s mills, in Pomfret, Connecticut, on the Quinebaug river, and includes about one thousand acres of land, lying partly in three adjoining towns, namely, Pomfret, Thomson, and Killingly. There was at this time on said lands, a grist mill, saw mill, and blacksmith’s shop; two houses, an old gin distillery, then just abandoned; three houses, and some other small buildings of little value. A leading object of this company in buying so much land, was to prevent the introduction of taverns and grog

shops, with their usually corrupting, demoralising tendency. Another object was, to be able to give the men employ on the lands, while the children were employed in the factory. The company very early exerted their influence in establishing schools, and introducing public worship on the sabbath. In 1812, they erected a convenient brick building, to answer as a school house, and a place for holding meetings; which is now occupied for those purposes, and has been ever since its first erection."

M— B—, Esq.

TROY, Dec. 26, 1827.

Dear Sir—I fear I have neglected too long to answer your interesting enquiries on the subjects of manufacturing and manufactories; but will now make the attempt, though on several points I have not been enabled to collect the information required. Supposing that you have a copy of the several questions, I will answer them in the order they are put, without repeating them.—(See page 125.)

1. I know of no such restrictive laws in the northern or eastern states, nor can I see any occasion for them. Public opinion, with the independent feelings of the parents and guardians of children, would prevent such abuse should it be attempted; but I never heard of such a practice in our country among manufacturers. Young children are unprofitable in almost every branch of our labour, and so much so, that it is the practice to keep them out of factories as long as the importunities of parents can be resisted.

2. Children under ten years are generally unprofitable at any price, and it is very seldom they are employed, unless their parents work in the mill, and they are brought in to do light chores, or some very light work, such as setting spools in the frame, or piecing rolls. As far as I am acquainted, there is more attention paid to schooling children in manufacturing villages, than in districts of other employments.

3. I do not know of any works where the age is positively limited, nor do I think that it could well be done. There are many boys at fourteen years, who are able, in most employments, to do the work of men; they only want the skill. The heavy work is mostly done by machinery; and there are many girls at fourteen years who are as steady and discreet, as others at sixteen or over. I have no doubt that it would be more profitable to employ young women in our factories generally, except for overseers, if they could be obtained.

4. I do not know of any thing exactly in that shape; it is not consistent with the operations of a mill, that any part of the help should leave their place to spend certain hours in school; but the child is refused employment until it has had its necessary schooling.

5. I have never heard fifteen years referred to, as an age below which employment would be wrong or unprofitable. I should say the proportion might be 10 per cent. There is less young help employed in the woollen than in the cotton manufactures.

6. I never heard of such an instance in our country, though I believe there are those who practise and pursue such a system in England. I do not think it would be tolerated here: public opinion would not suffer it, nor could workmen be procured.

7. An average through the year of twelve hours, is every where under-

stood as factory hours ; this is by common consent, nor have I heard of any attempt to increase the number, as a rule of employment.

8. It is customary, in commencing a manufacturing village, to build a boarding-house to begin with : and this is necessary from the nature of the case in most instances ; but as soon as families are brought in, the help employed is generally distributed. The custom in most places is, to allow and require every hand to provide for themselves. This is found more satisfactory and best ; in this way the price of board is regulated by competition, and labourers choose their associates, and the females in this distribution in families are better protected, and more pleasantly situated.

9. As far as I am acquainted, unfrequent beyond the expectations of any one.

10. There is a disposition to dress among the unmarried females, though many do lay up something, and many help their parents in supporting the younger members of a family. Our factory villages have many widows, who resort there to bring up their families, and are thus enabled to keep them together, and provide for them very comfortably ; and here the young women are the stay and support of their mothers, while they receive counsel and protection.

11. Sabbath schools are common to a considerable extent, and are becoming more so in manufacturing villages.

12. In many villages there are tract societies, where from funds of their own, they purchase of the larger institutions, and in others there are auxiliary societies. Something is done, and much more might be done.

13. I have no doubt of the healthiness of the employment. I have been engaged in a cotton factory since 1813, and have employed from sixty to one hundred hands, men, women and children, and do not believe there is a more healthy village any where to be found ; and can speak confidently in saying that the farmers in the immediate neighbourhood are not more hardy, nor do I believe they can undergo the same fatigue, because not so accustomed to such constant and regular labour.

14. I cannot say how far they accumulate property ; I know that many do, and very many live comfortably and independently, who but for such employment would be paupers. Many families begin in debt and embarrassment, who soon pay their debts, and support their families, and gain property afterwards.

15. This would be to write a volume. The property in the neighbourhood is greatly advanced. It is quite a market for vegetables, fruits, meats, to the farmers around. Industry, education, and morals, are greatly improved. The farmers and mechanics look for the money paid out at the factory store as an unfailing resource for their circulating medium ; and depend on furnishing their necessaries, as a sure means of getting money. I not know of, nor can I conceive of, any disadvantages. Our manufactures have greatly increased the commerce of our city, in bringing the raw material and distributing the articles manufactured, and furnish a large market for the product of the farmer. I paid for the last four months \$758.63 for the single article of flour for our families.

16. I know of no evils which exist in manufacturing villages as such, which are not increased, and more or less aggravated in other villages, or

which are not to be found in every society. I think any evil is easier remedied in such places than in different society.

17. I will give you our regulations at the close in general terms.

18. I am not acquainted with any where libraries are established, but have no doubt it would be beneficial.

19. I consider them decidedly better educated, more intelligent, of better cultivated manners, higher notions of character, more enterprise, and every way more improved citizens, than the mass of agriculturists. When the latter change to the former there is generally a marked improvement, and when the former to the latter, a deterioration and running down.

20. I do know of many instances where those quite poor have, by their industry and economy, become comparatively independent, and the character of the whole family changed for the better.

21. There are many whose families work in the factories, when the man takes a piece of land on shares, and raises corn and potatoes; but this is a more common practice in the New England states, than with us. When the man cannot be employed to advantage, this may do well, but the leisure hours such an one would have, would be a bad example for the factory hands, and I would prefer giving constant employment at some sacrifice, to having a man of the village seen in the streets or shops on a rainy day at leisure.

M— B—, Esq.

TROY, Dec. 27, 1827.

Respected Friend—I said, in answering your 17th query, that I would give you our general regulations in our manufacturing establishment. In 1812, five individuals, one of whom was myself, built the establishment which I think you visited with me when at Troy. We were all ignorant of our undertaking, but had very great expectations from what we had been told. I had the principal agency in erecting the buildings, and procuring machinery &c.—but we had one partner who was superintendent, and who professed much, but knew very little. We commenced work in the spring of 1813, but every thing went bad, and we found our superintendent a man of loose, bad notions, bad principles, and he had brought together a bad set of workmen. We dismissed him, and after some time persuaded my brother to come and take charge of it. He was a merchant, and knew nothing of the manufacturing business. Things still went bad; the workmen were deceivers, and my brother had a difficult place to fill; but we dragged along until the peace, and found ourselves very much in debt, and embarrassed, and stopped our works in the fall of 1816. Thus the works remained until the spring of 1817. I then bought eight of the ten shares in which the factory was owned. We had kept a store of groceries, and sold rum to our hands as freely as they required. I have never brought any spirituous liquors to our village since—the hands were all poor and most of them in debt. I bought cotton in April, and started the mill—the hands that chose to stay, and were willing to live without the use of ardent spirits, I kept, and divided their debts into small sums, which they agreed to deduct from their wages weekly—their rents were all payable weekly, that no debts might be suffered to accumulate against the hands, and no one was to ask or expect credit, unless at the beginning of a week, when they could anticipate half the wages of the week if necessary. If they could not live under these regula-

tions, they were at liberty to go; but if they stayed, their old debts must be paid, they must live without spirits, and they were not at liberty to get in debt any where—no liquors could be brought into any workshop under any pretence whatever. Thus I began, now nearly eleven years ago; many of the families are now with me, or those that were young men and girls are now married and have families; they were all poor without exception. I will mention the condition of some of the hands—one young man, an apprentice in the machine shop, is now out of my employ as a steady hand, but does job work for me—he has a large family, but owns a good house, has considerable money at interest, has two buildings for rent, is worth three thousand dollars. Another has two thousand dollars at interest. Another has bought him 100 acres of good land, owns a house in the village, and has money at interest. Another has \$1000 at interest—several others have three or four hundred dollars beforehand. Families all above board, with one or two exceptions; we keep a district school the year round, with a competent man teacher—through the season of working in nights, a school goes in at eight o'clock, and out at ten o'clock, which all the young men and women calculate to attend—here are taught writing, arithmetic, and grammar, geography, and history—this is very much encouraged and is a very popular school; we have a very prosperous Sunday school; there is a small house for worship in the village, and one a mile east, and many come into Troy to meeting, it being only about two miles. In order to keep out tippling and grog shops, I have a clause inserted in all the leases given for building lots, that any one selling ardent spirits on the same, forfeits the premises.

A large proportion of our families are hopefully pious, have family prayers daily, and are members of churches in good standing, and a majority of our young people belonging to the cotton factory are professors of religion. Since 1815, there have been three revivals of religion. We have there a bible society, tract society, and domestic missionary society. There are a large number of newspapers taken, and some reviews and quarterlies: and I think a state of society which would be gratifying to the patriot and philanthropist—and the Christian. We have all our hands by the year, which commences on the first of May. We inventory every March, and then engage our help for the year. We seldom have any hands leave us, that we wish to retain. Our young people marry and settle in the same village in many instances. Our contracts are to pay as fast as the individual or family need to live upon, and the balance at the end of the year. To those who will let their balances remain in book we pay interest, but will not give notes, because the advisory influence is in some measure lost if you give notes which can be negotiated; but on our plan, our books become a savings' bank for the hands. If they want a note we pay the balance. We have over five hundred inhabitants, and in 1812 the ground was cleared where our village now stands. Our establishment is very small compared with many of the eastern works, and our buildings and machinery are not after the modern improvements, but we cannot afford to throw them by. We have built a very firm excellent building for the woollen business, and have it well filled with the best machinery that could be procured, and have commenced operation, but it will take time to get such a set of hands as we have at the cotton mill; yet I see no difficulty. The wool business requires more man labour, and this we study to avoid. Women are much more ready to follow

good regulations, and are not captious, and do not clamour as the men do against their overseers ; but I can afford to give a religious man or woman higher wages, than I can one who has no fixed principles of action and government for themselves. It should be the first object of our manufacturing establishments, to have their superintendents, and overseers, and agents, men of religious principles, and let it be felt by the owners that it is always for their interest to support religion, schools, and all those institutions which promote good morals, and diffuse information among the operatives and their families. I feel confident that we have made a sufficient experiment, in the manufacturing business, to see its effect upon those employed and the state of society which it produces, and the influence it has upon a neighbourhood of farmers, and others in the district round about, and have no hesitation in saying, that in every particular it is favourable. It grows up a healthy population, is favourable to early schooling and good education, and early habits of industry ; stimulants to enterprise, economy, and frugality in living, and saving the products of their labour—and at the same time the organisation of these establishments in villages, being necessary for their success, they are placed in a more favourable situation for the cultivation of moral and religious character, without which, civilised man is still a savage, and a very limited degree of human happiness attained.

I am, respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

JEDEDIAH TRACY.

The following remarks are from a correspondent who has paid attention to this subject, and who sincerely wishes well to every branch of useful industry which shall benefit the country :—

“I noted that the legislature of Massachusetts instituted an enquiry some nine or ten years ago, to ascertain the moral influence of manufacturing establishments, which resulted in a favourable report—never published.

“In pursuing thy enquiries upon this deeply interesting subject, I sincerely hope thou wilt state the whole case fairly, so that those points where danger is to be apprehended may be seasonably guarded by the conservators of public morals. The employment of young children of too tender age, should be freely and warmly discouraged; and if at the present moment there should appear to be any increase of this evil, our legislatures should timely adopt such wise and prudent measures as would cure the evil. No patriot could advocate the extension of any branch of national industry which would necessarily bring along with it an ignorant and consequently vicious population.

“We find many men of philanthropic minds who view with alarm the rapid extension in our country of manufacturing industry, under a conviction that it stands opposed to the progress of religion and sound morals—in a word that it is essentially repugnant to the general well being of the community ; nor is this

surprising, since those whose interests stand opposed to the increase of manufactures on a large scale, have long and vehemently insisted upon its demoralising tendency. A great deal has been said about the sad change this mischievous system has produced among our neighbours of the eastern states—it has been described as a Pandora's box that has filled the land with all sorts of moral plagues. It must be obvious that the subject has been presented to us through a medium somewhat distorted by wrong prejudices, and even the interesting columns of 'The Friend' may have contributed to strengthen these prejudices by the revival of the somewhat trite sentimentality of Goldsmith and Southey—I allude to an article in the second number. I am, however, as little disposed to call in question the motives of our philanthropists in opposing the manufacturing system, as I am to extenuate or defraud any abuses to which it is liable. That abuses do exist, even in this country, I am well aware, and I would be the last person to discourage any well directed effort to remedy them.

“It is certainly an interesting enquiry, whether, as manufactures have advanced in our country, the general character of the operative classes has deteriorated? Have these occupations had an unfavourable influence upon the *intelligence*, the *morals*,* or the *health*, of those engaged in them?

* With reference to this point, we have great satisfaction in adducing the following conclusive testimony:—

WATERFORD, R. I. May 23d, 1835.

Dear Sir,—In reply to yours of 7th inst. will observe, that many persons can give you better views than I can, respecting the condition of the cotton manufacture business in its various stages and fluctuations, since its establishment in this country, and the effect of the tariff laws upon it. Our business has always been seven eighths woollen, and is now exclusively so. We have a woollen mill, eighty feet by thirty-six, and one, three hundred and fifty feet by fifty, both five stories high; for broadcloth principally.

As regards the effects of manufacturing villages on the morals of the people, there can be but one opinion among those who know any thing about the subject. They certainly tend very powerfully to the improvement of morals. In our village, with a population of three hundred to four hundred, not an intemperate person lives. Nearly one hundred females are in the village, and since its establishment, a term of ten years, not a case of illegitimacy has occurred, nor has a rumour of such a nature ever been in the village. No person who has ever resided in the village, has ever become chargeable to the town in any manner. On the first of April last, the people who work in our mills had \$10,000 due to them in cash. We have an excellent free school through the year, of about fifty scholars. Yours truly,

WELCOME FARNUM.

“Having had access to authentic information upon this subject, I answer as follows:—

“The cotton manufacture may now be considered permanently established; it is prosperous and rapidly increasing in the New England states, which must remain, as they are at this time, the principal seat of it. For the present, my remarks will be confined to this branch of manufactures.

“A great change has taken place within the last few years, in regard to the proportion of children employed in these factories; the proprietors having found that their interest is promoted by dispensing almost entirely with the labour of children under fifteen years.

“In the factories at Newmarket, N. H., which have been in operation about four years, there are employed, 250 girls, five boys and twenty overseers and assistants—twelve of the overseers have families. Nine only of the girls are under fifteen years of age, six of whom are fourteen. Three of the boys are under fifteen, two of whom are fourteen. In every instance the children under fifteen reside with their parents or guardians in the village, and are admitted into the factories on account of the peculiar circumstances of the families; they are allowed to work only six months in the year—during the other six months, they attend a public school in the village. Besides the operatives mentioned, there are thirty machinists, twenty of whom have families; these, however, are employed in a separate workshop. The relative number of children employed in this establishment, it is believed, will correspond, without much variation, with the proportion to be found in most of the factories east of Providence and its vicinity; in the latter district, the manufactories were established at an earlier period, and still give employment to a larger proportion of children.

“In cases of newly formed villages, it is found necessary to erect at the commencement several boarding-houses, sufficiently spacious to accommodate a large number of the workpeople in each; to this arrangement there are powerful objections. At Newmarket it has been entirely abandoned, and is superseded by the increased number of private families, which have taken up their residence in the village; and not being inconveniently large, are kept under good regulation. A part of the girls whose parents do not live in the village, are distributed as boarders with those families which are disposed to receive them.

“Nearly all of the manufacturing villages are small, and there is very generally attached to each dwelling a lot of ground, which

is appropriated to the culture of garden vegetables, and food for a cow and swine ; these are considered very essential comforts, and are rarely dispensed with by the industrious operatives.

“ It should be borne in mind, that in this country *water-power* is almost exclusively used in manufactures, and, on account of its greater cheapness, the day must be far distant indeed, when steam power will be extensively used ; the consequence is, that the manufacturing population must be scattered. We can have no Manchesters on this side the Atlantic, while our thousand rivers and streams afford an inexhaustible supply of unimproved power.”

Dr. Ure says :—“ The present is distinguished from every preceding age by an universal ardour of enterprise in arts and manufactures. Nations, convinced at length, that war is always a losing game, have converted their swords and muskets into factory implements, and now contend with each other in the bloodless, but still formidable, strife of trade. They no longer send troops to fight on distant fields, but fabrics to drive before them those of their old adversaries in arms, and to take possession of a foreign mart. To impair the resources of a rival at home, by underselling his wares abroad, is the new belligerent system, in pursuance of which every nerve and sinew of the people are put upon the strain.” Dr. Ure continues in another place :—

“ Great Britain may certainly continue to uphold her envied supremacy, sustained by her coal, iron, capital, and skill, if, acting on the Baconian axiom, ‘ knowledge is power,’ she shall dilligently promote moral and professional culture among all ranks of her productive population. Were the principles of the manufactures exactly analysed, and expounded in a simple manner, they would diffuse a steady light to conduct the masters, managers, and operatives, in the straight paths of improvement, and prevent them from pursuing such dangerous phantoms as flit along in the monthly patent-lists. Each department of our useful arts stands in need of a guide-book to facilitate its study, to indicate its imperfections, and to suggest the most probable means of correcting them. It is known that the manufactures of France have derived great advantage from the illustrated systems of instruction published under the auspices of its government and patriotic societies. Manufacture is a word which, in the vicissitude of language, has come to signify the reverse of its intrinsic meaning: for it now denotes every extensive product of art, which is made by machinery, with little or no aid of the human hand ; so that the most perfect manufacture is that which dispenses entirely with manual labour. The philosophy of manufactures is to modify the texture, form, or composition of natural objects by mechanical or chemical forces, acting either separately, combined, or in succession.

“ The blessings which physico-mechanical science has bestowed on society, and the means it has still in store for ameliorating the lot of mankind, have been too little dwelt upon ; while on the other hand, it has been

accused of lending itself to rich capitalists, as an instrument for harassing the poor, and of exacting from the operative an accelerated rate of work. It has been said, for example, that the steam-engine now drives the power-looms with such velocity as to urge on their attendant weavers at the same rapid pace. But the truth is, that every member of the loom is so adjusted, that the driving force leaves the attendant little to do, certainly no muscular fatigue to sustain, while it procures for him good, unfailing wages.

“The constant aim and effect of scientific improvement in manufactures are philanthropic; as they tend to relieve the workman, either from niceties of adjustment, which exhaust his mind and fatigue his eyes, or from painful repetition of effort, which distort or wear out his frame. At every step of each manufacturing process, the humanity of science will be manifest.

“The title of factory, in its strictest sense, involves the idea of an operation composed of various mechanical and intellectual organs, acting in uninterrupted concert for the production of a common object,—all of them being subordinated to a self-regulated moving force.

“In its precise acceptation, the factory system is of recent origin, and may claim England for its birth-place. The mills for throwing silk, or making organzine, which were mounted centuries ago, in several of the Italian states, and transferred to England, by Sir Thomas Lombe, in 1718, contained indeed some elements of a factory, and probably suggested some hints of those grander and more complex combinations of self-acting machines, which were first embodied, half a century later, in the cotton manufacture, by Richard Arkwright, assisted by gentlemen of Derby, well acquainted with its celebrated silk establishment. But the spinning of an entangled flock of fibres into a smooth thread, which constitutes the main operation with cotton, is, in silk, superfluous; being already performed by the unerring instinct of a worm, which leaves to human art the simple task of doubling and twisting its regular filaments. The apparatus requisite for this purpose is more elementary, and calls for few of those gradations of machinery which are needed in the carding, drawing, roving, and spinning processes of a cotton mill. When the first water-frames, for spinning cotton, were erected at Cromford, in the romantic valley of the Derwent, about sixty years ago, mankind were little aware of the mighty revolution which the new system of labour was destined by Providence to achieve, not only in the structure of British society, but in the fortunes of the world at large. Arkwright alone had the sagacity to discern, and the boldness to predict, in glowing language, how vastly productive human industry would become, when no longer proportioned in its results to muscular effort, which is by its nature fitful and capricious, but when made to consist in the task of guiding the work of mechanical fingers and arms, regularly impelled, with great velocity, by some indefatigable physical power. What his judgment so clearly led him to perceive, his energy of will enabled him to realise with such rapidity and success, as would have done honour to the most influential individuals, but were truly wonderful in that obscure and indigent artisan. The main difficulty did not, to my apprehension, lie so much in the invention of a proper self-acting mechanism, for drawing out and twisting cotton into a continuous thread, as in the distribution of the different members of the apparatus into one co-operative body, in impelling each organ with its appropriate delicacy and speed, and above all, in training human beings to

renounce their desultory habits of work, and to identify themselves with the unvarying regularity of the complex automaton. To devise and administer a successful code of factory diligence, was the Herculean enterprise, the noble achievement of Arkwright. Even at the present day, when the system is perfectly organised, and its labour lightened to the utmost, it is found nearly impossible to convert persons past the age of puberty, whether drawn from rural or from handicraft occupations, into useful factory hands. After struggling for a while to conquer their listless or restive habits, they either renounce the employment spontaneously, or are dismissed on account of inattention. If the factory Briareus could have been created by mechanical genius alone, it should have come into being thirty years sooner; for upwards of ninety years have now elapsed since John Wyatt, of Birmingham, not only invented the series of fluted rollers, (the spinning fingers usually ascribed to Arkwright,) but obtained a patent for the invention, and erected 'a spinning engine without hands,' in his native town.

"The details of this remarkable circumstance, recently snatched from oblivion, are given in Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture. Wyatt was a man of good education, in a respectable walk of life, much esteemed by his superiors, and therefore favourably placed, in a mechanical point of view, for maturing his admirable scheme. But he was of a gentle and passive spirit; little qualified to cope with the hardships of a new manufacturing enterprise. It required, in fact, a man of a Napoleon nerve and ambition, to subdue the refractory tempers of workpeople, accustomed to irregular paroxysms of diligence, and to urge on his multifarious and intricate constructions, in the face of prejudice, passion, and envy. Such was Arkwright, who, suffering nothing to stay or turn aside his progress, arrived gloriously at the goal, and has for ever affixed his name to a great era in the annals of mankind: an era which has laid open unbounded prospects of wealth and comfort to the industrious, however much they may have been, occasionally, clouded by ignorance and folly.

"Prior to this period, manufactures were every where feeble and fluctuating in their development; shooting forth luxuriantly for a season, and again withering almost to the roots, like annual plants. Their perennial growth now began in England, and attracted capital in copious streams to irrigate the rich domains of industry. When this new career commenced, about the year 1770, the annual consumption of cotton, in British manufactures, was under four millions of pounds weight, and that of the whole of Christendom was, probably, not more than ten millions. Last year, 1835, the consumption in Great Britain and Ireland was about two hundred and seventy millions of pounds, and that of Europe and the United States, together, four hundred and eighty millions. This prodigious increase is, without doubt, almost entirely due to the factory system, founded and upreared by the intrepid native of Preston.

"If, then, this system be not merely an inevitable step in the social progression of the world, but the one which gives a commanding station and influence to the people who most resolutely take it, it does not become any man, far less a denizen of England, to vilify the author of a benefaction, which, wisely administered, may become the best temporal gift of Providence to the poor,—a blessing destined to mitigate, and, in some measure, to repeal, the primeval curse pronounced on the labour of man, 'in the sweat

of thy face shalt thou eat bread.' Arkwright well deserves to live in honoured remembrance among those ancient master-spirits, who persuaded their roaming companions to exchange the precarious toils of the chase for the settled comforts of agriculture.

"Under the auspices, and in obedience to Arkwright's polity, magnificent edifices, surpassing far in number, value, usefulness, and ingenuity of construction, the boasted monuments of Asiatic, Egyptian, and Roman despotism, have, within the short period of fifty years, risen in England, to show to what extent capital, industry and science, may augment the resources of a state, while they meliorate the condition of its citizens. Such is the factory system, replete with prodigies in mechanics and political economy, which promises, in its future growth, to become the great minister of civilisation to the terraqueous globe. As to exact mechanical science, no school can compete with a modern cotton-mill.

"There are five distinct classes of factories; first, the cotton factories; second, the woollen; third, the worsted; fourth, the flax, hempen, or linen; and fifth, the silk. These five factories have each peculiarities, of its raw material and of its fabrics; but they all possess certain family features, for they all employ torsion to convert the loose slender fibres of vegetable or animal-origin, into firm, coherent threads, and, with the exception of silk, they all employ extension, also, to attenuate and equalise these threads, technically styled yarn. Even one kind of silk which occurs in entangled tufts, called floss, is spun like cotton, by the simultaneous action of stretching and twisting. The above named five orders of factories are set in motion by steam engines or water-wheels; they all give employment to multitudes of children or adolescents. Mr. Anthony Strutt, who conducts the mechanical department of the great cotton factories of Belper and Milford, has so thoroughly departed from the old routine of the schools, that he will employ no man who has learned his craft by regular apprenticeship; but in contempt, as it were, of the division of labour principle, he sets a plough-boy to turn a shaft of perhaps several tons weight, and never has reason to repent his preference, because he infuses into the turning apparatus a precision of action, equal, if not superior, to the skill of the most experienced journeyman. It was indeed a subject of regret, to observe how frequently the workman's eminence, in any craft, had to be purchased by the sacrifice of his health and comfort. To one unvaried operation, which required unremitting dexterity and diligence, his hand and eye were constantly on the strain, or if they were suffered to swerve from their task for a time, considerable loss ensued, either to the employer or the operative, according as the work was done by the day or by the piece. But on the equalisation plan of self-acting machines, the operative needs to call his faculties only into agreeable exercise; he is seldom harassed with anxiety or fatigue, and may find many leisure moments for either amusement or meditation, without detriment to his master's interests or his own.* As his business consists in tending the

* "It has been heretofore stated, that a portion of mankind laboured for others, as well as for themselves. They are a respectable portion, and perform an essential part in the business of life. We have seen that the two classes are useful to each other. They are not the less so, because one is not as rich as the other, or labours in a subordinate station. They are co-workers for their own and the common good. He that

work of a well regulated mechanism, he can learn it in a short period ; and when he transfers his services from one machine to another, he varies his task, and enlarges his views by thinking on those general combinations which result from his and his companion's labours. Thus, that cramping

would set one at variance with the others, is justly reprehensible, as a disorganiser, an enemy to the public family, and its individual members. The man who would oppress or depress either, deserves the indignation of the community, and until better disposed, should be left to help himself.

"But the evil most to be deprecated, is not that one man is poor and another rich, it is not that the poor are oppressed by the rich—the evil has a foundation deeper and broader than has yet been suggested. The condition of society would be much improved, men would be made more equal and more respected, by a more general diffusion of that information which is useful in all situations, by encouraging habits of industry and temperance, by raising the moral character above the vices which disgrace and degrade men. There is poverty, want and wretchedness everywhere ; more or less of these are in all families and in all places. And why is it so ? The fault is our own ; every man is chargeable with a portion of it. The remedy is as near home as the disease. The evil is so common the cause is overlooked.

"It is ignorance. The want of that knowledge of men and things, necessary to a due estimation of the rights and duties belonging to the various situations in life. People will neither read, think, or reflect as they ought. They neglect the mind, which distinguishes them from the beasts of burden ; and they care as little for their children as for themselves.—There is no want of schools. The means of instruction are furnished, and they are accessible to every child at the public expense. Add to this the teachings which may and ought to be acquired at home, and at church, with a due improvement of all, and the evils which originate in ignorance will cease ; the poor boy by habitual industry, will 'become a philosopher, a statesman, or a divine ;' and shed around him the benign influence of his great and good works, enjoy the honour and confidence of the public, and the high satisfaction of having acted his part well, which is the best of all rewards. But 'poverty and shame shall be to him that refuseth instruction.'

"*It is idleness.* The parent of a thousand evils and as many vices. The legitimate progenitor of poverty—many will not work. Some that are most busy do nothing—what they acquire they waste, and with it waste themselves. The idler not only injures himself, but others come within his baneful influence. It requires many hands to do the idler's work. 'The sluggard will not plough by reason of the cold, therefore he shall beg in the harvest and have nothing.'

"*It is extravagance.* Mankind are deluded by fashion. Dress, show, and equipage, hold too high a place among their household gods. They live beyond their income. The luxuries of life are its bane,—the canker worms that eat up a man's substance and turn him out of his house, and send his children begging.

"It is intemperance—a near relation to the preceding. The morning, noon, and evening dram, and the rum bottle at home, will finish the mischief and consume all that is left of body and mind. Of the reward of these, others may speak ; of their degradation none can doubt. Such evils are more or less prevalent among all classes and ranks, sinking, destroying, and brutalising man. The remedy is for each one to reform himself. It is the moral courage and determined energy of the philanthropist who would make men happier, by making them better ; and not the doubtful dogmas of the mere politician, or the cold philosophy and metaphysical reasonings of a cloistered 'book-worm.'

"Moral evils are the real and alarming cause of complaint. Remove them, and there will be more equality, less poverty, less murmuring, and less discontent. The well directed power of moral influence, will effect the surest cure ; it will do for society, what the lever of Archimedes would in mechanics, move the world and overturn the reservoirs of vice.

"New legislation cannot reach the source of the evil, or heal the disease which is weakening and wasting the energies of our political and social relations."

"*Operatives in England.*—The idea most prominent in the minds of most people in relation to the great manufacturing establishments of Great Britain is, that they are sources of immense individual and national wealth ; and the next is, that they enclose within their walls a demoralised and over-worked population. The Edinburgh Review,

of the faculties, that narrowing of the mind, that stunting of the frame, which were ascribed, and not unjustly, by moral writers, to the division of labour, cannot, in common circumstances, occur under the equable distribution of industry. How superior in vigour and intelligence are the factory mechanics in Lancashire, where the latter system of labour prevails, to the handicraft artisans of London, who to a great extent continue slaves to the former. The one set is familiar with almost every physico-mechanical combination, while the other seldom knows any thing beyond the pin-head sphere of his daily task."

Copy of a letter from Benjamin Hawkins, accompanying the President's communication to Congress, December 8, 1801.

"The present spring, the agent has delivered to Indian women, 100 pair of cotton cards, and 80 spinning wheels; there are eight looms in the nation, four of them wrought by Indian or half breed women, and the remainder by white women. There is a woman employed as an assistant, to teach the

to which we recur for the purpose of saying a few words on this interesting point; strongly contradicts the statements that have been circulated, chiefly, it says, by Mr. Sadler's famous factory report, in regard to the ruinous effects of factory labour. The publication of Mr. Sadler's report and the discussion consequent hereupon, led to the appointment by the British government of a commission to enquire on the spot into the actual condition of the labourers, which enquiry resulted in proving, says the Edinburgh Review, that the representations in regard to the pernicious influence of this kind of labour have been grossly exaggerated. Instances of abuses are declared to be rare, and it is asserted that, speaking generally, factory work people, including children, are as healthy and contented as any class of the community obliged to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow.

"Mr. Tufnel, one of the commissioners who went through Lancashire, makes statements which appear conclusive as to the condition of labourers employed in factories. Of all the common prejudices with regard to factory labour, none, says this gentleman, is more unfounded than that which ascribes to it excessive tedium and irksomeness above all other occupations, owing to its being carried on in conjunction with the 'unceasing motion of the steam engine.' This erroneous opinion proceeds from the belief that because the motion of the steam engine is incessant, the labour accompanying it is incessant also. But the reverse of this is the fact. The way to prevent an employment being incessant is to introduce a steam engine. Three fourths of the children employed in cotton mills are not actively at work for more than four hours out of the twelve. The English speak always of steam, because with them it has, for all kinds of large factories, superseded almost entirely the use of water power. In this country, water power continues to be used in nearly all our large manufacturing establishments. The result, of course, is precisely the same as regards the human labour required in conjunction.

"The stories as to the immorality of persons employed in factories, are declared to be utterly false. The evidence of various clergymen of Manchester intimately acquainted with the factory proprietors, goes to show that the morals of the persons engaged in mills are quite as good as those of any other class of people. This account coincides with what is known to be the fact in this country as to this important part of the factory system. From gentlemen connected with the large manufactories in the neighbourhood of this city, we have heard an equally good report. The manufacturing population of Lowell, Massachusetts, five thousand of whom are females, is as moral as any in the world. Nay, we doubt whether in any community in the United States, or any where else, in town or country, comprising the same number of inhabitants, there is so little vice as in Lowell, a town which has grown up to sudden prosperity solely through manufacturing industry.

"In regard to the effects on health, enquiries resulted in the conclusion, that 'factory labour is decidedly not injurious to health or longevity, compared with other employments.'"

women how to spin and weave ; and the agent has appointed as a temporary assistant, a young Englishman, from a manufactory in Stockport, England, who can make looms and spinning wheels, and every thing appertaining to them, and he understands weaving. He will in a few days have a ninth loom set up at the residence of the agent. The women have this spring adopted this part of the plan with spirit, and have promised to follow the directions of the agent with exactitude. These Indian women, of one family, have been spinning for two years only, have clothed themselves well, are proud of the exertions they have made, and are, by their conduct, a stimulus to their countrywomen. One of the looms and two of the spinning wheels in use, were made by an Indian chief, for his own family.

“The chiefs, who were apprehensive at first, that if their women could clothe and find themselves by their own exertions, they would become independent of the degraded connection between them, have had proofs that the link is more firm, in proportion as the women are more useful, and occupied in domestic concerns.”

“Perhaps,” says Babbage, “to the sober eye of inductive philosophy, these anticipations of the future may appear too faintly connected with the history of the past. When time shall have revealed the future progress of our race, those laws which are now obscurely indicated, will then become distinctly apparent ; and it may possibly be found that the dominion of mind over the material world advances with an ever accelerating force.

“Even now, the imprisoned winds which the earliest poet made the Grecian warrior bear for the protection of his fragile bark ; or those which, in more modern times, the Lapland wizards sold to the deluded sailors ; these, the unreal creations of fancy or of fraud, called, at the command of science, from their shadowy existence, obey a holier spell : and the unruly masters of the poet and the seer become the obedient slaves of civilised man.

“Nor has the wild imagination of the satirist been quite unrivaled by the realities of after years : as if in mockery of the college of Laputa, light almost solar has been extracted from the refuse of fish ; fire has been sifted by the lamp of Davy ; and machinery has been taught arithmetic instead of poetry.

“In whatever light we examine the triumphs and achievements of our species over the creation submitted to its power, we explore new sources of wonder. But if science has called into real existence the visions of the poet—if the accumulating knowledge of ages has blunted the sharpest and distanced the loftiest of the shafts of the satirist, the philosopher has conferred on the moralist an obligation of surpassing weight. In unveiling to him the living miracles which teem in rich exuberance around the minutest atom, as well as throughout the largest masses of ever-active

matter, he has placed before him resistless evidence of immeasurable design. Surrounded by every form of animate and inanimate existence, the sun of science has yet penetrated but through the outer fold of nature's majestic robe; but if the philosopher were required to separate, from among those countless evidences of creative power, one being, the masterpiece of its skill; and from that being to select one gift, the choicest of all the attributes of life;—turning within his own breast and conscious of those powers which have subjugated to his race the external world, and of those higher powers by which he has subjugated to himself that creative faculty which aids his faltering conceptions of a Deity, —the humble worshipper at the altar of truth would pronounce that being,—man; that endowment,—human reason.

“But however large the interval that separates the lowest from the highest of those sentient beings which inhabit our planet, all the results of observation, enlightened by all the reasonings of the philosopher, combine to render it probable that, in the vast extent of creation, the proudest attribute of our race is but, perchance, the lowest step in the gradation of intellectual existence. For, since every portion of our own material globe, and every animated being it supports, afford, on more scrutinising enquiry, more perfect evidence of design, it would indeed be most unphilosophical to believe that those sister spheres, glowing with light and heat radiant from the same central source—and that the members of those kindred systems, almost lost in the remoteness of space, and perceptible only from the countless multitude of their congregated globes—should each be no more than a floating chaos of unformed matter; or, being all the work of the same Almighty Architect, that no living eye should be gladdened by their forms of beauty, that no intellectual being should expand its faculties in deciphering their laws.”

CHAPTER V.

THE VALUE AND USES OF PROPERTY.

“The sense to value riches, with the art
To enjoy them, and the virtue to impart,—
To balance fortune by a just expense,
Join with economy, magnificence.”

“Alas! for the sordid propensities of modern days, when every thing is coined into gold, and this once holy-day planet of ours is turned into a ‘mere working-day world.’”

IRVING.

It cannot be concealed, that there have been apprehensions of the evil effects of manufacturing establishments in this country, but these forebodings have been chiefly prospective. It is not pretended that they have yet been productive of evil; indeed, the evidence is positive, that much good has been produced. With regard to the state of Rhode Island, I had an opportunity of knowing its moral condition previous to 1812; and I have since traveled in nearly every part of the state, and the change for the better, especially in the manufacturing districts, is incredible. No one but an eye witness could believe that such a favourable change of society could have taken place, in the short period of twenty-five years. It is true, that the abuse of these institutions may produce bad results, but the abuse is no argument against the thing itself. I am persuaded, that wherever a village is under good regulations, that the tendency is altogether favourable to morals and intelligence. There is, therefore, no more evil to be dreaded, in prospective, from the system of manufacturing for ourselves, than there is from the system of self-government; they may be turned to an evil purpose; and what blessing of heaven may not? But while a love of virtue and liberty remains, these institutions will be cherished with confidence and advantage to the whole community. Sufficient testimony has been adduced to prove that the present state of American manufactures is superior to any in the world, as it respects the rate of wages, the means of intellectual improvement, and their moral condition. If the introduction of labour-saving machinery, and of the whole manufacturing system, with all its accompaniments, had proved detrimental to the good order of society; if it had endangered the liberties of the

people, or infringed on any principle of our free institutions ; if it had reared a degraded, impoverished, or debilitated race of beings ; if, in fact, ignorance and vice had marked these districts, as the victims of corruption and pollution, their destruction would have been inevitable : no laws could have saved a single establishment. All this and more was apprehended ; and if these things had followed in the train of manufactories, I hope I should have been the last to have recorded their progress with approbation. I have eight *powerful* arguments to prevent such a course ; but on the contrary, I trust I should have been the first to have stamped their features, in all their hideous forms, that they might justly receive the reprobation of mankind. No increase of wealth, or of strength, would have compensated for a destitution of virtue and intelligence. It was the circumstance, that I had witnessed the moral aspect of New England, decidedly improved, that induced me to attempt a survey of the subject.

I agree that, if the threatened deleterious effects had followed the making of our own clothing, instead of importing it from Europe ; I would say, indeed, it would be better to drain the country of every dollar of specie than to have laid the foundation of impunity and slavery. With the loss of truth, virtue, and liberty, wealth is inadequate to give happiness to man.

The value of property is manifest, because it is the reward of the virtues of order, diligence, and temperance ; and these are essential to the acquisition of it : for the industrious nations are elevated above all the people of the earth.*

* Mr. Burke, one of the greatest and best friends of our liberty, speaking, in the house of commons, of the wealth which the people of New England had drawn from their fisheries, pronounced that eulogium upon their genius and enterprise, which should be indelibly engraven upon the memory of every New England youth, in honour of his father-land.

In speaking of the manner in which the whale fishery had been carried on, he says :—“ And pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it ?—Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have, of late, carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson’s Bay, and Davies’ Straits ; whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold ; that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a *stage*, and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them, than the accumulated winter at both the poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the line and strike

Mr. Webster's eulogy of Hamilton accords with my own views, and it will serve to introduce another extract from his report on manufactures, which I consider the true American doctrine on wealth.

"Hamilton felt the full importance of the crisis; and the reports of his speeches are yet lasting monuments to his genius and patriotism. He saw, at last, his hopes fulfilled; he saw the constitution adopted, and the government under it, established and organised. The discerning eye of Washington immediately called him to that post, which was infinitely the most important in the administration of the new system. He was made secretary of the treasury, and how he fulfilled the duties of such a place, at such a time, the whole country perceived with delight, and the whole world saw with admiration. He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the public credit, and it sprung upon its feet. The fabled birth of Minerva, from the brain of Jove, was hardly more sudden or more perfect, than the financial system of the United States burst forth from the conceptions of Hamilton."

The following extract exhibits some of those lucid principles of national wealth:—

"That which seems to be the principal argument offered for the superior productiveness of agricultural labour, turns upon the allegation, that labour employed in manufactures yields nothing equivalent to the rent of land; or to that net surplus as it is called, which accrues to the proprietor of the soil. But this distinction, important as it has been deemed, appears rather verbal than substantial. It is easily discernible, that what in the first instance is divided into two parts, under the denominations of the ordinary profit of the stock of the farmer, and rent to the landlord, is in the second instance united under the general appellation of the ordinary profit on the stock of the undertaker; and that this formal or verbal distribution constitutes the whole difference in the two cases. It seems to have been overlooked, that the land itself is a stock or capital, advanced or lent by its owner, to the occupier or

the harpoon, on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue the gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries,—no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry, to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people, a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood."

tenant ; and the rent he receives is only the ordinary profit of a certain stock in land, not managed by the proprietor himself, but by another to whom he lends or lets it, and who, on his part, advances a second capital to stock and improve the land, upon which he also receives the usual profit. The rent of the landlord and the profit of the farmer are therefore nothing more than the ordinary profits of two capitals belonging to two different persons, and united in the cultivation of a farm. As in the other case, the surplus which arises upon any manufactory, after replacing the expenses of carrying it on, answers to the ordinary profits of one or more capitals engaged in the prosecution of such manufactory. It is said one or more capitals ; because, in fact, the same thing which is contemplated in the case of the farm, sometimes happens in that of a manufactory. There is one who furnishes a part of the capital, or lends a part of the money, by which it is carried on ; and another, who carries it on, with the addition of his own capital. Out of the surplus which remains, after defraying expenses, an interest is paid to the money lender for the portion of the capital furnished by him, which exactly agrees with the rent paid to the landlord ; and the residue of that surplus constitutes the profit of the undertaker, or manufacturer, and agrees with what is denominated the ordinary profits of two capitals employed in a manufactory ; as, in the other case, the rent of the landlord and the revenue of the farmer compose the ordinary profits of two capitals, employed in the cultivation of a farm. The rent, therefore, accruing to the proprietor of the land, far from being a criterion of exclusive productiveness, as has been argued, is no criterion even of superior productiveness. The question must still be, whether the surplus, after defraying expenses, of a given capital, employed in the purchase and improvement of a piece of land, is greater or less, than that of a like capital employed in the prosecution of a manufactory ; or whether the whole value produced from a given capital and a given quantity of labour, employed in the other way ; or, rather, perhaps, whether the business of agriculture or that of manufactures will yield the greatest product, according to a compound ratio of the quantity of the capital and the quantity of labour, which are employed in the one or in the other. The solution of either of these questions is not easy. It involves numerous and complicated details depending on an accurate knowledge of the objects to be compared. It is not known that the comparison has ever yet been made upon sufficient data, properly ascertained and analysed. To be able to make it on the present occasion with satisfactory precision, would demand more

previous enquiry and investigation, than there has been hitherto leisure or opportunity to accomplish. Some essays, however, have been made towards acquiring the requisite information; which have rather served to throw doubt upon, than to confirm, the hypothesis under examination. But it ought to be acknowledged, that they have been too little diversified, and are too imperfect to authorise a definitive conclusion either way; leading rather to probable conjecture than to certain deduction. They render it probable, that there are various branches of manufactures, in which a given capital will yield a greater total product, and a considerably greater net product, than an equal capital invested in the purchase and improvements of lands; and that there are also some branches, in which both the gross and the net produce will exceed that of agricultural industry; according to a compound ratio of capital and labour. But it is on this last point that there appears to be the greatest room for doubt. It is far less difficult to infer generally, that the net produce of capital engaged in manufacturing enterprises is greater than that of capital engaged in agriculture. In stating these results, the purchase and improvement of lands, under previous cultivation, are alone contemplated. The comparison is more in favour of agriculture, when it is made with reference to the settlement of new and waste lands; but an argument drawn from so temporary a circumstance could have no weight in determining the general question concerning the permanent relative productiveness of the two species of industry. How far it ought to influence the policy of the United States, on the score of particular situation, will be adverted to in another place. The foregoing suggestions are not designed to inculcate an opinion that manufacturing industry is more productive than that of agriculture. They are intended rather to show that the reverse of this proposition is not ascertained; that the general arguments which are brought to establish it, are not satisfactory; and consequently that a supposition of the superior productiveness of tillage ought to be no obstacle to listening to any substantial inducements to the encouragement of manufactures, which may be otherwise perceived to exist, through an apprehension, that they may have a tendency to divert labour from a more to a less profitable employment. It is extremely probable, that on a full and accurate development of the matter, on the ground of fact and calculation, it would be discovered that there is no material difference between the aggregate productiveness of the one, and of the other kind of industry; and that the propriety of the encouragements, which may in any case be proposed to be given to either,

ought to be determined upon considerations irrelative to any comparison of that nature. But without contending for the superior productiveness of manufacturing industry, it may conduce to a better judgment of the policy, which ought to be pursued respecting its encouragement, to contemplate the subject under some additional aspects, tending not only to confirm the idea, that this kind of industry has been improperly represented as unproductive in itself; but to evince in addition that the establishment and diffusion of manufactures have the effect of rendering the total mass of useful and productive labour, in a community, greater than it would otherwise be.

“ In prosecuting this discussion, it may be necessary briefly to resume and review some of the topics which have been already touched. To affirm that the labour of the manufacturer is unproductive because he consumes as much of the produce of land as he adds value to the raw materials which he manufactures, is not better founded, than it would be to affirm, that the labour of the farmer, which furnishes materials to the manufacturer, is unproductive, because he consumes an equal value of manufactured articles. Each furnishes a certain portion of the produce of his labour to the other. In the meantime the maintenance of two citizens instead of one, is going on; the state has two members instead of one; and they together consume twice the value of what is produced from the land. If instead of a farmer and artificer, there were a farmer only, he would be under the necessity of devoting a part of his labour to the fabrication of clothing and other articles which he would procure of the artificer, in the case of there being such a person; and of course he would be able to devote less labour to the cultivation of his farm, and would draw from it a proportionably less product. The whole quantity of production, in this state of things, in provisions, raw materials, and manufactures, would certainly not exceed in value the amount of what would be produced in provisions and raw materials only, if there were an artificer as well as a farmer. Again—If there were both an artificer and a farmer, the latter would be left at liberty to pursue exclusively the cultivation of his farm. A greater quantity of provisions and raw materials would of course be produced, equal, at least, as has been already observed, to the amount of the provisions, raw materials, and manufactures, which would exist on a contrary supposition. The artificer, at the same time, would be going on in the production of manufactured commodities; to an amount sufficient not only to repay the farmer, in those commodities, for the provisions and materials which were procured

from him, but to furnish the artificer himself with a supply of similar commodities for his own use. Thus then, there would be two quantities of values in existence instead of one; and the revenue and consumption would be double in one case, what it would be in the other. If, in place of both these suppositions, there were supposed to be two farmers and no artificer, each of whom applied a part of his labour to the culture of land, and another part to the fabrication of manufactures; in this case, the portion of the labour of both bestowed upon land, would produce the same quantity of provisions and raw materials only, as would be produced by the entire sum of the labour of one applied in the same manner, and the portion of the labour of both bestowed upon manufactures, would produce the same quantities only, as would be produced by the entire sum of the labour of one applied in the same manner. Hence the produce of the labour of the two farmers would not be greater than the produce of the labour of the farmer and artificer; and hence it results that the labour of the artificer is as positively productive as that of the farmer, and as positively augments the revenue of the society. The labour of the artificer replaces to the farmer that portion of his labour with which he provides the materials of exchange with the artificer, and which he would otherwise have been compelled to apply to manufactures; and while the artificer thus enables the farmer to enlarge his stock of agricultural industry, a portion of which he purchases for his own use, he also supplies himself with the manufactured articles of which he stands in need. He does still more.—Besides this equivalent which he gives for the portion of agricultural labour consumed by him, and this supply of manufactured commodities for his own consumption; he furnishes still a surplus, which compensates for the use of the capital advanced either by himself or some other person, for carrying on the business. This is the ordinary profit of the stock employed in the manufactory, and is, in every sense, as effective an addition to the income of the society as the rent of land. The produce of the labour of the artificer, consequently, may be regarded as composed of three parts; one by which the provisions for his subsistence and the materials for his work are purchased of the farmer; one by which he supplies himself with manufactured necessaries; and a third which constitutes the profit on the stock employed. The two last portions seem to have been overlooked in the system, which represents manufacturing industry as barren and unproductive. In the course of the preceding illustrations, the products of equal quantities of the labour of the farmer and artificer, have been treated as if

equal to each other. But this is not to be understood as intending to assert any such precise equality. It is merely a manner of expression adopted for the sake of simplicity and perspicuity. Whether the value of the produce of the labour of the farmer be somewhat more or less than that of the artificer, is not material to the main scope of the argument, which hitherto has only aimed at showing that the one, as well as the other, occasions a positive augmentation of the total produce and revenue of the society. It is now proper to proceed a step further, and to enumerate the principal circumstances from which it may be inferred, that manufacturing establishments not only occasion a positive augmentation of the produce and revenue of the society, but that they contribute essentially to rendering them greater than they could possibly be without such establishments. These circumstances are, 1. The division of labour. 2. The extension of the use of machinery. 3. Additional employment to classes of the community not ordinarily engaged in the business. 4. The promotion of emigration from foreign countries. 5. The furnishing greater scope for the diversity of talents and dispositions, which discriminate men from each other."

"This report on manufactures is perhaps the most elaborate performance he left on the files of his office. It is distinguished for extensive research, judicious application of the knowledge attained, and an accurate estimate of the policy of encouraging the manufacturing interest, as an essential feature in the independence of the nation. This report adopts the principles of the mercantile system, in opposition to Adam Smith and the French economists. They attacked the combined manufacturing and mercantile interests of Great Britain, as founded upon oppressive monopoly; and contended for entire freedom of commerce and industry, undiverted and unimpeded by government, as the best means of advancing nations to prosperity and greatness. The secretary combated with the greatest ability some of the dogmas of these philosophers, and maintained his favourite system as much by the power of his logic, as by illustrative and pertinent reference to the experience of those nations, at once successful in commerce and great in the productions of art. It is now more than forty years since his report on manufactures was made to congress. Now his opinions on that great branch of natural economy are become popular in the United States. For the last fifteen years societies have been formed in every part of the country, composed of gentlemen in all the various pursuits of life, expressly to procure and disseminate information tending to encourage the manufacturing interests of

the nation. Memorials of most interesting and impressive character for eloquence, correct principles, and patriotic devotion, have been published to the people ; and committees appointed to stimulate the federal government to a particular patronage of that branch of industry and political strength. These memorials and committees espouse the sentiments which were assumed by Secretary Hamilton. The Hon. John Holmes delivered, in the senate of the United States, a synopsis of this report, as a speech on the tariff, observing that nothing new could be added. In this particular, as on the subjects of the funded debt and national bank, the experience of the last half century has clearly proved that he was, in his time, more correctly impressed as to the true interests and policy of the United States, and better understood their political and domestic economy, than any other statesman who has been at all prominent in their public affairs. All his official reports are remarkable for wide research, profound thought, close logic, and precision of expression. His labours in the treasury department, united with the integrity with which he conducted it, and which the most penetrating inquisition into all the avenues of his office could never bring into question, will form with posterity the fairest monument of his fame. In organising the federal government, in 1789, every man of either sense or candour will allow, the difficulties seemed greater than the first rate abilities could surmount. The event has shown that his abilities were greater than those difficulties. He surmounted them, and Washington's administration was the most wise and beneficent, the most prosperous, and ought to be the most popular, that ever was entrusted with the affairs of a nation. Great as was Washington's merit, much of it in plan, much in execution, was due to the talents, and ought to enhance the memory, of his minister. As a statesman, he was not more distinguished by the great extent of his views, than by the caution with which he provided against impediments, and the watchfulness of his care over the rights and liberty of the subject. In none of the many revenue bills which he framed, is there to be found a single clause that savours of despotic power ; not one that the sagest champions of law and liberty would, on that ground, hesitate to approve and adopt. It is rare that a man who owes so much to nature descends to seek more from industry ; but he seemed to depend on industry, as if nature had done nothing for him. His habits of investigation were very remarkable, his mind seemed to cling to his subject till he had exhausted it. Hence the uncommon superiority of his reasoning powers, a superiority that seemed to be augmented from every source, and to be

fortified by every auxiliary—learning, taste, wit, imagination, and eloquence. These were embellished and enforced by his temper and manners, by his fame and his virtues. It is difficult, in the midst of such various excellence, to say in what particular the effect of his greatness was most manifest. No man more promptly discerned truth. No man more clearly displayed it. It is not merely made visible. It seemed to come bright with illumination from his lips. For the truth, which his researches so distinctly presented to the understanding of others, was rendered almost irresistibly commanding and impressive, by the love and reverence which, it was ever apparent, he profoundly cherished for it in his own. While patriotism glowed in his heart, wisdom blended in his speech her authority with her charms. Such, also, is the character of his writings. Judiciously collected, they will be a public treasure.

“The most substantial glory of a country is in its virtuous great men. Its prosperity will depend on its docility to learn from their example. That nation is fated to ignominy and servitude, for which such men lived in vain. Power may be seized by a nation that is yet barbarous, and wealth may be enjoyed by one that it finds or renders sordid. The one is a gift and the sport of accident, and the other is the sport of power. Both are mutable, and have passed away, without leaving behind them any other memorial, than ruins that offend taste, and traditions that baffle conjecture.

“But the glory of Greece is imperishable, or will last as long as learning itself, which is its monument. It strikes an everlasting root, and bears perennial blossoms on its grave. The name of *Hamilton* would not have dishonoured Greece in the age of *Aristides*.”*

* M. Carey, the author of the Olive Branch, in his disinterested exertions to promote the American system, was the means of circulating the report of Hamilton, more than any other individual; and, indeed, Mr. Carey's patriotic exertions are deserving of high praise.

“Believing that Alexander Hamilton was the real father of the American system—that therefore the manufacturers were very deeply indebted to him—that they ought to hold his memory sacred—and that they would of course rejoice in an opportunity of showing their gratitude, I projected the striking of a medal to his honour; and made a conditional arrangement with Mr. Gobrecht, a celebrated die sinker, for the execution. The expense of the die, and some small items, would have been two hundred and seventy dollars. The subscription was to be five dollars each, for fifty-four persons, to be divided equally between Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, eighteen to each place. But trifling as was the contribution, economy prevailed over

That timidity which causes young men to remain in idleness, and distrust the bounties of Providence, is a vice which ought to be fought against on its first approaches. The earth bringeth forth abundantly, the young ravens, the cattle upon a thousand hills, are fed; and shall He not feed you, O ye of little faith! Ambition to prosper in business, in the first place, fired Slater to leave the home of his parents—to separate from his kindred—to leave his country—to cross the Atlantic, then a more formidable voyage than at present. This enabled him to come among strangers, and suffer their suspicions and neglect, to endure every hardship in his first attempts; so it never left him—he gained his purpose. A fortune raised in that spirit ought to be cherished, and managed in an honourable manner, out of respect to its founder. Ambition operates in various ways; in Slater, I think, it led to a desire to leave his children in a permanent and lucrative business, as his old master, Strutt, left his sons, whose posterity are now enjoying their inheritance. Nor can I see any evil in the exercise of such ambition, if it does not interfere with other and more important duties. There is no evil in the accumulation of property, if it be done honestly and honourably, without infringing on the rights and privileges of others. This being with Slater a strong passion, he could not be easily diverted from it, but met every obstacle with fortitude, before which mountains became plains, and hills were removed. This courage when properly used, is virtuous and praiseworthy, and ought to be imitated.

“To do good, with the property which we have saved by our

gratitude. I sent the prospectus to two very extensive and influential manufacturers in Boston and New York, neither of whom procured a subscriber. I hired a person in Philadelphia at a dollar per day, to go among the manufacturers to procure signatures. In five days he procured eleven! I need not add that the project was abandoned.

“The subscribers, desirous of transmitting to posterity a lasting testimonial of their high sense of the profound and wealth-producing system of political economy displayed in the admirable report on manufactures, by Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, under the administration of General Washington—a report, which, considering the previous uncongenial habits of the illustrious writer, may be placed among the proudest monuments of the human intellect; and, considering his political and anti-manufacturing associations, as a decisive proof of the most sterling patriotism, have agreed to subscribe each five dollars for the purpose of procuring a die for striking medals to commemorate the memory of a statesman, who, by the work in question, has had a beneficent influence in promoting the national prosperity, which it would be scarcely possible to appreciate too highly.”

honesty, economy, temperance, and industry, is one great end of our existence ; it is the perfection of the Christian character, and should be the first lesson in all education. The selfish and hard-hearted, who strive, by monopoly and every unfair advantage, to obtain unequal privileges, to get all they can, to accept all that is given, and to give nothing, never dream of that, which is so true, that the giver is the happiest man. But to enable us to give we must have something, and this again shows us the value of property. Those who have nothing, may be kind-hearted, generous, and naturally noble-minded ; they may for ever be thinking to do good, and hoping that the time will come, when they shall be able to bring something about ; but very little, comparatively, is ever in their power.

“Property provides for the body, clothes and feeds us ; it builds our houses, supplies them with furniture, provides all the tools for our work on our farms, and every where else, and settles our wild lands ; for a poor man cannot even move from the old to the new states unless he has made some provision for that purpose. It builds the manufactories, supplies them with stock, and pays the wages of the hands. If indigent people come to us from Europe, there must be more property than just enough for us to live upon, or we cannot set them to work, and they must starve.

“ If the destitute English, Scots, and Irish, were to emigrate to the poor countries of Europe, they would perish ; they therefore, are as much interested in increasing the property of this country, as the natives are. It is the increasing property of the United States which is now employing these poor people in the building of canals and railroads. Nothing but our *superfluous* wealth can feed the hungry or clothe the naked.

“ All progress and improvements in the arts, in the engines, tools, and labour-saving machines of the mechanic, farmer, and manufacturer, are to be attributed mainly to the increasing property of the people.”—*Sedgwick*.

“ When a poor man wants food or drink, and must have it, the first thing he does is to work ; this is the price he pays, and at night he receives his recompense, in a bushel of wheat, or rye, or money, or some other thing. The reason why he must pay in his own labour immediately, is, that he has no labour stored or laid up : in other words, he has none of the products of labour, such as money, or other property. But suppose a good farmer, whose farm is not mortgaged, and whose cattle and goods are neither pledged for debt, nor under a sheriff’s execution, desires to buy ; he also pays in labour ; but it is not the labour of that

day, but of some former period. He has been a man of prudence ; he has stored up labour, which now consists of wheat, corn, rye, cattle, &c. ; these are the things that he worked for last year ; these he exchanges for what he wants. A rich man, who never wrought a day in his life, he may not have wheat, corn, or rye, with which to pay, but he has money, which is as completely labour laid up, as the farmer's stores. It is not the result of his own labour, but that of his father, grandfather, or some other industrious man. Some one has given labour for it ; for there is no other way, as an almost universal rule, by which money can be obtained, in the first instance, but by being worked for. It is obtained from the mines by labour, as before stated ; and the labourer who gets it, is paid for his work, as all other labourers are. The merit of this rich man, then, is that, he has saved, and not foolishly thrown away, his hoarded labour,—that which he is sure has cost the sweat and toil of industrious people.”—*Ibid.*

“New England has not been a leader in this policy. On the contrary, she held back herself, and tried to hold others back from it, from the adoption of the constitution of 1824. Up to this time, she was accused of sinister and selfish designs, *because she discountenanced the progress of this policy.* It was laid to her charge, then, that having established her manufactures herself, she wished that others should not have the power of rivaling her ; and for that reason, opposed all legislative encouragement. Under this angry denunciation against her, the act of 1824 passed. Now, (1828) the imputation is precisely of an opposite character. The present measure is pronounced to be exclusively for the benefit of New England ; to be brought forward by her agency, and designed to gratify the cupidity of her wealthy establishments. Both charges are equally without the slightest foundation. The opinion of New England, up to 1824, was founded in the conviction that, on the whole, it was wisest and best, both for herself and others, that manufactures should make haste slowly. She felt a reluctance to trust great interests on the foundation of government patronage ; for who could tell how long such patronage would last, or with what steadiness, skill, or perseverance, it would continue to be granted ? Fifteen years ago, I ventured to express a serious doubt, whether this government was fitted, by its construction, to administer aid and protection to particular pursuits ; whether, having called such pursuits into being, by indications of its favour, it would not afterwards desert them, when troubles came upon them, and leave them to their fate. Whether this prediction, the result, certainly, of chance, and not of sagacity, will be fulfilled,

remains to be seen. At the same time it is true, that from the very first commencement of the government, those who have administered its concerns have held a tone of encouragement and invitation towards those who should embark in manufactures. All the presidents, without exception, have concurred in this general sentiment; and the very first act of congress, laying duties of import, adopted the then unusual expedient of a preamble, apparently for little other purpose than that of declaring, that the duties which it imposed, were imposed for the encouragement and protection of manufactures. When, at the commencement of the late war, duties were doubled, we were told that we should find a mitigation of the weight of taxation, in the new aid and succour which would be thus afforded to our own manufacturing labour. Like arguments were urged, and prevailed, but not by the aid of New England votes, when the tariff was afterwards arranged, at the close of the war, in 1816. The act of 1824 received the sanction of both houses of congress, and settled the policy of the country. What then was New England to do? She was fitted for manufacturing operations, by the amount and character of her population, by her capital, by the vigour and energy of her free labour, by the skill, economy, enterprise, and perseverance of her people. Nothing was left to New England, after the act of 1824, but to conform herself to the will of others. Nothing was left to her, but to consider that the government had fixed and determined its own policy; and that policy was protection.

“New England, poor in some respects, in others is as wealthy as her neighbours. Her soil would be held in low estimation by those who are acquainted with the valley of the Mississippi, and some of the meadows of the south. But in industry, in habits of labour, skill, and in accumulated capital, the fruit of two centuries of industry, she may be said to be rich. She had foreseen, that if the system of protecting manufactures should be adopted, she must go largely into them: a vast increase of investment in manufacturing establishments was the consequence. Those who made such investments, probably entertained not the slightest doubt that as much as was promised would be effectually granted; and that if, owing to any unforeseen occurrence, or untoward event, the benefit designed by the law, to any branch of manufactures, should not be realised, it would furnish a fair case for the consideration of government. Certainly, they could not expect, after what had passed, that interests of great magnitude would be left at the mercy of the very first change of circumstances which might occur.”—*Webster on the Tariff*.

A comparative view of the weekly and yearly expenditure of an English and an American family, will show that the advantage, with regard to the price of labour, is not so great as many have represented.

The English labourer must be supported in a country where rent and provisions are much higher than in the United States. It may be asked, how does the English labourer get the money to purchase this expenditure? His expenditure has but one element, it is work, his daily toil. He can neither beg nor steal. His labour, or wages, must meet the whole expenditure. No matter who pays it, in the first instance. He consumes so much value; whether his employer or the public advance this amount, is immaterial. It costs as much to support the population of manufacturing establishments in England, as it does in America. He who employs this labour, receives directly the product, and must ultimately pay the cost of it. Pauperism is a part of the English system, and it is known, that almost all labourers are, to some amount, one quarter, one half, three quarters, or all, supported by enormous poor rates. These are paid by the employers of labour and capital, and must, like wages paid directly to the labourer, be charged on production, and paid by consumption. How different the condition of American labourers! Each family may lay up two thirds of their wages, and still be in comfort and accommodation. They can do this, because the produce of land is so cheap. Those who allege that we cannot manufacture so cheap as the English, because we pay so much higher wages, should consider that this is true in appearance only. If such apparent difference resulted in that effect, how is it true that England can compete with France? Labour is much higher, in its apparent price, in England, than the same labour is in France. In America, machinery is moved by water, the English by steam, and 150 in 151 manufacturing *labourers* are machines. Proximity to our market is a great advantage: the cost to carry the raw material abroad, and to return the finished fabrics, are items of some consequence. British manufacturing labour affords no surplus saving, over and above consumption; and can add nothing to national capital. American labour can save one third of its wages, whereby to augment national capital.

Any day of the year, since 1824, the true Leeds and Manchester prices current, of cotton and woollen cloths, have quoted them at an equal, or higher price, than goods of the same quality, on the same days, were sold on the same terms, at Providence. We do not yet export much amount of woollens, but in cottons we under-

sell the English, in South American markets. In 1827 we paid a duty of 15 per cent. ad valorem, and then sold our cottons, in the Canadas, cheaper than the English, paying no duty, sell their fabrics of like quality.

The English have been at pains and cost, to obtain samples and marks, of cloths made in Cumberland, Smithfield, N. Providence, and Coventry, in Rhode Island; and imitating these cloths, and forging their marks, they have sent their fabrics to South America. The American domestics are still distinguishable; and, because of a firmer fabric, sell more readily, and at better prices, than these fraudulent imitations.

When manufactures began in this country, they began with little skill, less capital, and imperfect machinery. They took shelter under impost for encouragement. Aided by that, they came into the market, and selling their products at, or nearly at, the price of the English fabrics, with added importation and impost, they were able to meet the augmented expenditures incident to incipient establishments, want of capital, want of skill, and want of perfected machinery. Mr. Burgess said, in 1828:—"The system is your great system of impost; the vital principle of your government, together with its acknowledged and inseparable concomitants,—breathed into this legislative, judicial, and executive body, by the spirit of wisdom itself; this body then, and thereafter, became a living, active, and efficient being. You would have revenue 'to support this government, pay the national debt, provide for the common defence and secure the general welfare.' The constitution directed, and the laws have provided, that you should raise it by impost. Unless you confine impost to such products as your country does not, nor ever can produce, your impost will, of necessity, by increasing the price of foreign, encourage the production of domestic products of the same kind. As that impost, by encouraging, increases the supply of domestic, the amount of impost to sustain revenue must be increased. This reciprocal increase of impost and encouragement, will finally have called labour, skill, machinery, and capital, in such abundance, to the aid of domestic production, that your market must be supplied with whatever class of domestic products may thus have fallen within the influence of impost. So soon as your market is supplied from domestic production, *impost* must cease to be *productive* of revenue; because, when the market is supplied with the domestic, there can be, for no fair purpose of purchase and sale, any further importation of foreign products. Was it not, therefore, just, when it was, of necessity, true, that the law of impost should

have announced that all impost for revenue, on all articles within the productive capabilities of our country, was also impost for encouragement? If it was just, and of necessity true, *then*, to make that announcement to this nation, is it not *just*, and of necessity true, *now*, when it has been re-enacted and solemnly repeated, in the same manner, during a course of legislation, for the term of almost forty years? If, stimulated by that impost, operating that encouragement, millions of men, with millions of property, have been labouring after skill, perfecting machinery, and collecting capital, will you now, when they can supply the nation at a less expense, and with as good a fabric,—will you, I say, *now* announce, that all you said *then*, of encouragement, was fabled and false; a stratagem to lure money into your coffers, and men into ruin? You published a system of impost for revenue, encouragement and protection. You knew *that*, when you had received the last cent of your revenue, you would have been perfectly paid for protection. The people of this nation have paid the full and stipulated consideration to their government for her full protection, on every item of domestic production. They do not claim protection on this ground; but they respectfully petition to be protected on those products only, which they can, and demonstrate that they can, supply at a cost *much less* than foreign labour and capital can supply them.”

In reflecting on the value and uses of property, I am aware there are many conflicting opinions on this subject; a great variety of theories are proposed, many of them founded on the idea, that the same principles will operate in relation to capital now, as it would in the origin of society. It must be remembered, that the state of society is formed, fashions and customs are fixed, and with the present situation, it becomes us to ask, what are the value and uses of property? To lay up in store in those years of plenty, in order to provide for years of scarcity, was considered in Joseph a maxim of profound wisdom, and practically was of immense benefit to mankind. Where this power of accumulation exists without infringing on the rights and necessities of others, it is performing a work of public benefit; filling store houses, as our security against sudden emergencies and times of scarcity. These are the value and uses of property, and in the present situation of the United States, the capitalists form an important part of the community; they do not receive exorbitant interest in the general works of improvement, but on the contrary, suffer great risks and losses. Why should prejudices exist against individuals who are

willing to employ their money in works of public utility, which afford means of wealth to others ?

On the subject of wages there is much said that to me is not easily to be understood, much intricacy and such theories as are impracticable, and that will not bear on the present state of society. My simple idea has always been, that wages must be regulated according to the demand, and according to the state of business. It is liable to depression, like the interest of money, or any other article of commerce—it is far best to let it alone, it will regulate itself; nothing like coercion can be allowed in a free country, every individual must be left to act for himself; and this has answered well, in its practical operation in every age of the world. I read Mr. Carey with the hope of getting something definite on a subject on which I do not profess to be a very proficient student. I was, however, somewhat disappointed in my examination of the *Essay on Wages*,* but will let the author speak for himself.

“ We may safely trust that population will limit itself, and that the wisdom of the arrangements of the Deity in regard to man, will be as evident as it is in every other part of the creation. At the time Mr. Malthus formed his theory, he had but few facts

* This subject is attracting general notice, and it must necessarily become more interesting, as the population and business transactions of the country increase. As it is closely connected with the well being of the community, the discussion ought to be conducted in a calm and dispassionate manner, and every thing relating to it weighed with justice and judgment; without partiality and without hypocrisy; without respect either to the poor or to the rich.

Something can be learned from the past experience of mankind, for like causes will produce like effects in every age and section of the world. Every thing will find its level, and it is impossible to press it beyond its natural course; you may impede its regular progress, by artificial contrivances, but it will burst through every obstruction, and break down every barrier in its way. The less we legislate on this subject the better; labour must and will be paid according to the demand; and you cannot raise wages upon the large scale, no more than you can raise the price of gold. However precious and important it may be to the country's prosperity, still there must be a price, and that will be varied by circumstances, like the value of any other article. Nothing can be ultimately gained by combinations and opposition of one class to the other, because such things are always met with counteracting influences.

The state of business and of capital in the United States, prevents any monopoly or advantage to the injury of the operatives, and nothing should be done to discourage investments for the promotion of business and improvement; for without such arrangement of property, a stagnation must ensue, and in such a case the labourers are the first who feel the effects, especially those of them who do not save from their earnings to help them in time of need.

in regard to *civilised* man, upon which it could be based.* The experience of this country had been too short to enable him to use

* Since making the above extract, I have examined Malthus's "Essay on the Principle of Population; or, a view of its past and present effects on Human Happiness; with an enquiry into our prospects respecting the future removal or mitigation of the evils which it occasions,"—2 vols. 8vo, third edition,—and I cannot agree with Mr. Carey, that the author had not the facts of the case before him, for in this respect he is very full and overpowering in his argument.

His proposed remedy is self-denial, founded on purity and chastity; he recommends prudence, temperance, industry, and economy, and the exercise of these is certainly a remedy against vice and misery. These virtues would render it unnecessary to restrict population; they would richly provide for such a population, however numerous. It is but justice to let Malthus define what he terms a moral restraint on population; he says,—“By *moral* restraint, I would be understood to mean, a restraint from marriage from prudential motives, with a conduct strictly moral during the period of this restraint, and I have never intentionally deviated from this sense. When I wished to consider the restraint from marriage unconnected with its consequences, I have either called it prudential restraint, or a part of the preventive check, of which it forms the principal branch. Tacitus describes the inhabitants of ancient Germany, as not living in cities, or even admitting of contiguous settlements. Every person surrounds his house with a vacant space, a circumstance, which, besides its beneficial effect as a security from fire, is strongly calculated to prevent the generation, and check the ravages, of epidemics. They content themselves almost universally with one wife. Their matrimonial bond is strict and severe, and their manners in this respect deserving the highest praise. They live in a state of well-guarded chastity, corrupted by no seducing spectacles, or convivial incitements. Adultery is extremely rare, and no indulgence is shown to a prostitute. Neither beauty, youth, nor riches, can procure her a husband; for none there look on vice with a smile, or call mutual seduction the way of the world. To limit the increase of children, or put to death any of the husband's blood, is accounted infamous, and virtuous manners have there more efficacy than good laws elsewhere. Every mother suckles her own children, and does not deliver them into the hands of servants and nurses. The youths partake late of the sexual intercourse, and hence pass the age of puberty unexhausted. Nor are the virgins brought forward. The same maturity, the same full growth is required; the sexes unite equally matched and robust, and the children inherit the vigour of their parents. The more numerous are a man's kinsmen and relations, the more comfortable is his old age, nor is it any advantage to be childless.

“With these manners, and a habit of enterprise and emigration, which would naturally remove all fears about providing for a family, it is difficult to conceive a society with a stronger principle of increase in it; and we see at once that prolific source of successive armies and colonies against which the force of the Roman empire so long struggled with difficulty, and under which it ultimately sunk.”—*Malthus*.

it with any advantage, and he was obliged to argue from the state of man as he exists in the eastern hemisphere, 'checked like a bondman,' fettered by laws and regulations, and oppressed by claims for the support of government and of individuals. To argue from facts thus obtained, is like constructing a theory of the tides from a collection of observations on mill-dams. I am not aware of a fact in his book in regard to man in a state of civilisation, that goes to support his theory, or that is not much better evidence that man has been misgoverned, and his increase repressed thereby, than that it has been repressed by inability of the earth to afford him support.

" *High wages*, or a large 'fund for the support of the labouring class, in proportion to the extent of that class,' are an infallible evidence of prosperity.

" National prosperity does not depend nearly so much on advantageous situations, salubrity of climate, or fertility of soil, as in the adopting of measures fitted to excite the inventive powers of genius, and to give perseverance and activity to industry. The establishment of a wise system of public economy can compensate for every other deficiency. It can render regions naturally inhospitable, barren and unproductive, the comfortable abodes of an elegant and refined, or crowded and wealthy, population. But where it is wanting, the best gifts of nature are of no value; and countries possessed of the greatest capacities of improvement, and abounding in all the materials necessary for the production of wealth, with difficulty furnish a miserable subsistence to hordes distinguished only by their ignorance, barbarism, and wretchedness.

" As yet we know nothing of the productive powers of the earth. In an article on America, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, it is stated, that notwithstanding the difference in size between the eastern and western continent, the proportion of the former that is unfit for cultivation, in consequence of sterility, or absence of water communications, is so much greater that the latter is capable of subsisting an equal population.

" The most fertile soils, miserably tilled, according to the prescriptive rule of 'follow my leader,' are every where found contiguous to examples of skill and industry, which raise abundant crops; and the contented boor sits down to his starved returns, quite satisfied with what rude implements, wasteful defects, and ignorant blindness, have permitted him to gather like his predecessors.

" How different would it be, were the opposite course pursued! were all the British empire, for instance, as ably and intelligently

cultivated as the Lothians and lowlands of Scotland. Were Mr. Lowe's practical lessons universally acted upon, we should then hear no more of a surplus population beyond the supply of food ; of the necessity of exporting our hearty peasantry to Australian or other colonies ; of the dreadful sufferings of the labouring poor. The honest toils of the field would largely supersede the depraving employment of the workhouse ; and the reward of those toils would be plenty of wholesome food to sustain the humblest classes of our fellow-creatures. Such is the fact in the United States, pauperism and the workhouse in an evil sense is unknown among us.

“Having done all in our power to make man poor and miserable,—to prevent the growth of capital or any improvement in his situation, and finding that there is a great deal of poverty in the world, we enquire the cause, and find it arises out of a mistake in the Deity, who fitted man to increase in a geometrical ratio, while he permitted the fruits of the earth to increase in an arithmetical ratio only, thus making poverty and misery inseparable accompaniments of the human race. This result is highly satisfactory to us, as it transfers to the Deity what should rest upon our own shoulders, and we then invent the starvation check ; discourage matrimony that we may promote profligacy, and thus check population ; while the earth is as yet, in a great measure, untouched, and is capable of supporting thousands of millions, in those parts where cultivation is almost unknown.

“The people of the United States have corn, and provisions generally, very cheap. Tea and coffee are imported free of duty, and are sold at a very small advance upon their cost at the places of production. Sugar is at much smaller duty than in France and England. Fuel is cheap. Most descriptions of manufactured goods are higher than in England, particularly those of wool and iron ; and, the rate of interest being higher, house rent is also higher. Making allowances for these differences, it is probable that the English labourer would be required to work sixteen days to obtain the same amount of commodities that would be obtained by the American labourer in eleven days.

“In the United States, the situation of the labouring classes is confessedly better than in any other nation whatever.

“Until within a very recent period, France has known little of the benefit of security, either of person or of property.

“Fettered and oppressed in every way, as France was, under her despotic kings, the spirit of invention and enterprise could never rise to those high conceptions, which of late years have

brought England and America to the summit of prosperity. Manufacturers, placed under the severe control of men who purchased their offices from government, and who, therefore, exercised them with rapacity, could not hazard any improvement, without infringing the established regulations, and running the risk of having their goods destroyed, burned, or confiscated. In every trade, official regulations prescribed to workmen the methods of working, and forbade deviation from them, under pain of the most severe punishments. Ridiculous to say, the framer of these statutes fancied he understood better how to sort and prepare wool, silk, or cotton, to spin threads, to twist and throw them, than workmen brought up to the trade, and whose livelihood depended on their talent. Habits of industry constitute a very important item in the consideration of the causes which tend to increase or diminish the product of labour, and, of course, the fund out of which it is to be paid. In the United States, every inducement is held out to industry. The people have the confidence that they will have the enjoyment of almost the whole product of their labour undiminished by taxation, and that moderate exertion, with economy, will lead to independence. As no people ever had stronger inducements, so none ever pursued their avocations with more earnestness.

“Nothing so nurtures virtue as the spirit of independence. The poor should be assisted in providing for themselves.

“In Holland, the truths of political economy were first acted upon, and they brought with them a copious harvest of wealth. Security and freedom and economy were looked to as the sources of riches, as may be seen by the following passages from a description of the policy of the republic, written nearly a century since, in answer to inquiries respecting the state of trade, addressed to the merchants of Holland by the stadtholder William IV. To sum up all, amongst the moral and political causes of the same flourishing state of trade, may be likewise placed the wisdom and prudence of the administration; the intrepid firmness of the councils; the faithfulness with which treaties and engagements were wont to be fulfilled and ratified; and particularly the care and caution practised to preserve tranquillity and peace, and to decline instead of entering on a scene of war, merely to gratify the ambitious views of gaining fruitless or imaginary conquests. By these moral and political maxims was the glory and the reputation of the republic so far spread, and foreigners animated to place so great a confidence in the steady determinations of a state so wisely and prudently conducted, that a concourse of them

stocked this country with an augmentation of inhabitants and useful hands, whereby its trade and opulence were from time to time increased.

“ The above observations are at present applicable to the United States. It has been seen that the United States are comparatively free from those disturbing causes which impede the growth of capital. With a vast body of land ; with mines of gold, lead, iron, copper, and coal, abounding in every direction ; circulating capital alone was wanting to bring them into activity, and the system has tended to promote its rapid growth. Secure in person and property, comparatively free from taxation, unrestrained in action, comparatively so in all matters of trade, and very industrious, the people of this country, applying their labour in the way which they think will produce the largest reward, find their capital rapidly augmented ; the consequence of which is, that mines are opened in all directions, new lands are brought into cultivation, rail-roads and canals are constructed, and machinery is applied in every way to increase the produce of labour. Capital flows from all quarters to this country, where it can be best paid for, and, increasing the demand for labour, finds employment, not only for the vast natural increase of population, but for great numbers who are led to seek here an improvement of their condition. The fund out of which the labourer is paid, is larger, and his wages are consequently greater, than in any other country. It is in a very high degree satisfactory to see that this arises out of circumstances peculiar to the United States, and that there is no reason to believe that any increase which may take place in the extent of their population, can make it otherwise, while adhering to the present system.

“ By the following statements the reader will be enabled to compare the rate of money wages of England and the United States.

“ The number of persons employed in the cotton manufacture of the United States, is thus stated in the memorial of the New York convention, 1832:—males, 18,539 ; females, 38,927 ; children, 4,691 ; hand weavers, 4,760 ; in all, 66,917 ; total wages, \$10,294,944, equal to \$3 or 12s. 6d. per week. In the History of the Cotton Manufacture, by Mr. Baines, (p. 511,) the above amount of wages is taken, but the children and hand weavers are omitted, by which the number of operatives is reduced to 57,466, and the wages are thereby made to appear to be 14s. 11d. per week. Mr. Baines's reasoning in relation to the comparative wages of the United States and England, is thereby vitiated.

“ It is to be regretted, that the gentleman by whom the report was drawn up, did not give the average wages of men, women, and

children. As they have not done so, we must endeavour to estimate them.

	\$.
18,539 men, at \$5 per week, would be	92,695
38,927 women, at \$2 per week,	77,854
4,691 children, at \$1,75 per do.	8,211
4,760 hand weavers, at \$4 per do.	19,040
	<hr/>
	\$197,800

52 weeks, at \$197,800 each, would be \$10,285,600, being nearly the amount given in the report.

“ In the above it will be observed that only about seven per cent. are termed children, and even those are much above the age at which children are employed in England. At Lowell, the number employed below sixteen is very small, and none below twelve. In the Lawrence factory at that place, out of 1000 females, only 129 are below seventeen, and of the males, there are twenty-eight below that age, or who may properly be styled children, cannot exceed eight per cent. of the whole number employed, which is 1160.

“ In a summary of the returns to the questions of the factory commissioners, of 151 owners of cotton mills, in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, for five weeks, ending May 1833, it is stated, that out of 48,645 persons employed, 20,084 are under eighteen years of age. The average wages in these mills, are 10s. 5d. (*Baines*, p. 371.)

“ In an estimate of the number of persons employed in the cotton mills of England, the total number is given at 212,800, of whom 43,703 are under fourteen years of age, and 39,554 between fourteen and eighteen. One half of the latter being deducted, the total number employed below sixteen years, would be 63,480, or 30 per cent. of the whole quantity. Notwithstanding the vastly greater quantity of inferior labour thus used, wages are estimated at 10s. 6d. per week, or within two shillings of what was paid in the United States in 1832.

Dr. James Mitchell was employed under the factory commissioners to draw out tables, showing the wages, health, &c., of the factory operatives, and the results of some of the principal cotton mills, embracing 7614 operatives, are as follow:—(*Baines*, p. 437). 1415 males below 16, 2355 males above 16, giving above 35 per cent. below the age at which children are usually employed here. As wages differ very much with age, and as it is to be supposed

that the efficiency of the labourer is in proportion to the wages received, the only fair mode of comparing those of the United States and England, is to strike of all whose ages are below that at which they are here employed. The average wages of persons above sixteen, in those factories, as given by Dr. Mitchell, are as follows:

2355 males, 16s. 3d.

2566 females, 8s.

4921—general average 12s.

or within 6d. as much as the average of the estimate furnished by the New York convention. It may be said, that seven per cent. of the labourers employed in the United States being below sixteen, there should be some allowance made therefor, but they are generally so little below that age, that any allowance would have small effect upon the result.

“The great disproportion that exists between the two countries, in the employment of male and female labour, cannot fail to strike the reader. In England, the females exceed the males by only about 9 per cent., while in the United States they exceeded them, agreeably to the above statement, by above 110 per cent. Since that time, great improvements have taken place in machinery, increasing the proportion of females very greatly. At first sight, it might be supposed that this should cause wages to be lower here, the labour of men being generally more productive than that of women, and that this would be an offset to the number of children employed in England. Such is not, however, the case, women being employed *here*, because every thing is done to render labour productive, while *there* a large portion of the power of the male operatives is wasted. By the above statement, it is shown that in the United States, there were only 4760 hand weavers in the year 1832, and the number can hardly be supposed to have increased. From the great influx of emigrants from Ireland, it is probable that there will be, for a long time to come, an equal number; but the modes of employment are so numerous, that a large number must be annually absorbed. On the 1st January, 1835, there were in the town of Lowell 5051 power looms, or more, by nearly 300, than the whole number of hand looms in this country.

“The whole number of power looms in Great Britain is estimated by Baines, p. 238, to be 100,000.

“I think it must be evident to the reader, that any difference in wages that may exist between England and the United States, must arise out of its better application in the latter. The perfection to which machinery has been brought, enables the proprietor

to avail himself much more extensively of female labour than is the case in Europe. The labour of the females, as shown, is much more productive, and they consequently receive higher wages. The males, not being compelled to compete with machinery, are enabled to apply their powers in other ways that are more productive, and as a consequence, when they marry, the necessity for the employment of their wives and young children in factories is unknown. A further consequence is, that all parents have it in their power to obtain education for their children, and the children have time to receive it. A still further consequence is, that the state of morals at Lowell, Dover, Providence, and its vicinity, and other places where extensive factories exist, is such, as is almost utterly unknown in any other parts of the world, and constitutes a phenomenon in the moral, equal to that of Niagara in the natural world.

“Of one thousand females in the Lawrence factory at Lowell, there are but eleven who are married. There are nineteen widows. The following passage from a statement furnished by a gentleman who has charge of one of the principal establishments in Lowell, shows a very gratifying state of things. ‘There have only occurred three instances in which any apparently improper connection or intimacy had taken place, and in all those cases the parties were married on the discovery, and several months prior to the birth of their children; so that in a legal point of view, no illegitimate birth has taken place among the females employed in the mills under my direction. Nor have I known of but one case among all the females employed in Lowell. I have said known—I should say heard of one case. I am just informed that this was a case where the female had been employed but a few days in any mill, and was forthwith rejected from the corporation, and sent to her friends. In point of female chastity, I believe that Lowell is as free from reproach as any place of an equal population in the United States or the world. At the great establishment at Dover, New Hampshire, I have been assured there has never been a case of bastardy. Let this be compared with the statements of the poor law commissioners, and it will go far to show that the means which tend to promote the increase of wealth, tend also to the promotion of morality, and, as a necessary consequence, of happiness. There can be no doubt, that with a different system, there would in time arise, in the factories of England, a similar state of things. There are, even now, some similar cases to be found in England, proving how much good may be done, where the owners are disposed to do

what is in their power to promote the cause of morality ; and that can be done most effectually by being moral ourselves.

“ Amongst the great numbers of factory operatives employed under William Grant, Esq., at Ramsbottom, England, only one case of female misconduct has occurred in the space of twenty years, and that was a farmer’s daughter.

“ The necessity for the passage of ‘ Factory Bills,’ does not exist in this country. In England, by interferences of all kinds, the parents are oppressed and reduced to the necessity of sending their children to work at the earliest possible age ; and then it becomes necessary to interfere anew, to prevent the children from bearing too much of the burden. In the United States, on the contrary, it is so desirable to have efficient hands, that the owners are not disposed to employ children at too young an age, and thus, while the excellent situation of the labourer renders it unnecessary, the interest of the employer would tend to prevent it, should idleness or dissipation lead the parent to desire it.”—*Carey’s Essay on Wages.*

Those who desire a wise and fair distribution of property must conspire to be economical ; to save their wages ; to produce the most useful kinds of property ; to create something that will last, and may be beneficially distributed ; instead of working for trash, and where no work is wanted ; being servants where no servants are required ; grinding where there is nothing to grind ; drawing for water where there is no water. They must cease to produce or use that immense amount of trinkets, finery, fashionable trifles,* dainties, and poisonous drinks, with which our persons are decorated, our groceries, stores, cellars, kitchens, pantries, and houses, are now too often crammed. This is not the kind of property that wise people wish to be distributed ; nor is it property at all in their eyes ; so far as this kind of property is imported from foreign nations, and paid for by our products, it is certain that we may substitute the more useful productions of those nations for this trash.

But how can the farmers, mechanics, labourers in manufac-

* During the war of the revolution, General Lafayette, being at Baltimore, was invited to a ball ; he went as requested, but instead of joining in the amusements, as might be expected of a young Frenchman, he addressed the ladies,—“ You are very handsome ; you dance very prettily ; your ball is very fine ; but my soldiers have no *shirts*.” The appeal was irresistible ; the ball ceased, the ladies ran home and went to work, and in a few days, a large number of shirts were prepared, by the fairest hands in Baltimore, for the gallant defenders of their country.

ries, and other common labourers, help working to produce this kind of property? They say that they must have employment, must earn wages; and if the rich merchant, capitalist, and manufacturer, chooses to manufacture it, or import it from foreign countries, what means of prevention have they?

The answer is plain. They can cease to use it, to buy it, to pay their wages and earnings for it to the rich capitalist and manufacturer. As they are the consumers of nine tenths of it, they would soon put an end to the production, if they ceased to be customers for it. It is by not combining and using their power in this way, as they certainly can, that they defeat the just distribution of property, and keep themselves down. Thus they make the rich richer than they should be, and the poor poorer than they need be; thus we see the poor playing into the hands of the rich, and throwing their solitary hard earned sixpences and shillings into others' heaps, where there are already thousands. Thus we see them running from tavern to tavern, from store to store, emptying their pockets into those of men who are ten times richer than themselves. All the legislatures in the world cannot prevent this; the people alone can do it.

It is plain, that as wealth is created by labour, it can only be increased by saving and economy. By the same means that one man becomes independent, a hundred and a thousand do, and the same is true of a nation; that is, by keeping on hand for future use, what has already been acquired, or some portion of it; because all cannot be preserved; a part must be daily eaten, drank, worn out, or consumed in some way or other.

It is in the nature of wealth to increase, and this is plainly proved by showing what the uses of capital are. One animal breeds many, one seed produces a hundred or a thousand. Our own experience in this country, shows an increase of wealth beyond what the world ever saw under the like circumstances, and commands us to go forward. We see, every year, new sources of wealth opened, labour-saving machines invented; new substances or combinations of them brought to light, and turned to some useful account, never before thought of. Steam, gas-light, granite, anthracite coal, India rubber, soap stone, railroads, canals, &c. furnish new employments, and of course increased wealth, to thousands who but a few years since did not dream of deriving advantage from any of them, and perhaps did not know of their existence.

If these things are the means by which people are fed and clothed, and get good farms, and houses and cattle, and after

obtaining a reasonable independence for themselves, are able, out of their superfluous riches, to get leisure and money to enable them to carry light, knowledge, and comfort, to their poor neighbours, and to the miserable nations, how unwise and unthinking to declaim against the increase of wealth ! It would be as childish to talk against too much good land, too many good houses, too many fine cattle. It is the perversion of wealth from the uses designed for it, that we have to deplore ; it is the heaping up of our meagre stores by monopoly and every kind of oppression, in the laps of a few, thus causing poverty and universal nakedness among the multitude, that the world ought to be ashamed of. It is the vanity, pride, selfishness, gluttony, intemperance, of both rich and poor, that we are to withstand. Wealth can never be an evil but by being turned to unnatural purposes, and an ancient philosopher says with truth, "that it is not the liquor but the vessel which is corrupted."

These subjects are no longer mysteries, when people give their thoughts to them ; people are more puzzled about words than things ; they are often acquainted with the things, but do not understand the signs.—*Sedgwick*.

True religion lies at the foundation of all wholesome and permanent increase of wealth. Political economy professes to point out *all* the principles by which wealth is gained, the surest of all is the observance of moral precepts. The divine rule of doing to others as we would be done by, forbids all oppression, all cruelty to the poor, all unlawful taxes to support the pride, vanity, and luxury of the rich. Nothing is more striking in the scriptures, than the constant condemnation of all injustice to, and robbery of, the poor, who are the labourers for small wages. The Christian religion equally forbids, on the part of the poor, all hatred of the rich—all wanton destruction of property. There always have been rich and poor—there must be rich and poor. The people have been most miserable in those countries where there are no rich. The first duty of the rich to the poor, then, is, not to give them bread—for it is better that they should earn it—but the same legal advantages of getting bread that they themselves have. To attempt to teach economy without reference to our religious duty, is like taking the picture of a man from a corpse. Do the people of the United States desire to bring forth the magnificent riches which are to be found in the natural advantages of their country and free government ; to elevate themselves to an eminence which nations have never yet thought of : do they long for the pleasures and glories of science, the delights of charity to their own poor

and uninstructed, and to the wretched of other countries; a better and more equal education for their children; to increase their hospitality and social pleasures; to save their paternal houses and estates from a decay and ruin so common and so disgraceful in the old states; do those whose interest it is to emigrate to the new, wish for the means of making such a change; do the men, women, and children, desire more rest and time for a proper improvement of their minds,—then both rich and poor must first unite, discard their jealousies and feuds, get what good they can out of the old world, turn their backs upon the stupid fashions and follies imported by nearly every packet, and study the proper economy of their own country—of the new world. Those especially who live upon wages, as journeymen mechanics, labourers in factories, and day labourers of every description, must learn to save their wages, and thus preserve property, which is the true and common sense way of changing their condition for the better, and which can never be done, as long as they are slaves of fashion.

“There is an abundant increase of intelligence and moral sentiment springing up among the factories in England: the fruits of Sunday-schools and other philanthropic establishments,—planted and upreared chiefly by the workpeople themselves, unaided by opulence, and unpatronised by power. It is a sublime spectacle to witness crowds of factory children arranged in a Sunday school. I would exhort the friends of humanity, who may chance to pass through Cheshire or Lancashire, not to miss a Sunday’s visit to the busy town of Stockport, which joins these two counties. It contains 67 factories, in which 21,489 operatives, of all ages, are employed comfortably for their families. The Sunday-school of this place was erected by the voluntary contributions, chiefly, of mill owners, in the year 1805. It is a large, plain, lofty building, which cost 10,000*l.*, having a magnificent hall for general examinations and public worship on the uppermost story, capable of accommodating nearly 3,000 persons, besides upwards of forty comfortable apartments for the male and female schools, committee and library rooms on the other floors. On the 16th of June in the above year, the committee, teachers, and children, of the existing Sunday schools, assembled on the elevated site of the new building to celebrate, in a solemn manner, the commencement of this noble enterprise; the foundation stone having been laid the evening before. Many thousand inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood having joined them, the whole multitude raised their voices in a hymn of praise to the Father of light and life, in which they were accompanied by a full band of music. The treasurer then

pronounced a solemn prayer, dedicating the intended edifice to God, and imploring his blessing on its objects. In a concluding address he said :—‘ Our meeting together this day, on this spot, has nothing in it of parade or show ; nothing that can allure the eye by its splendour, or beguile the imagination by its pomp. It is, nevertheless, of the highest importance to the rising generation, to the town of Stockport, and as far as its influence extends, to the nation. We meet to erect a perpetual standard against ignorance and vice, to confirm, and render permanent, an establishment intended to train up the children of this town in knowledge and virtue. We expect thousands of children will here be taught not only the grounds of human science, but the first principles of the Christian religion ; that religion which is the true source of all sound morality, of all public and private virtue. This building is to be erected and maintained on the principle of pure and genuine benevolence, and is intended to consecrate as much of the piety and charity of this town as will supply a succession of gratuitous teachers. I feel happy to declare, thus publicly, the sentiments of the committee, that this building is not to be confined to any sect or party ; nor to be under any exclusive direction or influence. Learning is intended to be put in its proper place, as the handmaid of religion ; and whatever human science is taught, is to be rendered subservient to this important purpose.’

“ In the annual report of this admirable institution for 1833, the committee state, ‘ that, since its commencement, the names of 40,850 scholars have been inscribed on our registers, a considerable part of whom have received a moral and religious education within our walls. Part of the fruit of these pious labours is already reaped in a temporal point of view, in the general decorum that pervades this town and neighbourhood, and the regard for the liberties, lives, and properties of others, evinced by the Stockport population, at a period of political excitement, in which they were too much disregarded at other places. The well-judged liberality of the public has now made Sunday schools so numerous in our borders, that it is hardly possible to approach the town of Stockport, in any direction, without encountering one or more of these quiet fortresses, which a wise benevolence has erected against the encroachments of vice and ignorance. The advocates of general education hear no more of the danger of educating the lowest classes ; on the contrary, the necessity of doing so is generally insisted upon. The people are extravagantly complimented upon the proficiency they have already made, and appear to be in as much danger of suffering from the effects of artful and injudicious

flattery, as they have done, in times past, from the unnatural neglect with which they have been treated.'

"In 1835 there were from 4,000 to 5,000 young people profiting by the instructions administered by 400 teachers, distributed into proper classes, and arranged in upwards of forty school rooms, besides the grand hall in the top of the building. It was pleasing to see 1500 boys, and as many girls, regularly seated upon separate benches: the one sit on the right side, and the other on the left. They were becomingly attired, decorous in deportment, and of healthy, even blooming, complexions. Their hymn-singing thrilled through the heart like the festival chorus of Westminster. The organ, which was excellent, was well played, by a young man who had lately been a piecer, in the spinning factory of the gentleman."—*Ure's Philosophy of Manufactures*.

A collection of facts, evincing the benefactions of the arts and manufactures to agriculture, commerce, navigation and the fisheries, and their subserviency to the public defence, with an indication of certain existing modes of conducting them, peculiarly important to the United States, may be found in a communication to Mr. Gallatin, by Tench Coxe.

"The resolution of Congress, 19th March, 1812, is formed with a view so comprehensive as to include all pertinent information of an authentic character, while it allows the most convenient latitude, as to the form and manner; requiring only, that the statement shall so exhibit the matter as to be most conducive to the interests of the United States. It is considered as a very interesting and fundamental truth, that manufactures facilitate the first struggles of the American settlers, for decent comforts, thrifty profits, and farming establishments.

"On examination into the state of manufactures, in four several sparsely settled districts of our country, which, in 1810, had been recently laid out, according to the nature of the places, for future establishments as counties, the inconsiderable population within these four intended counties exhibits the infantine condition of their respective settlements in that year. In these new and widely scattered settlements, where foreign consumers have no agents, the presence of flax, and of sheep and cattle, supplying wool, hides, skins, horns and tallow, with other materials for manufactures, that is to say, the presence of the *raw materials*, occasions the corresponding manufactures. In such places, profit, comfort and necessity appear to invite, or rather to compel, the farmers and their families to that mode of industry.

"In these new and widely scattered settlements, it is observed,

that the surplus industry of these new settlements is applied to the manufacture of cotton, from the Atlantic, Ohio, and Mississippi."

"A material error seems to have prevailed, on the subject of manufactures, in southern scenes. It has been supposed, that manufactures could not arise or exist in the southern states of America, and this, it is believed, has produced some local prejudice. Catalonia, Biscay, Valencia, Segovia and Guadalaxara, in Spain; the district of Lyons, and Languedoc, in France; Genoa, Venice, the principality of Tuscany, and Italy in general; the peninsula of India in particular, and the southern moiety and warm districts of China, were more early distinguished in manufactures than the districts in the latitude of the centre of Europe, and north of that centre. It was an exemption from the rigours and terrors of the inquisition and other ecclesiastical evils, in the south of Europe, which drew the objects of those fears and persecutions into Silesia, Saxony, Prussia, Westphalia, the Hanse towns, Holland and England. In Asia, where ecclesiastical terrors and persecutions have not occasioned such a dispersion of the manufacturers, they remain in and near the district which produces the cotton and silk that employ them. The numerous holidays of the church of Rome, which prevail in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria and France, have been unfavourable to general and manufacturing industry in the southern parts of Europe; where the useful arts early appeared and flourished. Where industry is free, it is believed that the manufacturers will gather at the sources of raw materials, food, forage, fuel, and building materials. The British interruption of our coasting trade is forcing these principles into operation, in a manner peculiarly injurious to the eastern and northern manufacturers of southern cotton, tobacco, iron, wood, hemp and wool. Southern produce, capable of manufacture, obstructed in its way to the European and northern United States' markets, will prove to be a southern manufacturing capital; forcing itself into employment upon the estates, and in the vicinities of the planters and farmers. The columns of 'looms—value of all kinds of cloths and stuffs—stockings, bagging for cotton, spinning wheels, hatteries, furnaces, forges, bloomeries, naileries, blacksmitheries, tanneries, spirits, beer, cabinet wares, tobacco and snuff, cables and cordage, gunpowder and salt,' demand a careful inspection and consideration, in order to ascertain the extent and proportionate importance, in A. D. 1810, of manufactures, in those states which are inhabited, in part by blacks, and which lie on the south side of the common line of Pennsylvania on the one part, and Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia on the other."

“It is a manifest truth, to which we ought most seriously to advert, that besides the proper or corporal powers, industry and skill of the people of the United States, we have attained, by water, steam, cattle, labour-saving machinery, and power and skill, a great variety and number of manufacturing operations. These wonderful machines, working as if they were animated beings, endowed with all the talents of their inventors, labouring with organs that never tire, and subject to no expense of food, or bed, or raiment, or dwelling, may be justly considered as equivalent to an immense body of manufacturing recruits, suddenly enlisted in the service of the country.

“Machinery and processes to effect manufactures, so as to leave manual industry for other employments, are of a degree of importance to the United States, proportioned to the smallness of the average population on a square mile. This is an interesting fact to a nation enjoying an extensive territory. As we possess innumerable contrivances, put into operation by horse power, to turn up and break the soil and cover the seed grain, under the names of the plough, the harrow, and the roller, to our incalculable profit, some have water-mills, wind-mills, and steam engines, in numerous instances and of diversified forms, to manufacture boards, bark, powder, flour, bar and sheet iron, nails, wire, carded wool and cotton, yarn and thread, metal plates of every kind, hair powder, snuff, gunpowder, paper, cannon, muskets, scythes, bolts, stocking web, various cloths and printed and other goods. These and many other machines have been obtained from abroad, or derived from the actual and very considerable talents of our own citizens. The complicated silk mill, the earliest invention for making yarn or thread, the fulling mill and various other mechanical constructions, were acquired by the British, the greatest manufacturing nation at this time in Europe, from their neighbours of Italy. The wisdom of the world has been and is as fairly attainable by us, as by other industrious and qualified nations, and the inventive genius of the people of the United States has produced a great number of curious and valuable instruments and machines.”

“The *finé arts*, particularly painting and sculpture, have beautified the manufactures of alabaster, marble, clay, plaster and metals, and of wool, linen, cotton and leather. The fine porcelain of France and Saxony, the statues and paintings of Greece and Rome, the modern imitations of them in paintings, statues and casts, the elegant miniatures of alabaster, its various flowers and ornaments, the improvements in composition and in the pottery of Wedgwood, the imitations of the antique vases and figures in

various gold and silver ornaments and utensils, and indeed of brass, the tapestry of the Gobelins, embroidery, dyeing, engraving and the printing of linen, cotton and silken cloths, are among the numerous examples that crowd upon the mind. The fluctuations and disorders of the old world have occasioned innumerable transfers of the instruments, the libraries, the models, the works, the welcome agents and the lovers of the fine arts from thence to the United States, and the manufacturers of fine wool from their proper original countries. The effect of such transfers, of much that was foreign, and all that was necessary for the interesting cultivation of the fine arts, either in their distinct and separate character and form, or as pleasing and beneficial auxiliaries to the useful arts and manufactures, are manifest to the attentive observer. The works of human genius and cultivation, which belong to the elegant and magnificent class of the arts, have a very considerable effect upon the convenience, utility, and profits of those things, which are usually called manufactures. A knowledge of architecture is necessary even to the cheapness of construction.”*

* This work was so far arranged and limited, before I came to Philadelphia, that I find it difficult to use much valuable matter that I have since obtained; which also includes notices of individuals whose praise ought to be in history. The writings and indefatigable life of *Tench Coxe*, would require and richly deserve a volume to do justice to his memory. The notice that I have given, is far too scanty to afford even a slight view of his important services, in the establishment of manufactories; and his exertions to promote the growth of cotton, both of which objects he lived to see in a flourishing degree of progress. In an enlarged edition, a more extended view of the services of this eminent statesman shall be given; and I very much regret the obligations, which prevent my enriching the work, in this impression, with a review of his publications, containing extracts from his writings, which not only fulfilled valuable purposes at the time, receiving the approbation of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Jay, Ames, and indeed of the whole community; but they contain principles, on national economy, that will live for ever, and their author will be had in respectful remembrance. I find no author on American statistics, but what is deeply indebted to Tench Coxe. I have no doubt but that the chartered company of Paterson, New Jersey, though the plan is generally attributed to Hamilton, originated with the assistant secretary of the treasury; this is proved by the letter of Fisher Ames.

For the following statement I am indebted to Dr. James Mease, of Philadelphia.

“In order to make an experiment in manufactures, and to ascertain whether this could be carried on to profit, a company was formed, with a capital of \$200,000, in the year 1791, under the name of “The Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures;” and received a charter bearing

The following correspondence will show, what I have before stated, that the administration of Washington was greatly indebted to the assistant secretary of the treasury, for important and extensive views of commercial affairs, as well as for a correct digest of all the great resources of the country; also for statistics of the operations of manufactures: in short, for all that kind of information, which are the foundation principles of the wealth of nations. The services of Tench Coxe were viewed in this light by Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson, and they will be held in high respect by posterity.

—
PHILADELPHIA, November 30, 1789.

Dear Sir,—It was my wish to have forwarded to you sooner, the enclosed paper, No. 6, by way of answer to the queries I had the honour to receive from you, the 26th of last month, but I could not revise the facts with sufficient care, till this time.

You will observe, I have pursued a mode different from that which the form of the queries pointed out, thinking that "*a present state of the navigation of Pennsylvania*," which should comprehend the information you desired, would be more useful than short answers, going merely to the points specified. I have, besides, this private reason, that I wish by these investigations and statements, as they occur, to extend or digest my own knowledge, and, as far as I am able, to place the several subjects in my own mind on their true principles.

As the gentlemen in the senate, for Pennsylvania, and some of those in the house of representatives, have been pleased to request my communications

date 22d November, of that year, from the state of New Jersey, from which the company purchased the title to the falls of Passaic river, and were invested with the sole power over, and possession of, the waters of that stream, for mills or manufactures. The society soon after established the first cotton factory and printing house, in that state; but in a short time found that a loss attended their business, and it is more than probable that from this circumstance, a cessation would soon have taken place of their operations, had they not been forced to give them up, from the following cause. As there were no native workmen to be had, the company were obliged to employ foreigners, who were either expressly sent for, or, more probably, found in New York. Without any assignable cause, the foreman expressed to the manager of the concern, his determination to leave the establishment, when fully employed: and as no persuasion appeared to have the least effect in altering his determination, he was desired to pack up the machinery. This he did, but filled the vacant spaces with quick-lime, so that when they were examined, the iron work, and particularly the cards, were found entirely destroyed.

"This fact I had many years since, from the late Hon. Elias Boudinot, a representative in congress, from New Jersey, who was a stockholder in the company."

on the subjects that from time to time arise in the legislature, I have taken the liberty to show this paper to one or two of them ; and indeed it seems to be a matter, both of propriety and prudence, as I am a citizen of Pennsylvania, and they are the guardians of her interests. I anxiously desire the detection of any errors in either the facts or reasonings, which I may bring forward ; and in order completely to guard against their ill effects, I wish them unreservedly subjected, as well to the examination of these well informed judges, as to gentlemen of similar character and stations from the other states. As I may, in future, avail myself of the permission you have given me, to communicate with you as I shall see occasion, I apply these wishes to all such communications, leaving it in your discretion to determine to whose eye observations on points that require secrecy may be safely confided.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

TENCH COXE.

P.S. As it may throw some light upon the subject, I have enclosed a paper of mine, (No. 1,) which you have seen before. To this copy, I have added some manuscript notes ; also a paper, (No. 2), to which I have likewise added some notes. The latter is not immediately interesting to your present enquiry, but may be thrown among your documents belonging to the subject.

To the Honourable Alexander Hamilton, Esq. New York.

PHILADELPHIA, December 16th, 1789.

Dear Sir,—A few days ago I forwarded to you, per post, a “state of our navigation,” which I presume you have received. I have the honour to transmit you in this inclosure some notes upon two subjects, one of them of great importance, that may be useful when arranging our affairs with France and Spain. The rough draughts of these papers were made a few weeks before I received your letter, and I then intended to have given them to Mr. Madison in his way to New York, for the purpose of submitting them to Mr. Jefferson, in whose department I thought they might be of use. The general request at the conclusion of your letter justifies me, I hope, in troubling you with them, and in requesting that you will dispose of them as you see fit.

On No. 7, I beg leave to suggest, it may be useful to converse with Col. J. Wadsworth, whose opportunities in the branch it concerns are greater than those of any other person among us.

Of the subject of No. 8 it may be truly said, that it is one of the most important objects of business in all our affairs. The calculations you will find are all within the truth, and of course the result on paper might have been rendered much greater.

I congratulate you most sincerely on the adoption of the constitution by North Carolina, which almost completes this wonderful revolution. The law of New Jersey abolishing the tender of their paper money, in cases wherein gold and silver have been specified in the contract, occasions a further subtraction from the objects, and of course a new inducement to the acquiescence of the opposition. The federal cause has received a fresh confirmation by our convention, for I think it may be justly said, that every recognition of the principles of the general constitution, and every step

towards an efficient and well balanced government by any member of the Union, is a furtherance of the object. It has been determined,—

1. That the legislative power ought not to be in a single house.
2. That the judges, in addition to their former independence from fixed salaries, should be appointed during good behaviour—with some provisions for removal in case of a decay of talents, or of private virtue. This important and difficult clause is not yet digested.
3. That the executive power should be in a single person.
4. That the chief executive officer should have a qualified negative upon the proceedings of the legislature.

Messrs. Finlay, Smiley, and M'Lene, who led the opposition to the federal constitution, have been in the majority which passed these resolutions. It is, therefore, almost certain that the constitution of Pennsylvania, which was *the great cause of our opposition* to the proceedings of the general convention, will be altered in these important particulars. How near to the standard of propriety, which the gentlemen have formed for themselves, they will be able to arrive, is uncertain, for so very democratic have been our former ideas, and so much does a jealousy of the city prevail in the counties, that it must be expected they will influence in some particulars.

I beg your pardon for this digression from the original design of my letter, but the proceedings of each state even in its own arrangements are of so much importance to the order of the whole, that I thought the information I have given would not appear impertinent to the business of your office.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

TENCH COXE.

The Hon. A. Hamilton, Esq.

—
NEW YORK, December 24th, 1789.

Dear Sir,—Your obliging favours of the 30th of November, and 16th instant, with the communications accompanying them, have been duly received.

Accept my best acknowledgments for the attention you have paid to my request; and believe that I mean not a mere compliment, when I say that your compliance with it has procured me much useful information, and many valuable observations.

I have not leisure to add more, than that I am, with sincere esteem and regard, dear sir, your obedient servant,

A. HAMILTON.

Tench Coxe, Esq.

—
NEW YORK, May 1st, 1790.

Dear Sir,—I have just received your letter of the 27th of April. Yours of the 6th of the same month also came to hand in due time; though peculiar reasons prevented an earlier acknowledgment of it.

The appointment of his assistant is, by the act establishing the treasury department, vested in the secretary himself. The conviction I have of your usefulness in that station, and my personal regard for you, have determined me to avail myself of the offer of service which the last mentioned letter contains.

The state of the public business under my care, is such as to make me

desire to see you as soon as may consist with the dispositions which your change of situation will render necessary.

I am, with great regard and esteem, dear sir, your obedient servant,
A. HAMILTON.

Tench Coxe, Esq.

Mr. Coxe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. At the Treasury Office.

DECEMBER 14, 1791.

Dear Sir,—Not having distinguished between the furs, ginseng, coffee, mahogany, wine, and sugars, carried to Great Britain and Ireland, and to other countries, at the time we were extracting those articles from your large tables, I find myself unable to proceed in making the deductions from our whole exports to Great Britain, which should be made for that proportion of those articles which go there. The extract I made, for instance, tells me how much furs we send to all the world, but not how much of them go to England and Ireland, but your tables would tell this. I must, therefore, ask the favour of the loan of them to have this distinction made, unless it would be more agreeable to you to let some one state the *amount in value* of the furs which we send to Great Britain and Ireland.

Ginseng do. coffee do. mahogany do. wine do. sugars do. Having this amount, I can deduct it with precision from that of our whole exports to Great Britain and Ireland.

I am, with great esteem, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TH. JEFFERSON.

From Thos. M'Kean, Governor of Pennsylvania, to Tench Coxe.

PHILADELPHIA, June 14th, 1801.

Sir,—As secretary of the land office, you may probably be acquainted with Mr. John M'Kissick, the principal clerk in the office of receiver general; he has been well recommended to me by several respectable characters in public as well as private stations, as a suitable person to succeed Mr. Muhlenberg as principal officer. There will certainly be a difference between the speaker of the house of representatives of the United States, and of this state, as to rank and services, and Mr. M'Kissick, a writing clerk in the office; but I wish to promote modest merit, and from recommendations of him by members of our public councils, I think favourably of his talents and integrity for the ordinary duties of the office, but is he qualified to act as a judge of the board of property? Please to give me your sentiments, for I wish for something more than "a successor in form." This leads me to ask you also, whether you think the appointment of Mr. Andrew Ellicot as your successor would meet with general approbation. I would wish your answer as soon as is convenient, that I may be prepared to fill both stations immediately on your coming to town; which I suppose will be the latter end of this, or the beginning of next week, as the revenue offices, of all others, must not be many days vacant. Though our official connection may for some time be suspended, yet I shall always expect to see you as a friend, and hope to see you in a day or two at farthest, after you shall have entered on the duties of your new appointments. The nature of this communication is such, as to render it unnecessary to request it may be confined to yourself. I am, sir, with esteem, your friend and humble servant.

To Tench Coxe, greeting :

Reposing especial trust and confidence in your integrity, diligence, and abilities, I, Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury of the United States, in virtue of the power to me given, by the act entitled "An act to establish the treasury department," do constitute and appoint you assistant to the said secretary : To hold and exercise the said office during the pleasure of the secretary of the treasury of the United States for the time being.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and affixed the seal of the treasury, the tenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.
Secretary of the Treasury.

George Washington, President of the United States of America :—to all who shall see these presents, greeting :

Know ye, that reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, diligence, and ability of Tench Coxe of Pennsylvania, I have nominated, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, do appoint him commissioner of the revenue, and do authorise and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that office according to law ; and to have and to hold the said office with all the rights and emoluments thereunto legally appertaining unto him, the said Tench Coxe, during the pleasure of the president of the United States for the time being.

In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be made patent, and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed. Given under my hand, at the city of Philadelphia, this ninth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and of the independence of the United States of America the sixteenth.

G. WASHINGTON.

By the president, Th: Jefferson.



WILBESPIER.

Genève, P.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXTENSION OF THE COTTON BUSINESS.

“The echoing hills repeat
 The stroke of axe and hammer; scaffolds rise,
 And growing edifices; heaps of stone
 Beneath the chisel beauteous shapes assume
 Of frieze and column; some with even line,
 New streets are marking in the neighbouring fields,
 And sacred domes of worship.”

DYER'S FLEECE.

“All men naturally think themselves equally wise; and, therefore, as any ship that sails faster than another is said in sea phrase to wrong it, so men are apt to think themselves wronged by those who, with better talents than they, or greater skill in their use, get beyond them.”

The workmen employed by Mr. Slater, in Pawtucket, took advantage of their opportunity to steal patterns and models of his machines; and in this way, attempts were made to extend the business, in a short time after its commencement at Pawtucket by the firm of Almy, Brown & Slater. Those attempts were generally so weak and ineffective, that they proved ruinous to the adventurers.

Wm. Pollard, Philadelphia, obtained a patent for cotton spinning Dec. 30, 1791, which was the first water-frame put in motion; whether he obtained his patterns direct from England, or by the way of Pawtucket, is not certain; but it is indubitable that he could have no claim as the original inventor, nor as the first introducer of the machinery; because it has been shown in the previous chapter that the whole of the machinery was in full operation in Rhode Island, a year previous to the date of his patent.

Mr. Pollard's mill was a very early attempt at water-spinning, and I am sorry to have to record, that his business failed in his hands; which retarded the progress of cotton spinning in Philadelphia. Respect and pity are due to the character of a projector—respect, because society owes to it many obligations, and much of the progress of the useful arts must be ascribed to its existence;

and pity, because it is unfriendly to the interests of the individual, and generally plunge him from affluence into ruin.*

An outline of a plan to encourage industry, is a part of the report of the secretary of the treasury in 1791.

“ Let a certain annual sum be set apart, and placed under the management of commissioners, not less than three ; let these commissioners be empowered to apply the fund confided to them, to defray the expenses of the emigration of artists and manufacturers in particular branches of extraordinary importance—to induce the prosecution and introduction of useful discoveries, inventions, and improvements, by proportionate rewards, judiciously held out and applied—to encourage by premiums, both honourable and lucrative, the exertions of individuals, and of classes, in relation to the several objects they are charged with promoting—and to afford such other aids to those objects, as may be generally designated by law. The commissioners to render to the legislature an annual account of the transactions and disbursements ; and all such sums as have not been applied to the purposes of their trust at the end of every three years, to revert to the treasury. It may also be enjoined upon them, not to draw out the money, but for the purpose of some specific disbursement. It may, however be of use, to authorise them to receive voluntary contributions ; making it their duty to apply them to the particular objects for which they may have been made, if any shall have been designated by the donors. There is reason to believe, that the progress of particular manufactures has been much retarded by the want of skilful workmen. And it often happens, that the capitals employed are not equal to the purposes of bringing from abroad workmen of a superior kind. Here, in cases worthy of it, the auxiliary agency of government would, in all probability, be useful. There are also valuable workmen, in every branch, who are prevented from

* The project for a manufacturing company with joint stock, incorporated and privileged by the state of Maryland, was very much opposed ; and the doctrine that it was better to buy of Europe and India, was widely spread. And it is said, that the Paterson company suffered from treachery and bribery ; it however failed of accomplishing the fond hopes of the projectors—of introducing the best machinery and the best workmen from England, which if accomplished, and such companies had been protected, we should ere now have been entirely independent of foreign fabrics.

At this time, a joint stock company might introduce fine goods, in cotton, linen, or woollen—or in cutlery. It is not too late to adopt the plan which Hamilton proposed. It only requires a patriotic spirit to arise among the people, and a preference for our own goods, and any thing can be done.

emigrating solely by want of the means. Occasional aids to such persons, properly administered, might be a source of valuable acquisitions to the country. The propriety of stimulating by rewards, the invention and introduction of useful improvements, is admitted without difficulty. But the success of attempts in this way must evidently depend much on the manner of conducting them. It is probable that the placing of the dispensation of those rewards under some proper discretionary direction, where they may be accompanied by collateral expedients, will serve to give them the surest efficacy.

“ It seems impracticable to apportion, by general rules, specific compensations for discoveries unknown and of disproportionate utility. The great use which may be made of a fund of this nature, to procure and import foreign improvements, is particularly obvious. Among these, the article of machines would form a most important item. The operation and utility of premiums have been adverted to, together with the advantages which have resulted from their dispensation, under the direction of certain public and private societies. Of this, some experience has been had in the instance of the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of manufactures and the useful arts ; but the funds of that association have been too contracted to produce more than a very small portion of the good to which the principles of it would have led.* It may confidently be affirmed, that there is scarcely any thing which has been devised better calculated to excite a general spirit of improvement, than the institutions of this nature. They are truly invaluable. In countries where there is great private wealth, much may be effected by the voluntary contributions of patriotic individuals ; but in a community situated like that of the United States, in 1790, the public purse must supply the deficiency

* *Amount of Domestic Goods sold in Philadelphia, the produce of New England ; 1804 to 1806 inclusive.*

In 1804, cotton yarn,	\$2388	
“ wove goods,	\$1526	
		—————3914
1805, cotton yarn,	\$3805	
“ wove goods,	\$1581	
		—————5386
1806, cotton yarn,	\$6185	
“ wove goods,	\$2185	
		—————8370
		—————
Total for three years,	\$17670	

of private resources. In what can it be so useful, as in prompting and improving the efforts of industry?"

The last war with Great Britain taught the Americans one most excellent lesson, viz. to rely upon their own *resources for support*, and the results of this one lesson have been far more useful to us than would have been ten thousand of the most brilliant victories over the mother country.* It has resulted in the erection of manufacturing establishments in almost every nook and corner of the middle and northern states—affording sure markets for the produce of the flocks and fields of the northern farmer, and increasing the demand for the staple of the southern planter. The mechanical genius, the industry, and the resources of the country, have been drawn out and put in successful competition with those of the old world—and now, at a period of about twenty years since setting up for ourselves and manufacturing our own articles, we find ourselves amply able to supply our own demand for the most important fabrics necessary for our comfort, and even carry the war of commerce and manufactures into the country of the enemy. In cottons and broadcloths we have succeeded admirably; what genius and perseverance have done for

* The power of cultivation has been variously exerted by individuals, as well as by nations; and the earth has been, and now is, clothed with appearances exceedingly various, under those several operations. It is not the husbandman possessing the richest lands, who always shows the best conditioned fields. If his acres might yield sixty measures each, he will, at times, take his ease; nor labour throughout the whole of any day, or fill up the round year with none but days of toil. His fields may be found without the refreshment of artificial fertility, and are seldom relieved by skilful rotations. Lands, on the contrary, yielding but thirty measures, are cultivated by their owner with untiring and ceaseless diligence and skill. Instead of exhausting, he enriches, his fields; and what may be wanting in fertility, is more than supplied by increased labour and judicious management. As the traveller goes by them, over whose cornfields, pastures, meadows, and orchards, does his eye wander with most delight, or linger and gaze longest? In different quarters of the globe, labour and cultivation have produced effects more obviously different. Asia was originally equal to Europe, both in soil and climate; but what is Asia now compared to Europe? The plain of Shinar, once the richest, and most productive region of the East, what can be found upon it to equal much, very much, of Great Britain? When Cæsar invaded that island, as he tells us, "most of the people in the interior sow no corn, but feed on milk and flesh; and clothe themselves in the skins of beasts." What has wrought this mighty change? What has removed and transplanted the oriental paradise from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Thames? Labour and cultivation, the incessant toil of almost two thousand years.—*Burgess*.

us in these departments of manufactures, they will do for us in other departments. Why not try silk, then? Have we forgotten the great lesson which the last war taught us? Must we wait for a rupture with France, and a consequent failure in the supply of silks, to teach us the lesson again? Silk has become a common, if not a necessary, article of consumption. The wealthy and the poor use it more or less; in robes, veils, handkerchiefs, and ribbons, and thread, it is used, perhaps, by every man, woman, and child, in the country; not a *button-hole* can be made well without it. We are paying France more than *six millions of money a year*, for this very article; and yet it can be as well cultivated and manufactured in the United States as in France. The valleys, and the hills even, of the Green Mountain state can be made to produce silk—and they should be made to do it. Some enterprising citizens of Vermont have commenced cultivating the mulberry, upon the leaves of which the silk-worms are fed, and we doubt not, with a little care and labour, they will soon find this a source of pleasure and of profit. Let those individuals persevere, let them impart to their neighbours and to their brother farmers, the result of their experiments. By so doing we doubt not they will satisfy the most incredulous of the practicability of raising silk in New England, and thus introduce the cultivation of it as a regular and profitable branch of agriculture.

The following statistical accounts, show the progress* of manufactures at the beginning of the last war:—

* Small factories spread in Rhode Island about the year 1807, and improvements began to be introduced; Hines, Dexter & Co., tried a picker to pick cotton by water; this was superseded by a picker made by a Scotsman, which answered a good purpose at that time, but there have been greater improvements made in pickers. As early as 1808, \$80,000 was invested in the Globe factory, Philadelphia, in which Dr. Redman Coxe was concerned. The Arkwright machinery was introduced very early at Copp's creek Delaware, by Goodfellow. Also at Kirkmill, Delaware, near Wilmington. Those early attempts in Pennsylvania, were not continued with much success. The mill in Warwick, which Mr. Potter left, was owned by Brown & Almy. Cumberland and Blackstone were early seats of the cotton manufacture; also Smithfield. David Wilkinson established a machine shop in Pawtucket. Jeremiah Wilkinson commenced cutting nails, in which Mr. Slater was concerned.

Record of Plainfield Union Manufacturing Co. Jan. 7, 1809. At the house of John Dunlap; 70 feet by 33—3 stories.

The following persons composed this company:—Anthony Bradford, James Gorden, Jr., Christopher Dean, Walter Palmer, Lemuel Dorrance, Jer. Kinsman, Vine Robinson, John Lester.

Cotton mills within thirty miles of Providence in 1812.

Towns.	Factories.	Spindles in operation.	No. of spindles which might run in the buildings.
Providence, R. I.	1	540	1250
North Providence,	5	3592	6700
Johnson,	2	1382	2700
Cranston,	4	1100	2988
Cumberland,	2	412	412
Smithfield,	3	4188	5800
Scituate,	3	2688	4000
Gloucester,	2	72	432
Warwick,	9	10757	17856
Coventry,	5	5124	12800
Exeter,	1	400	800
South Kingston,	1	408	408
	—33	—30663	—56246

Massachusetts, within thirty miles of Providence.

Rehoboth,	8	5250	9438
Attleborough,	4	1200	4469
Taunton,	1	800	1000
Dighton,	4	2775	7000
Wrentham,	1	260	260
Merton,	2	480	2400
Mansfield,	2	360	1600
Medway,	2	1000	1500
Franklin,	1	200	400
Mendon	1	3392	11000
Dedham,	1	654	1200
Walpole,	1	—	800
Canton,	2	1000	2400
	—20	—17371	—45438

Each spindle would then produce yarn enough weekly, to make two and a half yards of cloth, of the value of 30 cents per yard. The number of spindles then in operation produced, therefore, sufficient yarn when wove, to make in each week 128635 yards of cloth, worth \$96,476. What an immense importance does this attach to the introduction of this manufacture previous to the war!

As the following letter of Wm. Almy to Samuel Slater is probably the only one I shall be able to obtain from his first partner, I will insert it. It will be read as a curiosity.

Samuel Slater, Pawtucket.

PROVIDENCE, 18th 9th month, 1795.

Inclosed is ten dollars—We have made enquiry about corn, have not found any; shall continue to look out, and as soon as we can find any, will purchase it and send it up. We are to have a load of meal, which we expect to-day or to-morrow; if we don't light of any corn, will send part of it to Pawtucket. I have desired my brother to get the bristles &c. this morning and send them.

Having been a housekeeper myself, these two days, with a specimen of the dysentery, which is pretty prevalent. I showed the candle-wick to Thos. Hazard Jr. who liked it much, supposed it nearly the size they use; they use about four or five hundred pounds a year. He took the skein with him to compare with theirs, which as far as I could find, at present cost them about 4s. —he says they are obliged to have it wound in balls. *Quere*, what would be the additional expense of winding it into balls off the spools, five threads together? He says if they take it in skeins, they will have to get it wound, as the method we talked of reeling it, and lee winding it with the number of threads suitable for a wick, he thought would not answer so well. I think the price thou puts upon Sampson's wick is as high most probably as he will give, and perhaps is about right. Should be glad of thy opinion respecting the bag of cotton last sent, it cost 1s. 8d., we have another between three and four hundred weight of the same quality. Georgia cotton seems growing rather more plenty. We have received several invitations from Newport to purchase a quantity that is there, which they say is good, and they will sell very cheap. Will endeavour to send thee a little more cash, beginning of the week, if possible.

WM. ALMY.

The increase of business was probably the reason of Mr. Slater's sending for his brother. His wife's brothers were employed by him; Smith Wilkinson spun for him, David wrought on machinery, and the whole family were engaged in some way connected with the business. He built, in company with his father-in-law, Oziel Wilkinson, the *New Mill*, on the Massachusetts side, and which was the first cotton-mill in that state on the Arkwright improvement. Samuel Slater superintended both the old and the new mills, for which he was allowed one dollar and fifty cents a day for each mill; which gave him three dollars a day for his personal services. He was very laborious, and incessant in his attention to business. So that Samuel Slater did not get his property without hard work, anxiety, and severe application: few persons ever laboured more for his age. He went forward unassured that even common prosperity would attend his enterprise, but he faced the difficulties and encountered them. An event of real magnitude in human history, is never seen in all its grandeur and importance, till some time after its occurrence has elapsed. In proportion as the memory of small men and small things is lost, that of the truly great becomes more bright. The cotemporary

aspect of things is often confused and indistinct. The eye which is placed too near the canvass, beholds too distinctly the separate touches of the pencil, and is perplexed with a cloud of seemingly discordant tints. It is only at a distance, that they melt into a harmonious living picture. The inhabitants of Pawtucket, who saw Slater labouring day and night, and sometimes beheld him loaded with a bale of cotton on his back, little supposed what abilities he possessed, or the importance of his enterprise.

The war of 1812 decided the success of Mr. Slater's business, by that time* he had got so far under way, and all the operations and preparations he had previously made, now gave him a great advantage. Cotton cloth sold at forty cents per yard, and the demand was unlimited. While his business was thus increasing and he was making money rapidly, he suffered a severe domestic affliction, in the loss of his beloved wife, in the thirty-seventh year of her age, soon after the birth of her last child.

Thus he was left with a helpless family, when his business demanded every moment of his attention. Of course the care of his family was left to persons hired for the purpose, and they sometimes suffered for the common and necessary attentions, suitable to their age and infirmities. At that time it was extremely

* Writers on the progress of the mechanic arts, during the last century, refer almost exclusively to Europe; the nineteenth century will claim a notice of American improvements. Less than seventy years ago, the only machine much used for reducing cotton into yarn, was the *one-thread-wheel*. Other methods had been thought of, and proposed, for making a more easy and expeditious process; but without any extensive or permanent success. About the year 1767, James Hargreave, an English weaver, constructed a machine, by means of which any number of threads, from twenty to eighty, might be spun at once, and for which he obtained a patent; and soon after a new method of *carding cotton*, more easy and expeditious than the old way of carding by the hand, which was now found inadequate to the rapid progress and large demands of the improved mode of spinning. The first calicoes were made in Lancashire, about 1772; muslins, 1781; previously, chiefly confined to India. In 1789, a machine was invented in Massachusetts, by either Foster, or M'Clinch, for cutting and bending wire in a state completely prepared for sticking cards; before this they were imported. In 1797, Amos Whittemore, of Cambridge, Mass. invented a machine which by a simple operation, bends, cuts, and sticks card teeth; 1799, Wm. Whittemore & Co. commenced the manufacture of cards with this machine, in Cambridge, and were able very soon to furnish two hundred dozen pairs of cards on an average every week. Steam-engines were scarcely at all known, prior to the eighteenth century. To the honour of inventing and perfecting this kind of machinery, the artists of Great Britain are entitled.

difficult to obtain suitable persons to help in families—no money could secure them. Under no circumstances can you fill the place of a mother. I visited my friend while he was a widower, and could not help observing how great a chasm was made in his family, by the loss of his beloved Hannah ; her loss was felt by all her friends, and the poor lamented her whose charities and kindness they had experienced.

The company formed in Smithfield, were Almy, Brown & Slaters; a large establishment was erected under the superintendence of John Slater, Esq., who understood the business, and managed the concern to great advantage. Notwithstanding some favourable circumstances, such as the non-importation, non-intercourse, and finally the war, helped to raise the prices of home manufactures, a great deal depended on economy. Mr. Slater's personal expenses were comparatively small; he paid nothing for show, or parade, or ostentation; or as they say in England, which proverb he was apt to repeat, "he did not keep more cats than caught mice." He probably learned the art of saving, from Mr. Strutt, who gave him lessons to save the waste cotton, and this led much to his careful habits and self-denial.

Another anecdote was in circulation, respecting the first interview which Mr. Slater had with his brother John, after his arrival in this country. It was stated that Samuel Slater saw his brother John in the streets of Providence, as he was riding through, and that he instantly jumped out of the chaise, and left the horse to take his own course, while he embraced his brother. This story was incorrect; Wm. Wilkinson, of Providence, saw John Slater on his landing on the wharf, and took him to the house, and told him he was acquainted with his brother, and that he would take him out to Pawtucket. When Mr. Wilkinson arrived at Mr. Slater's house, he found him within, and said to him,—“I have brought one of your countrymen to see you, and can you find any thing for him to do?” He desired them to be seated and he would be with them in a few minutes. He soon came up to his countryman, and asked what part of England he came from? From Derbyshire.—What part of Desbyshire?—Belper.—Ah, the town of Belper, I am acquainted with that place; what may I call your name?—*John Slater*.—When Samuel left, John was a boy, and he had changed so much that he did not recognise him. My readers need not be told that the interview was a joyful one to the two brothers.—Is my mother yet alive? How are all my brothers and sisters? How is my old master, Strutt? How is my old schoolmaster, Jackson? How is the old “Holly-House”

farm getting along?—With innumerable other questions, were rapidly put and answered between the brothers; and Mr. Wilkinson told me he enjoyed the scene of their meeting and greetings; it was like Joseph's seeing his brother Benjamin after so long an absence.

John came to America in consequence of his brother's invitation and persuasion, and they always maintained an affectionate intercourse, and were a long time connected in business with each other.

“ June 14, 1817. The American society for the encouragement of American manufactures, met last evening, in the assembly room at city hotel.—Daniel D. Tomkins, president of the society, took the chair, supported by the vice-presidents, Col. Few, and John Ferguson, Esq. The society being organised, James Monroe, president of the United States, was proposed as a member, whereon, the presiding officer suggested that the usual form of ballot be dispensed with, and that James Monroe be received as a member; a motion to this effect was then made, and carried unanimously. Messrs. Morris, Colden, and Pierson, were appointed a committee to wait on the president of the United States, to inform him of his being elected, and to solicit the honour of his attendance at the meeting; to which he politely assented, and being inducted by the committee, took his seat on the right of the presiding officer, who immediately rose, and in an extempore and eloquent address, assured his excellency of the high sense entertained by the society of the honour he conferred, by assenting to become one of its members, which created a confidence that he would do all, which he consistently could, to promote the views with which the society was instituted. To which his excellency replied, with much eloquence and force, that he duly appreciated the objects of the institution, which were particularly dear to him, from their being intimately connected with the *real* independence of our country, and closed with an assurance that he would use his efforts as far as the general interests of the country would permit, to promote the patriotic and laudable objects of the society. James Madison, Thomas Jefferson,* and John Adams, were then separately proposed as

* The American society for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, in New York, on the 13th of June 1817, unanimously elected John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, members thereof, and directed their secretary to apprise them of the circumstance by letter. The following is a copy of the secretary's letter, and the answers thereto.

NEW YORK, 14th June, 1817.

Sir—The American society for the encouragement of domestic manufac-

members, and admitted unanimously; the usual form of ballot being, on motion, dispensed with.

tures, instituted in this city, sensible of the zeal you have uniformly displayed, in the promotion of every object connected with the welfare and independence of our country, had the honour to elect you a member at their last meeting, convened on the 13th inst., for the purpose of initiating into the society, James Monroe, president of the United States. It would afford me the highest gratification to announce to the society your assent to become one of its members.

I have the honour to be, sir, with respect and consideration, your obedient servant,
D. LYNCH, Jr.

QUINCY, June 23, 1817.

Sir,—I have received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me, on the 14th of this month, announcing to me my election by the American Society for the encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, instituted in New York, as a member, an honour made more illustrious by the presence of the president of the United States. Be pleased, sir, to present my respects to the society, and my thanks for the honour they have done me, and to assure them, if the best wishes of a man at eighty-one years of age can promote the wise purposes of their institution, I shall be a useful member. For, according to my superficial view of political economy in civilised society, next to agriculture, which is the first and most splendid, manufactures are the second, and navigation the third. With agriculture, manufactures, and navigation, all the commerce which can be necessary or useful to the happiness of a nation will be secured. Accept my thanks for the civility with which you have communicated the vote of the society to their and your friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

D. Lynch, Jr., Secretary of the American Society for the encouragement of Domestic Manufactures.

MONTICELLO, June 26, 1817.

Sir,—I am thankful for the honour done me, by an association with the American Society for the encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, instituted in New York. The history of the last twenty years has been a sufficient lesson for us all to depend for necessaries on ourselves alone: and I hope that twenty years more will place the American hemisphere under a system of its own essentially peaceable and industrious, and not needing to extract its comforts out of the eternal fires raging in the old world. The efforts of the members of your institution being necessarily engaged in their respective vicinages, I consider myself, by their choice, as but a link of union between the promoters there and here of the same patriotic objects. Praying you to present to the society my just acknowledgments for this mark of attention, I tender to yourself the assurance of my great respect and consideration.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Mr. Lynch.

MONTPELIER, June 27, 1817.

Sir,—I have received your letter of the 18th inst, informing me that the American Society for the encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, had

“The corresponding committee offered the following report, with an address from the pen of C. D. Colden Esq., which were severally read—After which, the president of the United States withdrew, and the society adjourned.

Report of the corresponding committee of the Society for the encouragement of Domestic Manufactures.

“The corresponding committee, elected in pursuance of the third article of the constitution, for the current year, respectfully report—

“That immediately after the meeting of the society, held on the 31st of December 1816, they took the speediest measures for carrying into effect the resolutions, respecting the printing and publishing the address then reported and adopted. They accordingly caused to be printed 5000 copies; one of which was presented to the president of the United States, and one to each of the members of congress and heads of departments of the general government, and to the governors and members of the legislatures of the states

been pleased to elect me one of its members. Although I approve the policy of leaving to the sagacity of individuals, and to the impulse of private interest, the application of industry and capital, I am equally persuaded that in this as in other cases, there are exceptions to the general rule, which do not impair the principle of it. Among these exceptions, is the policy of encouraging domestic manufactures, within certain limits, and in reference to certain articles. Without entering into a detailed view of the subject, it may be remarked, that every prudent nation will wish to be independent of other nations, for the necessary articles of food, of raiment, and of defence—and particular considerations applicable to the United States, seem to strengthen the motives to this independence. Besides the articles falling under this description, there may be others, for manufacturing which, natural advantages exist, which require temporary interpositions of bringing them into regular and successful activity. Where the fund of industry is acquired from abroad, and not withdrawn nor withheld from other domestic employments, the case speaks for itself. I will only add, that among the articles of consumption and use, the preference, in many cases, is decided merely by fashion or habit. As far as equality, and still more, where a real superiority is found in the articles manufactured at home, all must be sensible, that it is politic and patriotic to encourage a preference of them as affording a more certain source of supply for every class, and a more certain market for the surplus products of the agricultural class. With these sentiments, I beg you to make my acknowledgments for the mark of distinction conferred on me; and which I accept from respect for the society, and for its objects, rather than from any hope of being useful as a member. To yourself, I tender my friendly respects.

JAMES MADISON.

respectively, as far as the same was practicable. Your committee, in further pursuance of the duties delegated to them, caused a memorial to be drawn up on behalf of the society, addressed to the congress of the United States, praying for the permanency of the duties imposed by the tariff; the prohibition of cotton goods, manufactured beyond the Cape of Good Hope; such revision and modification of the revenue laws, as might prevent smuggling, false invoices, and other frauds; for a duty of ten per cent. on auction sales, with the exceptions therein stated; for a recommendation to the officers of the army and navy, and to all civil officers, to be clothed in American fabrics; that all public supplies for the army and navy might be of American manufacture; and for such other protection as might place our mercantile and manufacturing interests beyond the reach of foreign influence. It is with pleasure and gratitude your committee have learned, that the war department has given an entire preference to domestic manufacture, and as much is confidently hoped from the department of the navy. Your committee elected a delegate to proceed with the same to the seat of government. Memorials of similar import, were drawn up by the merchants of this city, and by the citizens at large, respectively: and another member of your committee was deputed by the merchants, who also appointed a citizen of New York, then in the city of Washington, to co-operate with the delegates of this society, and cause the above named memorials to be laid before congress, with instruction to solicit and promote the objects of them by their best endeavours. The delegates, on their way to the seat of government, took occasion to explain to certain respectable and influential citizens of Philadelphia and Baltimore, the objects, views, and motives of this society and the nature of their mission; and had the satisfaction, during the short period of one day in each of these cities, to witness the formation of kindred associations, whose proceedings have been long since made public, and which by their intelligence, patriotism, capital, and character, have proved an inappreciable acquisition to the cause of domestic industry. During their residence in the city of Washington, the said delegates, with the aid and co-operation of their colleagues, made a similar and no less successful appeal to the citizens of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria; who at a meeting convened by public notice, instituted and organised an association, entitled the Metropolitan Society—the proceedings of which association have also been made public, and their zeal, influence, and respectability, have done much in rousing the spirit of enquiry and promoting the true interests of their country.

The delegates were heard with much attention by the committee of commerce and manufactures of the house of representatives, to whom the above memorials were referred, and that committee reported, in part, by a bill for a continuance of the existing duties upon importation as prayed : and referred the other matters more immediately connected with the revenue to the secretary of the treasury ; whose opinions, we think ourselves authorised to state, were in unison with the prayer of the memorialists. And although the lateness of the session, and the mass of unfinished business, prevented the immediate attainment of the objects desired, yet the wisest and most experienced in and out of congress, (the enlightened members of the committee of the house included,) were of opinion that nothing would be lost by the delay, as every day would offer new manifestations of the public sentiment, and the circumstances of the times be more fully developed, and operate as a law of necessity. It may be important also to state the friendly intimation of the committee itself, that nothing would more conduce to future success, than an authentic collection of facts, tending to show the value of the property embarked in domestic manufactures, the great portion of which was jeopardised by the causes set forth, and the loss and irreparable injury the community must suffer from neglect and indifference to so essential an interest. As that information could be best collected and embodied by the active industry of this and other societies, we mention it as an additional stimulus to exertion, and efforts well combined ; and we trust that all citizens, who prize the lasting independence of their country, who rejoice in its general and individual prospects, will take pride and pleasure in sharing so generous a task. The two delegates who proceeded together from this city, were gratified in returning through the town of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, to witness the formation of an association of citizens, possessed of every qualification to be useful ; talent, influence, and capital. They were there, as on a former occasion, invited to explain the views and tendency of their mission, and had the pleasure to find the principles of this institution approved, adopted, and promptly acted upon, by their respective fellow-citizens.

“ Numerous societies have coterminously, and in rapid succession, arisen throughout the Union ; many have announced themselves by publications full of energy, and *marked* with intelligence. Regular communications have been transmitted to us from the society of Wilmington, in the state of Delaware ; Middletown, Hartford and Hatfield, in Connecticut ; Rome and other places, in the state of New York ; and we have full authority to say that

Ohio, Kentucky, New Jersey, Virginia and Mississippi, will soon add their strength and weight to the common stock. The most eminent journalists, without regard to political or party relations, have lent their unbought talents; and essays have appeared in their columns, which would do honour to any country or to any cause. The periodical publications, of most acknowledged merit and extensive circulation, have likewise appropriated their labours to the service of their country, and as far as their sphere extended, have put prejudice to flight and ignorance to shame. A pamphlet has been compiled by a judicious and masterly hand in the city of Philadelphia, from the report of the celebrated Alexander Hamilton, made by that statesman in the year 1790, when secretary of the treasury, by order of the house of representatives: this paper has been eminently serviceable, inasmuch as it brings back the judgment of the reader to the natural order of things, before the distorted and disjointed relations of the civilised world had habituated mankind to disturbed and crooked views, and fallacious reliances upon ephemeral hopes and transient speculations. It establishes principles pure and unerring, and has the merit, not only of sage predictions, but of prophecies fulfilled. It is impossible to notice *all* the valuable tracts that patriotic excitement has given birth to, within the short period since *our* institution led the way,—the address of the society of Middletown, in Connecticut, and the report of the committee of Pittsburgh, are documents deserving much attention; and it is to be wished, that a collection of the most of these valuable tracts should be embodied and preserved,—they are so many pledges to the public, of the faith and loyalty of the citizen. The address of the society has been reprinted and circulated in abundance, in so many different forms, and noticed with so much favour, that it is impossible to retire from the *front* of the battle, where we first appeared, without some loss of character. It is our turn *now*, to take the next step in the field of generous emulation, and we should meet more than half way, every overture to correspondence and co-operation. We should acknowledge our obligations for the confidence reposed in us, and for the light of instruction reflected on us. So far your committee have traced their progress in the execution of their trust; so far our bark has adventured with a favouring gale; for although we lament that some of our fabrics must suffer, within this year, irreparable loss, yet we trust that the certainty with which they may count upon the fostering care of the government, will, in general, restore courage, confidence, and credit; and enable the greater part to ride out the storm. The immense losses, at

which our markets are glutted, cannot endure for many years; and little can he see, who does not read the rising prosperity of our manufactures, at no distant day, and with it, the power, happiness, and security of this highly favoured land. Your committee, considering the interests of commerce and manufactures as inseparable and identical, cannot close this report without noticing an evil which has grown to an enormous and alarming extent. The present system of auction sales of recent date, in this country, and an anomaly in the history of commerce, has nearly exploded all regular business; and the auctioneer, whose office was formerly subordinate to that of the merchant, is now nearly the only seller; and if *subordinate* to any, merely to a foreign principal. If any sales are now made by the regular trader, they are occasional and supplementary. Commercial education, orderly habits and sober pursuits, honour and good faith, too fatally yield to gambling speculations and fraudulent contrivances. The benefits, if any, that result from this extraordinary monopoly, are daily paid for by the ruin of a class, whose industry was the life of the community, and through them, in a greater or less degree, of the various and numerous descriptions of persons, who without being commercial, depend upon commerce for their support. And if once the merchant disappears from the scene; if the source is once destroyed, the thousand channels which it occupies become dry and fruitless; the proprietor, the mechanic, the artist, the labourer, follow in the train, and must seek elsewhere for subsistence. Already has the public feeling remonstrated against this abuse, but the practice has still prevailed. The established merchant, it has been shown, must ever be unable to compete with the stranger who is charged with no contribution to the public service, subjected to no rent or household expenditure, none of the costs and charges of a commercial establishment, nor taxes, nor impositions, for the support of government. Your committee therefore, refer this subject to the most serious attention of the society, that the most suitable means of investigation may be adopted to substantiate its truth and secure its relief."

The following is an abstract of the address delivered at this meeting:—All who believe that the happiness and independence of our country are connected with the prosperity of our manufactures, must rejoice to see the chief magistrate of the nation honouring with his presence, a society instituted for their protection and encouragement. Knowing that the manufactures of the United States cannot, in their infant state, resist the rivalship of foreign nations without the *patronage* of the government, it is consoling to

find, that *he*, to whom the unanimous voice of a free people has committed the highest office, has not only consented to become a *member* of our institution, but that he avails himself of the first opportunity of giving it the countenance and support of his attendance. An incident like this may form a new era in the history of society. In other countries, the influence of the magistrate is felt *only* from the operation of his laws, or through the instrumentality of his subordinate agents : while on the other hand, he derives his information through intermediate channels ; but our happy constitution places the people and their officers in such relations to each other that they may have a mutual and direct intercourse ; and we now behold the first magistrate of a great nation seeking, at its source, the information which will enable him to know the *wants* and *wishes* of the country. A life devoted to the good of his country, gives us assurance, that it is only necessary to make him *acquainted* with what will promote its happiness, to insure *all* the support which may be derived from his high station. It is now too late to question the advantages of manufactures ; all history shows us how much they have contributed to the prosperity of every state where they have been encouraged. Indeed, we find that, in some instances, they have been the source of all the wealth and power of a people. As they have prospered or *declined*, nations have *risen* or *sunk*. Even *wealth*, without manufactures and commerce, has only served to *degrade* a great community, by the introduction of that luxury which was purchased with the produce of inexhaustible mines of gold.

But it is not as they are sources of wealth, that an American must feel the deepest interest in the fate of our manufactures ; they more nearly concern us, as they are connected with our independence. For how shall we avoid the influence of foreign nations, while we suffer ourselves to be dependent on them, not only for the luxuries but the necessaries of life ? Can that nation feel independent, which has no reliance, but upon foreign lands, for the fabrics which are to clothe her citizens ? For manufactured materials which are necessary for the construction of their dwellings, and for the tools with which they are to cultivate their soil ? But such has been our situation, (unknown almost to ourselves,) until a jealousy of our prosperity provoked a war, which barred us from the workshops of England ; and then we found we were in some measure obliged to rely on a treasonable trade to clothe the armies which met her in the field of battle. The very powder which generated the thunder of our cannon was sometimes British manufacture, and the " striped bunting" may often

have been from the same loom with the "cross of St. George," over which it so frequently waved with triumph. Such a state of things could not but awaken the spirit and enterprise of Americans. Amidst the agitation of war, while one part of the population was ranging itself under the military banners of our country, another devoted itself to her interest in another form. Manufactures arose as if by enchantment—on every stream she formed for herself spacious dwellings, and collected in them many thousands who in no other way could contribute to the general weal. Those too young or too old to bear arms, who had no strength for agricultural labours—the female, whose domestic services could be dispensed with in her family, found here a means of individual gain, and of adding to the public prosperity. In a short three years, the produce of our looms rivaled foreign productions, and the nation with which we were contending felt more alarm from the progress of our manufactures, than she did from the success of our arms. But peace came,—while we were at war, the warehouses of England were filled with the produce of the labour, which a loss of market had enabled her to purchase at a depreciated price. The moment intercourse between the two countries was opened, her hoarded stores were thrown upon us, and we were deluged with the manufactures which had been waiting the event. They could be sold without profit, because the foreign manufacturer thought himself fortunate if he could realise the capital which he had been obliged to expend, to support his establishment while there was no sale for his wares. But he was content to bear a loss, because, in the words of an English statesman, "It was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States, which the war had forced into existence." It would have been surprising indeed, if our infant manufactures, the establishment of which had generally exhausted the capitals of those who embarked in them, could have sustained themselves under such circumstances, without any aid or support from the government, without any means of countervailing the effects of the sacrifices which foreigners were willing to make for their destruction. How were they to maintain themselves? It was impossible,—many of them sunk—but, we hope, to rise again. The attention of the government was too ardently directed, during the war, to other objects, to perceive the policy or necessity of that protection which the manufacturing interest did not then appear to want. But now, that peace will leave our legislators free to consider and provide for the real independence, and perma-

nent prosperity of our country ; now, when we have at the head of our administration, a citizen, whose presence here this evening assures us of the interest he takes in the objects of our institution, we may hope, that American manufactures will receive all the countenance and support that can be derived from the power of the government. Let that power be exerted only so far as to counteract the policy of foreign nations, and every American may be gratified in the pride of wearing the produce of the American soil, manufactured by American hands. Again shall the surplus population of our great cities, and the feeble powers of women and children, find that means of useful and profitable employment which manufactures alone can afford them. Again shall the patriotic and enterprising capitalist find advantage in devoting his means and mind to objects so calculated to promote the prosperity and happiness of his country. And again shall foreign nations dread to see us rising to that real independence, which we never can in truth enjoy, while we depend upon any but ourselves for the first necessaries of life. The society beg leave to testify to the chief magistrate of the nation, the high sense they entertain of the honour he has conferred upon them by his presence at this time, and sincerely participate in the feelings, which have been so universally manifested on his visit to our city, and most cordially tender him their best wishes for his health and happiness."

A very favourable impression, in favour of domestic manufactures, was every where manifested at the conclusion of the war of 1812. Mr. Jefferson had changed his views on the subject, and expressed himself as follows :—" To be independent for the comforts of life, we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist. Experience has taught me that manufactures are as necessary to our independence as to our comfort." And Mr. Monroe's message of December 30th, 1821, was much to the point :—" It cannot be doubted, that the more complete our internal resources, and the less dependent we are on foreign powers, for every national as well as domestic purpose, the greater and more stable will be the public felicity. By the increase of domestic manufactures will the demand for the rude materials at home be increased ; and thus will the dependence of the several parts of the Union, and the strength of the Union itself, be proportionably augmented." It is said that Mr. Monroe's tour to New England made a very favourable impression on his own mind, with regard to the resources of the country, for manufacturing operations ; the population of the

eastern section of the Union struck him as altogether adapted to the object.

When the President of the United States arrived at Providence,* a committee of arrangements was chosen at Pawtucket, who met Mr. Monroe and his suite, and escorted him to the "Old Mill," where Mr. Slater received him, and exhibited to him his first frames, by which he had spun his first cotton; explaining to him the present progress of the business, with which the president was highly delighted, and it was considered a proud day for Pawtucket, and more particularly to the individual who had been the means of raising that obscure hamlet to such a flourishing town. The change was remarkable, and it took place during a severe contest with Great Britain. Providence and Rhode Island, in general, received an impetus which has continued to raise that comparatively small state to wealth and importance.†

* *Mr. Monroe's answer to the Providence Address, previous to his visit to Pawtucket.*

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE.

Gentlemen,—I received, with great satisfaction, the address which the citizens of Providence, through their committee, have been pleased to communicate to me. The pleasure of my journey has been greatly enhanced by the uniform kindness and promptitude with which the objects of my visit have been seconded by my fellow citizens. Every where in our country the reflecting mind cannot fail to observe the blessings of a free government. Living under a constitution which secures equal, civil, religious, and political rights to all, it is a great consolation in administering it, that the people have formed so just an estimate of its value; and from rational conviction, and not from blind prejudices, are sincerely devoted to its preservation. I hope that this just confidence in the stability of our government may continue to increase; and if it does, it cannot fail to produce the happiest effects, by encouraging a love of our country, and an honest zeal to promote its best and permanent interests. Happy shall I be, if my exertions in the public service shall be so far successful, that they may assist the industry and enterprise of my fellow citizens, in increasing the general prosperity.

JAMES MONROE.

The next morning he received all that wished to be presented to him, and then proceeded to view the town, and visit the neighbouring cotton mills, &c. At Pawtucket, he was shown the first frame upon the Arkwright plan, put into operation in this country; it has been running 27 years, and was erected by Mr. Slater, the present owner of the establishment. After which he took a polite leave of his Rhode Island friends, and passed into Massachusetts.—*Niles's Register.*

† While Rhode Island was a colony of Great Britain, Newport was, by far, the place of the greatest importance in the state. Delightfully situated

The North American Review, July 1823, attempts to account for the failures previous to that time, on other grounds than want of protection from government :—" All manufactures, to be prosecuted to great extent and with great profit, require a very complicated and perfect machinery, not to be had without a great disbursement, nor easily for that. Accordingly, the factories which were so imprudently set up at every waterfall in our country, ill provided with machinery, possessed of none of its most costly improvements, and furnished with nothing but of the cheapest and most ordinary construction, though they might be able, during the total exclusion of foreign trade in time of war, or under a system of prohibitory duties, to continue in operation, must necessarily stop under any competition. Many accordingly did stop ; and who that sees them, and knows how they were furnished, and how managed, but rather wonders how they got on? Another cause of the failure of our manufactures was the want of experience. A vast accumulation of individual and traditional observation, of dexterity acquired in practice, and often a secret skill, is necessary to the successful conduct of a factory. More or less of it is necessary in every pursuit. A capitalist who knows nothing of trade, would commit a great error in buying cargoes, chartering ships, and making voyages. We much fear, that, without any depression of manufactures, he would soon become a bankrupt. But yet it is much easier to conduct a voyage than a factory. Good ships can be bought to your hands, cargoes judiciously laid in by the brokers, and experienced captains sent to sea. But to command all the skill, ingenuity, and experience, requisite to erect and conduct a factory, is a far different affair. Hundreds were

for commerce, it received its share of commercial trade, and the *Island* was cultivated as a garden, compared with other parts of New England. The Naragansett country and the greater part of the state was then a mere wilderness. It possessed, however, natural advantages in water falls, not surpassed by any other portion of America, of the same extent of territory. These attracted the capital of manufactures, and a dense population, in beautiful villages and hamlets, now spreads over the greatest part of the country ; the whole scene is changed : schools are introduced, places of worship erected, and the state of improvement is quite equal, if not superior, to any other state or section of the country.

Rhode Island is no longer despised, by her sister states, as ignorant and irreligious, but they are as zealous and devoted to science and literature, and especially the mechanic arts, as either Connecticut or Massachusetts, or any other state in the Union.

erected without a particle of either, and stand the mournful monuments of the improvidence of their undertakers.*”

* The following remarks are in substance the words of Mr. T. Burgess, in his address before the Rhode Island Agricultural Society :—“ Forty years ago there was not a spindle wrought by water on this side the Atlantic. Since then, how immense the capital by which spinning and weaving machinery are moved! How many, how great, how various, the improvements! The farmers of Flanders erected a statue in honour of him who introduced into their country the culture of the potatoe. What shall the people of New England do for him who first brought us the knowledge of manufacturing cloth, by machinery moved by water? In England, he would in life, be ornamented with a peerage, in death, lamented by a monument in Westminster Abbey. The name of *Slater* will be remembered as one of our greatest public benefactors. Let not the rich, in his adopted country, envy the products of his labour—his extensive opulence—his fair and elevated character. Let the poor rise up and call him blessed; for he has introduced a species of industry into our country, which furnishes them with labour, food, clothing, and habitation; and that, too, when the long and hungry winters of our climate lock up all other employment from them. It may be said, I think, without any fair imputation of national vanity, that the United States have, during the last forty years, made a more respectable progress in manufactures than any other nation or people.

“ It is within the personal knowledge of every merchant conversant with the importation of foreign goods, that there was scarcely such a thing heard of as British cotton sheeting before the manufacture of them was attempted in this country. In the year 1787, the cotton used in England was for the following purposes :—Candlewicks, hosiery, silk and linen mixtures, fustians, calicoes, and muslins. Neither sheetings nor shirtings are mentioned in this enumeration.

“ The progress of the United States in this manufacture stands unrivaled. It may be attributed to the enterprising spirit, to the industry and ingenuity of our countrymen, aided by the immense advantage of producing the staple at home. This advantage has enabled us to apply the finer kinds of cotton to heavier fabrics than had before been attempted.

“ The committee of 1832 have turned their attention with great interest to the influence of the cotton manufacture upon the moral habits and character of the operatives. No class of the working population in this country is more respectable and intelligent or better educated. In the United States, manufactures are dispersed through the country. The operatives are, to a considerable extent, females, who come into the factories, after having acquired their education, who stay there but a few years, and whose liberal wages enable them during those few years to lay up considerable sums of money. In many factories, the proprietors have instituted savings banks, to encourage the economy of the operatives, by enabling them to deposit such portions, however small, of their earnings as they could spare, the proprietors allowing a moderate rate of interest, and being responsible for the safety of the capital. One factory has made a return on this subject to the committee, where the wages amount to about sixty thousand dollars per annum;

In order to appreciate the value and importance of the extension of the cotton business, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the condition the country was found in, at the commencement of the last war with Great Britain. The abstract which follows was selected from memorials which had reference to this state of things, and to the distresses which followed the peace, in consequence of the influx of foreign goods. This refers to a most serious state of affairs, connected with manufacturing establishments ; and before we proceed to their progress, it will be proper to revert to that disastrous period of bankruptcy and ruin. It cannot be better expressed than in the language used by persons who deeply felt the pressure of the calamity.

It is said that hundreds of our ill-fated soldiers perished for want of comfortable clothing in the early part of the war of 1812, when exposed to the inhospitable climate of Canada. The war found us destitute of the means of supplying ourselves, not merely with blankets for our soldiers, but a vast variety of other articles necessary for our ease and comfort. Our citizens entered on the business of manufactures with great energy and enterprise ; invested in them many millions of capital—and having, during the thirty months while the war continued, the domestic market secured to them, they succeeded wonderfully. Never was there a prouder display of the power of industry, than was afforded on this occasion. Unaided by the expenditure of a single dollar by our government, they attained, in two or three years, a degree of maturity in manufactures, which required centuries in England, France, Prussia, &c.—and cost their governments enormous sums, in the shape of bounties, premiums, drawbacks, with the fostering aid of privileges and immunities bestowed on the undertakers. The supply became commensurate with the demand ; and full confidence was entertained that the government and nation, to whose aid they came forward in time of need, would not abandon

the fund thus laid by has accumulated, in four years, to the sum of twenty six thousand and four hundred dollars, or about eleven per cent. on the whole amount of wages paid.

“It will be observed, that no less than thirty-nine thousand females find employment in the cotton factories of the United States, whose aggregate wages amount to upwards of four millions of dollars annually. This immense sum, paid for the wages of females, may be considered as so much clear gain to the country. Daughters are emphatically a blessing to the farmer. Many instances have occurred within the personal knowledge of this committee, in which the earnings of daughters have been scrupulously hoarded, to enable them to pay off mortgages on the paternal farm.”

them to destruction. Previous to the revolution, they had no competitors in the markets of their country but their fellow-subjects of Great Britain. Now they have competitors from almost every part of Europe, and from the East Indies. The case of the paper-makers in 1818, affords proof of this disadvantage. One half of them in the middle states were ruined—not by the importation of British paper, of which little came to this market, but by French and Italian, with which our markets were deluged for two or three years after the last war. By an investigation ordered in 1819, by the citizens of Philadelphia, it appears so great was the decay of manufacturing industry that, in only thirty out of fifty-six branches of business, there were actually 7728 persons less employed in 1819 than in 1816.

It was reported, "That embarrassment is universal; that the sordid and avaricious are acquiring the sacrificed property of the liberal and industrious; that so much property is exposed to sale under execution, that buyers cannot be had to pay more for it than the fees of office."

All nations and communities have fallen to decay, in proportion as they abandoned, and have prospered in proportion as they protected, the industry of their people. There are great advantages to agriculture from the vicinity of manufacturing establishments. The settlement at Harmony, in the state of Pennsylvania, was begun in 1804, and is probably the only settlement ever made in America in which, from the outset, agriculture and manufactures proceeded hand in hand together. The progress to wealth and prosperity, therefore, has been far beyond any previous example in this country. In 1809, they built a fulling mill, which does a great deal of business for the country, a hemp mill, an oil mill, a grist mill, a brick warehouse, 46 by 36 feet, having a wine cellar completely arched over; and another brick building of the same dimensions. A considerable quantity of land was cleared. The produce of this year was 6000 bushels of Indian corn; 4500 bushels of wheat; and they distilled 1600 bushels of rye. In 1810, a wool-carding machine and two spinning jennies were erected, for the fabrication of broad cloth from the wool of merino sheep. A frame barn was built, 100 feet long, and a brick house built, to accommodate 20 weavers' looms. In the wool loft, eight or ten women were employed in teasing and sorting the wool for the carding machine, which is at a distance on the creek. From thence the roves are brought to the spinning house in the town, where we found two roving billies and six spinning jennies at work. They were principally wrought by young girls, and they appeared per-

fectly happy, singing church music most melodiously. In the weaving house, sixteen looms were at work, besides several warpers and winders. We there saw the soap and candle works; the dye works; shearing and dressing works; the turners, carpenters, and machine makers; and we were conducted through the warehouses, which we found plentifully stored with commodities;—among others 450 pieces of broad and narrow cloth, part of it merino wool, and of as good a fabric as any that ever was made in England. In 1813 they could sell the best broad cloth, as fast as made, at ten dollars per yard. The society in 1811 consisted of about 800 persons, and the operative members as follows:—one hundred farmers, three shepherds, ten masons, three stonecutters, three brick-makers, ten carpenters, two sawyers, ten smiths, two wagon makers, three turners, two nailers, seven coopers, three rope makers, ten shoemakers, two saddlers, three tanners, seven tailors, one soap boiler, one brewer, four distillers, one gardener, two grist millers, two oil millers, one butcher, six joiners, six dyers, dressers, shearers, &c., one fuller, two hatters, two potters, two warpers, seventeen weavers, two carders, eight spinners, one rover, one minister of religion, one schoolmaster, one doctor, one storekeeper with two assistants, and one tavern keeper with one assistant. The original stock in 1804, was \$20,000, which was expended in the purchase of land, and in supporting themselves till they commenced their operations. And in 1811, their property amounted to the sum of \$220,000. To this delightful picture of the effects of a judicious distribution of industry, the statesman ought to direct his eyes steadily. It holds out a most instructive lesson on the true policy to promote human happiness, and to advance the wealth, power, and resources of nations. Hundreds of places might be mentioned, where the establishment of manufactories, by affording an extensive and advantageous market to the farmer, doubled and trebled the price of the lands in their neighbourhood—and increased in an equal degree the comforts and prosperity of the farmers.

A nation peopled only by farmers, must be a region of indolence and misery. If the soil is naturally fertile, little labour will produce abundance; but for want of exercise even that little labour will be burdensome and often neglected. Want will be felt in the midst of abundance; and the human mind be abased nearly to the same degree with the beasts that graze in the field. If the region is more barren, the inhabitants will be obliged to become somewhat more industrious, and therefore more happy. Those therefore who wish to make agriculture flourish in any country,

can have no hope of succeeding in the attempt but by bringing commerce and manufactures to her aid ; which by taking from the farmer his superfluous produce, gives spirit to his operations, and life and activity to his mind. Without this stimulus to activity, in vain do we use arguments to rouse the sluggish inhabitants. In vain do we discover that the earth is capable of producing the most luxuriant harvests with little labour. Our own abundant crops are produced as undeniable proofs of this in vain. But place a manufacturer in the neighbourhood, who will buy every little article that the farmer can bring to market, and he will soon become industrious—the most barren fields will become covered with some useful produce. Instead of listless vagabonds, unfit for any service, the country will abound with a hardy and robust race of men. When one nation receives only luxuries from another, and pays for them in the necessaries of life, or specie, or in raw materials which would find employment for its own people, commerce is pernicious ; but when conducted on fair and reciprocal terms, it tends to civilise, and increase the comforts of the great family of mankind. Suppose that England were to furnish France with her raw wool, lead, tin, iron, flax and hemp, and to receive in return merino shawls, silks, satins, pearl necklaces, diamond watches, &c.—the most devoted advocate for commerce would allow this species of it to be extremely pernicious. And it is as absurd as impolitic, and as cruel to our citizens, who can manufacture cotton goods for us, to export raw cotton and receive cambrics and muslins in return, as it would be for England to export her wool, and import her woollen manufactures.

The war of 1812 was closed under the most favourable auspices. The country was every where prosperous. Inestimable manufacturing establishments, in which probably 60,000,000 of dollars were invested, were spread over the face of the land, and diffusing happiness among thousands of industrious people. No man, woman, or child, able and willing to work, was unemployed. With almost every possible variety of soil and climate—and likewise with the three greatest staples in the world—cotton, wool, and iron ; the first, to an extent commensurate with our utmost wants, and a capacity to produce the other two—a sound policy would have rendered us more independent, probably, of foreign supplies, for all the comforts of life, than any other nation whatever.

Peace, nevertheless, was fraught with destruction to the hopes and happiness of a considerable portion of the manufacturers. The double duties had been imposed with a limitation to one year

after the close of the war. And a tariff as a substitute was prepared by the secretary of the treasury, with duties fixed at the minimum rates which he thought calculated to afford them protection. On many of them, these rates were insufficient. Yet had his tariff been adopted, it would probably have saved the country forty or fifty millions of dollars, and prevented a large portion of the deep distress that pervaded the land, and which drove legislative bodies to the desperate measure of suspending the course of justice. But a deep-rooted jealousy of manufacturers was entertained by many members of congress, on the ground of imputed extortion during the war; and the old hacknied themes of "taxing the many for the benefit of the few,"—the country not being ripe for manufactures—wages being too high—the immensity of our back lands, &c. were still regarded as unanswerable arguments. In consequence of the combined operation of these causes, the rates were reduced on most of the leading articles, ten, fifteen, and in some cases, thirty per cent. Every per cent. reduced was regarded, by many of the members of congress, as so much clear gain to the country. Some of them appeared to consider manufactures as a sort of common enemy, with whom no terms ought to be observed. Some of them held the broad doctrine, that every dollar paid as duty or bounty to encourage manufactures, is a dollar robbed out of the pockets of the farmers and planters.

From year to year since that time, ruin spread among the manufacturers. A large portion of them have been reduced to bankruptcy, from ease and affluence. Most of them had entered into the business during the war, under an impression, as I have already stated, that there was a sort of implied engagement on the part of the government that, having been found so useful in time of need, they would not be allowed to be crushed afterwards. To what extent there was any foundation for this idea, I am unable to decide. Suffice it to say, that all the calculations predicted on it were wholly and lamentably disappointed. The strong arm of government, which alone could save them from the overwhelming influx of foreign manufactures, by which they were destroyed, was not interposed in their behalf. Noble establishments, the pride and ornament of the country, which might have been rendered sources of incalculable public and private wealth, and which Edward III., Henry IV., Frederic the Great, and Catherine II. would have saved at the expense of millions, if necessary, were mouldering to ruins. And to crown the whole, millions of capital which had every claim to the protection of government, had

become a dead and heavy loss to the proprietors. At every stage of this awful progress, the devoted sufferers not only appealed to the justice, but threw themselves on the mercy, of their representatives. The utmost powers of eloquence were exhausted in those appeals, some of which may be ranked among the proudest monuments of human talents. In the second session of the fourteenth congress, 1816-17, there were above forty memorials presented to the house of representatives from manufacturers in different parts of the United States, and some of them, particularly that from Pittsburg, fraught with tales of ruin and destruction, that would have softened the heart of a Herod. *Not one of them was ever read in the house!* The following are a few short specimens of the facts and reasonings they placed before the eyes of congress :—

The Philadelphia memorial holds this language :—“ We regard with the most serious concern the critical and dangerous situation in which our manufactures are placed by the recent extravagant importations of rival articles, which, owing to the great surplus of them, and to the pressure of money, are in many cases sold at such reduced prices, as to render it impossible for our manufactures to compete with them. We believe that with the interests of the manufacturers are connected the best interests of the nation—and that if the manufactures of the country are deprived of that support from the legislature of the United States, to which we think they are fairly entitled, the evil will be felt not by us merely, but by the whole nation ; as it will produce the inevitable consequence of an unfavourable balance of trade, whereby our country will be impoverished, and rendered tributary to foreign powers, whose interest are in direct hostility with ours.”

The Pittsburg memorial says :—“ The committee have found that the manufacture of cottons, woollens, flint, glass, and the finer articles of iron, has lately suffered the most alarming depression. Some branches which have been several years in operation, have been destroyed or partially suspended ; and others, of a more recent growth, annihilated before they were completely in operation. The tide of importation has inundated our country with foreign goods. Some of the most valuable and enterprising citizens have been subjected to enormous losses, and others overwhelmed with bankruptcy and ruin. The pressure of war was less fatal to the hopes of enterprise and industry, than a general peace with the calamities arising from the present state of our foreign trade. It was confidently believed, that the destinies of the United States would no longer depend on the jealousy and caprice of foreign governments, and that our national freedom

and welfare were fixed on the solid basis of our intrinsic means and energies. But these were 'airy dreams;' a peace was concluded with England, and in a few months we were prostrate at her feet. The manufacturers appealed to the general government for the adoption of measures that might enable them to resist the torrent that was sweeping away the fruits of their capital and industry. Their complaints were heard with a concern which seemed a pledge for the return of better days. The tariff of duties, established at the last session of congress, and the history of the present year, will demonstrate the falsity of their expectations. England never suffered a foreign government, or a combination of foreign capitalists, by glutting her own market, to crush in the cradle any branch of her domestic industry. She never regarded with a cold indifference the ruin of thousands of her industrious people, by the competition of foreigners. The bare avowal of such an attempt would have incurred the indignant resistance of the whole body of the nation, and met the frowns, if not the instant vengeance of the government. The consequences of this policy in England are well known; her manufactures have become a source of wealth incalculable; the treasures of Spanish America are poured into her lap; her commerce is spread over every ocean, and, with a population comparatively small, she is the terror and the spoiler of Europe. Take from England her manufactures, and the fountains of her wealth would be broken up; her pre-eminence among nations would be lost for ever. For a speedy redress of such pressing evils, we look to the government of the Union. Will they uphold the sinking manufactures of the country, or will they not? Are their late assurances of aid and protection forgotten with the crisis that gave them birth? Let them realise the hopes of the country, and act with decision before it be too late. In the United States we have the knowledge of the labour-saving machinery, the raw material, and provisions cheaper than in Britain; but the overgrown capital of the British manufacturer, and the dexterity acquired by long experience, make a considerable time and heavy duties necessary for our protection. We have beaten England out of our markets in hats, boots, and all manufactures of leather; we are very much her superior in ship-building; these are all the work of the hands, where labour-saving machinery gives no aid; so that her superiority over us, in manufactures, consists more in the excellence and nicety of the labour-saving machinery, than in the wages of labour. With all their jealousy and restrictions upon the emigration of workmen, the distresses and misfortunes of Eng-

land will, by due encouragement, send much of her skill and knowledge to our shores; let us be ready to take full benefit of such events, as England herself did when despotic laws in Germany, and other parts of Europe, drove their manufacturers into Britain, which laid the foundation of her present eminence. That the cotton trade and manufacture is a concern of vast importance, and even of leading interest to the country is a truth, your memorialists conceive, too palpable to be denied or doubted. Were not our own constant observation and daily experience sufficient to establish it, the prodigious exertions of our ever-vigilant and indefatigable rival, directed against this particular interest, would place the matter beyond a question. For where a judicious and enterprising opponent (as England undoubtedly is in this respect) directs her strongest engines of hostility, we have reason to conclude there lies our vital and most important concerns.

“This consideration is coming home to us with more and more force; and the cotton planter, as well as the manufacturer, must have before this time discovered the alarming fact, that our great rival has become possessed of both our plants and seeds of cotton, which she is employing all her vast means to propagate in the East Indies and other British possessions, with an energy and success which threaten the most alarming consequences. When your memorialists consider that the article thus jeopardated is the great staple of the country, they cannot but hope the people and their representatives will be generally convinced that it is not the interest of individuals alone that is at stake, but that of the whole community. An appeal is made to the equity, to the patriotism of the southern statesman; his aid and co-operation is invoked for the relief of the suffering manufactures of the northern and middle states. In the interior of the United States, few articles can be raised which will bear a distant transportation; products much more valuable, when the grower and consumer are near each other, are therefore excluded from cultivation. A dependence on foreign markets, in the most prosperous times, necessarily restricts the labours of agriculture to a very few objects; a careless, decrepit, and unprofitable cultivation is the known result. The propriety of these observations may, in some degree, be illustrated by the difference in value between the land in the vicinity of a large town, and at a greater distance from it. The labour which produces the greatest quantity of subsistence is bestowed in the culture of articles too cumbrous for transportation; and in general, a farm which will subsist fifty persons in its vicinity, would not subsist the fifth of that number three hundred miles off. If the

value of land be so much enhanced by the proximity of a market, and so rapidly diminished by the distance of transportation, the introduction of manufactories, and the creation of an interior market, ought to be regarded as peculiarly auspicious to the interests of agriculturists. Confining our views to the western country, we might emphatically ask, with what exportable commodities shall we restore the balance of trade, now fast accumulating against us? How arrest the incessant drain of capital? Our manufactures are perishing around us, and already millions have escaped never to return."

The Oneida Memorial says:—"That the above county contains a greater number of manufacturing establishments, of cotton and woollen, than any other county in the state, there being invested in said establishments at least \$ 600,000. That although the utmost efforts have been made by the proprietors to sustain those establishments, their efforts have proved fruitless, and more than three fourths of the factories remain, necessarily, closed; some of the proprietors being wholly ruined, and others struggling under the greatest embarrassment. In this alarming situation, we beg leave to make a last appeal to the congress of the United States. While we make this appeal, our present and extensive embarrassments in most of the great departments of industry, as well as the peculiar difficulty in affording immediate relief to manufacturers, are fully seen and appreciated; yet your petitioners cannot believe that the legislature of the Union will remain an indifferent spectator of the wide-spread ruin of their fellow citizens, and look on and see a great branch of industry, of the utmost importance in every community, prostrated under circumstances fatal to all future attempts at revival, without a further effort for relief. We would not magnify the subject which we now present to congress, beyond its just merits, when we state it to be one of the utmost importance to the future interests and welfare of the United States. It is objected that the entire industry of the country may be most profitably exerted in clearing and cultivating our extended vacant lands. But what does it avail the farmer, when neither in the nation from which he purchases his goods, or elsewhere, can he find a market for his abundant crops! Besides, the diversion of labour from agriculture to manufactures, is scarcely perceptible. Five or six adults, with the aid of children, will manage a cotton manufactory of two thousand spindles."

I have found but few letters of Mr. Slater's, and these are chiefly to his agents on business; extracts from some of them will serve to show his views of punctuality and correctness in all his con-

cerns ; some of them evince also a shrewdness of observation, and a dry humour, which were characteristic of the man, and of his communications. It was a peculiar trait in him to dislike change, either in his agents or any persons in his employment. He knew when he was well served, and, when persons did his business well, no flattering inducement would cause him to employ new persons. Some of his agents in Salem, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, became the first houses in those cities. And some, who had been clerks in his employment, became first rate men of business. Whether as president of the bank in Pawtucket, or in the payment of a labourer, there was the same exactness and integrity. Few men ever conducted so much business, with so much ease, and with so much good-will from those connected with him, as Mr. Slater. He had no tricks, no double dealing, all was open, fair and honourable.*

Mr. Elijah Waring.

N. PROVIDENCE, February 23d, 1814.

Dear Sir,—Your esteemed favour, under date of December 29th last, and the contents of which, were duly received. I have delayed answering it some time in order to more fully make up my mind relative to some parts of the subject under consideration. Your observations respecting a permanent agent fully coincides with my ideas and wishes in that part, although not suggested to you in mine of the 25th. Placing full reliance on your extensive experience and knowledge in that point, I did not then, or now, conceive it necessary to enter into a specification of the permanency of an agent, &c. &c. In regard to the amount I shall have for the Philadelphia market, from the Oxford factory, I presume, during one year from this time, I shall have about one hundred thousand dollars for sale, more than half of which I should wish to send to Philadelphia. At times, Almy and Brown, and myself, have conversation on the subject of my vending one third part

* His connection with Almy and Brown, who were of the Society of Friends, fastened him in the principles of economy and utility. Few men, except those who have been personally engaged in business, know the trials and perplexities which men of business endure; and there is not always sufficient allowance made for their irritable feelings, and for the difficulties in which they are involved. Mr. Slater, in early life, was sometimes severe in his expressions. He was always silent with regard to his business, and disliked that his men should speak of where he was going, or of what he was about; he also disliked any one who was inquisitive or prying about his affairs, and he never interfered with other people's matters. Some of his men had mentioned in the village, that Mr. Slater was going to Boston next morning; he found that they had spoken of it: he went to the mill, in some anger, and asked them if they could not keep their insides from dropping out; alluding to the old woman, who parted with a secret entrusted to her, for fear of losing more important parts of her existence.

of the yarn and goods made here, and my quarter part of the yarn and goods at Smithfield factories. In that case an agent may reasonably calculate on being supplied with more than a hundred thousand dollars annually, besides an additional amount arising from an increase of machinery. But in case of an alteration in sales of goods made here, and at Smithfield factories, I conceive you would claim a right of selling what were sent to the Philadelphia market, and I should not feel justified in curtailing your present supplies, &c. Samuel Haydock is now selling goods for four or five companies. Do Almy & Brown fully supply you with goods to meet all the calls for them? From your last orders to them, I fear they will not be competent to meet the whole of them this year.

Provided you cannot, without taking too much trouble, meet with an agent that will undertake the agency for me, who is likely to continue in the business for me, during *storms* and *calms*, I shall be induced to consign the goods to Messrs. Gilman & Annison, who have strongly solicited an agency of my business. They are doubtless good men, but I fear they will desert from selling American goods, (should commerce revive) to selling English, which desertion would not be a pleasant thing to me. On the receipt of this, I will thank you to give me your candid opinion on the foregoing points; and any new idea that may occur to you, you will have the goodness to communicate it, which will be gratefully received by yours, &c.

SAMUEL SLATER.

To Jeremiah Brown, Philadelphia.

The cotton business now appears very gloomy and I fear will continue. Many establishments are stopped. And many have already done it of their own accord, and many are daily stopping from mere necessity, they being indebted to a much larger amount, than every thing they possessed would bring under the *hammer*. I hope you will do the best you can for the Oxford companies, in obtaining fair prices for them, as to keep them from being daily harassed with sheriffs, who have stripped many of every thing they were possessed of.*

* The annexed schedule of Mr. Slater's estate in 1817, will serve to show the progress of his business.

"I own the house, &c., in which I live in Pawtucket, one other house, and six house lots, one house and land in Seekonk, and third part of the old factory, so called, counting fifteen hundred spindles, water privilege, stores, and five dwelling houses; and one third part of three farms in Attleborough and Saybrook. One house and lots near Hartford, also one quarter part of several buildings and lots in Providence. One quarter of a brick house in Boston, one quarter of the estate in Smithfield, containing two cotton factories, with between five and six thousand spindles, together with three water privileges, about thirty-five good houses and twelve hundred acres of land. My estate in Oxford, Mass., consisting of one cotton factory of two thousand spindles, one woollen establishment, grist and saw mill, sixteen dwelling houses and seven hundred acres of land. Also one handsome farm in Pelham, and a right in six mortgaged estates, to the amount of ten thousand dollars, which I shall have to hold."

Almost every manufacturer is now shivering in the wind, and when and where the present distress among them all will stop, time alone will unfold.

Flour will pay the exchange.

A great many of the establishments for spinning cotton in this section of the country are stopping, either all or a part. I hope goods will command a higher price next month than they now do.

NEW PROVIDENCE, August 14th, 1816.

J. & M. Brown.

Gentlemen,—Your favour under date of the 8th inst. was duly received, covering a bill of \$2100 in specie, per the sloop *Dove*, which arrived to day about noon.

The *Lively* has not yet made her appearance here. I wish she had the *wings* of the *Dove*. I told the owners yesterday, that if she was my vessel I would change her name. Several persons to-day, on seeing the *Dove* arrive, and learning that she had not seen or heard any thing from the *Lively*, were induced to insure. However, I hope she will still arrive safe and sound.

N. B. Please give me, in your next, a price current of specie and cotton goods.*

June 11th, 1816.—The box of specie has arrived, and on counting it there was twenty-five cents over.

In consequence of almost all the cotton factories being stopped in this country, the general idea is, that cotton goods, and yarn, too, will soon advance; under these considerations, will it be advisable to force sales?

Will thank you to make an arrangement with some of your merchant tailors, to supply the Oxford mills with a few thousand yards good listing, and less than one inch wide; the general price when money was plenty, and also when the rope-makers wanted many of them, was about a cent per yard, hope they are no higher now. As many of the tailors have them wound into large balls (the inside of which are very poor,) I fear it will not answer to take them in that state without examining them, unless your tailors are much honester than ours here.

December 3d, 1817.—I left New York on Friday morning last, and arrived here in about thirty-five hours with my family all in good health. Request Daniel Large to send me five tons of his best pig iron, on trial, that is suitable to make soft iron in an air furnace.

Feb. 7th, 1816.—As soon as you can procure some specie or *good* drafts,

* *Extract of a letter from Moses Brown at Providence, to Jeremiah Brown of Philadelphia.*

Dear Brother,—I have already seen several of our friends, and last evening had the pleasure of introducing to friend Samuel Slater, his brother, whom he had not seen for thirty years. He arrived four days ago at New York, from Liverpool, and accidentally we both met in the packet. Samuel did not recognise his brother, as I introduced him as a person recently arrived from Derbyshire, England, and who knew his friends there. He does not resemble Samuel, but has a very striking resemblance to John. [This meeting was like the one formerly noticed.]

at a fair discount, you will forward either, so as to enable us to keep our *chins above water*.

Nov. 5th, 1817.—My brother and I have agreed to weigh our sheet anchor to-morrow for Philadelphia and Baltimore. Accommodate Mr. Dean with \$300.

June 6th, 1816. The box of specie has not arrived. The copperas has arrived, and on examining it, find a part of it *real good English* copperas, and a part of it very poor American. One of the casks was entirely new, which I condemned before it was opened, and it turned out to be poor. Business is very poor here; how is it in Philadelphia?

March 30th, 1818.—I am extremely sorry that the mother bank is under the necessity of suspending giving drafts on the branches, especially to those who make their deposits with her. The alteration will seriously affect many of the manufacturers in New England. In short, I do not see how I shall get along, unless you obtain the specie for me, as post notes will be shortly one or two per cent. below par, at least, if I am under the necessity of going to a broker to get them transmuted into our money.

May 8th, 1818.—Mr. Tyson wrote you a few days past of my serious disaster; my many pains and bruises round my head and body are rather subsiding; so that I think I can truly say that my shattered leg is the most painful.

By S. Slater, Jun.

April 21st, 1818.—The Providence iron foundry is greatly in want of pig iron. Hope the first lot is under way. If you can obtain them for something less than forty-five dollars, you will add ten tons more.

March 19th, 1816.—As respects goods, I sincerely hope that a very considerable quantity will be sent you from Oxford this season, notwithstanding a part of the spindles are motionless, as is the case almost every where. Goods cannot be made now from the high priced cotton, without a loss to the manufacturers, therefore it behoves every consignee to sell the goods for as much as they will possibly command. I wrote to S. & T. about 10 days past, to forward you every piece of coloured goods they had on hand. If you can purchase one or two tons of good English copperas at \$2,75 or nearly that, you will forward it.

April 27, 1818.—A Providence friend of mine showed me a letter to day which he had recently received from his correspondent in Philadelphia, stating that you, he, and others, could not obtain more than about thirty cents for good gingham, on a credit of from four to six months. If the advice is correct, I fear we shall all be bankrupted in a heap. Do advise me in your next whether or not your market is so squally.

Sept. 17, 1816.—With respect to crediting western merchants, in lieu of an acceptance in the city of Philadelphia—If some of them should appear to buy goods on credit, on note or book account, and you are fully satisfied from personal knowledge of them, or, from *good* references, that they are actually trustworthy, then I conceive it would be advisable to credit some of them, but, still, don't lose sight of obtaining acceptances in your city when practicable. As almost every one here is of opinion that Philadelphia money will still improve, therefore, you will purchase only about 1500 dollars specie until further advised, which you will forward by first packet. As respects the *Lively* being a dull sailer, I have been of the opinion, that the old captain of her was a duller sailor than she. Now there

being a new captain, probably she will get along somewhat faster. In regard to sending you some coarse twist from here, (Pawtucket,) it is not practicable, having scarcely a pound on hand. I hope you will receive some of it from Oxford before long. Can you obtain a good, neat thermometer for me in Philadelphia, for about four dollars? if you can, please forward one.

Dec. 23, 1817.—Four cases of goods from Oxford arrived in Providence, the middle of last week, and my young man wrote he should send down two more cases in a day or two—all of which I have engaged to go by way of New York, so that they may be in Philadelphia seasonably for the spring sales. The household goods arrived in Providence per the Dove, on Friday last, in excellent order, which I attribute to your particular care in having them well packed, for which, and many other like favours, I consider myself greatly indebted to you, which I hope a long life will enable me to discharge, and in the interim, remain with every respect your assured friend.

May 19, 1818.—In consequence of Sea Island cotton being seventy-five cents per pound, Almy & Brown and myself have concluded that threads, and all first quality yarns, must command higher prices, or it will not be wisdom in us to make them. I am sorry that your J. B. is going into the western states this summer, because, I fear, it will deprive me of seeing either of you in New England this season. With respect to my own bodily infirmities, I ought to rejoice and be thankful, that I am getting along, beyond all human calculations. You will please to remit as usual, money still being a cash article and in demand.

May 14, 1818.—I received yours of the 8th inst. this day, it took a trip by the way of Taunton.

I remain still flat on my back, day and night, attended with considerable pain, but am thankful I am still favoured to remain in the land of the living. I have been blessed with good medical aid, and also with a kind and very attentive nurse, (Mrs. Slater,) which tends very much to mitigate pain.

I hope a few more solitary weeks will favour me with a peep at the sun at least. It is a sad misfortune to me, as it would be to any other person. However, I hope I bear it with all the resignation and fortitude a rational man ought to do. Hoping I may continue to be favoured, gaining slowly, until I am once more restored, &c.

By Samuel Slater, Jr.

Taking a retrospective view of the state of society, previous to the American revolution, with regard to English manufactures, will enable us to form a better estimate of the progress which we have made here. Sixty years since, the cotton establishments in England were but in embryo. Their commencement was small and imperfect, and the use of linen was so prevalent, and so esteemed, that it retarded the consumption of the cotton article, especially at home; where habits and fashion are not very easily withstood or overcome. Arkwright did for Old England, in a certain degree, what Slater has done for America, in a much more extensive, and vastly more important situation.*

* As soon as the business increased, new difficulties arose; the operatives began by demanding exorbitant wages, which Mr. Slater resisted, against

A memoir of Slater must necessarily include a history of the rise and progress of our manufacturing establishments: for it is with them that his whole life has been connected. He embarked himself, body, soul, and spirit, in this enterprise; and he was so absorbed in his object that every other consideration was comparatively neglected. The extent of Mr. Slater's business, and the fact that he attended to so much of it himself, rendered it impossible to divide his time for other considerations.

This devotion to business prevented much attention being paid to literature or politics. The Romans held trade in a very low estimation; they prohibited men of birth and rank from engaging in commerce, of which the code speaks contemptuously; and Cicero says, it was not fitting that the same people should be both the *porters* and the masters of the world. This kind of contempt was common in this country previous to 1812. We had better have our "*workshops*" in Europe, was the language of some of our wiseacres: forgetting that wealth consists of the savings of industry, after supplying immediate demands. An instinct, prompting the human being, after his appetites of hunger and thirst are appeased, and his person protected against the elements of heaven, to labour from the mere delight of accumulating; and to the ceaseless industry which this instinct produces, is to be ascribed the wealth with which civilised man is every where surrounded. It prompts the husbandman, the artisan, the manufacturer, the merchant, to activity in their several vocations; it is one of the sources, when properly directed, of the comforts and elegances of life. The prodigal spends his last shilling and leaves no trace behind him. The laborious artisan, who consumes only half the produce of his labour, leaves the other half as a contribution to the stock of national capital, to maintain and set in motion the industry of generations yet unborn. These, if animated by the same spirit, will leave it with new accessions, and so keep increasing.*

He spent nothing for show and appearance in his buildings;

the advice of others; and in this he was right, for by submitting to unreasonable demands, he would only have given them occasion to call for still greater. He therefore took his stand, and risked the consequences. They stole his patterns and models, and set up for themselves, but generally failed.

In the management of help, and establishing order and discipline, Mr. Slater showed great abilities, and he could arrange his affairs easier than any other person.

*"You have heard of the hills of Berkshire, (Mass.); you have heard of the beautiful and classic stream of the Housatonic; of the Hoosac, studded

utility and durability he considered all-important. The enlargement of his business called forth all his business talents. His commanding and penetrating eye was formed, by nature, for the best of government; and it is astonishing what effect even his look had, on those who waited his orders and direction. It was not the look of pride, contempt, or disdain: he never appeared to feel above the poorest of his help. It was the indication of a superior judgment and experience, in whatever business he undertook: this caused every one to be obedient to his directions. No one could be conceited enough to suppose that they knew better than he did; for every one had been taught by him: this was what commanded respect, and enabled him to carry on his affairs without difficulties and tumults. His dislike of all ostentation and extravagance was excessive; and he was always severe and sarcastic upon the young men in his employment who spent all their earnings in dress and follies.

Those who were beginning in business, he cautioned against building before they had counted the cost; and the idea of failure impressed him with horror. He therefore disapproved of a loose way of doing business; and foretold the consequences which, unhappily, proved not to be mere groundless forebodings, for nearly all failed round him. Young Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Sheldon, two English gentlemen, who were in Providence about this time, visited Mr. Slater, and recognised in him the son of one of the respectable yeomanry of Derbyshire. These young men brought with them a purse of gold, of *ten thousand guineas* each, and spent the whole in a few years; while Slater, by his persevering industry, realised a fortune.

It is of all things, that which most effectually conduces to a flourishing state of agriculture. The uniform appearance of an abundance of specie, as the concomitant of a flourishing state of manufactures, and of the reverse, where they do not prevail, afford a strong presumption of their favourable operation upon the wealth of a country. Not only the wealth, but the independence and security of a country, appear to be materially connected with

with thriving manufacturing villages. There was a time, not long since, when the temptations of more fertile regions appeared so great, that it seemed that those hills must be deserted; that those streams must be left to flow on in solitude; but then came the beneficial influence of the policy of protection to American industry, and then was developed, along our beautiful streams, and among our wild waterfalls, a power which, by the application of native industry, has clothed our hills with plenty, and placed our young men beyond the reach of the temptations of the fertile west."—*Rockwell*.

the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view to these great objects, ought to endeavour to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, clothing and defence. Considering a monopoly of the domestic market to its own manufactures as the reigning policy of manufacturing nations, a similar policy on the part of the United States, in every proper instance, is dictated, it might almost be said by the principles of distributive justice—certainly by the duty of securing to their own citizens a reciprocity of advantages. Whatever this country has suffered or may suffer, by a contrary policy, is justly attributable to a disregard of these maxims, which comprise the fundamental principles of political economy. “If Europe will not take from us the products of our soil, on terms consistent with our interest, the natural remedy is, to contract as fast as possible our wants of her.”*

In order to estimate correctly the progress of American manufactures, we must keep in mind the state of the English, only sixty years since. Their progress was slow for many centuries, and it is only within the last fifty years, that they have arisen to such perfection. A reference to their history will not be misplaced, but will be read with much interest.

The following is from Baines’s History of the Cotton Manufacture :—

“The cotton manufacture arose in this country at a critical period of our history. England had just lost her American colonies, but that loss was more than compensated by this new source of prosperity springing up at home. The genius of our mechanics repaired the errors of our statesmen. In the long and fearful struggle which followed the French revolution, this country was mainly supported by its commerce ; and the largest, though the newest branch of that commerce, was furnished by the cotton manufacture. To Arkwright and Watt England is far more indebted for her triumphs, than to Nelson and Wellington. Without the means supplied by her flourishing manufactures and trade,

* Paterson, in New Jersey, at the close of the war, exhibited an appearance of prosperity and happiness scarcely exceeded in the world. But in 1822, it was said, there was not a single cotton establishment in the place, then in the possession of the original proprietors, as they had been almost universally ruined ! This is a fact, the force of which fifty columns of newspaper essays and paragraphs, and fifty speeches of ten hours each, could not obviate. One manufactory in that town, which cost \$100,000, has been sold for \$19,000. What masses of misery, therefore, followed the want of sufficient protection !

the country could not have borne up under a conflict so prolonged and exhausting. In the article of cottons alone, the exports amounted, between 1793 and 1815, to £250,000,000. From 1816 to 1833 inclusive, the declared value of the cotton exports was £306,167,518. Within the last half century, cottons to the enormous value of £570,000,000 have been sent from this country to foreign markets. It is obvious that a trade of this magnitude must have contributed largely to sustain the revenue, to prevent the national resources from being intolerably oppressed by taxation. The question has been much canvassed, whether England is likely to maintain the superiority she has gained among the nations of the world, in regard to the cotton manufacture. There are those who prognosticate that she has already reached the highest point, and is destined rapidly to decline from it. These individuals apprehend a competition too formidable to be withstood, on the part of several foreign nations:—from the United States of America, where the spinning machinery is equal to that of England, where there are thousands of English workmen, where ingenuity and enterprise eminently mark the national character, and where the finest cotton is grown within the States themselves; from Belgium, Switzerland, and other countries of Europe, where the manufacture exists, and is rapidly extending, and where labour is lower priced than in England; and from the East Indies, where one or two spinning mills have been established, and where in weaving, if not in spinning, the natives are supposed to have a great advantage, from their having so long been habituated to the employment, and from the excessively low rate of wages they require.

“It is true, that each of these countries has, in some respects, an advantage over England. It is true that the cotton manufacture has acquired a great extent in the United States, and is advancing rapidly in Germany and Switzerland. It would be infatuation to trifle with the safety of a manufacture which affords subsistence to a million and a half of our population. Yet we see no ground for apprehending that England will lose her present manufacturing pre-eminence. All the natural and political causes which originally made this a great manufacturing and commercial nation remain unimpaired. There are advantages derived from the established ascendancy of our manufacturers, the importance of which it would be difficult to over-estimate. Our master manufacturers, engineers, and artisans, are more intelligent, skilful and enterprising than those of any other country; and the extraordinary inventions they have already made, and their familiarity with all the principles and details of the business, will not only enable

them to perfect the processes already in use, but can hardly fail to lead to the discovery of others. Our establishments for spinning, weaving, printing, bleaching, &c., are infinitely more complete and perfect than any that exist elsewhere ; the division of labour in them is carried to an incomparably greater extent ; the workmen are trained from infancy to industrious habits, and have attained that peculiar dexterity and sleight of hand in the performance of their separate tasks, that can only be acquired by long and unremitting application to the same employment. Another advantage consists in the almost unlimited amount of capital at the disposal of the English manufacturer and merchant. The course of mechanical and chemical improvement is not stopped. In each of the countries mentioned as likely to compete successfully with England, there are circumstances unfavourable to such competition.

“One of the original emporiums of the cotton manufacture is the establishment of the Messrs. Strutt situated in the fine valley of the Derwent, a few miles below Cromford, the primitive seat of the water-spinning-frames. The cotton factories of this eminent family have for half a century furnished steady employment and comfortable subsistence to a population of many thousand individuals. During this long period, the skill, prudence, and capital of the proprietors have maintained their business in a state of progressive improvement, and nearly exempt from those fluctuations which have so often, in that interval, spread seasons of distress among agricultural labourers. So high is the character of their stocking-yarns and threads for uniform excellence, that the stamp of their firm on the great bale is a passport to their ready sale without examination in every market of the world. Under their auspices the handsome town of Belper has arisen, built of hewn stone, with streets flagged with the same, in regular houses on the most commodious plans, where the operatives with their families pass the tranquil tenor of their lives. The mills there, plainly elegant, built also of stone, as well as their other mills at Millford, three miles lower down the river, are driven altogether by eighteen magnificent water-wheels possessing the power of 600 horses. A self-acting governor attached to each wheel adjusts its velocity to the purposes of the factory, and is never in a state of repose, but is seen incessantly tightening or slackening the reins of the mill-gearing, so to speak, according to the number of machines moving within, and the force of the stream acting without. As no steam-engines are employed, this manufacturing village has quite the picturesque air of an Italian scene, with its river, overhanging

woods, and distant range of hills. A neat refectory is fitted up within the works, where any of the work-people, who choose, may have a comfortable pint of hot tea or coffee, including sugar and milk, for one halfpenny. The persons who regularly join in this refreshment, become entitled to medical attendance gratis."

A dancing-room for the recreation of the young is also provided.

Dr. Ure says, "What I have myself witnessed at several times, both on Sundays and working days, has convinced me that the population of Belper is, in reference to health, domestic comfort, and religious culture, in a truly enviable state, compared with the average of our agricultural villages. The factory rooms are well aired, and as clean as any gentleman's parlour. The children are well complexioned, and work with cheerful dexterity at their respective occupations. Not one of Messrs. Strutt's work-people at Belper was attacked with cholera, while the neighbouring handicraft people and farmers were falling victims to the pestilence."

Mr. Kempton, a respectable manufacturer in New England, assured our central board, that factory labour for twelve or fourteen hours is not found to be injurious to the health or growth of the children of ten years of age and upwards in the States, because they are well fed, their board being paid out of their wages by the proprietors—an excellent practice, which would not, however, be permitted by the pauper parents in England, who live too much upon their children's earnings. In their manufacturing districts, principally in New England, upwards of 4000 children are employed under twelve years of age.

The evidence collected in England proves, that under such a diet as the wages could afford, the young inmates of our factories would thrive equally well with the American. And as to the charge which has been made of the injury done to their constitutions by entering a factory in early life, the following refutation of it is most decisive. There is one thing I feel convinced of from observation—that young persons, especially females, who have begun mill-work at from ten to twelve, independently of their becoming much more expert artists, preserve their health better, and possess sounder feet and legs at twenty-five, than those who have commenced from thirteen to sixteen and upwards.

I have drawn freely upon Dr. Ure, as a fund of genuine information.

It appears that the artisans of the United States are treated on this principle; and they are accordingly declared to be more moral than the agricultural population. "At our establishment," says our authority, Mr. Kempton, "the proprietors, deeply sensible

of the value of religious nurture, paid the greater part of the minister's salary after building a meeting-house ; and they frequently officiated themselves at the evening meetings, which were well attended. We would not keep any workers that would drink spirits, nor did they at other establishments. Almost all of them belong to the temperance societies. In the New England states, no man will get employment who is known to drink to excess. In America, the employer is viewed rather as a tradesman to whom the workpeople dispose of their labour, than as a person having a hostile interest. The manufacturers are always anxious that the children should be well educated, as they find them so much the more useful and trustworthy. "I hope the mother country," says Dr. Ure, "will not disdain to take a word of advice from her meritorious daughter, and that the mill owners of Old England will study to discourage, by the effectual means above mentioned, the sin of drunkenness, the peculiar opprobrium of our people both at home and abroad. There are no jealousies between the American workmen and their employers, of the nature of those which appear to prevail between the English workman and his master."

BELPER.

The rapid improvements, made in almost every branch of the manufactures of England, during the last sixty years, are not more conspicuous in the increased wealth of the nation at large, than in the rising eminence of those places which before were hardly known. The most populous of the present manufacturing towns in Great Britain, were, at the beginning of the last century, either of little importance or not known at all. Such was Belper, which now holds a high rank in point of population among the towns in Derbyshire: it was, prior to 1776, as low in population as it was backward in civility ; and considered as the insignificant residence of a few uncivilised nailers. In the year 1801, the population of Belper amounted to 4,500, and in 1809, to 5,635. This increase is owing to the extensive cotton mills erected there, belonging to the Messrs. Strutt ; where in 1811, 1,300 persons found employment. These mills are four in number, the first of which was erected in 1776 by Jedediah Strutt, and rebuilt in 1810. With its increase in extent and population, Belper has increased in civilisation and respectability. Immorality and ignorance, which were once thought the characteristics of the place, have, in a great measure, disappeared ; and improved morals and more enlarged views, supply their places. About the centre of the town, is the

mansion of Jedediah Strutt, and a little above the bridge, pleasantly situated, is Bridge-Hill, the seat of G. B. Strutt. The wear above the bridge is well worth attention ; and the fine expanse of water extending for a considerable way off the river, interspersed with islands covered with young trees, has a pleasing effect. A little to the north of the mills, is a handsome stone bridge of three arches, erected over the Derwent at the expense of the county. In 1811, four hundred children were taught at the Sunday-school, supported by Mr. Strutt ; who, at that time, adopted several of the plans of education recommended by Lancaster.*

The principal mill, as seen in the print, is 200 feet long, 30 feet wide, and six stories high ; and its floors being constructed of brick arches, and paved with brick, it is considered absolutely indestructible by fire, and therefore proof against the havoc of that dreadful element. This mill has three water-wheels attached to it ; the largest one, which is used in floods only, is remarkable, as well for its magnitude, as for its singular construction. It is upwards of 40 feet long, and 18 feet in diameter. It being impossible to procure timber sufficiently large to form the axle, or shaft, of this wheel in the usual mode of structure, it is made circular and hollow, of a great number of pieces, hooped together like a cask ; the shaft is between five and six feet in diameter. The other two, which are used when the water is at a common height, are composed principally of iron, and are remarkable for their simplicity, strength, and lightness of appearance. Their diameters are 21 feet 6 inches, and length 15 feet. Each shaft is of cast iron, and the arms which connect them with the sole, or that part of the wheel to which the buckles or ladles are attached, are simply round rods of wrought iron, an inch and a half in diameter. Each wheel has eight of these arms, and they are supported, in the direction of the shaft or axis, by eight diagonal rods of the above dimensions.

*“ At the period of the discovery of America, 1492, the great mass of the common people of Europe were little better than slaves ; of that which we call liberty, they scarcely knew the name. They had no absolute property in the land, and they were so wretchedly indigent, as to have little property of any kind. Their political privileges corresponded with this state of their property ; they had no elections ; officers from the highest to the lowest were placed over them. Those who then cultivated the earth, were : First slaves, these slaves were generally some portion of a conquered nation, white like ourselves. Second, villeins, who were said to be fixed to the soil, and were transferred with the land. Third, there were a small number of freemen who held property absolutely as their own. But such was the