

less discover others.² Undoubtedly the most important is *An Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negotiation between Great Britain and France in 1761* (London, Dodsley, 1762), which is also attributed by Dr. Hunt to William Burke.

In these pamphlets we have a very clear statement of the mercantilist theory of empire and can see how there was beginning to grow up in the minds of such men as Pitt a conflict between that theory and the first faint glimmerings of a new ideal of empire based on liberty, which we of the British Empire are at present endeavoring to work out. To the more enlightened statesmen of the day the ideal of the old colonial system was not that of a mother-country selfishly exploiting her dependencies; however imperfect its practical working out, however much exposed to jobs on the part of British or West Indian merchants, the ideal on which the system rested was that of a self-contained empire, in which each part produced that which it was best fitted to produce. Of this self-contained empire there were four main parts: Great Britain herself, the American continental colonies, the West Indies, and the slaving stations on the west coast of Africa. With these and with the Newfoundland fisheries, Great Britain had a self-contained empire controlling the chief trades of the world. The mother-country supplied manufactures; the West Indies, sugar and sugar products; Africa, slave-labor; and the American colonies, the products of farm, forests, and fishery for the mother-country, and still more for the West Indies. Now as the Seven Years' War drew to an end, it was evident that the West Indian side of this self-contained empire was in danger of proving inadequate. Ever since the régime introduced in 1717 by that mixture of charlatan and genius, John Law, the French islands had gone ahead much faster than the British. Deprived by the selfishness of the Cognac interest in old France of any outlet for their molasses and rum, they had developed an enormous illicit trade with our continental colonies. This the celebrated Molasses Act of 1733 had endeavored to prohibit, but by the connivance of colonial juries, the act had remained a dead letter.

By 1760 it was obvious that our possessions in North America were to be greatly enlarged, that Canada was to be circumscribed, if not wholly taken over, that the British hinterland was to extend to the Ohio, if not to the Mississippi. How then, save by taking over practically all the West Indies, was this greater America to be given an adequate outlet for her raw materials; while if no such out-

² A bibliography of the pamphlets on this subject is being prepared by Professor C. W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, and myself, and will shortly be published.