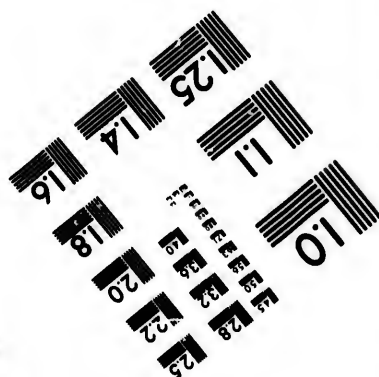
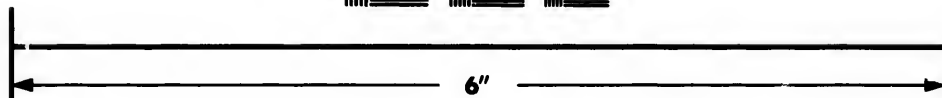
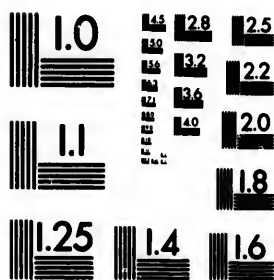


**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

0
16
18
20
22
25
28
32

**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

10
16
18
20
22
25
28
32

© 1986

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- Coloured covers/
Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged/
Couverture endommagée
- Covers restored and/or laminated/
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing/
Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps/
Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations/
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material/
Relié avec d'autres documents
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion
along interior margin/
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la
distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- Blank leaves added during restoration may
appear within the text. Whenever possible, these
have been omitted from filming/
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées
lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte,
mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont
pas été filmées.
- Additional comments:/
Commentaires supplémentaires:

- Coloured pages/
Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged/
Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated/
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached/
Pages détachées
- Showthrough/
Transparence
- Quality of print varies/
Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material/
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Only edition available/
Seule édition disponible
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata
slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to
ensure the best possible image/
Les pages totalement ou partiellement
obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure,
etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à
obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
					✓						

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

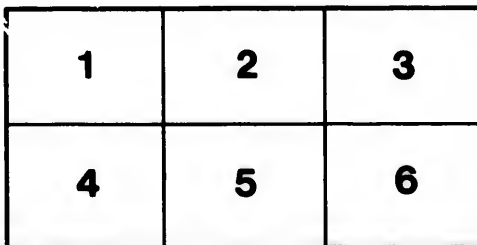
Douglas Library
Queen's University

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

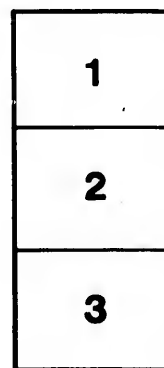
Douglas Library
Queen's University

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



rrata
o

elure.
h à

GEN. SER.

STEELERS

210.00

Jan 1893

Jan 183

A
TRANSLATION
OF THE
MEMORIAL
TO THE
SOVEREIGNS of EUROPE
UPON THE
PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS,
BETWEEN
THE OLD AND THE NEW WORLD,
INTO
Common Sense and intelligible ENGLISH.

20.00

STEVENS

GEN. SEC



L O N D O N :
Printed for J. STOCKDALE, No. 181, in Piccadilly,
opposite Burlington-House.
M.DCC.LXXXI.

E 209. P68 1781t

T R A N S L A T I O N

OF THE

M E M O I R S

OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF EUROPE

BY

FRANÇOIS DE LA HARPE

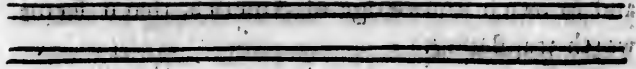
OF THE

THE OLD AND THE NEW WORLD

BY

CHARLES DE LA HARPE





The Memorial has been published in England, under the Title of "A Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe, on the present State of Affairs, between the old and the new World." It is said to have been written by Governor P... I: and there are so many quaint words, and dark expressions, intermixed with so many good thoughts

TRANSLATION
OF THE

Memorial of the Sovereigns of Europe

INTO

Common Sense and intelligible

ENGLISH.

and

A Pamphlet has been published in England, under the Title of "A Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe, on the present State of Affairs, between the old and the new World." It is said to have been written by Governor P... I: and there are so many quaint words, and dark expressions, intermixed with so many good thoughts

B and

and so much knowledge of America, that it seems worth translating.

The Memorialist sets out, with observing, very justly, that at the end of the last war, a new system was begun, both political and commercial, which is now completely formed: that the spirit of commerce has become a leading power: that at that time, the centre of this system was Great Britain, whose government, had it been wise, might have preserved the advantage of continuing the centre both of the commerce and politics of the world: but being unwise, they disturbed the course of things. Not only have they lost, for ever, that dominion, which they had and might have holden, but the eternal parts of the empire are, one after another, falling off; and it will be again reduced to its insular existence.

On the other hand, this new system of power, moving round its own proper centre, which is America, has dissolved all the forces sent against it by the English, and has formed natural connections, with France and Spain, and other countries. Founded in nature, it is growing, by accelerated motions, into a great and powerful empire. It has taken its equal station among the nations of the earth. *Video solem orientem in occidente.* The Congress of the United States of North America is a new primary planet, which, taking its course in its own orbit, must have an effect upon the orbit of every other planet, and shift the common centre

centre of gravity of the whole system of the European world. They are, *de facto*, an independent power, and must be so, *de jure*.

The politicians of Europe may reason, and the powers of Europe may either negotiate or fight; but such reasonings, negotiations, and wars, will have no consequence either on the Right or on the Fact. It would be just as wise to fight or negotiate for the dominion of the moon, which is common to them all; and all may profit of her reflected light. The independence of America is as fixed as fate. She is mistress of her own fortune; knows that she is so; and will manage that power which she feels herself possessed of, to establish her own system, and change that of Europe.

If the powers of Europe will see the state of things, and act accordingly, the lives of thousands may be spared, the happiness of millions secured, and the peace of the world preserved: if not, they will be plunged into a sea of blood. The war, which is almost gorged, between Britain and America, will extend itself to all the maritime powers, and most probably afterwards to all the inland powers, and like the thirty years war of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, will not end, but by a general re-settlement of interests, according to the spirit of the new system, which has taken place. Why may not all this be done, by a Congress, of all nations, before, as well as after the war?

The final settlement of power, at a Peace, is never in proportion to the success of arms. It depends upon the interposition of parties, who have not meddled in the war, but who come to the treaty of peace, brought forward by intrigue, by the aid of jealousy, and counteract by negotiation the envied effects of arms.

The Britons have forced the present system into establishment, before its natural season. They might have secured the attachment of the Plantations for years to come: but it was a principal part of the plan of the confidential counsellors, in a general reformation of the king's government, to reform the constitutions of America. They were informed it would lead to war, but they thought it would be a good measure to force the Americans to arms. Conquest of which they were sure, would give them the right of giving what constitutions they thought fit, such as that of Quebec, little foreseeing what a war it would prove, and still less suspecting, that France and Spain, and all the rest of the world, would interpose.

None of the powers of Europe, and few of the most knowing politicians have considered, what effect this revolution will have on the general system of Europe.*

One
 * Here it should seem Governor P—— is mistaken. Every power in Europe, and every great Politician in Europe, except those in Great Britain, have thoroughly digested this subject.

One thing is certain, that, on whatever ground the war between Great Britain and Bourbon began, whatever course it may take, during whatever length of time they may continue it, to their mutual destruction, the Americans will never belong to either *foedere inequali*. The powers of Europe who will become parties, before these affairs shall have been brought to the issue will concur, in no other settlement, than that these states are an independent sovereign power, holding a free commerce equally with all.

In order to shew how these matters will finally be settled, he proposes to lay before the Sovereigns a view of Europe and America, and point out, what will be the natural effects of the separation of them, and of the independence of America, upon the commercial and political state of Europe; and finally, to shew how the present crisis may be, by wisdom and benevolence, wrought into the greatest blessing of peace, liberty and happiness which the world hath yet seen.

He then proceeds to compare the old and new world, in point of Spirit, Magnitude, and Power. In measuring the magnitude of States too much is commonly ascribed to extent of country and fertility of soil. That extent of dominion which is most capable of a systematical connection and communication has the most natural greatness. The three other parts of the world are naturally separated

separated from each other, and although, once under the dominion of the Romans, as this was an unnatural exertion, beyond the resources of human nature, it soon dissolved, and they separated. Europe, Asia and Africa are not only separated by their local positions, but are inhabited by distinct species of the human Being. North and South America are, in like manner, naturally divided. North America is possessed by Englishmen, and this natural circumstance forms this division of America into one great Society, the basis of a great Dominion. There is no where in Europe so great and combined an interest, communicating through so large a territory, as that in North America. The northern and southern parts of Europe are possessed by different nations, actuated by different sovereignties and systems. Their intercourse is interrupted: they are at perpetual variance. Intercourse is difficult over land and by sea. They are cut off by intervening nations. On the contrary, when North America is examined, we find every thing united in it, which forms greatness. The nature of the coast and the winds render communication by navigation perpetual. The rivers open an inland navigation which carries on a circulation through the whole. The country, thus united, and one part of it communicating with another, by its extent of territory, and variety of climates, produces all that nature requires, that luxury loves, or that power

power can employ. All these things, which the nations of Europe, under every difficulty that a defect of natural communication, under every obstruction that a perverse artificial system throw in their way, barter for, are in North America possessed, with an uninterrupted natural communication, an unobstructed navigation and an universal freedom of commerce, by one nation. The naval stores, Timber, Hemp, Fisheries, and Salt Provisions of the North; the Tobacco, Rice, Cotton, Silk, Indigo, Fruits, and perhaps Wines, Refin and Tar of the South form a reciproca- tion of wants and supplies. The Corn, Flour, Manufactures, &c. of the middle states, fill up the communication and complete its system. They unite those parts, which were before connected, and organize the several parts into one whole.

Civilization, next to union of system and communication of parts constitute (what Lord *Bacon* calls) the amplitude and growth of State. The civilization of America may be compared to that of Europe. It is superior to that of Europe. Architecture, Painting, Statuary, Poetry, Oratory, and the mechanic Arts are not so well understood and practised; nor are the Sciences (those of Government and Policy particularly) so learnedly mastered by any individual in America, as they are by some in Europe. But, Arts, Sciences, Agriculture, Manufactures, Government, Policy, War and Commerce are better understood by
the

the collective body of the people in America than they are in Europe, or any nation in it. And this is the only way of stating the comparison of Civilization, and in this respect America is infinitely farther removed from barbarity than Europe.

When the spirit of Civilization began first in Europe, after the barbarous ages of the northern invaders, the Clergy were the blind leaders to Light, and the feudal Lords the Patrons of Liberty. What Knowledge! what Liberty! the instruction of the first was more pernicious than ignorance. The patronage of the last was the benevolence of the Grazier who fattens his cattle for the profit of their hides and tallow. The people held their knowledge, as they did their lands, by a servile tenure, which did not permit them to use it as their own. Such was the source of Civilization in Europe!

The first movement of Civilization is the application of labour to the culture of the earth, in order to raise that supply of food which is necessary for men in society. The application of labour to Architecture, Cloathing, Tools and Instruments is concomitant with this. Markets, in which a reciprocation of wants and surpluses is accomplished, succeed. Hence arise by a farther improvement Artificers and Manufacturers: and, in succession, a surplus is created beyond what is wanted either by the individuals or by the community,

nity, which produces commerce, by exchanging this surplus either for articles of conveniency, or for enjoyment which the country does not produce. By the violence of the military spirit, under which Europe was a second time peopled, the inhabitants were divided into two classes, Warriors and Slaves. Agriculture was conducted by the latter; wretches annexed to, not owners of the soil; degraded animals! cattle! property! not proprietors! *They* had no interest either in their own reason, their labour, or their time. *They* had neither knowledge, nor motive to make an effort of improvement. Improvement in Agriculture was, therefore, during many hundred years, at a stand. Although in some countries of Europe it may seem at present progressive, it is so slow, that, for ages, it can have no great effect, except perhaps in England, yet even here the farmer is absurdly and cruelly oppressed. Manufactures, or the labour of men, in wood, iron, stone or leather were considered as the servile offices of society, and fit only for slaves. These artificers were mere machines of the most arrogant and ignorant masters. They would never make experiments; so that mechanics and arts went on for ages without improvements.

Upon the dissolution of the Hanseatic League, the Sovereigns, who had seen the power which arose from manufactures and trade, began to encourage their subjects and invite strangers, to

C

establish

establish them. Civilization took a momentary start. But the Policy of the Sovereigns held the manufacturers in a wretched condition, by many obstructing regulations. The same policy, affecting to encourage manufacturers, gave them a false help, by setting Assizes on the produce of land, which oppressed agriculture. This same system of policy confined ingenuity, by making imposing regulations on every motion of manufactures, on their coming from the hand of the workman ; on the carriage ; on the sale ; and on the return, whether in goods or in money. This policy was directed to draw into the treasury of the state all the profit, beyond the labourers subsistence. Commercial legislation was directed wholly to make the subject sell, but not buy : export articles, but import money, of which the state must have the greatest share. Hence, exclusive property of certain materials of manufacture, which they called Staple Commodities ; hence, monopolies ; exclusive privileges of trade to persons, articles and places ; exclusive Fisheries ; hence, the notions of the Balance of Trade : and hence, the whole train of retaliations, restraints on exportation ; prohibitions of importation ; alien duties, imposts. Having thus rendered communication among themselves almost impracticable, they were forced to look out for foreign settlements. Hence, colonies, which might be worked like out farms for the exclusive benefit of the metropolis. Hence, that wildest

wildest of all the wild visions of avarice and ambition, the attempt to render the ocean an object of property; the claim of possession in it, and dominion over it. Thus civilization was obstructed, the spirit of improvement checked, and the light of genius extinguished. Events *may* arise, which may induce, the Rulers of Europe, to revise and reform the hard conditions of its imprisonment, and give it Liberty.

In America, all the inhabitants are free, and allow universal naturalization to all that wish to be so, and a perfect liberty of using any mode of life they choose, or any means of getting a livelihood that their talents lead them to. Their souls are their own. Their reason is their own. Their time is their own. They are their own masters. Their labour is employed on their own property, and what they produce is their own. Where every man has the free and full exertion of his powers, and may acquire any share either of profit or of power that his spirit can work him up to, there is an unabated application; and a perpetual struggle of spirits sharpens the wit and trains the mind. The acquisition of knowledge in business, necessary to this mode of life, gives the mind a turn of investigation which forms a character peculiar to these people. This is called inquisitiveness, which goes often to ridicule, but is in matters of business and commerce an useful talent. They are animated with the spirit of the New

Philosophy. Their life is a course of experiments; and standing on as high a ground of improvement as the most enlightened parts of Europe, they have advanced like Eagles; they commencing the first efforts of their pinions from a towering advantage.

In Europe the poor man's wisdom is despised. The poor man's wisdom is not Learning but Knowledge of his own picking up from facts and nature, by simple experience. In America, the Wisdom and not the Man is attended to. America is the poor man's country. The Planters there reason not from what they hear, but from what they see and feel. They follow what mode they like. They feel that they can venture to make experiments, and the advantages of their discoveries are their own. They therefore try what the soil claims, what the climate permits, and what both will produce to the greatest advantage. In this way, they have brought into cultivation an abundance of what no nation of the old World ever did, or could introduce. They raise not only plenty and luxury for their internal supply, but the islands in the West-Indies have been supplied from their superabundance; and Europe, in many articles, has profited by it. It has had its Fish from their seas: its wheat and flour from one part: its rice from another part: its Tobacco and Indigo from another: its Timber and naval stores

stores from another. Olives, Oranges and Wines are introducing by experiments.

This spirit of Civilization first attaches itself to mother Earth, and the inhabitants become Land-workers. We see them labouring at the plough and the spade, as if they had not an idea above the earth; yet their minds are, during the whole time, enlarging all their powers, and their spirit rises as their improvements advance. Many a real philosopher, politician and warrior emerges out of this wilderness, as the seed rises out of the ground.

They have also made many improvements in handicrafts, tools and machines. Want of tools and the unfitness of such as they had have put these settlers to their shifts; and these shifts are experiments. Particular uses, calling for some alteration, have opened many new inventions. More *new* tools, more *new* machines, and more new forms of old machines have been invented in America than were ever invented in Europe in the same space of time. They have not turned their labours into arts and manufactures, because their labour employed in its own natural way can produce those things which purchase articles of arts and manufactures, cheaper, than they could make them. But although they do not manufacture for sale, they find fragments of time which they cannot otherwise employ, in which they make most of the articles of personal ware and household use, for home consumption. When
the

the field shall be filled with husbandmen and the classes of handicraft fully stocked, as there are no laws which impose conditions on which a man is to become intitled to exercise this or that trade, or by which he is excluded, from exercising either the one or the other, in this or that place: none that prescribe the manner in which or the prices at which he is to work, or that confine him even to the trade he was bred to; the moment that civilization, carried on in its natural course, is ripe for it, the branch of manufactures will take root and grow with an astonishing rapidity. Although they do not attempt to force the establishment of manufactures, yet, following the natural progress of improvement, they every year produce a surplus of profit. With these surplusses, and not with manufactures, they carry on their commerce. Their Fish, Wheat, Flour, Rice, Tobacco, Indigo, Live Stock, Barrel Pork and Beef, some of these being peculiar to the country and Staple Commodities, form their exports. This has given them a direct trade to Europe and a circuitous trade to Africa and the West-Indies. The same ingenuity in mechanics, which accompanies their Agriculture, enters into their commerce, and is exerted in ship building. It is carried on, not only for their own freight, and that of the West-Indies, but for sale, and to supply a great part of the shipping of Britain; and should it continue to advance will supply a great part

part of the trade of Europe with ships, at cheaper rates, than they can either any where, or by any means supply themselves. Thus, their commerce, altho' under various restrictions, while they were subordinate provinces, by its advancing progress in ship-building hath stricken deep roots, and is now shot forth into an active trade, into amplitude of state and great power.

It will be objected, that the balance of trade has been at every period against America, so as to draw all the gold and silver from it, and for this reason it cannot advance in commerce and opulence. It will be answered that, America, even while in depressed and restrained provinces, has advanced its cultivation to great opulence, constantly extending the channels of its trade, and increasing its shipping. It is a fallacious maxim to judge of the general balance of profit in commerce, by the motions of one article of commerce, the precious metals. These metals will always be conveyed to that country that pays the most for them. That country which on any sudden emergency wants money, and knows not how to circulate any other than silver and gold, must pay the most for them. The influx of them, therefore, into a country, instead of being a consequence of the balance of trade existing in its favour, or of the efflux standing as a mark of the balance opposed against it, may be a proof to the contrary. The balance of trade, reckoned by the
import

import or export of gold and silver, may, in many cases, be said to be against England, and in favour of the countries to which its money goes. If this import or export were the effect of a finally settled account, instead of being only the transfer of this article to or from an account current (as it commonly is) yet it would not be a mark of the balance of trade. England, from the nature of its government, and the extent of its commerce, has established a credit on which, during any emergency, it can give circulation to paper money, almost to any amount. If it could not, it must at any rate, purchase gold and silver, and there would be a great influx of the precious metals. Will any one say, that this is a symptom of the balance of trade being in its favour? but, on the contrary, having credit, from a progressive balance of profit, it can, even in such an emergency, spare its gold and silver, and even make a profit of them, as articles of commerce exported. Hence, we see the balance of profit creating a credit which circulates as money, even while its gold and silver are exported. If any event like the re-coinage of the gold in England, which called in the old coin at a better price than that at which it was circulating abroad, should raise the price of this article, in England, it will, for the same reason, as it went out, be again imported into England, not as a balance of accounts, but as an article of trade, of which, the best profit could,

could, at that moment, be made. The fact was, that, at that period, quantities of English gold coin, to a great amount, were actually imported into England in bulk; and yet this was no mark of any sudden change of a balance of trade in favour of that country. The balance of trade, reckoned by this false rule, has been always said to be against North America: but the fact is, that their government, profiting by a credit arising from the progressive improvements and advancing commerce of the country, hath, by a refined policy, established a circulation of paper money, to an amount that is astonishing. That from the immense quantity it should depreciate is nothing to this argument; for it has had its effect. The Americans, therefore, can spare their gold and silver as well as England, and *information says, there is now locked up in America, more than three millions of English money, in gold and silver, which, when their paper is annihilated, will come forth.* The efflux, therefore, of gold and silver, is no proof against them: on the contrary, being able to go without gold or silver, but wanting other articles without which they could not proceed in their improvements, in Agriculture, Commerce, or War, the gold and silver are, in part, hoarded, and part exported for these articles. In fact, this objection, which is always given as an instance of weakness in America, under which she must sink, turns out, in the true state of it, an instance of

the most extensive amplitude and growth of state. It would be well for England, if, while she triumphs over this mote in her sister's eye, she would attend to the beam in her own, and prepare for the consequences of her own paper money.

From this comparison of the state of Civilization, applied to Agriculture, Méchanics and Commerce, extended through a large territory, having a free communication through the whole, it appears, that North-America has advanced, and is every day advancing, to a growth of state, with a constant and accelerating motion, of which there has never been any example in Europe.

The two countries may be compared, in the progress of population. In North America, children are a blessing. They are riches and strength to the parents. In Europe, children are a burden. The causes of which have been explained in the observations concerning the increase of mankind, the peopling of countries, &c.

Take a few examples. The Massachuset's Bay had, of inhabitants in the year 1722, 94,000. In 1742, 164,000. In 1751, when there was a great depopulation, both by war and the small-pox, 164,484. In 1761, 216,000. In 1765, 255,500. In 1771, 292,000. In 1773, 300,000. In Connecticut, in 1756, 129,994. In 1774, 257,356. These numbers are not increased by strangers, but decreased by wars and emigrations

to

to the Westward, and to other states, yet they have nearly doubled in eighteen years.

In New York, in 1756, 96,776; in 1771, 168,007; in 1774, 182,251. In Virginia, in 1756, 173,316; in 1764, 200,000; in 1774, 300,000. In South Carolina, in 1759, 64,000; in 1770, 115,000. In Rhode Island, in 1738, 15,000; in 1748, 28,439.

As there never was a militia in Pennsylvania, with authentic lists of the population, it has been variously estimated on speculation. There was a constant importation for many years of Irish and foreign emigrants, yet many of these settled in other provinces: but the progress of population, in the ordinary course advanced in a Ratio, between that of Virginia and that of Massachusetts Bay. The city of Philadelphia advanced more rapidly. It had in 1749, 2,076 houses. In 1753, 2,300; in 1760, 2,969; in 1769, 4,474; from 1749 to 1753, from 16 to 18,000 inhabitants; from 1760 to 1769, from 31,318 to 35,000. There were in 1754 various calculations and estimates made of the numbers on the continent. The sanguine made the numbers one million and an half. Those who admitted less speculation into the calculation, but adhered closer to facts and lists, stated them at one million, two hundred and fifty thousand. The estimate said to be taken in Congress, in 1774, makes them 3,026,678. But there must have been great scope of specu-

lation in that estimate. Another, after two years war, is two millions, eight hundred and ten thousand. Two millions, one hundred and forty-one thousand, three hundred and seven, would turn out nearest the real amount in 1774. What an amazing progress! which in eighteen years has added a million to a million, two hundred and fifty thousand, although a war was maintained in that country for seven years of the term. In point of view we perceive a community unfolding itself beyond any example in Europe.

But the model of these communities, which has always taken place, from the beginning, has enrolled every subject as a soldier, and trained a greater part, or 535,326 of these people to arms, which number the community has, not separate from the civil, and formed into a distinct body of regular soldiers, but remaining united in the internal power of the society, a national Piquet Guard, always prepared for defence. This will be thought ridiculous by the regular Generals of Europe: but experience hath evinced, that for the very reason, that they are not a separate body, but members of the community, they are a real and effectual defence. The true greatness of a state consists in population, where there is valour in individuals, and a military disposition in the frame of the community: where all, and not particular conditions and degrees only, make profession

cession of arms, and bear them in defence of their country.

This country is now an independent state, and has been avowedly and confessedly so, for more than four years. It is, indeed, six years, since it was so in effect. It hath taken its equal station among the nations. It is an empire the spirit of whose government extends from the centre to the extreme parts. Universal participation of council creates reciprocation of universal obedience. The Seat of Government will be well informed of the state and condition of the remote and extreme parts, which, by participation in the legislature, will be informed and satisfied in the reasons and necessity of the measures of government. These will consider themselves as acting in every grant that is made, and in every tax imposed. This consideration will give efficacy to government, that *consensus obedientium*, on which the permanent power of empire is founded. This is the spirit of the new empire in America. It is liable to many disorders, but youthful and strong, like the infant Hercules, it will strangle these serpents in the cradle. Its strength will grow with years. It will establish its constitution and perfect growth to maturity. To this greatness of empire it will certainly arise. That it is removed three thousand miles from its enemy; that it lies on another side of the globe, where it has no enemy: that it is earth born and like a giant ready to run its course,

arc

are not the only grounds, on which the speculatist may pronounce this. The fostering care, with which the rival powers of Europe will nurse it ensures its establishment, beyond all dangers, and even beyond all doubt.

When a state is founded on such amplitude of territory; whose intercourse is so easy; whose civilization is so advanced; where all is enterprise and experiment; where agriculture has made so many discoveries of new and peculiar articles of cultivation: where the ordinary produce of bread corn has been carried to a degree, that has made it a staple export for the supply of the old world: whose Fisheries are mines, producing more solid riches than all the silver of *Potosi*: where experiment hath invented so many new and ingenious improvements in mechanics: where the Arts, Sciences, Legislation, and Politics are soaring with a strong and extended pinion: where population has multiplied like the seeds of the harvest: where the power of these numbers, taking a military form, shall lift itself up as a young lion: where Trade of extensive orbit, circulating in its own shipping, has wrought these efforts of the community to an active commerce: where all these powers have united and taken the form of Empire; I may suppose I cannot err, or give offence to the greatest power in Europe, when upon a comparison of the state of mankind and of the powers of Europe with that of America,

I venture

I venture to suggest to their contemplation, that America is growing too large, for any government in Europe to manage as subordinate. That the government of Congress and the States is too firmly fixed in the hands of their own community, to be either directed by other hands, or taken out of those in which it is: and that the power in men and arms is too much to be forced at the distance of three thousand miles. Were I to ask an Astronomer, whether, if a Satellite should grow, until it could balance with its planet, it could be holden any longer by any of the powers of nature in the orbit of a Satellite; and whether any external force could keep it there, he would answer me directly, *No*. If I ask a Father, when his son is grown up to full strength of body, mind and reason, whether he can be kept forcibly in pupillage, and will suffer himself to be treated and corrected as a child, he must answer, *No*. Yet, if I ask an European politician, who learns by hearsay, and thinks by habit, whether North America will remain dependent, he answers, *Yes*. He will have a thousand reasons why it must be so, although fact rises in his face to the very contrary. Politicians, instead of being employed to find out reasons to explain facts, are often employed with a multitude about them to invent and make facts, according to pre-determined reasonings. Truth, however, will prevail. This is not said to prove, but to explain the

the fact, so that the consequences may be seen. The present combination of events, whether attended to or disregarded, whether wrought by wisdom into the system of Europe, or foolishly neglected, will force its way there by the vigour of natural causes. Europe, in the course of its commerce, and even in the internal order and œconomy of its communities, will be affected by it. The Statesman cannot prevent its existence, nor resist its operation. He may embroil his own affairs, but it will become his best wisdom, and his duty to his Sovereign and the people, that his measures coincide and co-operate with it.

The first consequence of this empire, is, the effect it will have as a Naval Power on the Commerce and political system of Europe.

Whoever understands the Hanseatic League and its progress, in naval power, by possessing the commanding articles of the commerce of the world; the command of the great Rivers; its being the carrier of Europe; that it could attract, resist, and even command the landed powers; that it was made up of separate and unconnected towns, included within the dominions of other states; that they had no natural communication, and only an artificial union: whoever considers not only the commercial but naval and political power which this League established throughout Europe, will see on how much more solid a basis the power of North America stands; how much
faster

faster it must grow, and to what an ascendancy of interest, carrying on the greatest part of the commerce, and commanding the greatest part of the shipping of the world, this great commercial and naval power must soon arrive. If the League, without the natural foundation of a political body, in land, could grow by commerce and navigation to such power: if, of parts separated by nature, and only joined by art and force, they could become a great political body, acting eternally with an interest and power that took a lead and even an ascendancy, in wars and treaties, to what elevated point must not North-America, removed at the distance of half the globe, from all the obstructions of rival powers, founded in a landed dominion, peculiarly adapted for the communication of commerce, and the union of power, raise the velocity and vigour of its progress? As the Hanseatic league grew up to power, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and France, sought its alliance, under the common veil of pride, by offers of becoming its protectors. England also growing fast into a commercial power, had commercial arrangements, by treaty, with it. Just so *now* will the sovereigns of Europe; just so *have* the Bourbon compact, the greater power in Europe, courted the friendship of America. Standing on such a basis, and growing up, under such auspices, we may pronounce concerning America, as it was

E

ob-

observed of Rome ; *civitas incredibile est memoratu, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit.*

In the course of this American war all the maritime powers of Europe will, one after another, follow the example of some of the leading powers, and apply to the States of America for a share in their trade, and for a settlement of the terms, on which they may carry it on with them. America will then become the arbitress of commercial, and, perhaps, as the Seven united Belgic Provinces were in the year 1647, the Mediatrix of Peace, and of the polite business of the world.

If North America follows the principles on which nature has established her ; and if the European alliances which she has made do not involve her in, and seduce her to a series of conduct, destructive of that system, to which those principles lead, she must observe, that (as nature hath separated her from Europe, and established her alone on a great continent, far removed from the old world, and all its embroiled interests, and wrangling politics, without either an enemy or a rival, or the entanglement of alliances)---1. It is contrary to her interest, and the nature of her existence, that she should have any existence of politics with Europe, other than merely commercial ; and even, on that ground, to observe inviolably the caution of not being involved in either the quarrels or the wars of the Europeans. 2. That the real state of America is, that of being the common

mon source of supply to Europe in general; and that her true interest is, therefore, that of being a free port to all Europe at large: and that all Europe, at large, should be the common market for American exports. The true interest, therefore, of America, is, not to form any partial connections with any part, to the exclusion of the rest. If England had attended to her true interest, as connected with that of America, from which she could derive advantages: and if she would even yet, with temper listen to her true interest, she would still find, that such a commerce would in a great measure continue, with the same benefit, were the two countries as independent of each other as France and Spain, because in many articles neither of them can go to a better market. This is meant as under their present habits and customs of life. Alienation may change all this. The first great leading principle must be that North America will become a free port to all the nations of the world, indiscriminately; and will expect, insist on, and demand, in fair reciprocity, a free market in all those nations, with whom she trades. This, if she neither forgets, nor forsakes her real nature, will prove the basis of all her commercial treaties. If she adheres to this principle, she must be in the course of time, the chief carrier of the commerce of the whole world: because, unless the several powers of Europe become to each other likewise free ports and free markets,

America alone will come to and act there, with an ascendant interest, that must command every benefit that can result from them.

The commerce of North America, being no longer the property of one country only, her articles of supply will come freely, and be found *now* in all the markets of Europe: not only moderated by, but moderating the prices of the like articles of Europe. The Furs and Peltry will meet those of the north-east parts of Europe; and neither the one nor the other can any longer be estimated by the advantages to be taken of an exclusive vent. Advantages of this kind, on iron and naval stores, have frequently been aimed at by Sweden: and the monopoly in them was more than once used as an instrument of hostility against England, which occasioned the bounties on these articles, the growth of America, which gave rise to the export of them from America. When they come freely to the European market, cooperating with the effect which those of Russia have, they will break that monopoly. For Russia, by the conquest of Livonia, and the advancement of her civilization, has become a source of supply in these articles, to a great extent. All Europe, by the intervention of this American commerce, will find the good effects of a fair competition, both in abundance of supply, and in moderation of price. Even England, who hath lost the monopoly, will be no great loser. She will find this

this natural competition as advantageous to her, as the monopoly, which, in bounties and other costs of protection, she paid so dear for.

Ship-building and navigation having made such progress in America, that the natives are able to build and navigate cheaper than any country in Europe, even than Holland, with all their oeconomy, there will arise a competition in this branch of commerce. There will also be a competition in the markets of Europe, in the branch of the Fisheries. The Rice and corn, which the Americans have been able to export, to an amount that supplied in the markets the defect arising from England's withholding her exports will, when that export shall again take place, keep down depressed the agriculture of Portugal and Spain, and, in some measure, of France, if the policy of those countries does not change the regulations and order of their internal oeconomy. The particular articles to be had as yet from America only, which Europe seeks so much after, will give the Americans the command of the market in those markets, and enable them, by annexing assortments of other articles, to produce those also with advantage in these markets. The refuse Fish, Flour, Maize, Live Stock, Lumber, &c. all carried in American shipping to the West-India islands: the African slaves, carried by a circuitous trade, in American shipping also to the West-India markets: taking from thence the molasses: aiding those

those islands with American shipping in the carriage of their produce, must ever command and have the ascendancy in the commerce of that part of the world, if this ascendancy even stops here. The cheap manner in which the Americans produce their articles of supply: the low rates at which they carry them to Europe, selling also their shipping there: the small profits at which their merchants are used to trade, must lower the price of the like articles in Europe: oblige the European merchants to be content with a less profit: occasion some reform in the oeconomy of Europe, in raising and police in bringing to market the active, articles of supply. But farther, the Americans, by their principle of being a free port in America and having a free market in Europe; by their policy in holding themselves, as they are remote from all the wrangling politics, so neutral in all the wars of Europe: by their spirit of enterprize, in all the quarters of the globe, will oblige the nations of Europe to call forth within themselves such a spirit as must entirely change its commercial system also.

But will a people whose empire stands singly predominant on a great continent, who, before they lived under their own government, had pushed their spirit of adventure in search of a North-West passage to Asia, suffer in their borders the establishment of such a monopoly as the European Hudson's Bay company? will that spirit which

which has forced an extensive commerce in the two Bays of Honduras and Campeachy, and on the Spanish Main, and which has gone to Falkland's Islands in search only of whales, be stopped at Cape Horn, or not pass the Cape of Good Hope? It will not be long, after their establishment as an Empire, before they will be found trading to the South Sea and in China. The Dutch will hear of them in the Spice Islands, to which the Dutch can have no claim, and which these enterprising people will contest on the very ground and by the very arguments which the Dutch used to contest the same liberty against Portugal. By the intercourse and correspondence, which there will be between Europe and America, it will be as well known as Europe. By attention to the winds, currents, the Gulph stream and its Lee currents, the passage will be better understood and become shorter. America will seem every day to approach nearer and nearer to Europe. When the alarm, which the idea of going to a strange and distant country gives to a manufacturer or peasant, or even a country gentleman, shall thus be worn out, a thousand attractive motives, respecting a settlement in America, will raise a spirit of adventure and become the irresistible cause of a general emigration to that world. Nothing but some future wise and benevolent policy in Europe, or some spirit of the *Evil One*, which may mix itself in the policy of America, can prevent it.

Many

Many of the most useful enterprising spirits and much of the active property will go there. Exchange hath taught the statesmen of the world long ago that they cannot confine money; and the government of Europe must fall back to the Feudal Tyranny in which its own people are locked up, and from which all others are excluded, or commerce will open a door to emigration.

These relations of things, these *Leges et Fœdera Rerum* are forming the new system. The sublime politician, who ranges in regions of predetermined systems; the man of the world, narrowed by a selfish experience, worse than ignorance, will not believe; and it is but slowly that nations relinquish any system which hath derived authority from time and habit. Those sovereigns of Europe, who have despised the awkward youth of America, and neglected to form connections, and interweave their interests with these rising states, will find the system of this new empire obstructing and superseding the old system of Europe, and crossing all their maxims and measures. They will call upon their ministers, *Come! curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me.* The spirit of truth will answer, *How shall I curse, whom GOD hath not cursed? How shall I defy, whom the LORD hath not defied? From the top of the rock I see them, and from the hills I behold them. Lo! the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.* On the contrary, those sovereigns,

reigns, who shall see things as they are, and form, if not the earliest, yet the most sure and natural connections with America, as an independent state; as the market of, and a free port to Europe: and as being that which must have a free market in Europe, will become the principal leading powers in Europe, in regulating the courses of the rest, and in settling the common centre of all.

England is the state in these circumstances, and in that situation. Similar modes of living and thinking, manners and fashions, language and habits all conspire naturally to a rejunction by alliance. If England would treat America as what she is, she might still have the ascendancy in Trade and Navigation; might still have a more solid and less invidious power than that *Magni Nominis Umbra*, with which she braves the whole world. She might yet have an active leading interest among the powers of Europe. But she will not!—*As though the Hand of Divine Vengeance were upon her, England will not see the things which make for her peace!* France, who will be followed by other nations, acknowledging these states to be what they are, has formed alliances, *with terms of perfect Equality and Reciprocity*. And behold the ascendant to which she directly arose, from that *politic humiliation*. There never was a wiser or a firmer step taken by any established power, than that which the new states took for their first footing

ing in this alliance. There never was more address, art, or policy shewn by any state than France has given proof of in the same, when both agreed and became allied on terms, which *exclude no other power* from enjoying the same benefits by a like treaty. Can it be supposed that other states, conceiving that the exclusive trade of England to America is laid open, will not desire and have their share! They certainly will. *Here then are the beginnings of changes in the European system.*

There are two courses in which this general intercourse of commerce between Europe and North America may come into operation; one, by particular treaties of commerce, the other by all the maritime states of Europe, previous to their engaging in a war, or upon the general settlement of a peace, meeting in some Congress, to regulate among themselves, as well as with North America, the Free Port, on one hand, and the Free Market, on the other, as also general regulations of commerce and navigation, such as must suit this free Trader, now common to them all, indifferently, and without preference. Such regulations must exclude all monopoly of this source of supply and course of Trade, and so far make an essential change in the commercial system. Such regulations not having reference only to America, but reciprocal references between all the contracting parties trading now, under different

rent circumstances, and standing towards each other in different predicaments, must necessarily change the whole of that system in Europe.

The American will come to market in his own ship, and will claim the ocean as common: will claim a navigation restrained by no laws, but the laws of nations, reformed as the rising crisis requires: will claim a free market, not only for his goods, but his ship, which will make a part of his commerce. America being a free port to all Europe, the American will bring to Europe not only his own peculiar staple produce, but every species of his produce, which the market of Europe can take off: he will expect to be free to offer to sale in the European market every species of wrought materials, which he can make to answer in that market: and further as his commerce subsists, by a circuitous interchange with other countries, whence he brings articles not singly for his own consumption, but as exchangeable articles, with which he trades in foreign markets, he will claim as one of the conditions of the free market, that these foreign articles, as well as his own produce, shall be considered as free for him to import in his own shipping to such market. Those states who refuse this at first, seeing others acquiesce in it, and seeing also how they profit by having articles of supply and trade brought so much cheaper to them, will be obliged, in their own defence, and to maintain their

balance in the commercial world, to accede to the same liberty. Hence again, even if the American should not, by these means, become the ascendant interest in the carrying trade and in shipping and seamen, a most essential change must arise in the European system.

The American raises his produce and navigation cheaper than any other can: his staples are articles which he alone can supply. These will come to market assorted with others, which he thus can most conveniently supply; and unless the same freedom of trade which he enjoys be reciprocally given and taken by the European powers among each other, he will come to the European market on terms which no other can: but Europe will be affected, benefited and improved by his manner of trading. The peculiar activity of the Americans will raise a spirit and activity in those who come to the same market. That peculiar turn of character, that inquisitiveness which in business animates a spirit of investigation to every extent, and the minutest detail, enables them to conduct their dealings in a manner more advantageous than is usually practised by the European merchant. They acquire a knowledge not only of the markets of Europe, that is of the wants and supplies, how they correspond, and of their relative values; but they never rest till they are possessed of a knowledge of every article of produce and manufacture which comes to those markets; until they know the establishments, the operations

operations and the prices of labour, and the profits made on each, as well, and even better than the merchants of the country themselves. Not long before the war several of the American merchants, especially those of Pennsylvania, sending some of their own houses to England, became their own factors, went immediately to the manufacturers in Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Sheffield; to the woollen manufacturers in Yorkshire and Lancashire: to those of Liverpool and those of the West; and opened a traffic with them at the first hand. This same spirit of investigation and activity will actuate their dealings in every other country of Europe. The effect of this, instead of being disadvantageous to those countries, will become a general blessing, by raising a more general competition, and diffusing a more proportional share of profit between all ranks of the industrious. While trade is solely in the hands of the merchant he bears hard on the purchaser, by his high profit, and oppresses the manufacturer by the little share he allows him. The merchant grows rich and magnificent, makes a great bustle and figure. It can never be well where merchants are princes. The more the merchant can make by high profit, the less quantity will he carry to market. Whereas when commerce shall be free, and by the mixture of this American spirit, trade run with fair competition in a broad channel, the merchant must make his way by being content with

with small profit, and by doing a deal of business on those small profits. The consumer and manufacturer will come nearer together. The one will save an unreasonable advance, and the other obtain a more equal share of profit. More work will be done: the profits of industry more equally distributed: the circulation will spread through the lesser vessels, and life, health and growth be promoted.

If these operations take this course, it will be needless to point out to the shrewd speculations of the merchants what their conduct must necessarily be: but it will behove statesmen to be aware that they do not suffer the merchant to persuade them, that the commerce is languishing merely because there is not the same parade of wealth in such dazzling instances. Let them look to the markets of supply, and observe if there be not plenty. Let them next attend to the rude produce, which is the basis of manufactures, and enquire, whether, while more and more industry is called forth, it is not employed, and more adequately paid, by a free and extended vent? whether, while the numbers and ingenuity of manufactures increase, they do not live more comfortably, so as to have and maintain increasing families? whether population does not increase? Let them in future guard against the exclusive temper of trade. The political founders of the old system were totally ignorant of this principle of commerce. It was wisdom

dom with them to render their neighbours and customers poor. By a wretched system of taxation they effectually prevented the stock of labour and profit from accumulating. But if the statesmen of the present enlightened age will follow where experience leads to truth and right, they will throw the activity of mankind into its proper course of productive labour. When man has the liberty of exerting his industry and ingenuity, so as to make them the most productive; when he finds a free market and his share of profit, then is the ground duly prepared for population, opulence and strength. Then will the sovereigns of Europe find their interest and their power in their peoples happiness.

If the sovereigns of Europe should find that the system of colonies in distant regions, for the purpose of monopolies is at an end, and turn their attention to give exertion to their own internal powers, like the police of China, cultivate their waste lands, improve agriculture, encourage manufactures, and abolish corporations: as all the *remnants of Barbarism* shall be removed, the powers of the community will create those surplusses which will become the source and open the channels of commerce. If they should see the disappointments of attempts to establish a monopoly of navigation by the force of laws, instead of creating or maintaining it, by the spirit of an active commerce; that all the prohibitions by
which

which they labour to oppress their neighbours do but depress themselves, they may come to think that giving freedom and activity to commerce is the true system of every commercial country. Suppose them checked in their career of war, hesitating on the maxims of their old systems, perceiving that the oeconomic activity of Europe is on the turn to take a new course, feeling the strength of an active commerce, finding themselves under the necessity of making some reform and beginning to speculate, how, amidst a number of powers of trade, shifting their scale, an even balance may be introduced and secured; how, amidst a number of interests, floating on the turn of this great tide in the affairs of men, an equal level may be obtained: if, on a review of their old system, they should perceive how it is prepared for change, they may find that commerce, which might have risen by competition, industry, frugality, and ingenuity, hath long been an exclusive scrambling rivalry, instead of an equal communication, concentrating the enjoyments of all regions and climates, and a consociation of all nations, in one communion of the blessings of Providence; that when actuated (as it has been) by a selfish principle, it hath proved to the nations an occasion of jealousies, of alternate depressions of each others interests, and a never-ceasing source of wars, perhaps, they may also see that treaties of peace have been but as truces
and

and guarantees ; but as entangling preparations for future wars. On the other hand, they should observe with pleasure that the manners of mankind, softening by degrees, have become more humanized ; their police more civilized ; and although many of the old oppressive institutions of government, as they respect husbandmen, manufacturers, merchants, markets and commerce, have not yet been formally abolished ; yet that practice, by various accommodations, has abrogated their most mischievous operations ; that the activity of man finds every day a free course ; that there are a thousand ways at which (although pride will not open them) prudence will connive ; through which the intercourse of markets finds, every year, a freer vent ; and that the active spirit of commerce is, like the spirit of life, diffusing itself through the whole mass of Europe. They will find there is an end of all their monopolizing systems : they will see that any one of the powers of Europe, who should aim to deal with the rest of mankind with unequal balance will only excite amongst its neighbours a jealousy that must conspire to wrest that false balance out of its hands, and to depress it down again to a level with the rest of the world. The Cities of Italy, the Low Countries, Portugal, Holland, England, have all, for their period, as commercial powers, arisen above the common level ; but pressing, with a weight which was felt as unequal by those

below them, they have each in its turn found, even in the moment of its highest elevation, a general rising all around them, and themselves sinking to the common level. Statesmen must see how much it is the interest of all to liberate each other from the restraints, prohibitions and exclusions by which they have aimed to depress each other. They will see that the most advantageous way, which a landed nation can take to encourage and multiply artificers, manufacturers and merchants of their own, is to grant the most perfect freedom to the artificers, manufacturers and merchants of every other nation. That a contrary practice lowers the value of their internal productions, by raising the prices of all things which must be bought with them; and gives to the artificers, manufacturers and merchants a monopoly against their own farmers. Seeing this they will encourage population and an universal naturalization and liberty of conscience. If nature has so formed man and policy society, that each labouring in his line, produces a surplus of supply, it is both perfect justice and policy that men and nations should be free reciprocally to interchange it. This communion of nations is a right which may be enjoyed in its genuine spirit and utmost extent, except in time of war, and even then to a great degree, without interfering in the political and civil power of the world. The spirit of those exclusive laws of navigation will appear

appear as the spirit of piracy. The common ocean, incapable of being defined, or of a special occupancy, or of receiving exclusively the labour of any individual person, or state, is incapable of becoming an object of property and can never prove an object of dominion: and therefore the ocean should, in policy, as it is in fact, remain common and free. *Pervium cunctis Iter.* If it should be seen, that the commercial system of Europe is changing, and that in wisdom and policy it ought to be changed: that the great commerce of North America, emancipated from its provincial state, not only coincides with, but is a concurring cause of this change: that the present combination of events form a crisis which Providence with a more than ordinary interposition hath prepared: and that heaven itself seems to call upon *Sovereigns* to co-operate with its gracious providence: if *they* should be convinced that there is nothing so absurd as warring against each other about an object, which, as it is separated from Europe, will have nothing to do with its broils, and will not belong exclusively to any one of them: if listening to this voice, which, as that of an angel, announcing *Peace and Good will to Mankind*, summons them to terminate the endless and the useless operations of war; to consider the present crisis as an object of council and not of battle, and therefore to meet in the communication and intercourse of their reasoning powers.

The maritime powers must, previous to the settlement of Peace respecting America, and of the mixed interests of Europe and America, convene, by their ministers, in order to consider the points on which they may safely suspend hostilities, and those also that must form the basis of treaty, and which will enter into the future system, and on which Peace may not only be made, but established among the nations of the Atlantic ocean.

Will not reason and benevolence then, in which true policy and their right and best interest are included, suggest to their hearts and actuate their councils to convene a Congress before they are engaged in further hostilities; before the devastation of war extends ruin and misery yet farther. Some such measure as led the great trading bodies of Europe to convene in a Congress, which gave rise to the Hanseatic league, is not out of the course of public business, but is what the nature of the present crisis in a more than ordinary necessity requires. Whether some general council, on the model of that concerted between the great Henry of France and Elizabeth of England, two as noble spirits and as wise politicians as the world hath since seen, should not now be proposed; not indeed a council of administration, for regulating and conducting a general political system of all Europe, but a council of commerce for Europe and North America, exclusive of every point of politics.

Such

Such a council might prevent future occasions of war from commercial quarrels. The present vague state of the marine law of nations is so apparent as to create a necessity for such a measure. At present, all principle, rule, and law, seem to be as much lost as if the nations were fallen back to the old state of piracy amidst their ancient barbarism. Europe cannot, even in war, proceed under the present abrogation of all treaties, and of all the laws of nations.

The cardinal points which will come under deliberation will be, 1. How far, in right and policy, it may be best for all to establish the **MARE LIBERUM**: and how far each nation, providing for the property and dominion, which they hold in Bays and Harbours, may accede to this establishment, as a law of nations. 2. How far the **JUS NAVIGANDI** may be established. 3. This will lead to deliberation on the **LIBERTAS UNIVERSALIS COMMERCIORUM**; free Ports, and free Markets. It will be best, by degrees, to abolish Port Duties, and raise their revenues by Excise, Tailles, &c. and other internal sources of finance, immediately laid on the consumer. This measure would make that country which adopted it a free port, a circumstance very desirable to every well-wisher to his country.

Voilà tout ce qu'on peut raisonnablement exiger. Il n'est au pouvoir de l'humanité, que de préparer, et d'agir. Le succès est l'ouvrage d'une main plus puissante. Sully, liv. 30.

THE END.

