when any of the three divisions, pointed out to form separate states, shall contain 60,000 inhabitants, that division shall become a state in the union, and have a right to exercise and enjoy a form of government free and republican. That it appears that nearly all the people contemplated to be governed by a territorial government, according to the bill from the Senate, are within the boundaries pointed out by the ordinance to form the state, which is now called the state of Ohio, and that they have a right to be a part of said state, and to be governed in conjunction with the people of said state, until Congress shall think proper to make a state of that and the adjacent country, agreeably to the said ordinance. Of course your committee cannot recommend to the United States, to take upon themselves, at this time, the expences of a separate territorial government over that part of the country.

From the foregoing considerations, your committee respectfully submit their opinion, that the said bill ought not to be passed by this House.

Memorial of sundry artisans and manufacturers of the City of Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania—9th December, 1803. Referred to the committee of Commerce and Manufactures.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

The memorial of the Subscribers, Artisans and Manufacturers of Philadelphia,

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH—

That in every country there is an inseparable connection betwixt the manufacturing and the duties on foreign merchandise; insomuch that some of the greatest statesmen have made the imposts a political engine to be used for the introduction or protection of the arts; for as Rousseau observes in his "Political Economy," "It belongs only to the real statesmen to elevate his views, in the imposition of taxes above the mere object of the finances and to transform those burthens into useful regulations."

After the peace and during the confederation, the confusion that reigns in this branch of finance by each state having different objects in view, rendered the manufacturing interest, at that time, precarious and uncertain. Since the adoption of the constitution, and that the imposts have been transferred to the federal government, it is to the wisdom of Congress alone that your memorialists have to look up for protection.

It is with deep concern, however, that your memorialists have to represent, that during the long period, from the peace which terminated our revolutionary war to the present time, they have seen the wealth of the nation sent to foreign countries to purchase a thousand articles which can be as well manufactured at home: and of which nature has abundantly supplied us with the raw materials.

Among that immense number of articles, even of the first necessity, manufactured for the United States by foreign nations, there are very few that could not be produced by our own citizens, upon equal terms if they were not prevented by some of the following reasons: 1st. Foreign fashion. 2d. Our markets being constantly overstocked with foreign goods. 3d. The unjust competition which we are obliged to sustain with foreign manufacturers. 4th. The expense necessarily attending the commencement of complicated manufacturies, and, 5thly. Duties injudiciously laid on raw materials or goods partially manufactured. On each of these your memorialists beg leave to state what has come within their own knowledge and observation. And,

First. The articles that are affected by foreign fashion are principally cloathing, and more especially fabrics of cotton. Our manufacturers of that article, in the trials that have already been made, find it impossible to keep pace with the changes introduced by the new patterns from foreign nations; they are, therefore, confined to those articles which bear very little profit, for which low wages are given; and have continually the mortification of seeing themselves excluded from the most profitable branches of the trade, and their goods rejected by the citizens of America as unfashionable.

Second. Our stores being constantly glutted with foreign goods, is another very great obstruction to an incipient or even an established manufacture. The greater part of the manufactures, of which iron, silk, wool, cotton or flax are the raw materials, ought to be established in the interior of the country, where provisions, house rent, and fuel are cheap; it is, therefore, necessary that there should be a middle man betwixt the consumer and the manufacturer, that the latter may not waste his time in seeking for customers: these are the store keepers, wholesale or retail, who inhabit the towns and sea ports. Now it is evident, that if a foreign manufacturer shall be permitted to keep these people with a constant supply of goods, and give them long credit, it will be impossible for the citizens with a small capital to persuade the store keeper to purchase *his* goods for ready money; and if he applies immediately to the consumer, the time that he wastes, in a country where the population is diffused, forces him to demand an extraordinary price, or fix himself in a large town, where house rent, fuel, &c. eat up the profits of his labor.

Third. The competition that the manufacturing citizens of the United States, are, by the laws of the country, obliged to sustain with the manufactures of a foreign nation, is, in the opinion of your memorialists, unjust, inasmuch as the finished articles of our infant manufactures, produced from raw materials found in the United States, such as works of copper, iron, lead, earth, glass, cotton, wool, wood, fur, bone, horne, and leather, are generally, either prohibited in foreign countries, or duties imposed far greater than is paid on the like goods coming into the United States; so that there is no encouragement to attempt to excel foreign manufacturers; for in spite of the greatest exertions, still the consumption must be confined to the United States. If any difference were to be made betwixt two competitors, it ought to be in favor of the weakest; and an infant manufacture must have some protection to enable it to contend with an old establishment. Your memorialists are, however, under the painful necessity of stating, that in the United States, the reverse of this takes place. In several instances, especially in hats, shoes, paper, and saddlery, manufactures which have arrived to as high perfection as in any country, in spite of foreign competition; they are, however, not permitted into the country of our competitors, while theirs are still admitted here, and gain sometimes a temporary advantage over our manufacturers, which they are not able to recover for many years, owing to a fluctuation in the price of manual labor, or of the raw material, or the necessaries of life.—But to whatever state of perfection our manufactories may arrive, and however low we may be enabled to sell them, we never can contend with our competitors in their own markets. Or put them to temporary inconveniency, because they totally prohibit us from their markets. And in those manufactories which require great capitals and a combination of talents, our competitors in foreign countries have us altogether at their mercy: or rather the word *competitor* is perversion of the term; for wherever one party is laid prostrate at the feet of the other, there is an end to competition.

Fourth. The next obstacle is the expense necessarily attending the commencement of complicated manufactories. Where an article must pass thro' the hands of several ingenious artists, before it is fit for the market, the expense of collecting those artists must be considerable: the time too, that is taken up to bring the materials from a raw state to be fit for sale, must require an additional capital, which no man would risk, unless the consumption of his fellow citizens were secured to him; and at the same time, defended from every species of competition, but what he can see, and whose strength he can measure, (viz.) with his fellow citizens *only*: if an insidious foe is liable to come upon him in the dark, and in the guise of fashion, it would be the extreme of folly to venture his capital.

Fifth. Your memorialists conceive that the injudicious imposition of duties on raw materials, or goods partially manufactured, and in some cases a freedom from duty, equally injurious to the arts, merit the attention of Congress. Among the first, may be reckoned, rags for making paper, the bark of the cork tree, &c. and among the latter, wire of all kinds, as being an article for which the United States ought not to depend on a foreign country, especially as iron of the best kind is found here in abundance.

It is a position that will not be denied by the greatest enemies to domestic manufacturing, that as soon as any particular branch shall be established, foreign goods of the same kind ought to be prohibited or discouraged; and this is certainly the case with every manufactory of leather and fur, and yet your memorialists would be glad to know by what mode of reasoning it can be made to appear, that the hatter and shoemaker who have spent their youth in acquiring these arts, should every five or six years, be ruined by an excessive importation of foreign hats or shoes, which perhaps may be the remaining estate of some European bankrupt.

The enemies to the manufacturing system have, at different times, brought forward objections, which to men fully acquainted with that branch of industry hardly deserve notice; but as there are others, with the best intentions, who are true friends to the prosperity of these states, who may be led away by these specious objections, or rather imaginary obstacles, we shall mention them, not with any intention of entering into a serious refutation, but only to shew their insignificance. 1st. They say "this country is too *young* to begin the manufactory of cloathing for the citizens." In the progress of every original country, (colonies excepted,) the manufactory of cloathing has always preceded every thing else, even agriculture itself. But your memorialists cannot help expressing their opinion, that agriculture and the manufacturing arts ought neither to precede or be behind each other; that they were destined for mutual protection and support, of which the history and present state of all nations, bear ample testimony. The flourishing state of agriculture must always be in proportion to the population; and population, on any given territory, is in proportion to the manufacturing arts, or the *kind* of labor in which the people are employed. Already, in some parts of the New-England states, emigration is necessary to carry off the superabundant population: and it would be an injustice done to the land holders of that part of the union, if they were prevented from pursuing that line of industry which, by preserving the population to the state, would enhance the value of their property. And we have no hesitation in saying, that it will be bad policy indeed, when the United States shall retard the prosperity of the most ancient and most populous states, for no other reason than that the new states are not equally formed in point of population, agriculture, &c. There is no fact better authenticated than this, that several of the states have from a multiplicity of causes, far outstripped others in the progress towards that state of society, in which all the three great branches of national industry are combined, viz. agriculture, manufactures, and commerce: and it is equally true, that not one of them have been permitted to exert the force of their faculties, or call forth the industry of their citizens; but have been uniformly retarded and checked in their career, by United States' policy and its fiscal regulations. In the great towns, we see all the evils attendant on luxury, such as pride, idleness, and dissipation, without any of the benefits and advantages, which by political writers, have been ascribed to it. As, that it makes the rich contribute to the ingenious poor; calls forth talents, and circulates the wealth of a nation; but no such good can attend luxury in America: instead of circulating the wealth of the nation, it transfers it to foreign powers, and gives them the sinews of war, only to menace our peace and disturb our tranquility.

It has been also objected to manufactures, "that they would retard or prevent the population of the western wilderness." As if the prosperity of the citizens in old established situations were to be sacrificed to new projects and land speculators. Every migration must be a loss, and not a gain to the American nation at large. What the western states gain, the eastern lose; and so far there is a balance, and the real loss is in the act of migration: the trouble, the change of climate, and a thousand other inconveniences which, in a national scale, must be a loss.

The health of the citizens have been considered as in danger by the sedentary life of manufacturers; but your memorialists know of no manufactory which can be called a sedentary employment, except the clerks necessary to keep the accounts; and, as far as it regards them, the objection will apply to merchants as well as manufacturers. It is true, in foreign countries, where the government, the law, and the employer are all in combination or rather conspiracy against the employed, poverty and its concomitant, disease, must be very frequent among the people *employed*, not only in manufactories, but among the peasantry or cultivators of the ground; and to whatever deplorable condition artisans may be reduced, in these governments, the cultivators of the soil are still worse; for, to every other species of misery, *ignorance* must also be added.

Objections have been also made to arts and manufactories on account of the supposed *vice* which is said to be found in manufacturing towns. A considerable number of your memorialists have seen the manufacturing towns of Europe, and are convinced, that the greatest portion of virtue is to be found there; and that ten times the number of crimes are committed near courts and in seaports, that are committed in manufacturing towns. In a word, if we may judge from the state of society in Europe, artisans and manufacturers, oppressed as they are, are, nevertheless, the most virtuous, and the most intelligent class in civil society. In a letter from Mr. Colquhoun, of London, to Mr. Eddy, of New-York, author of the treatise on the prisons of that city, we find the following observations: "From the facts you have disclosed relative to the criminal offences committed in the city of New-York, I am induced to enlarge upon this subject. They appear to me to be of a magnitude to excite a considerable degree of alarm, with respect to the degree of criminality in the American towns, insmuch as it would appear, that they greatly exceed the larcenies and misdemeanors committed in towns in Great-Britain, of an equal or or even a greater population; and, although I have not had an opportunity of ascertaining the fact, I have an impression on my mind, that the annual convictions in the whole of Scotland, where population approaches two millions of people, are short of those which take place yearly in the state of New-York."

The last objection that we shall notice is, "That government ought not to grant any special privilege or protection to any part or portion of the national industry, more than to another; and, if any manufactory will not take root of itself, it shews it is not fit for our climate or state of society, and ought not to be cultivated here." To which your memorialists beg leave to answer, that this objection can only hold good in the case of a simple manufactory, which is begun and finished by the ingenuity of one man; and where the market for the ready sale of the article is at hand, and does not require the interposition of the merchant to dispose of it, at a distance from the manufactory: but in all complicated arts, where a combination of skill, and a combination of capital too, is absolutely necessary, it will be found that this never has, and we presume never will be, obtained, but by the fostering care of government. And if we inquire what other nations have done in similar circumstances, we shall find, that those who have given the greatest encouragement to the complex manufactories have been the most successful, the most wealthy and powerful; and, although the English government has always been unwilling to let her artisans know, that it was to them she owed her greatness; and has insidiously ascribed it to her navy, to her commerce, to her insular situation, to her soil, to her climate, to the constitution of her government, and a number of other secondary or auxiliary causes, your memorialists are convinced, that she is indebted for her greatness and power to the well directed industry of her artisans and manufacturers; and your memorialists, it is hoped, will not be blamed for trespassing on the time of your honorable body by shewing what that nation has done for her manufactories.

By the statute 3, Ed IV. c. 4, no merchant or other person shall bring into the kingdom, to be sold within the realm, any of the following goods, viz. woollen cloths, laces, ribbands, silk in any wise embroidered, saddles, stirrups, harness, things wrought of tanned leather, shoes, hats, locks of any kind, &c. &c. upon pain to forfeit the same as often as they may be found, in the hands of any person to be sold, half to the king and half to the seizor. This statute was confirmed by 19, Hen. VII. c. 21. And, upon consideration that white ashes, made within the realm, are very necessary for the making of soap and saltpetre, and for whitening of linen cloth, and scouring of woollen, &c. therefore it is enacted, that no person shall ship or carry beyond sea any white ashes, on pain of forfeiting six shillings and eight pence for every bushel, 3, Ed. VI. c. 26. And to preserve the wool; rams, lambs, or sheep alive, are prohibited to be carried out of the realm, upon pain that every offender shall, for the first offence, lose all his goods, and also suffer one year's imprisonment, and have his left hand cut off. 8. Eliz. c. 3. And the statute 12, Char. II. c. 32, ordains, that no person shall export any sheep, or wool, yarn made of wool, wool flocks, or fuller's earth, on pain of forfeiture, &c. And, for the protection of manufactures of leather, it is enacted by the 13 and 14, Char. II. c. 7, that no person shall carry out of England, the skins or hides, tanned or untanned, of any ox, steer, bull, cow, or calf, under a penalty of £. 500. And the statutes 13 and 14, Char. II. c. 19, prohibits the importation of card wire, or iron wire employed in making wool cards; that no part of their woollen manufactory might depend upon foreign nations: and for encouraging the manufactories of the kingdom, it is enacted, by the statute 11 and 12, Wm. III. c. 10, that all wrought silks, Bengals, and stuffs of the manufacture of Persia, China, or the East Indies; and all printed, stained, and dyed calicoes, which shall be imported, shall not be worn in the kingdom; but shall be entered and carried to ware houses appointed by the commissioners of the customs, in order for exportation; and not taken thence, but on security given that they shall be exported. It was by such protecting statutes, and a multitude of others, that England created her extensive manufactories, which multiplied the objects of commerce, and laid the foundation of that navy, which at this day gives laws to the maritime world. And an English author, who wrote upon the trade of that nation forty years ago, says, "What is of the utmost consequence to England is, that, by laying high duties we are always able to check the vanity of our people, in their extreme fondness for wearing exotic manufactories: for, if it were not for this restraint, as our neighbours give much less wages to their workmen than we do, and, consequently, can sell cheaper, the Italians, the French, and the Dutch, would have continued to pour upon us their silks, paper, hats, donggets stuffs, and even Spanish woollen cloths; for they have the wool of that country as cheap as we; and are become masters of that business, by the great encouragement they have given to able workmen from other countries to settle with them; and thereby have prevented the growth of those manufactories amongst us, and so might have reduced us to *the low estate we were in before their establishment*; and, therefore, it will be a maxim to be observed by all prudent governments, who are capable of manufacturing within themselves, to lay such duties on the foreign as may favor their own and discourage the importation of any of the like sorts from abroad."

If other nations, as Spain, Portugal, Naples, &c. have neglected their manufactories; and, consequently, hold only a second or third rank among the nations of Europe, it would ill become the United States to follow their example. In this particular we should rather imitate England or France, without, however, making the source of riches a rod of oppression, as they have done; and, notwithstanding, artisans are greatly oppressed there, whatever of republicanism is to be found in their constitutions is to be ascribed to them; for in all ages the peasantry have been too ignorant to understand their rights, and too remote from each other to be able to withstand oppression.

It is however conceded by some "that coarse goods and articles of the first necessity, ought to be manufactured here, while fine goods and articles of luxury, ought to be imported from abroad,"—which is much the same as to say, that foreign manufacturers ought to be employed in the most beneficial branches of our consumption, and the citizens should be contented with the inferior kinds of labor.

If this be not the meaning of our opponents, then it must be inferred, either that our citizens want genius to perform the finer arts, or that they are despised in the United States. It is a fact, however, of perfect notoriety, that there are more fine goods of every manufactory used in the towns of America, than in those of the same size in Europe; and also, that our citizens do not want talents to execute, or genius to contrive, any thing that may be required of them, and for which they shall have due encouragement. Among the members even of this society, if we except China ware, it would be almost impossible to mention an article in use here, that could not be made by one or other of them. It is true that many of them are employed out of their proper line of business, and in occupations far beneath their genius or talents. Your memorialists cannot, therefore, be blamed for their opinion, that it would be more profitable to the nation, to employ those people in teaching the rising generation those arts, than to continue purchasing foreign goods; and also, that the best and most profitable parts of the labor, ought to be given to the citizens; and the coarse or inferior branches reserved for foreign nations.

But it has been said, that high duties ought not to be laid; because we have not at present a sufficient number of hands to supply the United States.—This only shews the necessity of protecting duties, which *alone*, can give encouragement to men of genius to pursue complex and difficult manufactories; and that no length of time would ever produce a sufficient number of hands without it.

Having answered, as briefly as possible, some of the objections of our opponents, and shewn what another great nation did for the arts, during their infancy in that country, your memorialists beg leave to state some of the effects likely to be produced, from an union of the three great branches of national industry, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; in which it will be seen, that each of them would receive an additional impulse by such an union. And first, of agriculture.

It has been already observed, that the state of agriculture is always in proportion to population. This is evident from a view of the price of land, which decreases in the compound ratio, of its intrinsic worth, and its distance from the centre of a town, or the populous part of a country. But agriculture *alone* will never concentrate the population, so as to form a town of any considerable magnitude. There can only be a country village where a few neighbouring proprietors are collected, with the blacksmith, tavern keepers, and store keeper, &c. which instead of being the centre of trade and industry, is oftener the focus of dissipation. This scattered population requires a greater extent of roads than can be kept in any decent repair; hence, during several months in the year, they are impassible; and at all seasons, the distance is too great to make it profitable to transport heavy commodities, the rude produce of agriculture, except along the banks of navigable waters.

But when the useful arts are established in the midst of a fertile country, the system of farming becomes improved; land advances in value; because all the produce of a farm finds a ready market in the neighbourhood; and good roads may be made without oppressive taxation. It is thus that agri-