

let were given, would not her surplus population be compelled to turn to manufactures, and thus to overthrow the British monopoly of her market?

This dilemma is the central theme of almost all of these pamphlets. Thus the *Examination of the Commercial Principles* compresses the whole ideal of mercantilism into a sentence when it says, "But if neither sugar nor coffee were exported [from Guadeloupe, a contingency thought possible by Franklin] and the whole of each commodity was employed in the Home Consumption [*i. e.*, imperial consumption, and so not helping our foreign trade] yet would it not be a very material point, that our own Products in one part of our dominions should pay for our products in another, instead of our being obliged to pay ready money for them in foreign markets?" So too the *Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in Town, on his Perusal of a Pamphlet addressed to Two Great Men* says that Guadeloupe "alone employs a great Number of Ships, and that all the Islands which we have at present scarce produces Sugar enough to supply our home Consumption, which has been occasion'd by the immense Increase of our domestic Consumption of that Commodity. Of how great Use, therefore, that Island would be to us, not only in Regard to an Increase of Seamen, but of Riches, we may easily judge: For it is our Exports only, not our Imports, which enrich a Country", and he urges that, therefore, either Guadeloupe or the French part of Hispaniola must be kept. Similarly in 1762 *A Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Worshipful Aldermen, and Common Council; the Merchants, Citizens, and Inhabitants, of the City of London, From an Old Servant*, which was written by one George Heathcote, ran to three editions within the year, and provoked *A Reply to Mr. Heathcote's Letter from an Honest Man*, advocates strongly the idea of a self-contained empire, arguing for the necessity of keeping Guadeloupe, Goree on the West African Coast, and the monopoly of the Newfoundland fisheries; otherwise, he says, with a profusion of capitals, "the people would be (I believe) very apt to reply, JUSTICE—JUSTICE—JUSTICE—HEADS and CONFISCATIONS". On the same principle, in the abortive negotiations of 1761, we find Pitt, who shared to the full in the mercantile beliefs of his day, laying such stress on the retention by Great Britain of both Senegal and Goree, the two most advantageous slaving stations, that this was one of the points on which the negotiations finally made shipwreck.

In discussing this dilemma the *Five Letters* in favor of the retention of Guadeloupe begin with an attack on Canada, which they