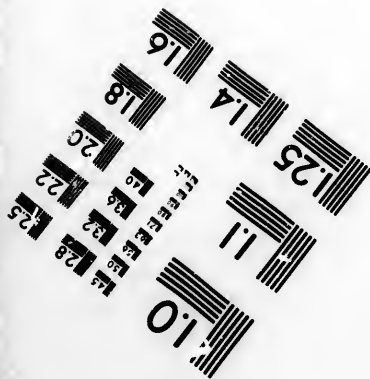
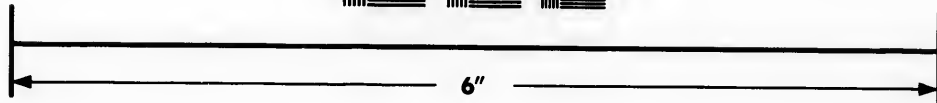
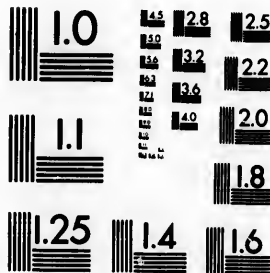


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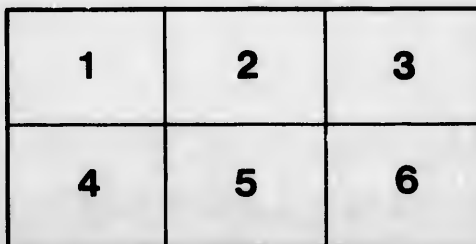
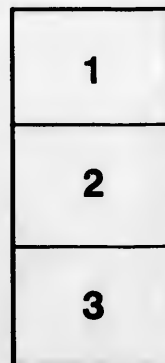
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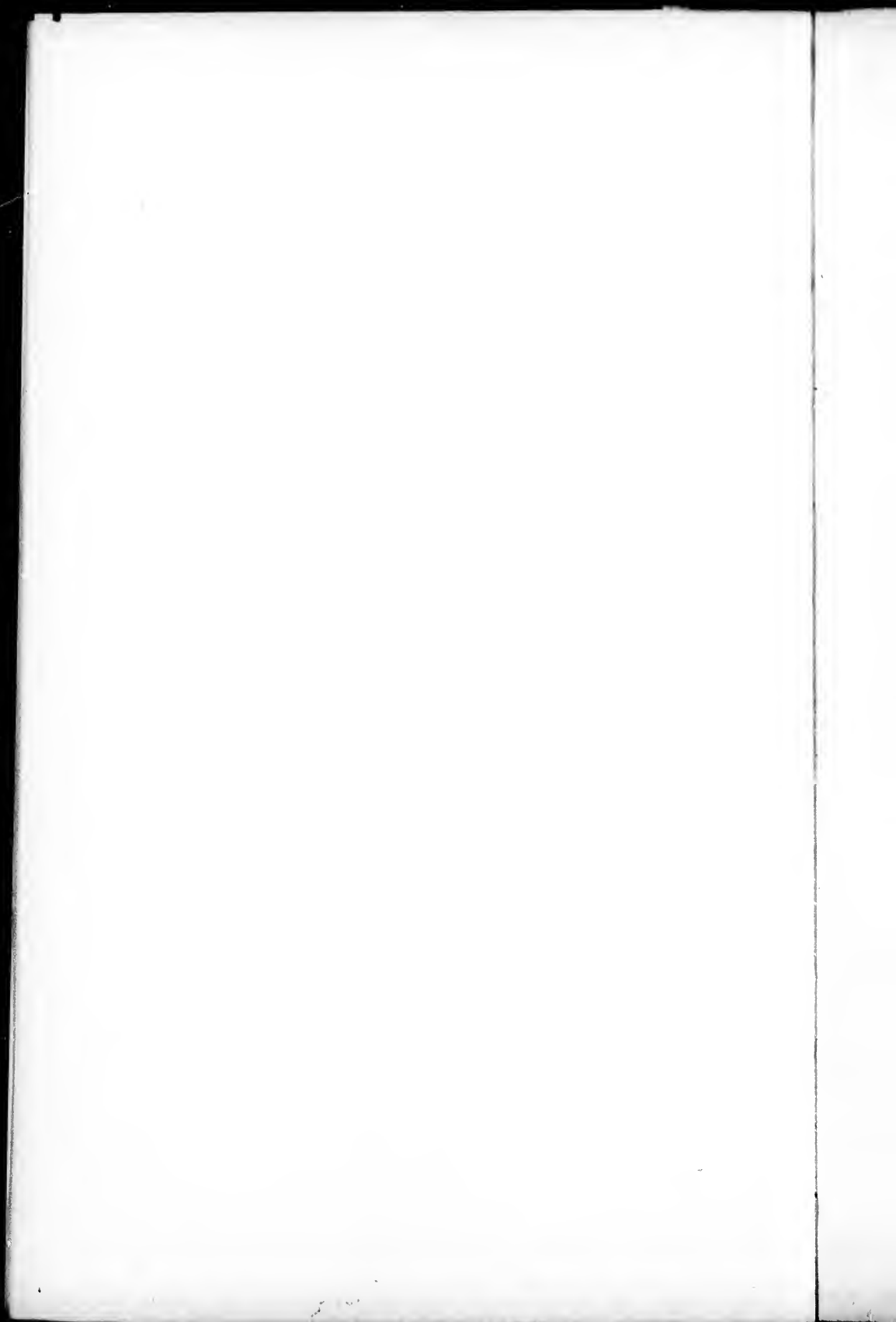
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SKETCH  
OF THE  
RISE AND FALL  
OF THE  
MANUFACTURING SYSTEM,  
&c.

W. POPE, PRINTER,  
67, Chancery Lane, London.

**SKETCH**  
OF THE  
**RISE AND FALL**  
OF  
**The Manufacturing System**  
OF  
**GREAT BRITAIN.**

In which are shown  
**THE MISCHIEVOUS EFFECTS**  
OF  
**OUR PRESENT RESTRICTIVE LAWS;**  
AND  
*THE BENEFICIAL RESULTS*  
That would accrue from  
**A FREE TRADE.**

---

LONDON :  
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1820.





SKETCH  
OF THE  
RISE AND FALL  
OF THE  
MANUFACTURING SYSTEM,  
&c.

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It is now universally admitted throughout the continent of Europe, that the Commerce and Manufactures of Great Britain furnished those copious resources, that enabled her government to oppose such a resistance to the aggrandizing spirit of the military adventurer, who swayed the sceptre of France, as, after being for a time the only check to his colossal power, at last accomplished his overthrow. Few, however, will have the hardiness to deny, that this unexpected strength of the British people was one of those fortuitous occurrences, which the evervarying tide of the affairs of nations is continually throwing up.

That the great finance minister of the day, Mr. Pitt, did not expect events to turn out as

they did, evidence most conclusive is still to be found in the published accounts of his speeches ; and they who had the fortune to hear his oratory will no doubt recollect, that he never appeared to entertain an idea of England's rising in the struggle, his only hopes of success resting on the ruin of the finances of France, and the assistance of the confederated powers of Germany.

In fact he could not be expected to foresee such a perfect paradox in political economy ; but he perceived the bands of civil society about to be rent asunder by a daring system of innovation, sounded the alarm with all the magic of his eloquence, and how he was listened to must still be remembered by many yet in the vigour of life. Here lay his real merit ; and those overzealous friends, who would raise his judgment above the sphere of humanity, only induce others to search for facts, of which there is no scarcity on record, to prove his prophetic talents by no means superior to those of other men. That, though the summit of his wishes was at length attained, all his prognostications proved erroneous, no one will now dispute ; and this may serve to instruct the rising statesman, how feeble are the powers of the keenest eye, when they attempt to penetrate the mists of futurity.

It never entered into Mr. Pitt's calculations

(and who would indeed have entertained the supposition ?) that the success of the French arms in the Netherlands would prove an advantage to England : and France as little imagined, while she was driving a British prince and a British army before her victorious troops from the Scheldt to the Rhine, that she was at the same time driving the capital of the Continent to enrich the British funds ; or while laying the towns of Flanders under contribution, and ruining their manufacturers, that she was conferring on Great Britain a complete monopoly of the trade of Europe.

But, if the unlooked for prosperity of the country engendered an ardour, that might be deemed extraordinary in a nation struggling under the difficulties of a highly expensive war, the gloom in which we are now involved seems proportionally great : and though the experience of four years has given a fatal contradiction to those buoyant spirits, who insisted, that our difficulties were the result solely of a sudden transition from war to peace, the careful investigator will not be surprised at all we have suffered, or the greater difficulties still in store for us, if we obstinately persist in the policy so unfortunately adopted.

It is difficult to say, whether this erroneous policy spring from the mistaken notions of our cabinet, or from the unfortunate necessity it

labours under of conciliating such various interests, to keep it's majorities whole: but, whatever it's source may be, it is equally fatal to the prosperity of the nation. Self-interest is often blind: but the defects of it's vision are never so striking, as when it seeks to benefit by means of commercial restrictions.

Scarcely had the nation begun to feel the first difficulties, to which she was exposed on the establishment of peace, when restrictive enactments were called for on all hands. The leading members of what are termed the different interests, like the inhabitants of a house on fire, each sought a rug to cover him, and left the mansion of his former prosperity, the stay of his future hope, a prey to the flames.

It is truly lamentable to reflect, that such a superficial policy should have grounded itself so deeply among men of such enlightened understandings as our hereditary nobility and country gentlemen. It is to be accounted for only from the facility, with which men are imposed upon by a specious first appearance. On no other ground surely can we imagine, that the present corn law could ever be looked to as a permanent security for keeping up the value of land. How can it ultimately prove any advantage to the great landholder, to get ten shillings a bushel for his wheat, if those, who formerly ate both wheaten bread and beef, must now content

themselves with bread alone ? or substitute salt-fish for beef, or potatoes for bread ? Can any advantage accrue from raising the price of his corn, if the additional price can be paid only by diminishing the consumption of meat, butter, and cheese ? To lay the question of the import price entirely at rest, suppose it three times eighty shillings if you will, it can answer in the end no earthly purpose to raise the price, if you cannot create a proportionate demand. Imagine, for instance, the price of corn, to be kept up by a restrictive law, till the mechanic cannot afford bread and beef both ; and this state of things to continue, till the consumption of butcher's meat is reduced one half : the consequence will be, that half the pasture land of the kingdom will be ploughed up for corn, as it would be useless to employ it in feeding cattle, that could not be sold. Imagine this system of ploughing up pasture land to be carried on, till the country is able to furnish the whole of the corn consumed in it, which would soon be the case, and even more than this : of what consequence would it be, whether the importation price were four pounds or twelve, when Great Britain became an exporting country ? and in addition we may ask, to what country could it export ?

Let not the landholder suppose this to be an idle theory : the article of hops in the present year affords a practical demonstration of the

case. We raise the hops required for our own consumption. Two years ago the price of hops was sixteen pounds per cwt. Last year a good crop succeeded a diminished demand, and the price fell to seven pounds. This year we had another good crop, while some of last year's remained on hand ; and the consequence is, the best Farnham hops may now be bought at four pounds ten shillings per cwt. Most assuredly the same thing will take place with respect to corn, when the quantity of grass land ploughed up renders the supply more than equal to the demand.

The landholder, who thinks, that the operation of the law is advantageous, because his rents were regularly paid last year, will find himself sooner or later miserably disappointed. He must be a careless observer indeed, who does not see a more natural cause for the temporary prosperity of the farmer, than the effects of any ill-timed bolstering system whatever. We have had two such seasons, as have not followed in succession for at least a quarter of a century : and it is well known to every person versed in country affairs, that the cultivator of the soil is invariably better paid by an abundant produce, than by any additional price ever obtained in years of scarcity.

Prussia, at the present moment, is precisely in the situation, to which we are driving. She has

also had two good crops ; and, being an export country, has no consumption for her superfluous produce. The consequence is, Dantzic wheat, which generally brings a price equal to the best Essex in Mark Lane, can now be bought in any quantity at twenty shillings a quarter.

After this fair statement is laid before his eyes, can any reasonable man believe, that restrictions, though they may keep up the price for a moment, can ultimately answer the end proposed ?

On the judgment and industry of the husbandman the landholder may depend for the quantity of his produce ; but to the merchant and the manufacturer alone must he look for a permanent support of it's price. They are all equally conducing to the increase of his income : and the butcher in the market may as well say, he is independent of his customer in the square, because his bill is paid by a house-steward, as the nobleman imagine the prosperity of the manufacturer does not affect the value of his landed property, because his rents are paid by the farmer. The political economist, who separates, and classes as different, interests, which are in reality the same, we may strongly presume, has only skimmed the surface of the question ; and, upon a more complete investigation, will not have better cause to be satisfied with his judgment, than with his philanthropy.



Having thus endeavoured to remove a prejudice, which has done incalculable mischief in dividing the energy of the country, by inducing men to seek in restrictive and irritating enactments, what, dispassionate reason will convince us, can be obtained only by general prosperity ; I shall proceed to observe, that it would be highly advantageous, to conciliate the political and theoretical opinions held by many gentlemen of the first respectability ; at least, so far as to prevent their operation from being injurious to the investigation necessary for allowing the activity, industry, and moral habits of the people a fair chance of reinstating our manufactures and commerce in the road to prosperity.

I sincerely wish any person, holding this in view, would consider the small chance emigration affords of any immediate relief for our pressing difficulties. Assuredly the rapid success of the Spaniards formerly in South America, or of our own countrymen in Barbadoes, will not be adduced as arguments in it's favour ; since, to the shame of civilized man, both were more nearly allied to the adventures of robbers, than to the peaceful pursuits of agricultural settlers. Even supposing our present emigrants were equally destitute of principle, where could they find so good a harvest ? The wild inhabitants of the Cape are not likely to make such obedient slaves as the

Caribbee Indians; or the Caffres to be as well provided with treasure as the peaceful Peruvians.

Indeed the delay attending the first steps toward emigration seems to militate against any well founded hope from this quarter. Nearly six months have now elapsed, since fifty thousand pounds were voted for a trial of emigration; and what has been done? Nothing more than sending off two hundred and sixty men, chiefly paupers, who sailed only last week. Surely emigration on such a plan can never be recommended as a remedy for the distresses of nearly a million of people, who are acknowledged on all hands, to have sold their last rags, to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

Parliamentary reform, too, has been suggested as a remedy for the evil; but it is much to be questioned, how far this could operate in a case, that requires an immediate remedy. That a parliament formed on a broader basis of popular representation would render any generally obnoxious measure difficult to be carried, or even impossible, may be granted: but what could this do, to still the imperious demands of hunger? What we want at the present moment is not legislation, but food. A good system of legislation may guard against future evils; but we now require a remedy for an evil already pressing upon us in all the aggravated forms of

Assuredly parliamentary reform does not stand in need of such arguments, as the present state of the country affords; and it would be deeply to be regretted, should it's bare name deter it's opponents from joining in a philanthropic attempt, to remove a grievance now louring on England, and threatening with ruin it's existence as a nation.

And last of all I must mention with feelings of undisguised indignation that farrago of cruelty and absurdity, which, to the disgrace of the day, seems still to draw recruits to it's unhallowed banners. It has been said, and unblushingly said, that we can never expect relief, till population restricts itself to a wholesome level. If this mean any thing at all, it must mean, till two thirds of the population are starved to death, or relieved by the kind hand of some friendly typhus fever. And do the advocates of this fiendlike doctrine suppose, that, if 666,667 of the million, who now can earn upon an average only five shillings a week, were actually starved to death, in order to enable the remaining 333,333 to earn fifteen shillings weekly, this third will be able to consume as much beef and bread, as the whole million would have done? or will the chancellor of the exchequer imagine, that one third of a population can require as many exciseable articles, as are demanded by the whole? Was the consumption of commodities contributing to the

revenue throughout the kingdom, at the time of its greatest glory, ever more than is requisite at the present moment, to answer the exigencies of the state, and prevent recurrence to a loan ?

It is much to be doubted, whether this wholesome adjustment of population would be found as salutary in practice, as it professes to be in theory ; or whether the country gentleman would consider his state in any degree improved, by having two thirds less demand for his cattle and corn : and it is by no means likely, that the appetite of the stockholder would be benefitted by the idea of a national bankruptcy.

But, setting policy out of the question, this theory seems branded with the foulest stain in point of mere moral feeling. The Hindoos, who carry their dying to the sides of the Ganges, and fill their mouths with its sacred mud, are patterns of humanity compared with the advocates of the modern system. The Oriental barbarians only stop the breath of beings insensible to the pain : we administer the *sad prescription* to those in full possession of every feeling, and of every sense. The detestable law, that doomed to immediate destruction every Hebrew male infant, and caused the sacred historian to owe his life to the humanity of the daughter of Pharaoh, sinks into utter insignificance, when compared with this recent refinement on cruelty. But let us drop

the subject ; and may it's last recollection rot with the callous heart that gave it birth !

That Great Britain, if she would continue to pay her taxes, and retain her rank among the principal nations of Europe, must continue a populous and a manufacturing country, seems as clear as day. From the moment she ceases to be so, she must retrograde ; and the nobleman of 1819 will soon fall back to the situation, in which his forefathers were in 1500. The increase of our manufacturing population, far from a scourge, is the real source of all our greatness ; and the wealthy landed proprietor, who does not view things with the jaundiced eye of prejudice, will see in it only so many more human beings, all labouring, through their own wants, to promote his ultimate gain.

Consequently, that such a population requires the fostering care and protection of every real lover of his country :

That it's present distresses cannot be relieved by emigration :

That any mitigation of our present state arising from parliamentary reform would be too tardy for the pressing energy of the case :

That the redress talked of from reduction of the population is equally crude and visionary :

Seem conclusions, which, when guided by dispassionate reason, we have a right to draw.

With this view of the matter, it naturally suggests itself, that the best prospect of relief for the present, and of success for the future, will be found in removing those restraints, which debar our mercantile interests from a fair competition with those of other states, and through the mercantile, affect the manufacturing classes of the community.

To elucidate a subject of such importance, it may be advantageous, to show the origin of such laws, their bad consequences, and the small risk there would be in commencing their gradual abolition.

It has long been a maxim with the best political writers, that all restrictive systems are ultimately injurious to the country, that adopts them into it's legislation; and they have found proofs enough of the justness of the doctrine, without the instance of Spain. But the mutual desire of retaliating the injuries of war occasioned many restrictive laws to be adopted during the late arduous struggle, which the commercial policy of Great Britain would have condemned in other times: and that such laws should remain, after the cause that gave them birth is no more, all sound policy must instantly disown. To extinguish the influence of the French among the northern powers, a duty was laid upon iron and timber, tantamount to a prohibition of them. This duty still remains, and

it's consequences are severely felt. Sweden has nothing to sell but her timber, and her iron; and, if we will not buy her produce, she has nothing to enable her to purchase our manufactures. Accordingly her people are compelled to substitute their own rude manufactures for those, with which they would otherwise be furnished from England.

The proprietor of an English iron mine, and the speculator in timber from our forests in America, will no doubt say, that the restriction is beneficial, because it compels us to depend upon our own resources; but this argument will be found correct, no farther than their private interests are concerned. These resources would not be diminished by our not continually using them: in fact they would rather be husbanded against any future emergency. The trees of America will not cease to grow, because we do not cut them down; the iron will not waste in the mine, because the ore is not extracted: and the matter in dispute comes exactly to this; we place our hardware manufacturers under a disadvantage, compared with those of foreign countries, by means of the duty on iron; and we deprive our woollen manufacturers of the benefit of the Swedish markets altogether, because we will not trade with the Swedes.

Thus, by giving a monopoly to the proprietor of iron mines and the speculator in American

timber, we inflict a general injury on two of our great manufacturing bodies; raise a class of overgrown capitalists, at the expense of our trading population; and foster the system, which is hastening with rapid strides to root out the middle ranks of society, and convert us into a nation of princes and paupers.

At the same time an evil spirit of retaliation is generated abroad, and anticommercial feelings are nurtured on all sides. The northern states look upon us as the leaders of the restrictive scheme, and the continental system of Buonaparte becomes the favourite plan of retaliation. In Russia and in Prussia it is well known to be at the present moment the favourite topic, on which their merchants declaim, and which they strenuously advocate.

If the necessities of the state, and the sufferings of the people, can ever be supposed to warrant an imperious call on the government, to step forward with a power sufficient to overawe the individual interests concerned in supporting restrictive measures, *the present is assuredly the time.* We are now in a fair train for losing the trade of the north of Europe, and the market that has long been open there to our manufactures. The northern states fret under the same galling restraints as ourselves; and, did our government show any disposition to relax, it would instantly do away all the existing prejudices against us;



and excite such a burst of feeling among the merchants abroad, as well as among the nobles, who derive the principal part of their incomes from articles of export; that it would compel the most arbitrary government, to bend before the altar of public opinion.

The present law for regulating the importation of corn, to say nothing of its general tendency, is fraught with much commercial evil. Called for as it was by the landholders, and drawn up in a way least likely to irritate the rankling wounds of the indigent population, its imperfect construction will be readily excused by all, who know how difficult it is, to conciliate the jarring interests of men: but now, when the discounts of the Bank must be regulated by foreign exchanges, that clause, which makes foreign corn marketable only when the home price exceeds a fixed sum, will be found a very serious evil.

The opening of the ports, as it is technically termed, almost instantly sets on foot a spirit of gambling adventure, accompanied with every evil incident to a fluctuating exchange; while the steady, regular intercourse, the very life-blood of trade, creeps on with difficulty, from the links of its chain being thus unnaturally severed. A permanent duty, even if we consider it in its worst light, would certainly be less injurious to trade; and it is very question-

able, whether it would be more detrimental to manufacturers.

It may be thought, that this appears but distantly connected with the distresses of Lancashire and Yorkshire ; but whoever has had an opportunity of seeing, how a gleam of prosperity instantly diverges through all the ramifications of the manufacturing world, will readily allow, that inferior and even more remote considerations are well worthy attention. Having endeavoured to show the injurious consequences of restrictive laws, where the interests, or imaginary interests, of certain classes may be supposed to stand in the way of their abolition ; we now come to others, which seem even divested of this shallow excuse for their continuance.

To what a pitch of absurdity has this restrictive mania arrived, when we will not allow goods in transit to be imported without paying a duty ! The present state of the country renders a revision of all laws on this head particularly desirable. Take, for example, the article of foreign linens ; and suppose we were to allow them to be imported free of duty, under bond for exportation, instead of paying a duty of twenty-five per cent, as they now do, which is in fact a prohibition. The consequence would be, the linens of Germany would find a market in England, for the purpose of being resold in North and South America ; and a demand for

British cotton and woollen goods would be created in Germany in return, or as soon as bills on London could be readily obtained on advantageous terms. Similar causes would produce similar effects throughout all our mercantile connexions; and, instead of being obliged to invest our capitals in foreign government securities, we could employ it in trade. No doubt in the first place it would be paid away; as the wheel must be set in motion by those, who now hold the drag that confines it: but the difference would be this, our warehouses would be filled in return with foreign linens, instead of having our portfolios filled with foreign government securities; and, should any political rupture take place, it requires not a conjurer to determine, which is the preferable security.

Let it not be supposed, that I mean to throw blame on the large investments daily made in foreign stock: on the contrary, while our restrictive laws prevent us from employing our capital in direct trade, it is so far advantageous, as the loan, by enriching our neighbours, enables them to be better customers to us. But the question is, would not the repeal of duties in transit enable us to employ this money in trade with equal advantage, and on better security?

In what has been said, our connexion with the neighbouring countries has been chiefly considered: but they who are acquainted with the

state of our intercourse with the United States of America, with the West Indies, and with other established channels of Transatlantic trade, well know the inconvenience and vexations, to which it is exposed by our restrictive laws; and how much these retard and diminish the exportation of our manufactures. This remark, however, is only made in passing; for to enter fully into the subject would extend this sketch far beyond it's limits.

But I cannot avoid considering it of the highest importance, to call *the particular attention* of the government to a new channel of trade; to it's peculiar advantage in certain parts, and it's almost boundless extent as a whole; which now opens to the sphere of British capital and industry. It is true, we are here met in the outset by a branch of our monopolising and restrictive system, which, like our evil genius, pursues us from the frigid to the torrid zone: but, since the advantage we now contemplate as a consoling balm to our suffering manufacturers cannot prove in the slightest degree injurious to the interests of that great commercial company, which possesses the exclusive chartered privilege of trading to that quarter of the world, let us hope we may be enabled at least in one instance to say, that a monopoly has not stood in the way of the public welfare.

Perhaps this may be deemed too sanguine an anticipation ; but, in whatever way we view the question, it is impossible to suppose, that the East India directors can refuse to their own suffering countrymen a privilege, which is already enjoyed by the Americans in a way beyond their control. Whether we look to the company as a body of opulent men, deeply interested in the prosperity of Great Britain ; or as sovereigns of an extensive territory, in which it must ever be their leading policy, to impress the natives with a high idea of the physical and moral strength of the British people a well-founded hope appears, that the favour requires only to be fairly asked, to ensure it's being freely granted.

The directors must know, as well as all other intelligent men, that Britain cannot long exist, unless some vent be obtained for her manufactured produce. Neither can they be supposed to be ignorant of the dangerous shock given to their power by the frequent and continually increasing intercourse between the Chinese and Americans. The deafest ears and dullest capacity must both hear and understand the bitter invectives, and supercilious derision, with which the trading Americans invariably treat every thing coupled with the English name. Yet the Americans carry on a trade between China and the continent of Europe, the value of which is

scarcely to be credited, from which British industry is completely excluded by the operation of the Company's charter.

The value of all branches of trade imperfectly known is naturally liable, to be much questioned: but happily on this before us we have evidence, that it is scarcely possible to discredit. By the report made on the state of American Currency to the House of Representatives of the United States, it appears, that "the exportation of dollars from America to China, in 1817, amounted to twelve millions; and the sale of China goods on the continent of Europe," cannot be estimated at less. The quantity of China produce consumed in the United States amounts to nearly five millions annually. Hence it may be concluded, that the United States acquire a clear gain of five millions annually by the China trade."

Were Great Britain allowed a fair competition in this trade, the advantage would not be confined to the increase of her naval power, and the security of the company's possessions in Hindostan, which may now be considered as an integral part of the British dominions. The bills obtained on the continent of Europe for the China produce conveyed to it by our shipping would have a favourable operation on the rate of exchange, a circumstance that is become one of the highest importance to us, since the

discounts of the Bank will now be regulated by it. But more than all, as our ability to supply China with cotton goods at such prices, as render them marketable under all the disadvantages of the existing monopoly, is now beginning to be known, it would open a market for our manufactures, greater than we had in the proudest day of our prosperity; and convert the cottons of Lancashire, and woollens of Yorkshire, into the medium of exchange between China and Europe.

Considering the proverbial cheapness of labour in China, many may be inclined to doubt the fact, of the combined operation of capital and machinery being able to produce a finished manufacture sufficiently cheap for such a market: but fortunately on this point we have not to rest on speculative theory, and darken our hopes by doubts; we have the fact on record, that, while the cotton goods sent to China in 1810 did not exceed the value of eight thousand pounds, the shipments last year amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand; and these too for the greater part ordered by Chinese merchants. This fact speaks for itself.

With this evidence before our eyes, the immense population of China affords a pleasing prospect to all, who are desirous of revivifying the strength and resources of our country: and when experience proves, that the industry and

ingenuity of our manufacturers can defray the carriage of the raw material from such remote regions, and return the finished fabric for sale at a cheaper rate, than it could be afforded for on the spot; what opinion must we form of the judgment of those politicians, who look upon such a population as a grievance? or how appreciate the heart, that with coldblooded deliberation can doom the unoffending children to squalid want, and consign the parents to an untimely grave through hunger and disease? But we seem to have acquired a particular aversion to looking any thing fairly in the face; and a juggling sleight, peculiar to the day, of shutting one eye against real misery, and opening the other to speculative philanthropy. The church, too, appears to be no way behind hand in adopting the fashion of the moment. There was a time, when it would not have been counted quite orthodox, for a clergyman to have insinuated, that the plans of the Creator of the universe were founded on error; and that he had given population a natural propensity to increase beyond all possibility of an adequate augmentation of its means of support: but that time seems now to have gone by, and the church appears to take a more prominent part in our temporal concerns, than is well suited to our good, or to her own dignity. Passing by the conduct of clerical justices, as a subject too delicate to be handled



here ; it cannot be forgotten, that the Report of the Committee upon the Police of the Metropolis exposes some speculations of a subpillar of the altar, not altogether suited to the cloth. Proceeding at this rate, perhaps in time we may be favoured with an Arreoy under ecclesiastical patronage ; and hear the diminution of the inhabitants of Otaheite urged to prove, how admirably the institution is calculated to remove the evils of our alleged superabundant population.

But to return to our subject. We have not China alone to look to for a market, if once the trade of the Eastern seas were fairly opened to us. Borneo, Celebes, and Java, according to the reports of their several historians, contain nearly ten millions of inhabitants ; and we may fairly compute the other islands in the two Archipelagoes, and in the Pacific Ocean, to contain as many more. From the traffic constantly carried on between the Americans and these islands we know, that the inhabitants are all willing to exchange their produce for European manufactured goods : and we know well, that such produce finds a ready market on the continent of Europe, in the West Indies, and in South America. Let not the reader suppose the statement here presented to be any way overcoloured, because the advantage displaying itself in the features of this trade is so far beyond

what he may probably have expected ; innumerable instances might be given in detail, to bear out the most flattering prospects. Cochin China alone is said to export annually above thirty-five thousand tuns of sugar to China Proper, and to take in return European manufactured goods, which are furnished principally by the Portuguese.

Who could doubt the effect of British capital and enterprise, if allowed a fair competition in such a trade as this ? If we may calculate on precedents, would it not in all probability fall entirely into our hands in the course of a few years ?

But to such a pitch of folly has our restrictive system led us, that our own colony in New South Wales can receive no supplies from this country, except through the means of the East India Company's ships, or government transports : and the consequence is, the Americans reap whatever benefit is to be derived from this traffic. Nay, to crown the whole, we learn by the last accounts from that settlement, that manufactures are encouraged there ; as if it were deemed advantageous, to render the colony independent of the parent state, and wait for the birth of a second Washington on some future day, to bid defiance to our power.

A very mistaken notion seems to pervade the minds of many, that the Chinese are averse

to every thing except payments in specie. But their giving a decided preference to the Russian commerce, because the Russians bring them furs and cloth, evidently refutes this opinion. No doubt a great quantity of specie is sent annually to the oriental seas. Pulo Penang is said to receive half a million of dollars for the article of opium alone. But when we reflect, that British manufactured goods can now come into the market only through the expensive and tardy medium of the East India Company, or the circuitous voyages of the Americans, we may justly say, our manufactures have by no means had a fair trial: yet we find, in spite of all these disadvantages, the demand has increased since 1810, in the wonderful degree already mentioned.

The Chinese are a cunning and suspicious people, and far from such greenhorns in politics, as some may be inclined to imagine. We cannot wonder, that they should lend a deaf ear to any application for trading establishments, when courted with the accompaniment of a frigate and hostile array. They cannot be supposed ignorant of the manner, in which we first got footing in India; or of our gradual metamorphosis from merchants into sovereigns. Indeed they have very pointedly shown their suspicions on this head, by withdrawing the liberty a private individual had enjoyed, as soon as a formal

embassy from the Russian government made it's appearance. But whatever opinions may be entertained of the Chinese as politicians, there are few merchants, who have had any dealings with them, but pretty unanimously agree, that they distinctly enough give us a *quid pro quo* : yet on the great point of reciprocal interest we may safely rely for the sale of our manufactures, if the removal of the restriction only allowed a single cargo of cotton goods, to find it's way to Canton at such a price, as to undersell their home manufacture; and we might leave the trade ever after to rest on it's own merits.

Let it not be supposed, that the foregoing remarks are designed to cast the slightest odium on the East India Company. As individuals they are justly entitled to the highest esteem: and surely it can be no disparagement to them to say, that it is utterly impossible for a minute attention to be paid to economy in an establishment like theirs. Of this they seem to be fully aware, when, on a late concession obtained from them, they made a successful stand against the admission of small vessels into the Indian seas. The reasons adduced were, no doubt, different from those, by which they were really actuated; and the dread of piracy was substituted for that of rivalry. But such delusions are now at an end; and the most credulous could not be persuaded, to fear an English pirate in seas, that swarm

with native freebooters; men from whom the crew of our ambassador's frigate with difficulty escaped: and it is sincerely to be wished, that, whenever government enters into treaty with them again, freedom for vessels of all sizes indiscriminately will be obtained. We know, that small ships are much better fitted for trading among the islands of the Archipelagoes; and likewise, that the Americans will make two voyages in a vessel not worth 1500*l.*, while the company's servants are making one in a ship worth upwards of 30,000*l.*

Knowing, that it can be of no consequence to the East India Company, whether teas be carried to Hamburgh by a British vessel or an American; and consequently certain, that no consideration of commercial disadvantage can interfere; it may not be out of our way to inquire, how both the nation and the company are interested on the score of naval and territorial preservation. From an account of the trade of the *Pacific* Ocean, published some time ago by a gallant naval officer, to which I am indebted for several of the facts already stated, it appears, that of twelve ships, which touched at the Sandwich islands in 1810, only two were English, and both of these whalers; one was a Russian, and all the rest were Americans. The latter indeed have established a mercantile house on one of the islands, having a branch at New York.

Not contented with waiting the arrival of the Malay vessels at the ordinary marts, as is done by Europeans, these adventurous people traffic personally throughout the whole Archipelago, and thus have constantly a large maritime community in those seas. The burden of their ships employed in the China trade in 1817-18 amounted to eighteen thousand tuns, and they were navigated by fifteen hundred seamen; while the tonnage of the East India Company's shipping the same season was only twenty-one thousand, and their men two thousand; being only three thousand tuns, and five hundred men, more than were employed by the Americans. At the same time we cannot estimate at less than two thousand men the addition necessary to be made to the strength of the Americans, in consequence of their trading in the Archipelago, and Indian sea, where their numbers cannot be ascertained. Should hostilities at any future period break out between the two nations, is this a force to be looked upon with indifference in a quarter of the world, where our empire is most vulnerable? The native princes have ever shown themselves ripe for revolt against us, on any prospect of assistance from Europeans: what effect then may we not apprehend from the weight, that the Americans may in time be empowered to throw into the scale?

The trade of the Americans is already greater

than ours ; and, being free from the shackles of monopoly, may be expected to increase with greater rapidity : while that rancorous hatred, *the first and last* of every American's ambition to avow against all that is English, shows plainly how their power would be used. It is their invariable practice, to represent us to the natives as a nation in the wane of our power, the dupes of a besotted government ; and point out their own superiority with far too much appearance of truth. Let not the directors despise the power of the Americans, because their civic garb makes them less imposing to the eye than the troops of a sultan : their vanity, ambition, and thirst of aggrandizement, are paralleled, and paralleled only, by their daring spirit of adventure : and since the end of last war they openly boast, that America will in time dispute with Great Britain the sovereignty of the seas. This may perhaps be discredited by those, who form their judgment of the national feeling solely from the documents published by the government : but different, far different, will be the opinion of all, who have any intercourse with the people, and closely observe their conduct.

Notwithstanding all this, the United Kingdom is still great. She possesses an elastic energy in the capital, industry, and moral habits of her people, which has expanded to the astonishment of the world in enabling her to

emerge from her difficulties; and so it would again, were a fair field allowed for it's action. Only remove those restrictions, which chill and deaden her commercial spirit; and leave trade to itself; private energy will work the public good. It is true, Great Britain cannot effect impossibilities: she cannot pay her increased taxes with a diminished population; she cannot long remain mistress of the seas, if her ships lie rotting in the docks, while those of another nation are navigating the seas, and trading in their stead.

But she could support a population greater than she has ever yet possessed, if allowed a fair competition in the disposal of her industry; and still continue sovereign over her native element, if *her own ships* were permitted, to carry abroad *her own manufactures*.

Deeply impressed with the truth of these important facts, not from any impulse of the moment, but from years of careful observation, the author unhesitatingly ushers into the world the foregoing hints, which but a few days ago were known as his opinions only to a narrow circle of friends; feeling confident, that the generous sympathy of a British public will overlook, in the advocate of her distressed manufacturers, the weakness of the man.



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