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[WHOLE NO. 304.]

Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.—VIRGIL.

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The article on "Political Economy" that follows, has so much occupied the attention of the editor for several days, as almost to prevent him from attending to any thing else: yet he has to regret many interruptions and incidents calculated to unhinge the mind of that degree of harmony which is so necessary to the proper accomplishment of undertakings like this.

He respectfully invites a deliberate examination of the facts stated and assumed—assured that an attention to them, whatever may be thought of their arrangement and application, will be useful to his country.

Political Economy—No. II.

PROPOSITION THE FIRST.

"OUR AGRICULTURE CANNOT FURNISH A SURPLUS FOR EXPORT SUFFICIENT TO CLOTHE AND SUPPLY THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES; TO THE COST OF SUCH GOODS BEING ADDED THE DUTIES AND CHARGES UPON THEM, WHICH MUST BE PAID AS WELL AS THE ORIGINAL PURCHASE MONEY."

The broad ground of this proposition admits the introduction of numerous facts, and involves the most important subjects of POLITICAL ECONOMY. We shall treat of them as briefly as we can; but if they appear tedious to any one, let him turn to the close of the article where the *results* of our enquiries are collected and stated, *pro* and *con*.

In the *first* place we have to calculate the value of the goods required to clothe and supply the people of the United States—and

In the *second*, after shewing the value of all our agricultural products, to attempt to ascertain the surplus we might have, if we were to abandon certain manufactures—and

By a comparison of the two, to demonstrate the proposition.

It is proper to observe, that we shall calculate the former at so much as it may be supposed to cost the farmer and planter—and the latter at the amount which it *clearly brings to him—immediately*, in both cases. The difference between the original cost or final product, is the profit and support of the classes that do not labor—the merchants, traders, lawyers, &c. &c. and for the support of the general and state governments. It is important that this should be recollected.

The present population of the United States, mathematically ascertained by the facts furnished in the several censuses, amounts to about 9,200,000 souls. This is rather below than above the real number; for it is in the very nature of things that any census of the United States, while the people are so thinly scattered over so vast a tract of country, must be defective.

The present population may be thus designated:

White persons under 10 years old	3,750,000
over 10	3,800,000
Free person of color, exclusive of Indians	300,000
Slaves	1,350,000

Total, 9,200,000

After numerous calculations and many appeals to the opinions as well as the experience of others, I have arrived at the following conclusions—that the *manufactured goods* (not made up into clothing) required to clothe the people of the United States, costs, or may be valued, thus—duties, &c. included:

For every white person under 10 years old	\$12 per annum.
above 10	30
— other free person (average)	20
— Slave (average)	10

I cannot believe that these estimates are unreasonable. The more I look at them the more certain I feel that they are under the average cost. But accepting them as data, we have the following results:

3,750,000 persons at \$12	45,000,000
3,800,000 30	114,000,000
300,000 20	6,000,000
1,350,000 10	13,500,000

Cost of manufactured articles need- }
ful to clothe the people of the } \$178,500,000
United States, }

There are in the United States more than a million of families of free persons, each of which consumes an average value of more than 40\$ per annum, in other manufactures; such as for beds and bedding, table cloths and towels, carpets, &c. articles of ironmongery and brass wares; china, queen's, earthen and glass wares; window glass, looking glasses, paper, &c.

40,000,000

The new houses built every year and the old ones repaired, for ironmongery, window glass, paints, paper hanging, &c. cannot cost less than \$50 each for an average—say 200,000 at 50\$

10,000,000

Judging by the returns of the marshals in 1810, which, though defective, gave a value to the product of our distilleries and breweries of more than 16½ millions, and adding thereto the amount of foreign liquors consumed, we cannot estimate the cost of our drinks at less than

30,000,000

50 millions lbs. of sugar, besides that which is made in the United States, (including the duty) at 12½

6,250,000

8 millions galls. molasses, as above, at 50

4,000,000

4½ millions bush. salt, as above, at 60

2,700,000

15 millions lbs. coffee, 25

3,750,000

3½ millions lbs. tea, 100

3,500,000

Minor articles—pepper and spices, mustard, foreign fruits, &c. &c.—\$5 for each family, less than 10 cents per week,

5,000,000

283,700,000

Add for the product of our furnaces and forges, rolling and slitting mills, and other factories and works in iron, (estimated in 1810 at nearly 14½ millions) with the manufacture of arms

5. Sugar—whole crop 40,000,000 lbs. at 10 cents*	4,000,000
6. Rice—for export 110,000 tierces at \$30	3,600,000
7. Sheep's wool, hemp, flax and flaxseed— Supposed value	40,000,000
8. Miscellaneous— Value of articles exported, and not in- cluded in the preceding estimates, Vegetable food: Wheat, flour and biscuit 7,712,000 Indian corn and meal 1,646,000 Rye, oats, pulse, potatoes, apples, &c. 338,000	9,596,000
Beef, tallow, hides, live cat- tle 738,000 Butter and cheese 223,000 Pork, bacon, lard, live hogs 719,000 Horses and mules 364,000 Sheep 49,000	2,093,000
Other small items 350,000	
First amount,	426,441,000
9. Product of the forest— Articles exported 7,293,000 1 cord of wood for each person, in- cluding the quantity consumed in manufactories, workshops, &c. (cut, but in the woods) at \$1.50 †13,800,000 Wood for other purposes than fuel †15,000,000	
Total annual value of agricultural products } \$462,534,000	
Now to shew what might be added to this pro- duct by the abandonment of spinning and weaving, and the works in iron, glass, paper and paints, and of distilling and brewing.	
Three fourths of all the labor of all the people of the United States, fitted for agriculture, is en- gaged in the business of agriculture, and furnishes us with commodities worth \$426,441,080, exclusive of the product of the forest, because the labor of 1000 men would do nothing, (according to our pre- sent habits) to increase the quantity of timber. The whole amount of days' labor performed, or that may be performed, in the field is 2,437,500—three fourths of which is 1,828,125, or about \$233 per hand,† which, at the present very high price of pro- duce, may be nearly right.	
To the first amount	426,441,000
Add the amount of labor equal to that of 154,000 men, (the manufactures ceasing as proposed) at \$233 each	35,882,000
	462,323,000
Add, again, for the labor of seamen, § fishermen and watermen, snip- wrights &c. 100,000 at \$233	23,300,000
Product of the forest that might be exported	9,000,000
And we have the capacity to produce } a value of } \$495,653,000	

* 30 millions from the cane and 10 from the ma-
ple. We have left out the value of this product in
the table of costs by charging only the amount of
foreign sugar consumed, but it is of no great conse-
quence.

† These items, at market, are worth much more

§ See next column.

LET US SEE THE RESULT—

The clothing and supplies of the whole people as detailed, are valued at	310,000,000
Food and grain for drinks are equal to	253,612,000
Food of their horses	61,000,000

Deduct

624,112,000
495,653,000

Annual balance

\$128,459,000

If there are any errors of great magnitude in the
preceding, (and where so much depends upon opi-
nion many will be of opinion, no doubt, that there
are some, notwithstanding our earnest endeavors to
ascertain truth) *I am confident that they are in favor
of agriculture.* The above balance must stand an-
nually against us by ceasing to manufacture the few
things named. It is for those that are opposed to
manufactures to shew how that balance is to be paid.
I say it is *impossible*, utterly *IMPOSSIBLE* to pay it.
But we shall have to recur to this matter again as
we proceed to examine some of the rest of the pro-
positions, and dismiss it for the present.

PROPOSITION THE SECOND.

*That if agriculture could furnish such surplus, the fo-
reign market will not receive it one year in ten—
unless at such rates and on such terms as would beg-
gar us. Wheat, at 50 cents a bushel, delivered on
our sea-board, for example, might, perhaps, general-
ly find a market—but could we raise it at that price?*

This requires only a very brief exposition. Ac-
cording to the preceding estimates we should have
nearly \$180,000,000 worth of agricultural products
to spare*. There cannot be a steady foreign market
for it—and the surplus would be so great as to low-
er the price or value of the whole 50 per cent.
Every thing would be a perfect drug in the market.

PROPOSITION THE THIRD.

*That the foreign market is never to be relied upon, and
may be lost altogether by war, &c.*

No argument is necessary to demonstrate this pro-
position. The fact must be evident to every one.

The 4th proposition is interesting, and with the
5th, 6th and 7th, will make the subject of the next
number.

than the amount stated—but the amounts given may
be about the value they are of to the farmer.

‡ The free laborers assisted by horses and oxen,
may earn more than this, but we must recollect that
almost one third of the number of days' work we
have allowed to agriculture is performed by slaves.
Sugar, Mr. Darby says, may produce to the plan-
ter 240\$ per hand, cotton 184,—tobacco only 107—
which it is presumed is an addition to the culture
of their own bread stuffs, &c.

§ These are added because the cost of their
maintenance is calculated, and because the value of
their labor is estimated in the consumption of the
people.

* To pay 310,000,000 with, or exceedingly re-
trench our present expences.

Declaration of Independence.

Philadelphia, June 16th 1817.

Messrs. William M'Corkle and Son,

Gentlemen—Several applications have been recent-
ly made to me to state the errors which I had ob-
served, and often mentioned, in the publications of
the names of the members of the continental con-
gress, who declared in favor of the independence of
the United States, on the 4th of July, 1776—I have

not at present sufficient health and leisure to reply severally to each application. There can be but one correct statement of facts: one public statement, therefore, through the press, will serve the purpose of the gentlemen who have made the request, and may also give satisfaction to the minds of others, who have turned their thoughts upon the subject. If I am correct in my statement, it may be of use to future historians; if not, my errors can be readily corrected. I wish, therefore, by means of your paper, to make the following statement of the facts within my knowledge, relative to the subject of enquiry.

On Monday, the 1st day of July, 1776, the arguments in congress for and against the declaration of independence, having been exhausted, and the measures fully considered, the congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole; the question was put by the chairman, and all the states voted in the affirmative, except Pennsylvania, which was in the negative, and Delaware, which was equally divided. Pennsylvania at that time had seven members, viz. John Morton, Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, and Charles Humphreys. All were present on the first of July, and the three first named voted for the declaration of independence, the remaining four against it. The state of Delaware had three members, Caesar Rodney, George Read, and myself. George Read and I were present. I voted for it, George Read against it. When the president resumed the chair, the chairman of the committee of the whole made his report, which was not acted upon till Thursday, the 4th of July. In the mean time I had written to press the attendance of Caesar Rodney, the third delegate from Delaware, who appeared early on that day at the state house, in this place. When the congress assembled, the question was put up on the report of the committee of the whole, and approved by every state. Of the members from Pennsylvania, the three first, as before, voted in the affirmative, and the two last in the negative. John Dickinson and Robert Morris were not present, and did not take their seats on that day. Caesar Rodney, for the state of Delaware, voted with me in the affirmative, and George Read in the negative.

Some months after this, I saw printed publications of the names of those gentlemen, who had, as it was said, voted for the declaration of independence, and observed that my own name was omitted. I was not a little surprised at, nor could I account for the omission; because I knew that on the 24th of June preceding, the deputies from the committee of Pennsylvania, assembled in the provincial conference held at the Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, which had met on the 18th, and chosen me their president, had unanimously declared their willingness to concur in a vote of the congress, declaring the United Colonies free and independent states, and had ordered their declaration to be signed, and their president to deliver it to congress, which accordingly I did the day following; I knew also, that a regiment of associators, of which I was colonel, had, at the end of May before, unanimously made the same declaration.—These circumstances were mentioned, at the time to gentlemen of my acquaintance. The error remained uncorrected till the year 1781, when I was appointed to publish the laws of Pennsylvania, to which I prefixed the declaration of independence, and inserted my own name, with the names of my colleagues. Afterwards, in 1797, when the late A. J. Dallas, esq. then secretary of the commonwealth, was appointed to publish an edition of laws,

on comparing the names published as subscribed to the declaration of independence, he observed a variance, and the omission in some publications, of the name of Thomas M'Kean; having procured a certificate from the secretary of state that the name of Thomas M'Kean was affixed in his own hand written to the original declaration of independence, though omitted in the journals of congress, Mr. Dallas then requested an explanation of this circumstance from me, and from my answer to this application, the following extracts were taken and published by Mr. Dallas in the appendix to the first volume of his edition of the laws.

"For several years past I have been taught to think less unfavorable of scepticism than formerly. So many things have been misrepresented, mistated and erroneously printed (with seeming authenticity) under my own eye, as in my opinion to render those who doubt of every thing, not altogether inexcusable. The publication of the declaration of independence on the 4th of July, 1776, as printed in the journals of congress, vol. 2, page 242, &c. and also in the acts of most public bodies since, so far as respects the names of the delegates or deputies who made the declaration, has led to the above reflection. By the printed publications referred to, it would appear as if the fifty-five gentlemen, whose names are there printed, and none other, were on that day, personally present in congress, and assenting to the declaration; whereas the truth is otherwise. The following gentlemen were not members on the 4th of July, 1776, namely, Matthew Thornton, Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, and George Ross, esquires. The five last named were not chosen delegates until the 20th of that month; the first, not until the 12th day of September following, nor did he take his seat in congress, until the 4th of November, which was four months after. The journals of congress, vol. 3d, page 277 and 442, as well as those of the assembly of the state of Pennsylvania, page 53, and of the general assembly of New-Hampshire, establish these facts. Although the six gentlemen named, had been very active in the American cause, and some of them, to my own knowledge, warmly in favor of its independence, previous to the day on which it was declared, yet I personally know that none of them were in congress on that day.

"Modesty should not rob any man of his just honor, when, by that honor, his modesty cannot be offended. My name is not in the printed journal of congress, as a party to the declaration of independence, and this like an error in the first concoction, has vitiated most of the subsequent publications, and yet the fact is, that I was then a member of congress for the state of Delaware, was personally present in congress, and voted in favor of the independence on the 4th day of July, 1776, and signed the declaration, after it had been engrossed on parchment, where my name, in my own hand writing still appears. Henry Wisner of the state of New-York was also in congress and voted for independence.

"I do not know how the misstatement in the printed journals has happened. The manuscript public journal, has no names annexed to the declaration of independence, nor has the secret journal; but it appears by the latter, that on the 19th day of July, 1776, the congress directed that it should be engrossed on parchment, and signed by every member, and that it was so produced on the 2d of August, and signed. This is interlined in the secret journal, in the hand writing of Charles Thomson esq. the secretary. The present secretary of state of the United States, and myself, have lately inspected the

journals, and seen this. The journal was first printed by Mr. John Dunlap, in 1773, and probably copies with the names then signed to it were printed in August 1776, and that Mr. Dunlap printed the names from one of them."

Your most obedient servant

THOS. M'KEAN*

The President's Tour.

The president reached Trenton on the evening of the 7th inst. where he was received by the municipal authorities, volunteer companies, and a large concourse of other citizens—the bells were rung, a *fuc de joie* fired, &c. The following extempore address was delivered to him by the recorder:

"The mayor and city council, and, through us, the citizens of Trenton, present to you, sir, their most unfeigned respects—congratulating you on your arrival, and give you a most cordial welcome to this city, the scene, sir, of some of the services you have rendered our country.* We most sincerely wish you the enjoyment of health, a long life, and a prosperous administration."

To which the president spontaneously replied:

"I feel very sensibly this kind attention on the part of the authorities of the city of Trenton—the place where the hopes of the country were revived in the war of the revolution by a signal victory obtained by the troops under the command of general Washington, after a severe and disastrous campaign. I am well acquainted with the patriotism of the citizens of Trenton, and, indeed, of Jersey, for none suffered more, or displayed greater patriotism, in our revolutionary contest. I beg you to accept my best wishes for your continued prosperity and happiness."

At *New-Brunswick*, the president's arrival was announced by a discharge of cannon, the ringing of bells, &c. He was received by a very respectable committee of the citizens and escorted into the town by the volunteer companies. He remained here only an hour, during which the patriotic people of that place vied with each other in tendering him the most respectful attentions.

On the evening of the 9th, the president arrived at the seat of the vice-president, on Staten island, under a salute from the batteries, the Saranac sloop of war, and the cutter. He spent the next day with the vice-president, and in visiting the military works in the vicinity, and on the 11th entered the city of New-York, accompanied by the vice-president, general Swift, captains Evans and Biddle, of the navy, &c. He landed at the Battery under a salute, and then reviewed the troops paraded on the occasion, &c. &c. &c. Suffice it to say, that every respectful and delicate attention was paid to him during his stay at New-York.

THE MAYOR'S ADDRESS

To the President of the United States.

SIR—The mayor, aldermen and commonalty, of the city of New-York, beg leave to present to you their sincere congratulations on your arrival in this city.

It is with pride and pleasure that they see amongst

*The venerable writer of this article, died at Philadelphia on the 24th instant. He was, we believe, the last surviving member of the "stamp act congress," held in 1765.

* Mr. Monroe received a wound at the battle of Trenton, in the revolutionary war, that confined him nearly nine weeks.

them the chief magistrate of the nation, in the capacity of a private citizen, reposing himself, with just confidence, on the affections of a generous people, and are happy to embrace this opportunity, in behalf of themselves and their fellow-citizens, to express to him the high sense they entertain of his private virtues and public services.

Called by the voice of a nation of freemen to the first office in their power to bestow, you can possess no higher evidence of their approbation of your past conduct, and of their confidence in the able and faithful discharge of the important duties assigned to your present station. Nothing can add to the force of this testimony, founded, as it is, with uncommon unanimity on the sense of a free and enlightened people.

We learn, with great satisfaction, that your present tour is connected with the object of carrying into effect the measures of general defence proposed by the congress of the United States, and that you have deemed them of sufficient importance to merit your personal attention. On this subject, permit us to say, that our citizens feel a deep and lively interest. This state, from its local situation and extensive frontier, is peculiarly subject to become the theatre of war; and the city of New-York, while it affords the strongest temptation, is much exposed from its natural position to the attempts of a foreign enemy; although, in the late contest, it has not actually been assailed, we may presume it may, without arrogance, be said, that the extraordinary and spirited exertions of our citizens, powerfully supported by the patriotic efforts of the people of this and a neighboring state, taught the enemy to believe that such an attempt could not be made with impunity. The wisdom of our government is displayed in the measures now undertaken to provide, in time of peace, the security required in war; and we feel the highest confidence that, under your auspices, that security will be afforded for every future emergency. The present happy condition of our country in general demands our highest gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of events, and opens to our view great and interesting prospects. In a state of profound peace, after a conflict, in which the rights of the nation have been vindicated, and the honor of the American name been exalted, we see a great people united amongst themselves—devoted to a government of their own choice—possessing a country as fertile as it is extensive—evincing a spirit of enterprise in the various employments of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, ardent in the pursuit of science and in cultivating the arts which adorn civilized society, and advancing in population, power and wealth, with a rapidity hitherto unexampled. The destinies of such a people, with the blessings of Providence, cannot be anticipated, and defy calculation.

It is your happiness, sir, to have commenced your administration at a period thus propitious and interesting; and we have no doubt it will be your great ambition to bestow on those important objects all the patronage in your power, and justify the high expectations which have been formed.

That the pleasing prospects we have indulged may be happily realized, and that your administration may, in all respects, effectually promote the best interests of the United States, and that you may long live to witness the prosperity of your country and enjoy the esteem of a virtuous people, is the ardent wish of those on whose behalf I have the honor to address you.

In behalf of the corporation of this city, I have