

NATIONAL UTILITY,

IN OPPOSITION TO Political Controversy:

ADDRESSED TO the FRIENDS of AMERICAN MANUFACTURES.

THE Editors of the *AMERICAN MANUFACTURER*, are acquainted with the views of some Whigs, in relation to the proposed bill for the protection of American manufactures. They have been informed that some of these Whigs are desirous to see the bill amended, so as to be more liberal, and to be more beneficial to the American manufacturer. They have also been informed that some of these Whigs are desirous to see the bill amended, so as to be more liberal, and to be more beneficial to the American manufacturer. They have also been informed that some of these Whigs are desirous to see the bill amended, so as to be more liberal, and to be more beneficial to the American manufacturer.

of foreign nations, which has since taken place. If you had, it is impossible that you would have discouraged the manufacture of a fabric, whose fields have since been abundantly covered with sericeous sheep, flax and cotton, as depended on loans of 2000 miles distance, to furnish the clothing with which, when their internal resources were adequate to produce such necessaries by their domestic industry. You will pardon my remarks, and excuse my freedom in writing you on this subject. But it would be an essential service at this crisis, when the subject of manufactures will come so powerfully before Congress by petition from various establishments, if you would condescend to express these sentiments, your idea of the "seven steps of Europe," in the supply of such articles as can be manufactured among ourselves. An explanation from you on this subject would greatly contribute to the advancement of these manufactures, which have risen during the late war to a respectable state of maturity and improvement. Domestic manufactures in the object manufactured; instead of establishments under the sole control of capitalists, our children may be educated under the inspection of their parents, while the belated industry may be highly benefited.

faithfully should they cherish the parent tree at home, Claggs and mortification are the punishments our enemies receive.

You tell me I am quoted by those who wish to call into our dependence on England for manufactures. There was a time when I might have been so quoted with more cause. But within the thirty years which have since elapsed, how are circumstances changed? We were then a people—our independent place among nations was acknowledged. A country which offered the raw materials in exchange for the same material, after receiving the last touch of industry, was worthy the attention of all nations. It was expected, that those especially in whom manufacturing industry was important, would cherish the friendship of such customers by every favor, and particularly cultivate their peace by every act of justice and friendship. Under this peaceful prospect seemed legitimate, whether, with such an abundance of unexplored land, covering the head of humanity, the industry of agriculture, or that of manufactures, would not meet in the national wealth? And the object on the side of American manufactures was contained in this consideration chiefly, that in the labor of the husbandman a vast addition is made by the spontaneous energies of the earth on which he is employed. For one grain of wheat committed to the earth, six sheaves 80, 30, and even 40 fold—whereas the labor of the manufacturer falls in most instances very below this profit. Friends of fax in his hands, yield but heavy weights of lace. This exchange, too, however as it might seem, what a field did it possess for the occupation of the sexes—what a nursery for that class of citizens who were to exercise and administer our regulations in that element? This was the state of things in 1782, when the Notes on Virginia were first published; when the terms being open to all nations, and their own rights as it acknowledged and sustained under regulations established by the consent and usage of all, it was thought that the world might claim some considerations. But when, in 1789, could foresee the rapid degeneration which was to invade the class of that century a disaster in the history of civilized society? Who could have imagined that the two most distinguished in the rank of nations, for science and civilization, would have mutually descended from that honorable position, and sitting at defiance all these moral laws established by the Author of Nature billions of ages ago, would man and man, would cover earth and sea with odious and pinches, merely because strong enough to do it with temperate industry, and that under this disbursement of nations from social order, we should have been despoiled of a thousand ships, and have thousands of our citizens reduced to Algerine slavery? And all this has taken place. The British interfering in our vessels all nations of the globe, without having first procured in some one of them, then paid a tribute proportioned to the cargo, and obtained her license to proceed to the port of destination. The French declared them to be lawful prize if they had touched at the port, or been visited by a ship of the enemy's nation. Thus were we completely excluded from the ocean. Compare this state of things with that of '82, and say whether an opinion founded in the circumstances of that day, can be fairly applied to those of the present. We have experienced what we did not then believe, that there exists both profusion and power enough to furnish us from the field of interchange with other nations.—That to be independent for the comforts of life, we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now plant the MANUFACTURER by the side of the AGRICULTURIST. The former question is agitated, or rather assumed a new form. The grand enquiry now is, shall we make our own clothes, or go without them at the will of a foreign nation?—If therefore, this is now against domestic manufactures, must be for reducing us either to dependence on that nation, or be clothed in skins, and to live like wild beasts in dens and caverns. I am proud to say, I am not one of those. Experience has taught us that manufactures are now necessary to our independence as to our conduct; and if those who quote me as of a different opinion, will keep pace with me in purchasing nothing foreign, where an equivalent of domestic fabric can be obtained, without regard to difference of price, it will not be our fault if we do not soon have a supply of home equal to our demand, and that that we possess of distress from the hand which has so long wantonly withheld it. If it shall be proposed to go beyond our own supply, the question of '82 will then recur, viz. Will our surplus labor be then more beneficially employed in the culture of the earth, or in the fabrications of art? We have these yet for consideration, before that question will press upon us; and the manner to be applied will depend on the circumstances which shall then exist. For in so complicated a science as political economy, we see nations can be laid down as rules and expedients for all times and circumstances. Justice to this is what has called for this explanation, to answer the calls of the unworldly, who see my former opinion only as a walking horse to keep us in moral cavalcade to a foreign and unfriendly nation.

Letter from BENJAMIN AUSTIN, Esq. to the Editors of the *AMERICAN MANUFACTURER*.

BOSTON, Dec. 8, 1816.

SIR,

Since the return of Gen. _____ from his visit to Montevideo, I am highly gratified in hearing that you enjoy your health, and that you are so happily situated in your domestic retirement.

During the convulsions in Europe, and the events which have taken place in our country, a person of your acute observation must have experienced the most anxious solicitude, for the result of these important occurrences. As to France, we are all disappointed in the termination of a revolution which provided a relief from the tyranny of absolutism, which have been so much and so justly celebrated in the Federal papers as "the glorious." But the "ways of Heaven are dark and distant," and we are obliged to wait in the darkness of Providence, however contrary to what we may think, are productive to the general happiness of mankind. As France has fallen by an alliance of foreign despots, America must expect to rise by a Union of Free-men, acting in their constitutional capacity. The destiny of France should be a lesson of submission to the United States.

It must afford you the highest consolation to find, that the honor and glory of our Republic have been preserved by the very means which are reputed had profited would be ruinous and destructive. Nothing but the interposition of Providence could have produced so much good, from what was considered by some as productive of so much evil. The United States were forced into a controversy in defence of their marine rights, which if they had failed in vindicating would have checked, if not terminated their future prospects as an independent nation. At the beginning of the conflict, the government was generally unpopular. Heavily disasters assailed the land in the possession, while the disaffected were daily attempting to obstruct our national efforts, by systematic calumnies, and flagrant provocations. Amidst these complicated difficulties, we have succeeded, in our "Appeal to Heaven," and every real American would find a pride in contemplating, that the enemies of an administration, least with such a phalanx of opposition, have triumphed, not only over a foreign enemy, but have baffled the wily projects of a more dangerous body of internal foes. I would not wish to be erroneous, but the fact is too evident to be denied. Not that we consider every national Federalist was thus tainted, but the artificial proceedings of certain leaders excited many honest men to adopt those resolutions which have produced numberless serious evils. We can say, by Galatians, because the evil and the good.

As the present state of our country demands some extraordinary efforts in Congress to bring forward the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the United States, I am induced to mention a plan, often used by the friends of England, that the trade of Europe are recommended by you, as the most proper to flourish articles of manufactures to the citizens of the United States; by which they infer that it is your opinion, the manufactures of this country are not proper objects for Congressional pursuit. They frequently speak on this as corresponding with your sentiments, and endeavor to weaken our arguments in this particular, by quoting you as the advocate of foreign manufactures, in the interests of domestic. Not that I can presume have any friendly wishes towards you, but they think it will answer their purpose, if such sentiments can be promulgated with an appearance of respect to your opinion. I am sensible that many of these persons mean to misrepresent your real intentions, being convinced that the liberty they take with your remarks on manufactures, is far beyond what you contemplated at the period they were written. The party of your mind would not find you to anticipate the possibility

If the general idea should prevail that you prefer foreign such shops in domestic, the high character you sustain among the friends of your country, may lead them to a disengagement of that contemplation which is viewed by many as an essential object of our national independence. I should not have taken the freedom of suggesting my ideas, but being convinced of your patriotism, and devotedness to the good of your country, have urged me to make the foregoing observations; your candor will excuse me if they are wrong.

I shall be happy in receiving an answer to this letter, for in the present state of political controversy and intrigue, the real republicans must rely on our "legitimized patriots," (among whom you stand pre-eminent) to guide and direct in the future pursuits of the government. Though retirement private life, yet your private counsel is essential and so most willing you will to help the administration to subordinate to your necessities in peace, what we have obtained by war. The patriot is always called on to give his opinion on the conduct of our country, and his voice is the voice of the people. We are limited but in a few years, in discharge our national duties, and we must become more active as the period advances. The real patriot never sacrificed principles to policy—Washington, Adams, Hancock, Madison and yourself, rose superior to such a degradation. The old patriots, if not employed in conducting the ship, yet they are viewed as REARERS, by which fishermen may start to the harbor of safety.

I remain, Sir, with sentiments of the highest respect, and cordial wishes for your happiness, your ardent friend,

BENJAMIN AUSTIN.

MR. THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MR. JEFFERSON'S ANSWER.

BOSTON,

Montevideo, Jan. 10, 1816.

DEAR SIR—I acknowledge with pleasure your letter of the 9th December last.

Your opinion on the events which have taken place in France was entirely just, so far as these events are yet developed. But we have reason to suppose, that they have not reached their ultimate termination. There is still an awful veil between the present and what it is to be, the last chapter of that history; and I fear it is to be filled with abominations as frightful, as those which have already disgraced it. That nation is too high minded, too much imbued with intelligence and civility, to remain quiet under its present oppression. Success will arise in its strength, and probably will ere long burst through the clouds and the walls of the Bastille. But what are to be the scenes of havoc and horror, and how widely they may spread between the brothers of our family, our associates of the interior fields and antiquities of the country, places beyond our view. Whatever may be the result, we cannot but feel the pleasing hope they will not in the permanent establishment of a representative government; a government in which the will of the people will be an effective legislation. This important element has taken root in the European mind, and will have its growth. Their rulers, wretched of fate, are already offering this modification of their governments, under the plausible pretext, that it is a voluntary concession on their part. Had Benjamin used his legitimate power, liberally for the establishment and support of a free government, France would now have been in prosperity and ease, and her example would have been followed by every nation in Europe would eventually have founded a government over which the will of the people would have had a powerful control. It happened conduct, however, has checked the salutary progress of principle; but the object is fixed in the eye of nations, and they will press to its accomplishment, and to the general satisfaction of the condition of man. What a glow have the friends of the United States pleased, and how

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BENJAMIN AUSTIN, JUN.

TH. JEFFERSON.