

# The Startling American Revolution Of Henry Clay and Mathew Carey

by Anton Chaitkin

Deadly crisis gripped the country—the economy a disaster from cheap imports—terrorist attacks within and outside America’s borders.

But the political party of the common people, misled and drifting, proposed no remedy, no government action. Their wealthy opponents, the party hostile to popular rights, treasonously adhered to a foreign country (which had occupied and enslaved its neighbor).

A leader, educated in humanism and Greek Classics, arose to set things right. He led the nation to defend itself, against its real enemies. He and his collaborators created a new generation of leaders, restoring the activist path to rapid economic progress which had been foolishly abandoned.

Henry Clay (1777-1852) acted entirely outside the *mental confines* of the existing, paralyzed, political party system. Though a member of the popular Jeffersonian party, Clay guided a revolution in public opinion resulting in a completely unforeseen new broad consensus that saved the nation.

Clay stepped forward in the gathering storm of the first decade of the 1800s. His example was repeated a generation later by his follower, Abraham Lincoln, whose strength and genius saved the Union and revolutionized the world economy. And Franklin D. Roosevelt’s commanding personal guidance, echoing Lincoln in the next century, revived a republic largely given up for dead. It is this legacy represented by Presidential pre-candidate Lyndon LaRouche.

Today there is no public memory of the successful, sweeping change in American strategy, made by Clay and his allies. Telling that story may help stimulate the national imagination, and promote action for survival.

## Heading for Disaster

Henry Clay came on the national scene in November, 1806, when the Kentucky legislature appointed him—at age 29—to replace a retiring U.S. Senator for the last few months of a term in Washington. He went to serve a country suffering internal weakness and foreign aggression. Still a nation of less than 7 million people clustered on the Atlantic coast, the U.S.A. produced almost no iron or steel, had no heat-powered machines and virtually no factories. Slaves produced cotton and tobacco, exported to England in exchange for the mass of goods the United States did not manufacture for itself.

British imperial power strangled American development,

ruling through the Northeastern importing merchants and the Southern plantation owners, both still tied by the political bands connecting them to the former colonial overlord. Clay bluntly described the source of the slaveowners’ political power: “All parts of the Union, not planting, [are] tributary to the planting parts. . . . [There is] a sort of tacit compact between the cotton grower and the British manufacturer, . . . on the part of the cotton grower, that the whole of the United States . . . shall remain open and unrestricted in the consumption of British manufactures; and on the part of the British manufacturer, that he will continue to purchase the cotton of the South.”

The anti-national factions in North and South, though nominally opposed within Boston’s “Federalist” and Jefferson’s “Democratic-Republican” parties, had combined to take down the Founding Fathers’ protectionist economics. (The second act passed by the Founding session of the U.S. Congress had been a protective tariff, designed to “promote manufactures.”) American industrialization had halted under a deluge of British imports.

The British navy, meanwhile, under cover of their war with Napoleon, stopped American ships everywhere, and forcibly removed sailors, both British deserters and Americans. These were then “impressed” into the British navy. As James Fenimore Cooper stated, “The number of impressed Americans on board British ships of war, was seldom less than the entire number of seamen in the American navy, between the years 1802 and 1812. At the [American] declaration of war in 1812, the number that [the British] turned over to the prison ships for refusing to fight against their own country, is said to have exceeded two thousand.”<sup>1</sup>

British armed forces and intelligence agents, stationed in the British colony of Canada, in the Spanish territory of Florida, and all around the U.S. frontier, armed the Indians and cynically directed them in terrorist attacks against American communities. The British Crown had never ceased its original colonial policy of instigating racial warfare between American Indians and settlers.

Within the national government, both delusions and sabo-

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1. James Fenimore Cooper, *History of the Navy of the United States of America*, second edition (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1840), Vol. II, p. 46, footnote.



*A political revolution, which completely broke through a dead-end of two thoroughly corrupted major political parties—like that currently afflicting the United States—was made at the time of the War of 1812, by two American leaders who both bore the direct legacy of Benjamin Franklin. Philadelphia publisher and Irish revolutionary Mathew Carey (left) and original Whig Henry Clay (right) made America's first real industrial boom possible.*

tage prevented the strengthening of the economy or the military. President Thomas Jefferson, advised by his treacherous Swiss aristocratic Treasury Secretary, Albert Gallatin, economized by reducing the army and navy to complete ineffectiveness. And the administration's so-called free-trade policy was, in effect, a prohibition against U.S. manufacturing, given the British trade war and military attacks. Congressional attempts at positive action were stymied by the Federalists, typically Massachusetts and other Northeastern states' rich merchants, often from Tory families—those on the losing, British side of the Revolution.

There had been different "Federalists" in the late 1780s, fighting for the adoption of a strong national Constitution, led by Benjamin Franklin, George Washington and Alexander Hamilton. President Washington's Treasury Secretary, Hamilton, had been such an original "Federalist" when he proposed tariffs to protect manufactures, created the Bank of the United States to undercut usurers, and urged government-sponsored transport infrastructure.

But when Jefferson attacked these policies, the old Boston Tories used the Jeffersonians' attacks, as a pretext to push the country back into a de facto colonial relation to Britain. Pretending to support Hamilton, the Cabots, Lowells and other "Boston Brahmins" brazenly colluded with the British to bring about a new "Federalist" party, dedicated to *splitting the nation* against the Jeffersonians. Alexander Hamilton lost his life opposing the Federalists' plots. Hamilton exposed Aaron Burr's treason, when Burr and the Boston Tories planned to pull the Northeastern states out of the Union in 1804; Burr killed Hamilton in a duel.

## The Elevation of the Oppressed

These Federalists (and an allied splinter faction of anti-Jefferson Southern ultras called "Quids") dominated the Con-

gress when the young Henry Clay entered it, determined to force a change. Clay had had a truly unique preparation for political combat.

At age four, in his native Virginia during the Revolution, Clay and his mother watched arrogant British soldiers thrust swords through his father's fresh grave, seeking hidden family valuables.

In his young manhood in Virginia, Clay worked for four years as personal secretary, law student and ancient-literature copyist for Judge George Wythe, the Greek scholar who wrote the rules for the U.S. Constitutional Convention. Benjamin Franklin's leading Southern collaborator, Wythe studied Plato and taught his students the humanism of Aeschylus, and they helped him with his electrical experiments.

It was as Wythe's virtual stepson that Clay emigrated to Kentucky, Virginia's frontier land. Now a practicing lawyer, he maintained the contacts he had made with George Wythe's students and friends—who now were the leadership of the republican movement in Kentucky, as well as in Virginia and Pennsylvania. Virginian James Monroe, one of Wythe's students, became young attorney Clay's client. (President Jefferson and Chief Justice John Marshall had also been Wythe's students.)

Abraham Lincoln accurately eulogized Henry Clay's "strong sympathy with the oppressed every where, and ardent wish for their elevation. With him, this was a primary and all controlling passion. . . . He loved his country partly because it was his own country, but mostly because it was a free country."<sup>2</sup>

The new Senator Clay moved and passed a resolution, in February 1807, directing the Treasury Secretary to prepare a

2. July 6, 1852, Lincoln *Collected Works* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), Vol. II, p. 126.

construction plan for a national network of canals and highways, a backbone for industrial and military strength. Though Gallatin did nothing with the report he was instructed to publish, the question had been ably put before the public; its implementation was left for Clay and his allies, when they had the power.

American troop movements in southern territory whose possession was disputed with Spain, brought the warning that Britain would be displeased. Clay asked the Senate, "is the time never to arrive, when we may manage our own affairs, without the fear of insulting his Britannic majesty? Is the rod of British power to be for ever suspended over our heads? . . . We are . . . warned of the indignation of England. . . . The whole navy of the haughty mistress of the seas is made to thunder in our ears. . . . We are . . . menaced with the chastisement which English pride will not fail to inflict. Whether we assert our rights by sea, or attempt their maintenance by land, this phantom incessantly pursues us. Already has it had too much influence on the councils of the nation."

But the British attacks increased, the new U.S. President, James Madison, responded feebly, and the Congress remained under the Federalist spell.

Henry Clay was now the leader of the Jeffersonian party in Kentucky. In 1810, after being appointed again to fill out an expiring Senate term, Clay decided to declare his candidacy for the U.S. House of Representatives for the 12th Congress, which would convene in 1811. He planned to carry out his revolution in the House, where all seats were open for election every two years (Senate terms last six years).

Clay focused on the need for U.S. industrial development, as the program of a popular movement that could both elect him and accomplish his nationalist aims. A "Memorial of the Mechanics and Manufacturers of Lexington, Kentucky, to Congress," published on Christmas Day, 1810 in the *Kentucky Gazette*, was undoubtedly written for the petitioning workers and businessmen by their newly elected Congressman. Clay's constituents pleaded: "The manufacturer works up our raw materials, and consumes our provisions. What he earns, is kept at home, and is almost immediately circulated again by various channels through society. The merchant is by no means so useful a character—part of his gains are sent abroad, and paid away to foreigners. The mechanic and manufacturer, likewise contribute to make the country really independent by furnishing those supplies, which we should otherwise be dependent for, on foreign nations. . . .

Should our disputes with foreign nations end in war . . . would not a congressional act for the permanent support of the mechanics and manufacturers of the country much encourage those citizens who are disposed to devote their capital to those pursuits, and as much assist our government in the vigorous prosecution of war?"

While negotiations with the British dragged on interminably, the nationalists' political force was being assembled for decisive action. Clay's friend and law client, James Monroe,

was appointed Secretary of State in April 1811.

Just as the 12th Congress convened, British-supplied Indians launched a major attack on U.S. troops in the Indiana Territory. Gen. William Henry Harrison had earlier reported to the Secretary of War that a British officer, Captain Elliott, had told Chief Tecumseh's braves, "My tomahawk is now up—be you ready—but do not strike untill I give the signal."<sup>3</sup>

## The Defeat of the Tories

This Congress, however, was not one to be intimidated. Fifty-nine newly elected Congressmen took their seats. Only 82 had been re-elected from the 11th Congress, which had habitually knuckled under to the haughty Federalists and Quids. The political amateurs, Clay's "War Hawks" from all parts of the Union, had not come to Washington to take orders from bluebloods.

The 12th Congress convened Nov. 4, 1811. Henry Clay, who had never been in the House of Representatives, was immediately elected Speaker of the House. He appointed his War Hawk allies to the important committee positions. On Nov. 29, 1811, Clay's new chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, New York's Peter B. Porter, recommended "that the United States be immediately put into an armor and attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." Porter's resolutions to increase U.S. military forces, to repair and refit navy vessels, and to allow merchant vessels to arm themselves, were adopted Dec. 19.

In debates on this and related bills, the opposition was led by John Randolph of Roanoke, the sadistic terror of the House. Randolph, the owner of a mass of slaves, was accustomed to swagger into the Capitol in his long boots, brandishing a whip, trailed by his hunting dogs. He met his match in Henry Clay, who immediately ordered Randolph's dogs removed and otherwise reined him in. Later when they fought a duel, Clay put a bullet through Randolph's coat and quieted him down considerably.

Boston Congressman Josiah Quincy, one of the Massachusetts Essex Junto that schemed for New England to leave the American Union, called Clay's patriots "toad eaters"—commoners who had usurped the places of their betters in the government. Henry Clay, moving ruthlessly to political victory, said he was not disturbed "by the howlings of the whole British pack let loose from the Essex kennel."

The new British ambassador to Washington, John Augustus Foster, wrote hopefully to Britain's Foreign Office that since the Madison Administration would not allow itself to "be pushed into a War with us . . . there never was a more favourable moment for Great Britain to impose almost what

3. Harrison to William Eustis, July 18, 1810, quoted in Robert V. Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1991), p. 363.

terms she pleases.”<sup>4</sup>

Three days after the British ambassador wrote of the “favourable moment,” Speaker Clay left the chair to speak on a bill to increase the U.S. army by 25,000 troops. Clay dismissed the idea that England was fighting the battles of mankind, and that America must do nothing to weaken her magnanimous efforts against the French Emperor Napoleon who is aiming at universal empire (a familiar dilemma for Americans today, twisted into irrational conflict with Iraq and other oligarch-selected “rogue nations”).

Clay asked, shall we “bear the actual cuffs of her arrogance, that we may escape a chimerical French subjugation? We are invited, conjured to drink the potion of British poison prepared by perturbed imaginations. We are called upon to submit to debasement, dishonor, and disgrace—to bow the neck to royal insolence, as a course of preparation for manly resistance to [French] invasion!”<sup>5</sup>

President Madison was made to understand that he would not be supported for a second Presidential term if he did not come out for war with Britain. Madison began issuing pro-war messages, and the Democratic caucus renominated him. There was no official Federalist candidate.

With the overturn of the Federalist sabotage, a new era was emerging in American politics.

British Ambassador Foster lamented the loss of “the old Democratic Party”—i.e. Gallatin’s, which stood for economy, states’ rights, and peace with England—and was, in a colonial fashion, England’s best market and source of raw materials.<sup>6</sup> Previously, Gallatin’s budget had had the effect of “damping the military ardour.”<sup>7</sup>

Alarmed by an American political movement combining politicized city workers and internationally alert frontier farmers, the British ambassador denounced the large anti-British meetings in Philadelphia, Baltimore and other seaports, which the Briton claimed were mobs “principally composed of Irishmen of the lowest order, Negroes, and Boys.”<sup>8</sup>

Retired former President Jefferson agreed with “this second weaning from British principles, British attachments, British manners and manufactures.” He looked forward to the outcome of a war—“a spirit of nationalism and of consequent prosperity, which could never have resulted from a

continued subordination to the interests and influence of England.”<sup>9</sup>

On June 12, 1812, Congress approved Madison’s proposed declaration of America’s second war of independence—the “War of 1812.” The ill-prepared republic survived intrernal treachery and held its own militarily against the world’s greatest power. Americans defeated British naval forces on the Great Lakes, cut off their Canadian-route terrorism, stopped an invasion of New York, and smashed the British army in New Orleans.

## Enter Mathew Carey

Late in 1814, while the outcome was still in doubt, Clay’s Philadelphia ally, publisher Mathew Carey, issued his own book *The Olive Branch*, subtitled “Faults on Both Sides, Federal and Democratic. A Serious Appeal on the Necessity of Mutual Forgiveness and Harmony to Save Our Common Country from Ruin.”

The book’s historical importance rivaled Tom Paine’s Revolutionary War tract *Common Sense*. Every political American read one of the 100,000 copies of *The Olive Branch*, which came out in ten editions. Carey blasted the Jeffersonians’ free-trade policy blunder, and irrefutably exposed the Federalists’ treasonous combination with the British enemy. Patriots of both parties, including former Presidents Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, praised the book and its author.

Some months later, after the war, it was clear that an entirely new political order had begun. The old political parties were both finished. Clay and Carey had rallied unified, countrywide support for a re-born nationalism, which would in ten years push through an astonishing program of technology development and westward-vectored transport. The resulting industrial revolution, delayed over the previous free-trade decades, would now give America muscle enough to survive a Civil War.

The policies comprising what Clay dubbed “the American System” would become later identified with Clay’s and Carey’s Whig Party. But party affiliation was never the crux of the new nationalism. Many patriots, who later adhered to the Jackson-Van Buren Democratic Party, allied themselves behind the scenes with the best Whigs against the combined Northeastern-Southern-British oligarchy.

Mathew Carey, an Irish revolutionary immigrant to America, was sponsored by America’s leading statesmen for assignments in both the Irish and U.S. sectors of the common struggle against the British Empire.

Born in 1760, the son of a Roman Catholic baker in Dublin, Mathew Carey stepped boldly forward as pamphleteer and editor for Catholic rights and a Protestant-Catholic alliance. Carey’s campaign to define Irish nationalism, with state-sponsorship for industrialization, was coordinated with

4. Foster to Wellesley, Dec. 28, 1811, Foreign Office 5:77, quoted in Bernard Mayo, *Henry Clay: Spokesman of the New West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), p. 429.

5. *Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 12th Congress, First Session*, p. 600.

6. Foster to Wellesley Jan. 16, 1812, Foreign Office 5:84; quoted in Mayo, *op cit.*, p. 469.

7. Foster to Wellesley, Jan. 31, 1812, Foreign Office 5:84, quoted in Mayo, *op cit.*, p. 451.

8. Foster to Castlereagh, the new British Foreign Secretary, May 26, 1812, quoted in Mayo, *op cit.*, p. 476.

9. Jefferson to the anti-Gallatin Irish-American, William Duane, April 20, 1812; quoted in Mayo, *op cit.*, p. 475.

Benjamin Franklin in France. (See box). Carey twice fled Ireland, pursued by British police, finally landing in America for permanent refuge.

Mathew Carey arrived penniless in Philadelphia on Nov. 1, 1784. General Washington and General Lafayette both immediately offered Carey their full support to start an American newspaper. Lafayette travelled from Washington's Virginia home to Philadelphia to meet with Carey. Lafayette gave Carey \$400 cash towards a publishing enterprise, and opened up communication between Carey and Robert Morris, financier of the Revolution and head of the Bank of North America.

Lafayette's gift allowed Carey to begin the *Pennsylvania Herald* in January 1785, succeeded the next year by the *Columbian Magazine*. The national magazine *American Museum*, started by Carey in January, 1787, carried in its first issue Benjamin Franklin's article "Consolations for America." As Washington, Franklin and Hamilton nurtured the political forces for creating a more permanent Union under a Federal Constitution, they continued promoting Mathew Carey's publishing—one may still today see copies of Carey's *American Museum* prominently displayed in the preserved library of Washington's home, Mount Vernon.

The Constitutional Convention began in the Revolutionary capital city, Philadelphia, in May 1787. On May 11, a paper setting forth America's founding nationalist economic policy was read at Benjamin Franklin's home, at a meeting of Franklin's "Society for Political Enquiries." Carey's *American Museum* then published this paper, by Tench Coxe, in June, for the edification of the form-of-government controversy going on at the Convention and throughout the country.

Coxe's "Enquiry into the Principles on which a Commercial System for the United States should be Founded" noted the cheap-goods dumping and boycotts which the British were then using to prevent the birth of American industry. Coxe called for a national government with the power to enact protective tariffs against foreign nations and prevent trade conflict between the states of the Union.

### Carey Bridges the Hamilton-Jefferson Gap

Tench Coxe continued to write for Carey in America's first nationally successful magazine, while Alexander Hamilton coordinated efforts to gain popular ratification in all the states for the new Federal Constitution. From 1787 to 1789, Mathew Carey and his publishing enterprise worked in Hamilton's covert service, through Hamilton's personal intelligence-lieutenant Nathaniel Hazard and his brother, Continental Postmaster General Ebenezer Hazard, until the new Federal government had been safely established.

Hamilton was appointed the founding Treasury Secretary. Tench Coxe, appointed Hamilton's Assistant Secretary, did the detail work for Hamilton's famous *Report on Manufactures*, proclaiming the country's right and necessity to deliberately change itself from a backward, de facto colonial plantation into an actually independent, manufacturing nation.

While working for Hamilton, Coxe put Carey in touch

with Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. Carey and other patriots, who fully supported Hamilton's nationalist economic policy, began to counter-organize against the pro-British subversion of foreign policy by the Northeastern states' Federalists.

In February 1791, Jefferson, through his friend and clerk Henry Remsen, sent Carey a series of documents for publication. Jefferson's man Remsen thereafter became Carey's New York agent and banker. John Beckley, Jefferson's chief hatchetman as Clerk of the House of Representatives, wrote to the U.S. consul in London asking him to help Carey get credit and advances.

By the middle 1790s, Mathew Carey had developed, in effect, a new Democratic-Republican party in Pennsylvania with spreading influence elsewhere. It was Jeffersonian—anti-British and anti-aristocratic; and Hamiltonian, that is, defending the national government measures that could defeat British power and preserve America's independence and Union, in the face of attacks against Hamilton and the central

## The Irish-American Revolution

America's Revolutionary leaders knew themselves to be in a global fight against their imperial opponents. And the American nationalists who succeeded those Founders were politically educated in the issues of that global struggle—as the example of the Franklin-Carey collaboration makes clear.

Mathew Carey was apprenticed in 1775 to Thomas McDonnell, printer and bookseller, and the publisher of the *Hibernian Journal*, a most radical newspaper opposing the British subjugation of Ireland. Through four years, as the American Revolution's progress was applauded in McDonnell's press, young Carey learned printing and took on an adult role in the Irish struggle.

Benjamin Franklin was in France beginning in 1776 to procure European support, money, arms and troops for American independence. In November 1778, Franklin's "Open Letter to the Irish People" was published in McDonnell's *Hibernian Journal*. Franklin said Ireland could replace its trade with England—whose laws forcibly repressed Irish manufactures—by a trade alliance with Revolutionary America.

Irish patriots were by then arming and drilling in the "Volunteers" movement—under the pretext that they would defend the country from the threat of invasion by France, America's ally! The Irish nationalists emulated America's non-importation associations, boycotting British goods and pledging to wear only Irish-made clothes.

government by the deluded Jefferson and assorted mobs of his followers. The tragedy of the anarchized French Revolution underlay the mess in American politics; the world's republican cause did not soon recover from the loss of the American-French power combination.

Carey's closest colleague in managing this restraint and education of the Jeffersonians, was the attorney Alexander J. Dallas (1759-1817), founder of the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania, one of a complex of Carey/Dallas-guided institutions overlapping the American Philosophical Society. (Dallas was a grandfather of scientist Alexander Dallas Bache, and Bache was also the great grandson of Benjamin Franklin.)

During the 1790s, while Philadelphia was the national capital, before the construction of Washington, D.C., printer and bookseller Mathew Carey acquired a network of agents in Ireland, Scotland, England, Germany, France, India, the West Indies and across America. Carey became the American agent and literature supplier for Göttingen University, the

high seat of German natural science. He printed and published America's first Roman Catholic version of the Bible. And he prodded and encouraged American authors to create a literary culture independent of Great Britain, eventually becoming the publisher of James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving and Edgar Allan Poe.

Thus when Henry Clay began leading the United States towards national strength and self-defense, Mathew Carey was well-placed to join in the direction of events, and to be heard as an impartial counselor.

## Taking the Presidency

While the temper of the country had moved towards resolute nationalism, the Madison Administration was still pitifully drifting. On Aug. 24, 1814, invading British troops burned down the practically undefended White House, the Capitol, and other government buildings.

This was the political turning point. A few days later, Secretary of State Monroe was appointed Secretary of War

The Volunteers had 100,000 men under arms by the end of 1779. But these were almost all Protestants. British rule forbade Irish Catholics (Ireland's majority) to own land or weapons, to hold public office, or to speak out against their condition. The Catholic Church submitted meekly, while the Protestants' suspicion of their Catholic countrymen undermined the nationalist effort.

## Mathew Carey's First Pamphlet

Acting to bridge the gap, young Mathew Carey now wrote, without revealing his authorship, "The Urgent Necessity of an Immediate Repeal of the Whole Penal Code against the Roman Catholics." On Nov. 11, 1779, a bold advertisement appeared in various Dublin papers, headlined "An Appeal to the Roman Catholics of Ireland," showing the title page of the anonymous pamphlet which was due to be published the next day. Leaflets were distributed throughout Dublin and were stuck on the doors of churches and cafés. A reward was put out for the identification and arrest of the dangerous rebel author. Carey went into hiding, and then fled by ship to France.

He was brought to Benjamin Franklin, and Carey went to work printing American Revolutionary literature in Franklin's headquarters at Passy. There, General Lafayette interviewed Carey regarding Irish readiness to receive an American-French invasion of the British Isles.

Returning to Ireland in late 1780, Carey began editing the *Freeman's Journal* in 1781. This pro-American paper was the main outlet for the Volunteers. In October 1781, the British army surrendered to the Americans and French at Yorktown, Virginia. The American victory inspired a

national meeting of the Volunteers at Dungannon, which issued resolutions for an independent Irish parliament and for the repeal of the penal laws against Roman Catholics. Within two months the armed Volunteers movement was in total control of the Irish situation.

The British government resigned March 20, 1782. A new government under Lord Shelburne negotiated peace with the Americans and granted an independent parliament to Ireland.

Mathew Carey now created and published a new newspaper representing the nationalist movement, called *Volunteers Journal or Irish Herald*. In line with Franklin's views, Carey's paper set forth the program of national sponsorship for the development of manufacturing, through which to "complete the emancipation of our country from domestic and external slavery."

In this period the British were dumping cheap manufactures on the markets of British-occupied Ireland, and in newly independent but unindustrialized America. As impoverished Irish linen workers began to starve, Carey called for protective tariffs on British imports, and full Irish national and industrial independence. Carey was arrested for sedition and high treason; widespread protests backed down the British occupiers. But he was soon forced to flee the country again, and the ship *America* took him to Franklin's Philadelphia.

British police-state measures never let up. Finally on the first day of 1801, the Act of Union created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, cancelling Irish nationality altogether. Over succeeding decades Britain closed Ireland's factories and reduced the people to beggary and starvation.—Anton Chaitkin

as well, and virtual commander-in-chief. On Oct. 6, six weeks after the British burned Washington, Mathew Carey's political partner Alexander J. Dallas was appointed U.S. Treasury Secretary. Dallas immediately submitted to the Clay-organized Congress, a proposal for a second Bank of the United States, to be headquartered in Philadelphia. This proposal was adopted over the negative votes of New England Federalists and John Randolph, with Pennsylvania, the South, and the Midwest making the new majority. Dallas also proposed higher tariffs, and two years later the Congress passed a mildly protective tariff bill.

The first edition of Mathew Carey's *The Olive Branch* was published in November 1814. Carey's sensational bestseller charged that the "democratic party" had worked from the time of the Constitutional Convention to weaken the Federal government (in favor of "states' rights"), to the point where the Federal government might be too weak to survive; and that they had opposed the creation of even a small navy, "partly from a sordid and contemptible spirit of economy [and] . . . a base spirit of courting popularity by husbanding the public money, even on occasions when liberality is true economy."

Carey chastised the Jeffersonians for having let the charter of the Bank of the United States lapse in 1811, after they themselves had voted in 1804 to authorize the Bank's branches in the territories of the United States (an act signed by Jefferson).

Carey then turned his guns on the New England Federalists, being careful to differentiate Alexander Hamilton, a courageous Founding Father, from those partisan associates who had survived him.

Carey described how Boston leaders had used blackmail and intimidation to sabotage the sale of U.S. government bonds. Without the Bank of the United States to defend against them, the Boston bankers sought to drain the country of gold by putting unbearable demands on banks in the other sections of the country. As the United States fought a desperate war, climaxed by the British burning of Washington, the Boston traitors had openly sold British government bonds in the United States, sending the gold received to Canada for payment of British soldiers preparing fresh invasions of the United States.

Carey's exposé was passed from hand to hand amongst a population roused for a war of national salvation. Read as an objective warning by a trusted statesman, it solidified support for the new American policy, and finished off the Federalist Party politically.

James Monroe was swept into the Presidency in the 1816 election. In his Inaugural Address, Monroe congratulated the country for having been able to "pass with glory through the late war." But the Virginian Monroe gently reminded the people that they had previously become a bestial anti-government mob, manipulated by populist demagogues. Such degradation would lead to the loss of the republic.

President Monroe's warning still stings—especially today: "Had the people of the United States been educated in different principles, had they been less intelligent, less independent, or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career or been blessed with the same success? . . . It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt, when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and an usurper soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin. Let us, then, look to the great cause, and endeavor to preserve it in full force. Let us by all wise and constitutional measures promote intelligence among the people as the best means of preserving our liberties."<sup>10</sup>

## The Nationalists in Power

To promote the people's intelligence was an urgent requirement for durable national survival. A small, industrially ignorant country would continue to be at the mercy of its enemies abroad, who took the planters' crops and supplied manufactures. The nationalists, coming into power, took unprecedented action to educate a new leadership, and to alter and sharply improve the characteristics of the population itself. Hamilton's proposal from a quarter-century before (answering Adam Smith's moronic *Wealth of Nations*), was now the rule of thumb: "To cherish and stimulate the activity of the human mind, by multiplying the objects of enterprise, is not among the least considerable of the expedients, by which the wealth of a nation may be promoted."<sup>11</sup>

The first step was to create military and engineering competence. President Monroe appointed South Carolina's pre-eminent nationalist spokesman, John C. Calhoun, formerly Speaker Clay's War Hawk lieutenant, as U.S. Secretary of War. On Calhoun's watch, West Point was transformed into the nation-building headquarters, with materials and staff imported from France's world-leading École Polytechnique.

Calhoun is famous as pro-secession, the bitter enemy of national unity! But this was not so, until years later a dirty British political swindle called the "free-trade movement" made its way through Wall Street and the slaveowners' ranks, convincing Calhoun and others to save their careers by deserting to the enemy.

Abraham Lincoln enjoyed quoting the original, nationalist Calhoun, who said in 1816, "When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as they soon will be, under the fostering care of Government, the farmer will find a ready market for his surplus produce, and, what is of equal conse-

10. Monroe, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1817, *The Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1997), p. 53.

11. Hamilton, *Report on Manufactures*, 1791, reprinted in *The Political Economy of the American Revolution* (Washington, D.C.: Executive Intelligence Review News Service, 1996), p. 406.

quence, a certain and cheap supply of all he wants; his prosperity will diffuse itself to every class of the community.”<sup>12</sup>

Following the War of 1812, in Pennsylvania, a nationalist political power center arose, whose initiatives would in many ways determine the course of world history for a century ahead.

Beginning in 1819, Mathew Carey wrote and widely distributed pamphlets urging protective tariffs, demolishing Adam Smith’s argument that America must submit to the rule of free trade and remain a poor, rural dependent of Great Britain. Over the succeeding years, Carey wrote and published over a hundred pamphlets, essays, circulars and memorials to Congress.

Henry Clay’s forces now drove an industrialization program through in Washington. The General Survey Act was passed in 1824, authorizing the President to employ West Point-trained Army engineers for “surveys, plans and estimates . . . of the routes of such roads and canals as he may deem of national importance, in a commercial or military point of view.”<sup>13</sup>

In his last year in office, President Monroe signed into law both the Survey Act and the 1824 tariff, increasing protective duties on such crucial goods as iron products. There was now all the legal authority and public approval necessary for the next President, who would take office in 1825, to guide a spectacular national industrial takeoff.

Under John Quincy Adams (President 1825-29), with Henry Clay as Secretary of State, America’s industrialization began with a leap. The astonishing accomplishments of the brief John Quincy Adams regime, answer the the mindlessly repeated dogma, that Adams was out of the bounds of existing public opinion. Critics point with scorn at his Inaugural Address, which called for building astronomical observatories, “lighthouses of the skies.” In real history, *only* those proceeding from such a visionary perspective have moved the nation forward.

Starting from scratch, government organized, financed and engineered America’s railroads. No significant U.S. rail lines were purely private investments. President Adams assigned Army Engineers to plan railroad lines, working for private companies subsidized by state and local governments. A vast network of canals, joint state and Federal projects, opened up the agro-industrial potential of the Midwest.

Pennsylvania’s scheme to create an enormous coal mining industry, and the canals for its transport, was immediately successful. Under strong government tariff protection, iron forging, machine building and related industries shot into ex-

istence, aided by the newly launched railroads, canals and coal mines. Anthracite coal production for the market rose from zero in 1819, to 8,000 tons per year in 1823, to 1 million tons in 1837. Pig iron production rose from about 20,000 tons in 1820, to 61,000 tons in 1823, to 130,000 tons in 1828, to 200,000 tons in 1832.

This industrial revolution, celebrated as America’s great material success story, was significantly slowed by subsequent free-trade regimes. But the nationalists had given an economic war-winning power to the Union. The nationalist industrialization program was later renewed on a far grander scale by Lincoln, collaborating with Mathew Carey’s son, economist Henry C. Carey, and was spread to much of the world.

President John Quincy Adams laid down the law of progress, speaking July 4, 1828 at groundbreaking ceremonies for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, a Federal project linking the Atlantic with the Ohio River. Adams said: “At the creation of man, . . . the Lord of the universe, their Maker, blessed them, and said unto them, be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it. To subdue the earth was, therefore, one of the first duties assigned to man at his creation. . . . To subdue the earth is pre-eminently the purpose of this undertaking. . . . [May He] make it one of His chosen instruments for the preservation, prosperity, and perpetuity of our Union.”

In another ceremony elsewhere that same day, ground was being broken for the nation’s first railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio, whose Army designers Adams had assigned to their task. The President exulted, “It is one of the happiest characteristics in the principle of internal improvement, that the success of one great enterprise, instead of counteracting, gives assistance to the execution of another. May they increase and multiply, till, in the sublime language of inspiration, every valley shall be exalted and every mountain and hill shall be made low; the crooked straight, the rough places plain.”<sup>14</sup>

America’s success deeply frightened the British Empire and its foreign collaborators, and moved them to hostile countermeasures. The enemy—the colonial oligarchy, straddling the Atlantic—sought to prevent America’s westward development, stop industrialization, perpetuate the colonial plantation economy, and whip the geographical sections against each other, disrupting the Union. In the political arena, this persistent treachery appeared before the public through what came to be called the Democratic Party, beginning with the Presidency of Andrew Jackson, a personal project of the traitor Aaron Burr.

The nationalist project was only restored in the next generation, when Abraham Lincoln won his lifelong fight to give genius back to America’s people.

12. Calhoun, April 6, 1816, advocating a protective tariff, quoted by Abraham Lincoln in his Campaign Circular from Whig Committee, Address to the People of Illinois, March 4, 1843, in Lincoln, *Collected Works*, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 310.

13. *Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 18th Congress, First Session*, p. 1,042.

14. Quoted in William H. Seward, *Life and Public Services of John Quincy Adams* (Auburn, N.Y.: Derby, Miller and Company, 1849), pp. 221-223.