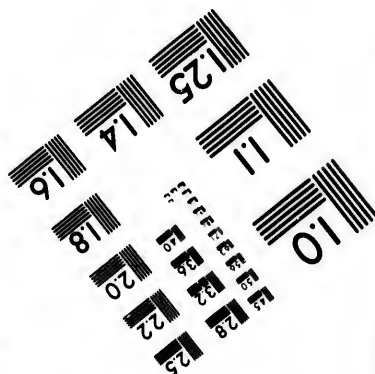
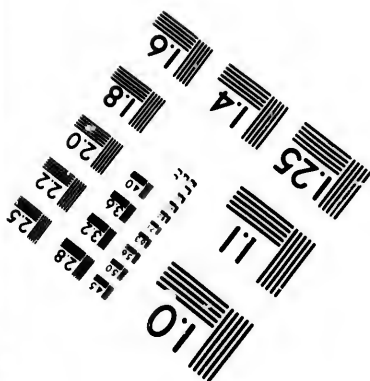
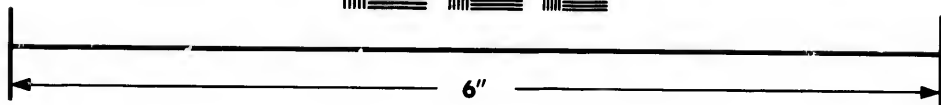
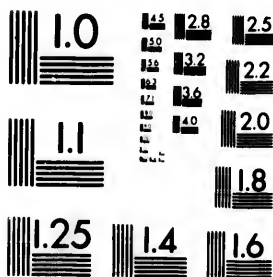


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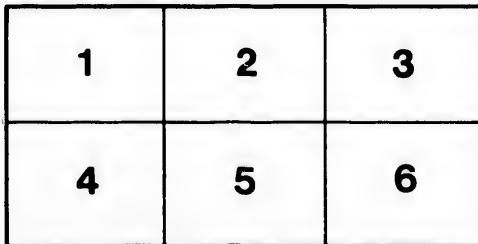
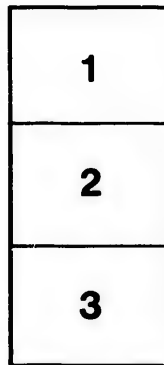
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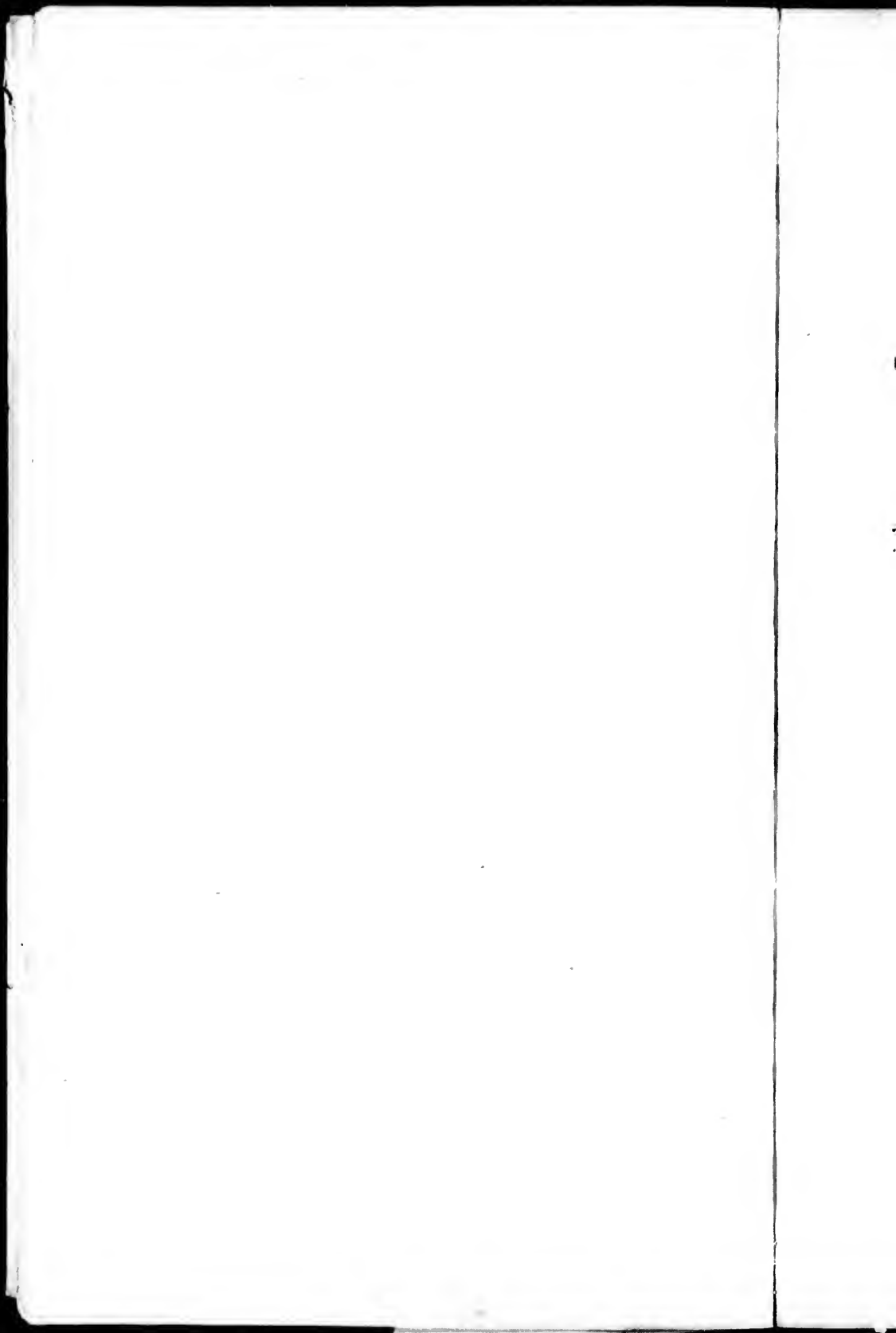
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CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
PRESENT SITUATION
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND THE
UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH AMERICA,
WITH A VIEW TO THEIR FUTURE
COMMERCIAL CONNECTIONS;

PARTICULARLY DESIGNED

To expose the dangerous Tendency of the Arguments used, and of the Conclusions drawn, in a late Pamphlet published by LORD SHEFFIELD, entitled "Observations on the Commerce of the American States;" likewise shewing the Advantages, and urging the Necessity of relaxing the Act of Navigation in Favour of America, both in Great Britain and the West Indies.

Interpersed with some Observations on the State of Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Fisheries; and with various Accounts necessary to shew the State of the Shipping and Trade of this Country and the United States; as well as of the Connection of the latter with the West Indies, previous to the War.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR J. STOCKDALE,
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P R E F A C E.

THE materials upon which this Pamphlet is founded, were collected during the summer, with a view of throwing every possible light upon a subject, of such importance to the Commercial Interests and Naval Power of this Kingdom, and which was so soon to become one of the great objects of Parliamentary Inquiry and De- liberation. It is now submitted
with

with the utmost deference to the Public, though with the fullest conviction on the side of the Writer, of the justness and truth of the sentiments it conveys. Every precaution necessary to procure the best information on the subject, has been taken. Former and recent accounts have been revised and compared. Those of the Custom-house (which are in general imperfect) have been examined with others taken in the different ports, by persons particularly informed in them. A difference will appear in the tonnage of the ships employed in our Commerce,

merce,

merce, from the former accounts which have been given to the Public. The latter have been generally taken from the Custom-house Books, which, in many instances, are incorrect. The registers of ships, in almost all cases whatever, are very greatly under the real burthen; and the foreign ships are not distinguished with sufficient accuracy from British built. This has occasioned great trouble in procuring proper information. But as a great part of this information has been derived from personal knowledge, and where that has been in any shape
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deficient, no pains have been spared in procuring it, the Writer can have no doubt, but that the several materials, as they are given with fidelity, will be found as correct, as the nature of the subject will possibly admit.

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CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

WHEN a man of rank, confidence, and of a character to which respect is due, gives the sanction of his name to opinions in which matters of the greatest national importance are involved, his situation in life, operating with the interesting nature of the subject, can scarcely fail to attract the public attention. But, if these opinions have been adopted without a proper consideration of the subject; if, embracing great objects of policy and commerce, they are founded on false principles; if they tend to obstruct the happiest movements of

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Government, and to lead the Public into the adoption of sentiments and principles highly injurious to their interests, the popular circumstances under which they were ushered into the world, serve, by giving authenticity to error and delusion, to render them more pernicious and dangerous.

In such circumstances, it becomes the duty of those who are possessed of knowledge and information on the subject, and who are aware of all the mischief and danger which would attend the adoption of such a system, to endeavour to prevent the Public from being misled by a fallacious representation ; and, by an appeal to authentic documents, to set them right in matters of such vast importance to their commercial interests. At the same time that they deliver their sentiments with the freedom which the importance of the subject

subject requires, they should likewise do it with the respect that is due to the character of the Writer, and a deference to the motives which may be supposed to have influenced him : In their origin, perhaps, these might be good ; but, whether from a communication with designing or ill-informed men, or from whatever other cause, producing, in the event, effects miserably bad—In the hopes of making such a Writer feel a sense of the danger, we may repeat to him the following advice from the Poet :

—— *incedis per ignes*
Suppositos cineri doloso.

THE noble Author of the Observations upon the Commerce of the American States, did not weigh with the caution a subject of such magnitude required, the consequences of those principles which he has endeavoured so strongly to inculcate.

He is desirous of convincing us, that this Nation, deprived of great and powerful Colonies in North America, can support itself by the means of its European Commerce, in an equally advantageous manner; that the West India Islands may have the full benefit of their antient supplies of lumber and provisions, either from this country, or our two remaining Colonies of Nova-Scotia and Canada: In short, that we may now have as full an enjoyment of Commerce, in as great an extent, and to as great advantage, as in those times when the American States formed a part of our Empire.

SUCH are the principles which this Writer lays down, treating as "wild fancies of the imagination," every attempt to procure the restoration of our former commercial greatness, by the renewal of a close connection with America; the
 very

very means by which we attained it. He derives no small advantage, in the support of this erroneous doctrine, from the opportunity which the present state of things affords him, of playing upon the passions of a people, sore with the loss of a great and valuable part of their empire. But, if any faith is to be placed in experience, if there is any truth in the relation of the plain and simple facts which will be given in the course of this Work, relative to the former trade between Great Britain and America, the restoration of that trade, in as full and ample a manner as is consistent with the sovereignty of each, is still fully practicable; and we have it happily yet in our power to make that country, formerly the child of our fairest hopes and expectations, our firmest and most useful friend in future. If we have but patience to suffer their present passions to subside, passions which the full attain-

attainment of Independence must naturally excite in them, there is no reason to doubt of our obtaining every advantage which can arise from the strictest commercial union. However great their obligations are to France, manners, language, and antient habits, will be too powerful opponents for that nation to overcome.

THE greatest bar to the settlement of the American trade upon a liberal foundation, and the main support of the arguments of the noble Author, is the attachment of this country to the Act of Navigation. This is a stronghold, fortified with all the strength that can be derived from old habits ; from former experience of its advantages in our Commerce, sanctified by the opinions of the best Writers upon Trade at the time of its being passed ; and delivered down from father to son, as a principle

principle not even to be questioned. It is given to us by its supporters as the *Maritima Charta*, the great Charter of our Commerce.

THERE would have been no necessity of bringing this Act to the question, had not the late Revolution in America taken place; for we had, by the means of our Colonies, attained to so great a command of the carrying trade in all parts of the world, that the Navigation Act became no longer of use in supporting our Commerce. From being a sacred palladium on which the safety of the Empire rested, it was, at length, become no more than a partial security for the monopoly of our American Colonial Trade; for, in many instances we were obliged to surrender it to them. But it had the veneration of our forefathers to recommend it, and it was a part of our duty, on that account, to pay
it

it the same reverence. In their time, the trade of the kingdom was in the hands of a few opulent men ; but when our Colonies increased in strength, and the Principles of Commerce became better known, its extension exceeded imagination ; and even surpassed the wonderful Republic of the United Provinces, which had turned its dreary fens into warehouses, filled with the richest merchandize of every quarter of the globe ; and from wanting food for its own subsistence, had stored its granaries with food for nations. With even such rivals, the goodness of our ships, the facility of working them, the skill and activity of our seamen, and the expedition with which they conveyed goods from market to market, gave them a preference in every port that they entered. The natural means then to regain this preference,

is to recur to the means by which it was obtained.

THE present supporters of the Navigation Act proceed upon the same principles, with respect to the American States, as the framers of that Act did with respect to the Dutch. The quality of industry is, however, the only circumstance common to those nations. Every other widely differs. The Dutch had been long our enemies; were our rivals both in commerce and manufacture; they lived at our doors; and participated to such a degree in every branch of our trade, that they carried away almost the whole profits. A vigorous measure was therefore necessary for our preservation. The Navigation Act was passed, and much praise is due to the authors of it; since it fully answered the most sanguine expectations of the Merchants, and merited

the commendations which Sir Josiah Child, one of those great traders, gives it. The Americans, on the contrary, cannot for ages be our rivals in manufacture ; they live at a distance that will always prevent an interference contrary to our inclinations ; they have been our subjects, and the great means of our being masters of the carrying trade, their shipping forming, in the comparative view of the shipping of Great Britain and its dependencies, about one-half part ; and of the shipping of Great Britain only, above one-third. If we therefore exclude them in future, we have no means left to us, with equal facility and cheapness, of supplying their places, and retaining that carrying trade to which the Author of the Publication alluded to is laudably devoted. We differ in the means of supporting this trade, though we agree upon the advantage of it.

To

To demonstrate, therefore, our inability to preserve it, without the assistance of America, better evidence cannot be produced than the account of the actual ships employed in the Commerce of this Island, and the places where they were built. Of these, the number of ships built in the American States formed about one-third. If the account is extended to the trade of the whole Empire, in which the West Indian connection with America makes a large additional part, the number will be about one-half. The account of the ships employed in the Commerce of Great Britain, at the beginning of the American war, and at this time, are as follows. The number of ships or the tonnage, differ very little. At the former period there was about 1300,000 tons; at the latter nearly the same. The ships were built in the following countries:

	Ships.
Northern parts of Great Britain	2,419
Southern —	1,311
Ireland —	199
British Colonies still remaining	163
American States —	2,342
	<hr/>
	6,434
Foreign countries —	1,260
	<hr/>

being 7,694

ships employed in the commerce of Great Britain at the commencement of the war. At this time the numbers are as follows, viz.

	Ships.
Built in the Northern parts of	
Great Britain —	2,226
Southern —	1,088
	<hr/>
Carry over.	3,314

		Ships.
	Brought forward	3,314
	Ireland —	144
	British Colonies still remaining	104
	American —	1126
		<hr/>
		4,688
	Foreign countries —	2,892
		<hr/>
		7,580

But as a proportion ought to be allowed of the foreign ships for prizes, which will replace such of our vessels as were taken by the enemy, the accounts will nearly be,

	British —	5,154
	Foreign —	2,426
		<hr/>
		7,580

Or considering the American ships as foreign,

	British and its present dependencies	4,028
	Foreign —	3,552
		<hr/>
		7,580
		THE

THE foregoing account proves, in the first place, that at this time American built ships, being considered as foreign, ships of that description form seven parts in fifteen; or nearly one half of the shipping employed in the Commerce of Great Britain, after proper allowance is made for the prizes taken by us, to supply the places of those taken by the enemy. And next, that although for the want of supply, the American ships were reduced more than one half, yet that the deficiency was not supplied by British ships, but by vessels foreign built, of which the Northern Nations supplied the far greater number; and so great was the conveniency of foreign bottoms, that even the Italian States supplied above one hundred.

THIS view of the state of our shipping, points out to us the necessity of endeavouring to convince those of their errors,
who

who are for casting away our former Colonial Commerce with a marked disdain ; lest the establishment of their presumptuous opinions should be the means of its being lost to us, and with it every hope of our ever regaining the carrying trade. America was always able to supply us with ships thirty per cent. cheaper than they could be built in Great Britain, even with the disadvantage of having the cordage, sails, and flores, exported from hence.* Cargoes of goods were often sent out in barter for ships ; which, as well as ships built for sale, making a freight home, the purchase could be made on still cheaper terms by the British Merchant. This advantage in purchase, enabled our Mer-

* In New England, the ship-builders will now contract for building ships, at 3l. sterling per ton, including the joiner's work.

chants

chants to trade upon a less capital, of course subject to less insurance and interest of money. Not only all the purposes of our own Commerce, but those of the carrying trade, were fully answered. They were also frequently purchased in England by foreign nations; a circumstance which seems to have escaped the notice of the noble Author, as he dwells much upon the impossibility of the Americans disposing of their ships to any other nation than Great Britain; and that even the encouragement of ship-building in Canada and Nova-Scotia, must destroy that business in the United States. The present question is, how to supply the deficiency which the want of American shipping will create, without loss? The mere deficiency may be supplied: We may purchase foreign ships, though on bad terms. But the dearness of British built ships (the price having increased from

ten to fifteen per cent. within a short time; and a certainty of its being still higher, from an additional demand), will, if we are confined to them, effectually deprive us of the carrying trade, and greatly enhance the prices of building of our ships of war.

It may be objected, that although British ships are dearer, they are better, and will last much longer. Merchants of great capital and regular trade, do not regard this additional expence; for in general they contrive to hold as small a share as they can, dividing their property amongst their tradesmen, who make themselves amends by being employed in the repairs. The inhabitants of the Northern ports of Great Britain, are the only people who make British built ships a profit; and this is owing to their frugality both in building and sailing their vessels. The

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general purposes of Commerce are directed very differently in our times from what they were in former days, when the whole was in the hands of a few rich men, and accordingly produced immense profits. The capitals of our Merchants at present are no ways proportioned to the trade which is carried on. But credit supplies the place of capital, and the profit, by being more diffused, becoming less to the individual, it is necessary to pay the greater attention to the capital employed.— The less that is, the less will the interest of money and insurance be upon it, and the gain or loss be proportionate. The very saving of interest and insurance, in the course of a few years, will much more than compensate for the difference in goodness of the vessels. The following instance will illustrate this assertion.

A British

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	88	0	0	800	0	0
Which, together with interest upon it for ten years, will amount to				1,105	11	0
				<hr/>		
				£.1,905	11	0
Supposing the ship, at the end of that time, to sell for only				105	11	0
				<hr/>		
There will remain				£.1,800	0	0
				<hr/>		

As the freights will be equal in both vessels, as well as the charge of fitting out on the different voyages, the calculation is made upon the first cost, the interest of money, the insurance, and the addition of interest upon these charges, which is always included in mercantile transactions. The difference of expence between a British and an American-built vessel, will not, in the course of ten years, be less than 700l. upon so small a capital. If there is any error in this calculation, it is in

in favour of the British ship; for if an account is kept of each vessel, supposing the same certain freight made, and the same certain outset paid by each, and interest of money, and insurance is calculated, the American ship will clear herself in six years, whilst the British ship will not accomplish it in less than ten, (the value of each being considered at the several periods as stated above) which will leave a still more considerable balance than the above 700*l.* in favour of the American ship. Every man versed in mercantile affairs will see the truth of these observations.

To carry this comparison yet farther—
The American shipping employed in the Commerce of Great Britain (exclusive of the trade between America and the West Indies) at the commencement of the American

rican war, was 398,000 tons, which, at	
13l. per ton, will cost	£.5,174,000
8l. per ton	— 3,184,000
	<hr/>

Making a difference of £.1,990,000

Additional capital employed in our shipping, or above 218,000l. per annum, for interest of money and insurance charged upon our trade.

THE American built ships, which have been given in the account of the shipping employed in the Commerce of Great Britain, must not be confounded with those ships which carried on the trade between this country and America. The former were incorporated in the general body of our shipping, of which the American trade was only a part, and which was carried on by the American Merchants

Merchants in any ships, whether of the built of Great Britain, America, or any other country, indifferently, as they came into possession of them, or chartered them for the voyage. The account, therefore, of the American built ships in our trade, the burthen of which was 398,000 tons, must be considered as applicable only to the purpose of shewing the state of our shipping, from whence we drew our supplies, and how the deficiency is to be filled up, should the American built vessels in future be excluded.

It will be useful to us, to take into our consideration the state of the shipping employed in the Commerce of America before the war. There not being the same regularity in surveying the trading vessels of that country, as is practised in Great Britain, and the Custom-house
books

books not distinguishing the voyages which each ship made in the year, it is not possible to give so very exact an account. But good information, collected with care, and compared with the produce of the different States, to which equal attention has been paid to procure the best accounts, very fully supply the deficiency; sufficiently, at least, to give us a very just idea of the state of their shipping. Before the war, the number of vessels, of all descriptions, employed in transporting the produce of the American States to Europe, the West Indies, and other parts of America (exclusive of those employed in coasting in the Creeks and Rivers in each State, of which no account is necessary to be given, as they had no connection with any foreign trade) amounted to above 4,400, and were of the burthen of upwards of 400,000 tons. They were thus divided :

In

	Ships.	Tons.
In the European trade		
were employed about	1,220	195,000
In the West India and		
Coasting Trade	2,150	146,000
In the New England		
fishery, besides those		
employed in carrying		
the produce to mar-		
ket, which are in-		
cluded in the above	1,099	59,775
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4,469	400,775

Of these, the shipping employed in the West India and Coasting Trade, and in the Fisheries, were almost wholly American property, and manned by American seamen; as on the contrary, those in the European trade (which were about one half of the shipping employed in the Commerce of the American States) were generally

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rally the property of British Merchants, navigated by British seamen, and carrying to the markets of Great Britain, directly or circuitously (the latter in a small proportion only) the produce of these States.

WE should be faithless stewards, indeed, of the talents which have been intrusted to our care, should we reject a Commerce, in every respect beneficial to this country; supporting our carrying trade, by employing a great number of vessels, particularly in the transport of the bulky articles of the Middle and Southern States; and forming no less than a sixth part of our whole shipping, equal, if not superior to that of our West India Colonies. These States have neither the ability or inclination to carry it on for themselves; nor will they ever be induced either to employ their own exertions, or make use of the shipping of our European neighbours,

hours, for the purpose, if we will undertake it in a manner satisfactory to them. This we may do with equal satisfaction and advantage to ourselves.

THERE is one, and one argument alone, which can be urged, with any appearance of reason, in favour of that system which confines our shipping within the bounds of our own country. It is founded in despair; and supposes that the national debt is become so enormous, the taxes upon trade so great, and a relaxation of spirit so general, that our own shipping will be abundantly more than sufficient for all the purposes of our Commerce. If these melancholy surmises prove to be facts, the game which we are playing, to preserve the carrying trade, is at an end; and we shall find sufficient difficulty to keep even the immediate navigation of Great Britain and Ireland in a tolerable condition. Whatever

opinion may be formed of the bad situation the country is in, the man who recommended acting upon such desperate principles, would find himself severely condemned, even by those very people who conceived that opinion. They would very properly tell him, that exertions ought at least to be made, to recover, as far as we were able, the losses we have sustained. A very considerable part of our dominions have been torn from us. But though its sovereignty is gone, we ought not to sit quietly down, under an infatuated blindness, and be witnesses of its Commerce following, when it is in our own power to retain it; and by that means put ourselves in a condition to recover our former commercial, and in consequence, our national greatness. Let us not lie down, like men in despair; but be active, resolute, and work out our salvation with spirit and perseverance.

It will be proper to take a view of the former Colonial Commerce of this country, in order to form a judgment of its value. At the beginning of this century, the exports to North America and the West Indies were

	-	£.483,265
Africa	-	86,665
		<hr/>
		£.569,930

THE Exports were, on a medium, from
1739 to 1756,

North America only	-	£.1,000,000
West Indies	=	700,000
Africa	-	180,000

From 1756 to 1773,

North America	-	£.2,300,000
West Indies	-	1,100,000
Africa	-	470,000

On a medium of the years 1771, 1772,
1773,

North America	-	£.3,500,000
		West

West Indies	-	£.1,300,000
Africa	•	700,000

And proportioning such a part of the African Traders as belonged to North America, the exports will be found to be, at a medium, of the three years before the war,

North America		£.3,650,000
West Indies	•	1,850,000
		<hr/>
		£.5,500,000
From Scotland		400,000
		<hr/>
		£.5,900,000

Or in proportion of two thirds to North America, and one third to the West Indies.

THE proportion of British goods to foreign goods, exported from hence to North America and the West Indies, were to the former, three fourths British and one fourth foreign ;

foreign; to the latter, two thirds British and one third foreign. The exports of British manufactures will then be in this proportion :

North America	-	£.2,737,000
West Indies	-	1,234,000

THE accounts which were taken by authority in America, of the imports from Great Britain previous to the war, are somewhat, though not materially, different. They were estimated as follows :

To the four New England		
States	-	£.407,000
New York	-	531,000
Pennsylvania	-	650,000
Virginia and Maryland		865,000
North Carolina	-	25,000
South Carolina	-	365,000
Georgia	-	50,000
		<hr/>
Carry over		£.2,893,000

Brought forward	£.2,893,000
Jersey and Delaware no estimate, suppose	50,000
	<hr/>
Sterling	£.2,943,000
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THE above state, as well as the other calculations, are taken from actual surveys of the shipping, and from evidence and papers laid before Parliament. The increase of the North American export trade has been astonishing. It had its rise almost in this century, and within so short a space attained to the immense sum of three millions sterling; whilst that of our West Indian Colonies has not attained to half that amount.

SUCH an increase of trade, of course demanded an increase of shipping. We found it in those States which the supporters

porters of the contracted system of navigation are striving to tear from us, and who have the means, in time, of depriving us and every other nation of the carrying trade. They have excellent harbours, and they build ships cheaper than any other people. The improvements they make in that art are exceedingly rapid. If we choose to procure them from these ports, once so familiar to us, by a free admission of them, or when they are the joint property of the inhabitants of both countries, it is in our power to do it. We shall then secure our supply of shipping, as well as the manufactures of cordage, sail-cloth, and many other stores necessary for the fitting out ships, which they will otherwise buy of the Northern Powers, or manufacture there for themselves. They have as good hemp as any in the world, and naval stores in great plenty; sail-cloth they can import, of
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equal quality, and upon cheaper terms, than from this country. Of their industry and perseverance, we have had the most convincing proofs. We experienced the good effects of their commercial spirit before the war; we were witnesses to these qualities in them, under all the severity of that calamity. We beheld their ships of war, and almost their whole trade, nearly annihilated at various times; yet, they were continually building more, which were as successively taken from them; and there were not wanting variety of instances, where vessels being taken, were repeatedly replaced by the owners with others, to an incredible number. In one instance, not less than thirteen times. When they could not procure carpenters to build for them, they bought moulds of vessels and built for themselves. Examples like these, ought to teach us the wisdom of securing a people, who are so capable of being made
useful

useful friends, or active enemies. It would be prudent to bid even high for such industrious consumers of our manufactures; much more so, when we shall not only lose the carrying trade, without their assistance, but even find difficulty in carrying on our own—at least in carrying it on to equal advantage; and with respect to the danger of losing our seamen, the closer our connection with America, the more effectually we shall prevent it.

A GREAT stress is laid upon the necessity which the Americans will be under to purchase English goods, from their not being able to procure them in any other country upon such cheap and advantageous terms. It is, however, a hazardous attempt to drive them to this necessity. Mankind are formed of materials which have a great aptitude to resist, when force is employed. They may be led, but cannot easily be driven.

driven. - We certainly manufacture many species of goods, cheaper and better than any other nation. These are coarse woollens of every kind, worsted stuffs, iron ware, nails, cutlery, common earthen ware, glass, tobacco pipes, worsted and cotton stockings, shoes, buttons, hats, all kinds of Manchester and Norwich goods, silk ribbons, sewing silk, tin plates, sheet lead, and all sorts of lead and plumbers' work; pewter, copper, and brass ware; painters' colours, cordage, ship chandlery, upholstery, and cabinet ware; saddlery, gunpowder, books, stationary, beer, and porter. There may be some articles omitted in this enumeration. The Americans already manufacture cordage, sail-cloth, hats, stockings, glass, and porter. But they are in a forced state, and will not be brought to a perfection yielding profit, if they have a free and satisfactory trade with this country, as they will be able to import

port cheaper than they can manufacture. To reason, as the Author of the Observations does, upon America's not having any coal, clay, flint, or similar materials for manufacture, and to recommend "the shutting up the collieries of Cape Breton, in order to encourage our own coals, and the carrying trade," hardly merits a serious answer. It is the first time that coal was supposed to afford profit to ships carrying it such a voyage. Let us not deceive ourselves by such ideas. America is 1,300 miles in extent along the coast. In depth immensely great, and contains all that is to be found in Europe. She has coal in abundance, clays of the finest kind; and in these heavy, cheap articles (except casually for ballast) she cannot be supplied from distant countries; but when she is in want of them, she must provide herself at home.

UPON

UPON many of these goods we already grant considerable bounties, to encourage their exportation. These will, in course, be continued. They are,

On gunpowder 4s. 6d. per 100 pounds

On linen $\frac{1}{2}$ to 11d. per yard

On sail-cloth 2d. per ell

On silk 6d. to 4s. per pound, according to the different qualities.

On refined sugar 26s. per 112 pounds

On cordage 2s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per 112 pounds, if exported to Europe, and which should likewise be extended to America.

Of these manufactures, silk will be preserved partially. The lesser parts manufactured at Coventry, and the mixture of it with cotton and worsted at Manchester and Norwich, have so much greater neatness and fancy than those of other countries, that they will certainly command a preference. The other parts of the silk

manu-

manufacture have too many disadvantages to contend with, to expect any other sale than what may arise from being part of assorted cargoes of goods. The greater expence of raw materials and wages in England, must secure, in every case, this trade to France.

THE great bounty on refined sugar seems to give it a preference at almost any market. The Americans, however, appear to be very jealous of its introduction, and have laid extraordinary duties upon it in some States. For gunpowder and cordage we may expect a demand; but the manufacture of sail-cloth is in danger of being lost to us, the quality of that commodity being excellent, and to be procured on cheap terms, in other countries. If we admit the American shipping upon terms, this manufacture, as well as those of cordage,

and

and some other kinds of ship-stores, may be rendered secure.

We have one chance of preserving the linen trade, by the softness of texture of the Irish linen. The threads are more unequal, and therefore more pliable, than the German; a quality which is generally preferred in linen.

If the Americans continue to be supplied with goods from this country, there does not appear to be any absolute necessity for taking away the remaining duties on foreign goods exported: But no more must be exacted than on goods exported to other foreign countries. It would without doubt be an encouragement; but the revenue is in such an impaired state, that if it incurs this reduction, some other addition must be made to it. The demands of the Merchants in America, will not for a considerable

siderable time be equal to the sale of whole cargoes of any one species of goods ; and the port charges attending vessels lading in different places, will exceed the savings made by purchasing the foreign goods they want in any part of Germany or the Baltic, of which they are the growth or manufacture. It will often happen, that a ship is ordered to return home with such a quantity as may be wanted from any of the above ports to which they have brought a cargo. But this will be accidental, and is not connected with the assorted cargoes of goods, which the Americans will give orders for to this country. Foreign goods generally form a fourth part of an assorted cargo.

THERE are many articles which America will supply herself with, by the return of her vessels from the Southern parts of Europe, without coming to Eng-
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land ;

land; such as silk, wine, oil, and other productions of those countries. The climate of the Southern parts of the United States is so perfectly well adapted to the culture of these articles, that in time they will supply themselves. They have no other difficulty to contend with, than what arises from the infancy of those parts of the country. They want only management and sufficient population, to furnish themselves with every product of the finest countries of Europe and the East. They will be in possession of these advantages long before they turn their views to manufacture. We shall always find a protection to ours in the greater profit, health, and enjoyment, which attend husbandry, especially in a country where the finest land may be had for the culture. The inhabitants of such countries will prefer purchasing to the manufacturing of goods, for their own use. Necessity has sometimes

times driven them to it. Cotton and flax they have ; and so long since as the war of 1739, the Carolinians, on the miscarriage of their European supplies, manufactured cloathing for their Negroes. In the back countries they yet manufacture for their immediate use : Very much in the same manner as was formerly practised in this kingdom, (probably, in the interior parts of Wales and Scotland the custom may still continue ; if not, it is in the remembrance of many persons of our times) where all the apparel and linen, necessary for the family, were made in it. They sowed the seed, raised the flax, dressed it, and prepared both that and the wool for manufacture, which was performed within their own domain. Their wants were not many, and these were supplied among themselves. But as it happened in England, it will happen in this part of America ; the country will be better peopled,

the roads will be more opened, and they will find it more profitable to purchase goods than to manufacture them,

THE exportation of goods from America comes next under consideration, and how far it may be made useful to us. The United States of North America may be divided into three parts, each having a particular connection with the different States of which it is composed. The first in order is New-England, whose trade chiefly consists in ships built for sale, in exporting lumber and provisions; but more particularly in the fisheries, which they have pursued with great success. The second division is from the River Hudson to the Chesapeake, including the States of New-York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, all connected together by a trade similar to each other; principally in wheat, flour, tobacco,

bacco, building ships, lumber, and provisions.

—The last division is North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, the former of which produces wheat, lumber, and naval-stores; the latter, rice, indigo, lumber, naval-stores, and provisions.—

This is the outline of the Commerce of America. To speak more particularly, we must begin with New-England, whose great Commerce is the fisheries of cod, whale, mackrel, &c. from which are produced spermaceti, whale, and cod oil, and whale-bone; together with ships built for sale, pot-ashes, some naval-stores, skins, furs, masts, boards, joists, planks, staves, cattle, horses, hogs, poultry, beef, and pork-hams, butter, cheese, &c. also some manufactured iron-ware, hats, and candles. The exportation from the Hudson-River and the Bays of Delaware and Chesapeak, consists of tobacco, wheat, flour, bread, Indian-corn, beans, pease, rye, beef,

beef, pork, tallow, hogs-fat, wax, flax-feed, some naval-stores of various sorts, ashes, horses, drugs, hams, smoked beef, butter, cheese, live hogs, poultry, hemp, flax, deer-skins, brandy, iron, ore, bar and pig iron, copper, furs, ships for sale, and lumber. From the Carolinas and Georgia, they export rice, indigo, deer and other skins, hemp, hides and other tanned leather, lumber, pitch, turpentine, some tobacco, Indian corn, wheat, horses, and live stock, beef, pork, hogs-fat, wax, tallow, drugs, hams, and some ships. They have attempted silk and wine, with an appearance of future success. Oranges are fine and in plenty. These are the exports of the United States, and the divisions in which they are naturally placed. The amount of the value of each, previous to the war, were nearly as follows, together with that of the tonnage employed in the exportation :

First

First Division.

	Tons of shipping employed.
New-England States, (in-	
cluding the fisheries) £.770,000*	150,000

Second Division.

New-York, £.529,000		
Philadelphia, 685,000		
Maryland, 379,000		
Virginia, 706,000	£.	Tons.
—————	2,299,000	183,500

Third Division.

North-Carolina, £78,000		
South-Carolina		
and Georgia, 532,000		
—————	610,000	66,500
		—————250,000
	—————	—————
Sterling, £.3,679,000	employing 400,000	

THOSE which have been part of the im-
portations into Great Britain, shall first be
mentioned,

* This exceeds most of the accounts generally
given, but these did not take in the very great in-
crease of the fishery in the few years preceding the
war.

mentioned, and next those sent to the West Indies.

ONE of the most material branches is ships built for sale. These are chiefly from New-England, which supplied about two fifths of the whole number of the American ships employed in Great Britain. The most beautiful are those built in Philadelphia, where this art has attained to the greatest perfection, equal, perhaps superior, to any other part of the world. Capital ships have also been built at New-York, and in the Chesapeake; and in South-Carolina, of live oak, which is of much longer duration than any other timber whatever.

THE fishery, and carrying the fish to market from New-England, employed at the commencement of the war, about 1450 vessels, 100,000 tons burthen, and
12,000

12,000 fishermen and seamen. The increase within a few years before the war was very great. The produce of the cod fishery is divided into two-fifths of salted cod-fish for the European market, remittances for which were sent to Great Britain to pay for the goods ; and three-fifths for the West Indian market, to which place the mackrel and shad were sent. The produce of the whale fishery is spermaceti and whale oil, and whale bone, which, as well as the greater part of the cod oil, was sent to Great Britain, and will yet center there, as it is the best market they can procure for it. Our consumption of oil is very great, and a part of it, as well as whale bone, is necessary to our manufactures, and therefore to be considered as a raw material. The permission therefore to import it will be of service to both countries. There has been always a difference in the duty charged upon these ar-

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ticles,

ticles, according to the quality of the vessels in which the fish were caught. Oil, and whale fins, taken in ships belonging to Great Britain, are imported duty free. If taken in ships belonging to the Plantations, oil pays twelve shillings and sevenpence one fifth per ton, whale fins two pounds twelve shillings and sixpence per ton. If taken in foreign shipping, the duty amounts to a prohibition. The continuation of these duties, which are very moderate, will create no additional expence to our manufacturers, or to the consumption of commodities necessary to us.

AN idea has been suggested, of suffering furs to be imported duty free, provided a free passage was granted to our Canadian subjects through the American States.— This is intended to remove any disadvantage which this country may derive from the boundary line cutting off the country
of

of the Illinois from Canada. At present, the Hudson's Bay Company having so great a proportion of this trade, and the Americans, by their situation, possessing also a great part, what remains will be very insignificant. It will be of expence to the Revenue, as furs pay a duty on importation. Beaver, on account of our manufacture of hats, pays only 1d. 1-20th each skin.

It is difficult to say what may be the effect, of taking away the bounty on naval stores. The quality of American tar and pitch is not equal to those of the Baltic: There is a heat in the former, which does not agree with the manufacture of cordage so well as the Baltic tar. The latter is also clearer; but the American is equally good for other purposes. The Legislature, in order to give encouragement to its improvement, granted a

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bounty

bounty of ten shillings each barrel, under the denomination of green tar, describing the quality which it was necessary to have. Whether it was owing to want of care, or the difficulty of making it, very little was sent from America entitled to this bounty. Common tar received a bounty, after deducting the duty which was paid on importation, of 4s. 9d. each barrel. Pitch, in the same manner, deducting the duty, about 9d. the hundred weight; and the duty upon turpentine exceeding the bounty, there was actually paid about 8d. the hundred weight; masts and bowsprits were subject to no duty, and received a bounty of 20s. the ton. The price of tar in general was from 7s. to 9s. the barrel; some times it was as low as 6s. whilst at the same time market, Baltic tar sold from 11s. to 12s. Pitch commonly brought 5s. the hundred; and turpentine was
very

very variable in price. The bounty generally paid the freight, which was a great encouragement ; yet naval stores were always an unprofitable remittance. By these bounties ceasing, the Revenue will be benefited, but the price paid by the consumers must increase, and our shipping and cordage may also be affected by it. The prices of the Baltic tar and pitch will rise in proportion ; for wherever the demand is increased, the price increases with it.

IF the same duties are charged upon American naval stores, as upon those of the Baltic, the former must give up the trade, as they will never be able to enter into competition with them. Their distance, and the extraordinary expences they must be at, forbid it. The same reason may be applied to masts, which now receive a bounty of twenty shillings
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the ton; it is that bounty which can alone support them against those of the Baltic, where, by longer practice, they render them of much better quality. In time, they will be improved in America, where masts are to be had in almost all parts.

THE duties upon hemp, flax, pig and bar iron, and ashes, may be placed upon the same ground as those of the Baltic. If the charging them at less, creates any risque of unpleasant disputes with Russia, there is no advantage to be obtained in this country by it, adequate to the consequence. The American hemp, though of an excellent staple, is not well cleaned, and therefore not so proper for use as Russian. One principle, indeed, pleads strongly for its not paying any duty, which is, its being a raw material; but even that would not be a sufficient reason for making any difference in the duty, unless

less it should be hoped, that it might prove the means of preventing the Americans from manufacturing their iron.

THE free importation of lumber and staves have been of service; for as the quality is inferior to that of the North of Europe, they are purchased on lower terms for cheaper purposes, and will not in fact bear a duty.

DEER skins are of great use to our manufactures, and do not suffer by the duty which they are charged with. No alteration is necessary in the articles of chocolate, spermaceti candles, or other similar articles, where an interference with our own manufactures had occasioned high duties to be imposed.

MAHOGANY, walnut, lignum vitæ, or any wood used in the cabinet, joiners, or
block-

block-makers trades, though not of the produce of the United States, yet their conveyance through that channel having hitherto proved useful, their importation from America ought of course to be still continued upon the same terms as formerly.

To Dye woods, every attention ought to be paid for facilitating their importation, as they are of the greatest consequence to our manufactures. These are, logwood, Fustick, Nicaragua wood, brazeletto, besides other kinds of materials for the dying use. Indigo comes under this class; but in order to encourage the making this country an entrepot for American commodities, the duty on export should be taken off. Logwood, is now in a more precarious state of being procured than ever. And Fustick, by the loss of Tobago,

bago,

bago, where great quantities of fine wood was cut, will be more scarce.

WHEAT and flour, will of course be subject to our corn laws, the importation depending on the want of them.

FLAX seed is an article of importance to Ireland, the want of which subjects that country to great difficulty.

THE articles of Commerce exported from America, have been generally, and those which relate to this country, particularly, mentioned, except the two great objects of tobacco and rice. These, from the proportionate small consumption in this country to the growth, have the principal reference to the policy of making Great Britain an entrepot for them, as well as any other commodities, which, though of less consequence, come under

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that description. The adopting of this principle is necessary for the preservation of this part of the American Trade, and it will probably do more : It will make Great Britain the center of American Commerce in Europe. France has taken the lead : She has declared five of her ports, Free ports, for the reception of American goods. If we act as wisely, we need not despair of prevailing over her. But our system is now so clogged, that it operates almost as a prohibition. The port charges upon their ships are very considerable, being charged as foreigners, and subject to the payment of double lights, though their cases are in many respects different, even considering America as a foreign nation. For, the payment of double lights by foreign ships, was owing to the Dutch formerly doubling that charge ; in which they were followed by the Powers in the Baltic ; and the example

ample thus given, was copied by us as a matter in course. The Americans feel this charge the more, as they were formerly not subject to it; and as they have few charges of this kind in their own country.

AMONG the different American commodities for which this country may be made an entrepot, tobacco is the most capital article; and the relation of the circumstances attending it, will serve for other goods in similar cases. A Proclamation has indeed been lately issued, which gives liberty to the Merchants to land tobacco without a deposit; but as the former inconveniencies were not perhaps sufficiently known, and as even the repetition of an affair of this consequence is pardonable, if it will enforce the reasons for carrying this Proclamation into permanency, the former method may not be

improperly introduced at this time.—
When tobacco was landed in England, a deposit was required of 4l. per hog-head, to be drawn back when it was exported. In London, the warchoufes allotted for its reception by the Custom-house, lie at a great distance from the quays; and upon these it is not suffered to remain, though landed on one day and to be shipped the next, even with a watch upon it. The expence of landing, crannage, wharfage, portorage, cartage, warehouse-rent, and a numerous train of Custom-house and other charges (upon the whole of which, though the duty was to be received back, the Merchant charged his commission) amounting to a large sum, was, with the duty, generally drawn upon the foreign port to which the tobacco was to be sent, which made a very large advance of money. In three or four months the Merchant received back the
duty

duty he deposited, which, after deducting the charges, he remitted to the person abroad. Thus a medium cargo of tobacco was charged with an advance of about 2000*l.* almost its first cost, for several months ; a great part of which was sunk in unnecessary charges, commission, interest of money, and loss by re-exchange.

THE remedy for these inconveniencies is found to be very easy. Upon the arrival of any cargoes of tobacco, rice, or any goods not usually, or only partially, consumed in this country, they should be suffered to be landed, under bond, free of duty, and put into a warehouse under the locks of the Officers of the Customhouse, and the locks of the Merchants, generally called the King's Warehouse, in the same manner as is practised in the importation of coffee and rums. This method

thod is safe, and without difficulty. The duty is paid when the goods are taken out for home consumption, or the bonds discharged when exported. This will make our ports (so far as respects an entrepot for goods imported from America) in a manner free ports. The small expence incurred upon their goods, and the expeditious dispatch of their vessels, advantages always to be met with in free ports, are great temptations to Merchants. Indulgencies as similar as the nature of our Custom-house will admit, should be granted.

OBJECTIONS may be made by the Custom-house, to the apparent hazard of suffering any commodity, of consequence to the Revenue, to be placed in any other warehouse than those allotted for the purpose. When so great an object is in question, it warrants some risque. But in this case
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there is none. At least not more than what attends the method now in use with respect to rum, coffee, and other articles. The Revenue never has been, nor ever will be, in danger from such indulgencies. They have not contributed in any shape to the increase of smuggling; and though our Merchants have, in consequence of this evil, been bound fast by new systems of rules and regulations, the Revenue has not been relieved; on the contrary, it has continually diminished. But this may be more properly mentioned in another place.

With such, and they are very simple regulations, England might be made an entrepot for the American commodities. The principal articles are tobacco and rice: About one hundred thousand hogshheads of the former have been annually imported into this kingdom, of which
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about twelve or thirteen thousand have been left for consumption in Great Britain, (the use of which has no otherwise declined, than from its dearness, during the war) the rest was exported to different parts of Europe. About sixty thousand barrels of rice were formerly imported; almost the whole of which was afterwards sent to Holland and Germany, the consumption in England being very small. Upwards of eighty thousand tons of shipping, almost wholly belonging to Great Britain, were formerly employed in bringing these articles alone to market in this country. The same trade, the same employment for shipping, and owned by British Merchants, may yet be continued to us. Even the supply of France we have a very great chance of possessing, the Farmers General having already begun to make considerable purchases in this country.

THE Portuguese will import rice as formerly. Their attempt to introduce Brazil, instead of Carolina rice, will have the same effect as a similar attempt many years ago. It was from necessity that they procured any other sort. The Dutch have done the same; but both prefer Carolina rice. The instance given by the Author of the Observations on the American Trade, of a ship lately arrived at Lisbon from South Carolina, which would have come to a better market in England, proves nothing, because the price both here and in Holland happened then to be enormously high. The returns will be chiefly in wine. But this exportation of rice directly from South Carolina, to the southward of Cape Finisterre, was permitted by Act of Parliament, and is one of those instances in which the Act of Navigation was obliged to be relaxed. A valuable trade must otherwise have been lost

to this country. The Germans and Dutch will continue their purchases in Great Britain. For England may be considered as a great Inn, on the road from America to the Northern parts of Europe, where the Americans may repose themselves, till they procure knowledge of the best market to send their goods. Formerly, rice was landed, shifted, and put in order for a market, in the Southern ports of this kingdom, chiefly at Cowes, paying a duty of 8d. the hundred weight. Tobacco was suffered to remain in the ships that brought it, which were considered as warehouses, in order to avoid the payment of the duties, until the Merchant had a demand for sale, when he landed the quantity he wanted, paying duty for one part, and giving bond for the remainder, which he took out of the ship ; the first for home consumption, the other for exportation ; and when the last was again shipped, and
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the debenture passed in the common forms, the bonds which had been given were of course discharged. As ships were formerly considered as warehouses, the scene is only to be changed to warehouses on shore, and the present method, in every other respect, which is a very simple one, continued in use.

It will be proper to take into consideration, the state of Canada and Nova Scotia, previous to that of the West India Trade; for we have been given the strongest assurances, in the Observations to which reference has been so often made, of the sufficiency of those two Colonies to supply all the lumber, live cattle, and provisions, which our West India Islands formerly received from the American States. If we will trust to Nature, she has declared very strongly against these assertions, by shutting up their ports six

months in the year ; and what must particularly strike our attention, which has been directed to the advantages that the West India Islands are to receive from thence, is, that the hurricane months occupy the greater part of the time in which the navigation is open. Independently of this severe tax, it is further to be observed, that neither the Canadians, Nova Scotians, or any other people situated at 3000 miles distance from the seat of their Government, (even ours, excellent as that might be made, not excepted) have the same powers of applying their natural advantages, as those immediately under a Government of their own. How much worse then must be their situation (as in the present case) when an industrious rival neighbour, with so many superior advantages, lives at their very doors. This superiority is not to be overcome, until the country which attempts it has a
good

good Government, becomes equally well peopled, and has sufficient capitals to carry on their trade. It is of little consequence to say, there is lumber enough in Canada for all our purposes, and that it may be rendered of use; whilst that Colony has not, what all Colonies must have to make them useful, a sufficient number of people to cut down that lumber, and a good navigation to carry it off. We cannot doubt the Southern parts of Canada being a good country, but the advantages are all internal, and can never be made use of for the purposes of Commerce, till the country on the Ohio, and in the Illinois, is settled. And when that is done, who is to reap the benefit of it? Not this country, for the passage cannot be by the River St. Lawrence.

THE length of the winter in the settled part of Canada, a tedious six months, destroys
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all the effects which the labour of the summer produces, so far as respects the carrying on any considerable Commerce. During the war, the quiet she enjoyed threw the Indian trade into her hands, which the superior advantages of the American States will now deprive her of. Canada has produced undoubtedly a great quantity of wheat. When grain was scarce in Europe, before the late war, an unusual demand was made upon America, and the Merchants of Philadelphia, who were great speculators in that article, sent Agents to Canada for the purchase of corn, which they sent ships for, and consigned to their Correspondents in Europe. But though the produce was considerable for this Colony, it bore a very small proportion to that of the Middle States; Nor will the quantity she is able to produce be of service to the West India Islands, as they require chiefly flour; and
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there are not mills in the Province, that can be turned to the purposes of making quantities worth exportation. The Newfoundland market will take off some bread; but they have the disadvantage, of contending with the inconvenience which the fishery suffers from the delay of sending vessels to fetch it.

BUT, with all the benefits to be expected from Canada, no lasting dependence can be placed upon it. The inhabitants are in a discontented state, and not at all averse to throw off our Government. They have been kept in order merely by the strong hand of military power, which, whenever it is employed in Colonies at a distance, and more especially if they are of a different nation, must have some powerful accessory helps, to make the inhabitants contented and peaceable under it. Such are those which
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the French West India Islands enjoy, where the riches they accumulate from their produce, joined to the impression they have of their Government at home, keep them tolerably easy and quiet. We are not to infer from thence, that the French Government is improperly severe; but it is a military one; a constitution agreeing very ill with a Commercial State.

GREAT expectations are formed also by the noble Lord from Nova Scotia. That this province has a prospect of being improved, is without doubt, and so will every country which receives an accession of people, if the subsequent measures are prudently taken. The number settled and settling there, are very considerable, and there probably will be a tolerable lumber trade in time, if the inhabitants are frugal and industrious; but it must be a work of time. The climate is now very
 much

much againſt them. The evils, however, which this produces, will be leſſened as the ſettlements increaſe. Their fisheries in particular, have been made the object of very fanguine hopes. Nova Scotia and St. John's appear to be well ſituated for that purpoſe; but it is not ſituation alone that will command a beneficial Commerce. A ſandy rock full of people, accuſtomed to the trade they carry on, and purſuing it with activity and perfeverance, may become the feat of Commerce. This has been realized in our times, in the two little iſlands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. In Nantucket, which is only 12 miles long and three miles broad, were ſix thouſand inhabitants, many of them rich, having a neat town of 500 houſes, 140 ſhips, employing near two thouſand ſeamen, and poſſeſſing fifteen thouſand ſheep, beſides cattle, and horſes. In Martha's Vineyard, which is twenty miles long and ſeven miles

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broad, were four thousand inhabitants, three towns, a large stock of cattle, two hundred vessels, and two thousand seamen ; each immensely populous for their size ; giving a full sanction to the opinion of their possessing all the comforts and happiness which honest industry can give them. Such enjoyments produce the natural consequence, a greater increase of people than their trade can support ; and oblige them, from time to time, to send out little Colonies from amongst them.— Their emigrations were chiefly to the back country of the Middle and Southern States. Great numbers of them are already settled there ; and have changed the bold and daring spirit of the Sailor, (exploring even the South Seas in pursuit of Commerce, to pay for the manufactures they purchased of us), to that of the mild and peaceful Farmer. Considerable settlements have been made, and the country much improved by them.

them. But the noble Author has now changed, not only the destiny of their Colonies, but that of the Mother Country. He has assumed the wand of a powerful Geni, and like the enchantments which we read in the Oriental Tales, he has employed some infernal spirit to drive them from the habitations of their fathers, where they have so wonderfully flourished and increased, and planted them in Nova Scotia, on bleak and inhospitable coasts.

It is indeed too much presumption to expect to make the fisheries of Nova Scotia, upon which the labour of two hundred years have been already spent in vain, superior to those of the New-England States, whether with respect to this nation, or to that colony. The inhabitants of those States are at home, with every advantage that industry and a sufficient proximity to their fisheries can give them. Their circumstances,

cumstances, with the liberty which the late Treaty of Peace gives them, puts them in a far better situation than the European nations, who make a long voyage before they arrive at the seat of their Commerce, and who must fetch the provisions their fishermen consume, from the American States. If we could increase our fishery, so much as to cure a sufficient stock of fish for the West India market, there must be some other means found out to convey it, than the circuitous voyage which the Newfoundland ships will be obliged to make to the West Indies, as they cannot procure a freight to pay their expences on their return.

THE possession of Newfoundland, upon the terms of the Treaty of Peace 1762, with the fishery of Labradore, would have been worth many Canadas and Nova Scotias. The exchange would have proved of
infinite

infinite service to us. We should have had the French alone to have contended with upon the terms of that Treaty, and though they carried on the trade in a more profitable manner than the English, yet there was little interference at market; their consumption being chiefly confined to their own country, whilst Great Britain almost wholly possessed the trade of Spain, Portugal, and Italy. The French derived their superior advantage from sending out several ships together, the crews of which acted in concert; and as soon as a loading was ready, in the curing of which the whole were employed, a ship was immediately dispatched with it, by which means many of their vessels had quitted those seas before ours were tolerably advanced in their loadings. These advantages being now greatly increased, we have no other resource than our natural industry, to preserve our fisheries

eries upon that coast. How far that will answer, when opposed to America, time alone can make known. But if the New-England States increase now with the rapidity of the few years preceding the war, and the more they are confined by this country in their connection with it, the more will their industry be stimulated, all the European nations will be obliged to give place, and quit that trade.

It is time to put an end to a subject, of which no pleasant picture can be drawn: Till we can force Nature to make a free and open navigation, and to soften the climate, we shall not derive any advantage from Canada or Nova Scotia, in any degree equal to the hopes that are held out to us. And yet this circumstance is made by the noble Author, to have different effects, according to the subject which is treated of: When Russia is to be made the substitute
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for America, in the disposal of our manufactures, the shutting up the Baltic by six months ice, is represented as preventive of her having ships or sailors of her own; but when Canada and Nova Scotia are to be made the substitutes for the States of America, the same interruption in their navigation, and the country six months covered with snow, does not hinder their becoming nurseries for ships and seamen. But to return from this digression. These Colonies are not of sufficient consequence to induce us to make a beginning, if that is meant, to lay out large sums of money in hopes of improvement, till they become strong enough to govern themselves. The West Indies will be ruined, whilst the work is about, and when it is finished, the inhabitants of these Provinces will be no longer our subjects; and as the value of the country can never be an inducement to us to run into another American war,

if

if we take a civil leave of each other, it is all that we can expect.

It is ridiculous to talk of national gratitude. No country will voluntarily become subject to another, when they have strength to become their own masters. When they can protect themselves, they neither want, nor will receive any foreign protection. It is our business to guard against what we have suffered on similar occasions. It has cost us immense sums of money in making Colonial estates. This very Colony of Nova Scotia has been already a heavy charge to the nation, and has never yet produced any thing of value, although we are now promised that (without help) it will become the granary of the West Indies. We purchased the lands of the Grenades, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, at double their value; at almost the ruin of Scotland, and greatly to
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the injury of this kingdom, in the year 1772. The recollection of these dear bought Colonial purchases, should make us cautious in now laying out our money upon new adventures of the same kind.

THESE considerations prompt us the more to cultivate a good correspondence with those antient Colonies, now a powerful and numerous people, who have been good customers for our manufactures, and who still continue to purchase them of us. We shall reap the advantages, without the charge, of supporting a Government over them. It is a melancholy consideration to mention this as an advantage. But it is of little avail to recur to the past, or to consider how far it is (as we have been told) holding out a premium for Rebellion. We shall not at all find our advantage, in aggrandizing any European power in preference to the renewing our connection

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with America. Repentment will not pay our national debt, or recover any part of our former glory and riches. As Canada and Nova Scotia appertain to us, we ought to consider them with respect to the immediate advantage they can be made of to us in their present condition. If they cannot maintain themselves with a little help, it would be better to give them up. When the Refugees who are settling there have received every necessary assistance, we shall be better able to judge of the use of these Colonies to us. But we ought to be very complete masters of this subject, before we engage in expence. One expence draws on another, and whatever sums are given, they ought to be proportionate to the certain advantage to be derived from them.

THE next, and very important consideration, is the trade between our Sugar Colonies

lonies and the American States. The Committee of West India Planters and Merchants, have represented, “ That the permission of American ships, as heretofore, freely to bring the produce of the American States to the Sugar Islands, and to take back the produce of our Islands in return, is obviously essential.” It was a representation founded on experience, and if not practically attended to, will be followed by very serious consequences to those Plantations. The noble Author of whose Pamphlet we have so often had occasion to take notice, treats this great branch of our Trade with too much levity. We will not enter into the dispute with him, “ whether we can procure West India produce cheaper from other nations :” But we will offer to his consideration, the ample benefits which we derive from those Plantations, their immense increase in the consumption of our manu-

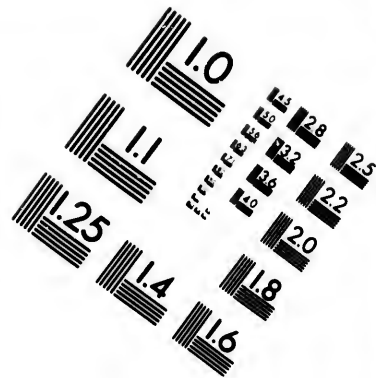
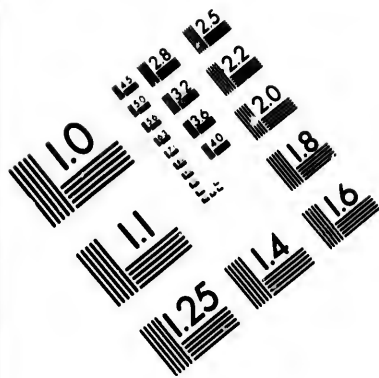
factures, the shipping which they make use of, the number of sailors employed in them, and the abundant produce which is brought to Great Britain, greatly enriching the Revenue, the Merchant, and directly or indirectly, every order of the State,

THE value of the provisions sent from Great Britain to our West India Islands was very trifling. By the information given in evidence before the House of Commons, thirteen thousand quarters of pease and beans, and nineteen thousand quarters of oats, together with a few herrings and pilchards, were the supplies of provisions exported from Great Britain to the Sugar Colonies, in three years before the war; being upon an average about ten thousand quarters of pease, beans, and oats, each year. Salted provisions were sent from Ireland, and in great quantities. These comprehended the whole importation

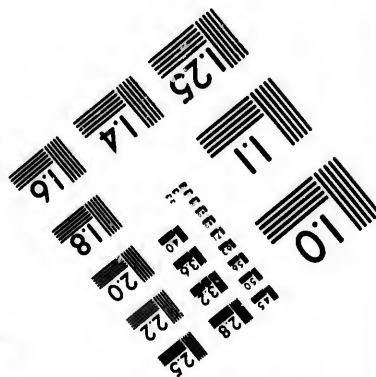
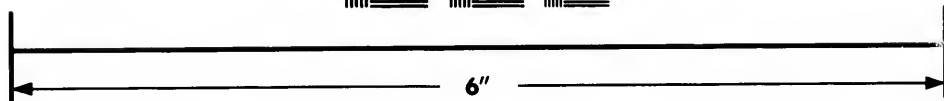
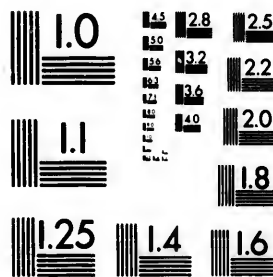
tion of the necessaries of life from Europe. The remainder of the consumption was supplied by America,

THIS supply of provisions, consisted chiefly of flour, rice, Indian-corn, biscuit, sheep, hogs, poultry, and some live cattle, (a great part of the last come from Porto Rico) hams, butter, salted beef, pork, and salted fish, in very great quantities, and of great value; likewise salt from some of the smaller West Indian Islands, the Americans being the carriers. The supply from America, besides provision, consisted of lumber, boards, joists, planks, and staves; of oil, horses, tallow, leather, tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, iron, sloop and boat timbers, and other articles. Not less than one hundred thousand casks and puncheons were, in a year, made in Jamaica, from American staves and heading. The different towns, and the buildings of
most





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most of the settlements upon the sea coasts of that Island, are built with timber imported from North America. The amount of these importations into Jamaica only, was, by the best calculations, not less than £.150,000 sterling. The same use of these articles, and many of them in a greater proportionate value, prevailed in the other Sugar Islands.

IN payment for these goods, the Americans formerly received the products of the Sugar Islands of every kind; of sugars above twenty-five thousand hogsheds; besides fifteen thousand made into refined sugar, and sent from Great Britain; of rum very large quantities, which was not saleable at any other market; likewise melasses, syrups, pannels, coffee, ginger, and piemento. The West Indians place a dependence upon the sale of these commodities,

modities, and will suffer extremely if it is lost to them.

THIS will probably be the case with sugar, as the Americans can supply themselves much cheaper at St. Eustatia, which is a mart common to all nations, for Dutch, French, and Danish sugars; and these of better quality, and very considerably cheaper than English. But supposing, as many have done, that no European nation will suffer the Americans to carry off their produce, the climate of that country is sufficiently favourable to supply them with a tolerable good sugar. The maple-tree yields abundantly, an excellent substitute for it, and they have very good brandy to supply the place of rum. The West Indians cannot subsist without their lumber and provisions; for which, without a stipulation on our part, instead of bartering produce, they must pay in specie. It is not

not difficult to foresee the situation to which the West India Islands would be reduced by such a Commerce.

IN the article of salt provisions, though the principal import is from Ireland, and which in quality exceeds all other, and will, so long as that is the case, command a preference; yet it is not a sufficient supply. The greater cheapness of the American provisions, and the proximity of that country to the West Indies, will always be the means of a considerable sale. Improvements in salting will in all probability be made. The great fertility of the back country of the Southern States, where innumerable herds of cattle graze in the savannahs during their mild winters, produces in consequence cheapness and plenty; and will in future times render salted provisions a very great article of their Commerce. It is want of practice (the same thing

thing happens in England) that prevents their salted provisions from keeping as well as the Irish.

THE great deficiency of timber in the American States has been held out to us; but for what purpose it is not easy to be understood. If it was a fact, and Canada and Nova Scotia could supply the West Indies, the Trade would find its own course, and the noble Author had no occasion for his fears of America supplying the West India Islands. Happily for those Islands, however, there is no deficiency of timber in America. Such an opinion can only arise from those who, finding the country round the great towns cleared of wood, and the price of course dearer, have either too much indolence, or too little judgment, to make any farther observation; and therefore suppose that all the rest of America is equally cleared. There

is sufficient in that country, on the creeks in all the States, to last for ages; and may be cut down on the water side, and immediately laden in the small vessels which carry on that trade. Surely our former experience must have told us, that lumber was procured in sufficient quantities, and at a cheap price in general, for the use of the Planter. If the price varied, it was accidental, according to the number of vessels which arrived in the West Indies; a circumstance to which all Commerce is subject.

THE advantages in sending small vessels to load lumber, militate so much against our supplying the Sugar Colonies in British vessels, as to put it out of the power of a Merchant to pursue it, otherwise than to his ruin. The Americans will trade from their creeks with little expence, and without delay. Our large West India ships
must

must proceed directly to the great ports, and purchase lumber under the accumulated weight of transportation and storing; they must lie a considerable time loading, under great charges of wages and provisions, and of course enhancing the price of freight; the whole of which must ultimately fall upon the Planter, who is the purchaser.

THIS mode of carrying on the Lumber Trade to the West Indies, has never been practised but by a few opulent Merchants, possessors of great estates in the West Indies; who, preferring the regularity of supply, though at an increased expence, to the leaving to their Agents the care of furnishing their plantations, were accustomed to send such of their vessels as arrived very early at home, for this purpose. But no one ever attempted it with a view to profit, or even making a freight for their vessels,

though they go out half-loaded. The trade could not afford it. There are some seasons in the year, the hurricane months, in which lumber is rather scarce and dear; yet the Planters, in general, are not provident enough to lay in sufficient stock for a day of want. Even at the period from which all our knowledge is drawn, from that before the War, lumber, when well chosen, was always in sufficient demand to procure freight for those ships which were built in America, and sent to the West Indies for the purpose of procuring a loading of sugars for Great Britain. The Master of the vessel made his bargain, to sell the Planter a certain quantity of lumber, for every hoghead of sugar he would put on board his ship. Such circumstances happened in the time of regular supply; how much greater inconvenience must then accrue from the scanty supply of British ships. For either the
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West Indies must carry on that trade with vessels of their own, or we must do it with British ships. The possibility of Bermuda doing it, a circumstance that has been urged, will not be admitted by any person conversant in the trade. And if they could do it, another question arises—Will the Americans suffer them ?

UPON the whole, if we exclude the vessels of the United States from our West India Islands, we must undertake that trade ourselves. There is no alternative. The consequences respecting our shipping will be these that follow : There are very few vessels in the West India Trade, that can be ready to proceed to sea before the month of October. To go to Nova Scotia or Canada, at that time, is impossible. To go to any American port to the Northward of Carolina, is attended with risque. There are very severe gales of wind in the
months

months of November and December, upon the American coasts, exposing every ship which approaches them, to certain damage; often driving them off the coast, and putting them under the necessity of going to the West Indies. Of these accidents, the instances are very common, and such must always be the case, while the ships, not being ready till late in the year, a few days detention by contrary winds in the English ports (to which they are constantly liable) must nearly ruin their voyage. The delay of loading in the great ports, and the dearness of purchase, have been mentioned. No calculation, with any degree of certainty, can be made of their arrival in the West Indies, and of the masters being ready to enter upon the business of loading their ships, till March or April, at the earliest period; a time when that business is very far advanced in the West Indies, and many ships nearly,
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if not fully laden. The hurricane months soon approaching, the vessels must return in that season, subject to additional insurance, and to an extraordinary expence in the damage received during the voyage; a misfortune which Owners of ships and Underwriters, from frequent losses, are both very well acquainted with; for the Merchants, on these occasions, often meet with great difficulty in making insurance, and very high premiums are frequently given. A vessel arriving at home so late in the year, cannot be ready to proceed upon the same circuitous voyage of taking in a freight of lumber by the way, until the spring following. Thus a West India ship, which now generally performs her voyage in twelve months, quietly and with little risque, will be put quite out of her usual track.

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THE freight made by a West India ship to the Sugar Islands, is trifling. She depends for profit upon the freight home from thence. In three years she now makes three of these freights, and the insurance during that time, at two per cent. out, and two per cent. home, will be 12l. per cent. On the contrary, if she proceeds to North America for lumber, she will in all probability make no freight out to that country, as the ships necessarily upon the trade between Great Britain and America are sufficient to carry the goods exported from hence. The cargo of lumber will make but a small sum for freight to the West Indies. She will perform these voyages with difficulty, and with great danger and expence, and will make but two freights from the West Indies home in three years; during which time the insurance, admitting that she makes one voyage in the hurricane season, and

and the other before it, will be 16l. 10s. per cent. at the least, and subject to the alarms which Underwriters are liable to at that time of the year. The present regularity of trade, which is essential in the West India Commerce, will be totally destroyed. The Planters will be at one time in absolute want of food and necessaries, with their plantations so full of their produce, as not to have warehouses sufficient to place them in (the ships being usually a considerable time loading, which affords them great convenience in that respect, by taking in their sugars from time to time). At other times, all will be hurry and confusion, and lumber either selling for nothing, or no places to be procured for storing it. Every inconvenience arising from these circumstances being now prevented, by the continual arrivals from North America, and the regularity of our

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ships

ships carrying away the produce of the West Indies.

It has been asked by the noble Lord, how did these West India Colonies subsist during the war, when “ *even Canada and Nova Scotia, any more than England and Ireland, were not open to them, without great expence and risque?*” To this question it is to be answered, that though they were not supplied without great expence and risque, yet they were not left totally destitute. Their chief dependence was upon England, but not wholly; preferring even the neglect of their produce to the danger of a total want of the necessaries of life; and accordingly raising a greater quantity of them than they had ever before done. When their distresses pressed very closely upon them, they purchased in the Neutral Islands at a high price. But all these
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supplies were procured upon such expensive terms, that had it not been for the enormous prices they procured in England for their produce, the West Indies would have been ruined. This was, however, a severe tax upon the Mother Country, whose revenues were at the same time greatly impaired by the short importations. It was an abridgment of the comforts of the people, as they were not able to supply themselves as formerly; for in all cases where the price is high, the consumption will generally be reduced in some degree of adequate proportion. During the war, the neat monies received by the Planters, for the sugars they were able to send to market, notwithstanding the high price of freight and insurance, greatly exceeded the times of peace during several years preceding the war. But we are not to infer from thence, that the profits on the whole were

equal; because the quantity of the produce was greatly lessened. It is mentioned merely to shew, that by the method of our supplying the West India Islands with lumber (hoops, which are light, and fill up spaces in ships where nothing else can be put, is almost the only sort sent from hence) and provisions, the grievance, so far as regard those articles, will be equally great as it was during the war; for whatever expence and risque we are at in procuring them (and if America should shut up their ports, we must purchase in the Baltic) the burthen will fall upon the Planter, whose produce now sells at one half of the gross price it did in the war, and yet is subject to an additional duty of above 6s. the hundred weight.

WHATEVER may be the motive or cause, most probably through misinformation,
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the very commodities formerly sent from America to the West Indies, are now set before the Public in a very false light, both as to quantity and value. Rice, in particular, is mentioned as a mere bagatelle, yet not less than twenty thousand barrels were annually sent from Carolina and Georgia to the West Indies. Other articles are spoken of in the same manner, and provisions and necessaries made to grow in those Islands in the most easy manner, upon paper. If a Gentleman prefers employing manufacturers in his own house, to make the necessaries for his use, it will not be denied that they cost more than purchasing of the shop-keeper. It is exactly the same with the Planter, who employs his negroes in raising provisions, when he can employ them much more profitably in making sugar. It was not by such means that the West India Islands grew rich, and enriched the Mother

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ther Country with their produce, a monopoly which the high price it sells for in this country will (so long as it lasts) secure to us, and makes us smile at the fears of those uninformed men, who first acknowledge themselves, that the price of our West India produce in the Islands exceeds that of any other nation, and then express their fears, lest the Americans should carry off our West India produce to other ports; though there is not, nor can be, by their own argument, a market in Europe where it will fetch the prime cost. How the Planters are to use the indirect advantages which are given to them, from an intercourse with the world in general, is a tale yet to be told. Much more is to be feared from the paying in bullion for the commodity imported; a trade generally allowed to be in disfavour of the country which is obliged to submit to it. It will be a serious matter

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ter to the Planter, when he casts an anxious eye over the rums in his stores, (which he cannot send to Great Britain, and therefore the Revenue will not be injured) to behold the continual waste of it, whilst he is under the necessity of opening his purse, to pay in ready-money for the necessaries he has purchased.

No other conclusion can be drawn from the preceding Considerations, which are founded upon the evidence of the most sensible and informed men, thoroughly conversant in the West India Trade, than that, if the Act of Navigation is preserved in its present state (America being now independent, and with respect to that Act a foreign nation) we must prepare ourselves for the worst consequences that can happen to our Sugar Colonies. They will be in an infinitely worse situation than they were during the war. At that
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time, though they bought their necessaries dear, they sold their produce at a very high price. They will now purchase those necessaries at a high price, and sell their produce at a low one. In the former situation, they were gradually declining; in this, they will fall into a rapid decay.

To guard against the objections which may be made by the Custom-house, to the admission of American goods, duty free, for export, (as an encouragement to them to make this country an entrepot) some remarks upon the present construction of our Trade Laws are necessary. Formerly, the spirit of those Laws was the governing principle of the Officers of the Customs. Lately, the closest letter of them is kept to. The Excise, having no other object in view than the mere collection of internal duties, has a plain, confined system to follow, from which there can be little or no deviation.

ation. The Custom-house, on the contrary, having the whole Commerce of the Empire under its management, and the Trade Laws not being sufficiently exact, from the impossibility of conforming them to the variety of circumstances which attend our foreign trade, must be left to the wisdom of those who preside over it, and whose construction of those laws ought always to be of the most liberal kind. For some years past this has not been sufficiently attended to. The design was to prevent smuggling, but unfortunately it was conceived, that the more trade in general was confined, the better the object would be attained. The consequence was, that the Merchants were loaded with new regulations, increasing the difficulties of the honest trader, already suffering from the inroads made upon his trade by the smuggler: And whilst the defrauder of the Revenue imported vast quantities of goods

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without entries, the most diligent watch was kept over those made at the Custom-house in the common mode of business; and goods paying no duty, were so strictly attended to, that even a basket of potatoes run the risk of confiscation, if there was the smallest mistake made in the entry.— The Merchant, whose trade was carried on in the most open manner, lived under a continual watch and suspicion; whilst the smuggler was enjoying himself in the full possession of his iniquity. Men of established character in trade, and there are none who bear a higher reputation for probity than the British Merchants, ought not to be thus lumped in one general mass of suspected persons. It implies, that all traders are objects of suspicion.— This is bad policy. If a man is honest, it will have a tendency to weaken his attempts to discover any practice to the injury of the Revenue; and if he is inclined
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to roguery, he will turn smuggler himself.

EVERY facility ought to be given to the Merchants, that is not of prejudice to the Revenue. It was this principle the continual object formerly of the Custom-house, that is now changed. The little presents which the Merchant received, were then allowed him. His hogshhead of sugar was not then weighed with the scrupulous exactness of an ingot of gold. He was not made to pay the duty of the dirt which is gathered on the quays. The practice of the Custom-house then gave satisfaction to the Merchant, and the smuggling trade was in its infancy, compared to the flourishing manhood it now enjoys.

THE Bill brought in by Mr. William Pitt, for the Reform of the Customs, so far as it related to the abolition of fees,

however good in the intention, yet, being involved in the present practical construction of the Laws of the Customs, partook of this new and ruinous system. For, whether application was made to the Custom-house for information of the propriety, or the principle originated from thence, the effect was the same. It was always a known and well understood indulgence to the Merchant, to have the power of facilitating the dispatch of his vessels, or of any goods on board them, though it was not exactly conformable to the regular hours, or the precise forms of Custom-house business. Whenever any goods were landed, and in general when shipped, the Officer was gratified by a present, according to the trouble he had been at; in some cases at the pleasure of the Merchant, in others a customary fee. But this was chiefly optional, and according to the attention shewn, and facility given

to the business. All these transactions which have been mentioned or alluded to, were of such a public nature, as not to admit of any impropriety of conduct in the Officer to the prejudice of the Revenue. It was a known and established custom, with which the Officer was indulged for attention, civility, and dispatch of business.

But now, the strictness with which all the laws respecting the Customs are executed, and the precise orders issued in consequence to the Officers, have cut off from the Merchant all those little advantages which gave facility to his business. He pities the Officer who executes them, and unwilling to make him the sacrifice for the fault of others, still continues to give him what he has been accustomed to do: Having however no advantage in return, it is very much against the grain; and finding Mr. Pitt's Bill to answer the purpose
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of taking from him the pain of the refusal, he makes no opposition to it. This sacrifice to his feelings is an impeachment of his judgment, which would be much better directed to the resistance of a still greater evil ; bearing with patience the misfortune of the day, and looking forwards with hope, to the restoration of that antient system, when the Custom-house held the balance between the Merchant and the Revenue with an even and steady hand, giving the greatest satisfaction to both. The Officers, should the proposed abolition of fees take place, will have no incentive to prompt their civility or attention, upon which the most material mercantile transactions often depend. The arrival of ships with damaged goods, the chance of markets, and many other circumstances requiring immediate dispatch, will be without relief. Barely to do his duty is all that the Merchant has a right to

to expect from the Officer ; and if five minutes will finish the dispatch of a vessel, upon which the chance of a market of the greatest importance depends, and which must otherwise be many days detained, he will have no remedy but patience. All must submit to the same strictness of regulation, which makes no distinction, and affords no redress.

INSTEAD, therefore, of the abolition of fees, which, so long as the Custom-house preserved its antient system, were satisfactorily paid, if the severe construction of the laws of the Customs was relaxed to the regular trader, and put in practice only to the smuggler, in which the former would give a chearful support, the most advantageous and important consequences would follow to the Public. The smugglers now act in the most open defiance of the laws. They carry on this trade in
vessels

vessels of force, capable of maintaining engagements with our sloops of war and cutters ; and there is not wanting an instance, probably there are more, where the confederates on shore fired from a battery (placed there in the war as a defence against privateers) upon the King's cutter then attacking the smuggler, who landed his cargo in its view, under cover of the guns. Such outrages are alarming, and must be put an end to, or the Revenue is gone.

ADVICE is easy to give. The practical execution forms the difficulty. We know there is smuggling ; but we know not how, without very strong measures, (which are often violently inveighed against) to prevent it. The following are crude thoughts, thrown out with an intention of good. If any can be gathered from them, they will answer the Writer's design

sign and wish, rather than his expectation. Every smuggling vessel that is taken, should, if wanted, be employed in the Customs; if not, should be either destroyed, or a sufficient security, if sold, given by persons of known property, that she should not again be employed in smuggling. The same security should be required from all builders of any kinds of vessels, now, or usually employed in smuggling, exactly describing the different species. A strong body of light dragoons should be stationed on the coasts, under the order of the Magistrates; and some clever, active men should be particularly selected from those Gentlemen, with emoluments suitable to their activity and attention, in carrying the Revenue Laws into execution. The Custom-house Officers should be frequently changed. No goods, seized at any other port than the following, should be sold there, but conveyed

to six of the great ports, in six different parts of the Island, viz. London, Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, Leith, and Glasgow; where they should be exposed to sale at stated periods, chargeable with the duties, and the produce to be distributed amongst the captors. The duties being very high on many kinds of goods, afford an opportunity to a smuggler to carry on a collusive trade with the Officer, by agreeing to a seizure, when the produce of the sale not only pays the prime cost, but leaves a very good profit to the Officer and smuggler. Lastly, every smuggler who is taken in that employment, should be sent on board the King's ships bound on long voyages, or on board East Indiamen for a certain term of years; by which means they might be made useful subjects, and be conveyed from the scene of their daring and iniquitous labour. One year's exertion would put so
many

many smugglers out of their old employment, that it would naturally lead them to seek some other. The chain, once broken, will not easily be repaired. At least, smuggling will be carried on only in the covered way that it formerly was; which is an evil that must be borne by every country whose duties are high; for, as in other crimes, there are always some persons who will risque the punishment attending the committing them if they are taken.

ANOTHER remedy is wanted to be applied in the Customs, which relates more particularly to the trader, and would afford very great satisfaction to him; be the means of saving much time and trouble, and render the present complex and almost incomprehensible practice of the Customs simple, and easy to be understood. If such a correction was carried into execution

cution, it is probable that the Revenue would be benefited by it. At present, the various branches of the Customs being obliged to be calculated, with their discounts, in all entries of goods, require a great deal of time, and are only known to the Clerks of the Custom-house. The Merchant is not sufficiently acquainted with them, and takes them very unsatisfactorily upon trust. The first step in setting about the correction of this grievance is, to direct the Custom-house to draw out an account of all goods which pay duty, imported into, and exported from, the kingdom, for a certain term of years before the war, in order to form the average of the actual consumption. A communication with men of business in the different trades of which each article will be a part, will still be the means of further knowledge.—

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When these accounts are obtained, and the actual consumption procured, with the circumstances attending each species of goods, they should be valued according to their prices, and the duty added to, or taken from them, as the necessity of the case required. The value of goods, since they were first rated, has very considerably altered. Some goods are charged with too heavy a duty in proportion to their value, others do not pay enough. By this means the duties in general will be more equally proportioned to the goods upon which they are charged. The duties on goods should also be a single specific charge, without fraction, and the whole of the duties be reduced to a fund consisting of one branch only. Some advantage to the Revenue will be made by the fractions. At the same time, the system of drawbacks should undergo a revision,

tion, in order to afford as much encouragement as possible to make this country an entrepot. To carry this correction into still more advantageous execution, all high duties which the Merchant is now obliged to pay before his goods are landed, and which occasions the burthen of a heavy additional capital to the cost, should be paid to the Excise, and so far as relates to the connection with the Customs in the entry, might be transacted in the same manner as coffee, rum, and such articles. The former prejudices against the Excise, must be removed by the strict and severe execution of the Laws of the Customs. It gives no alarm to the honest trader; the roguish one makes the noise. All high duties are best collected by the Excise; because they are then not paid by the Merchant till his goods are sold to the Consumer, and he is by that means eased

eased of the burthen of making a large and unnecessary advance of money. Such, or some other effectual means, are indispensibly requisite to be put in practice, or the Revenue will still suffer further decrease, and our Commerce be more and more impaired.

A VERY full state of the trade between Great Britain and America has been already given. It is taken from the best authorities in this country, and confirmed by the testimonies of others, well acquainted with the Commerce of America. It shews the importance of that country to Great Britain; the dependence which our West India Islands have upon it; the incapacity of the Colonies of Canada and Nova Scotia to supply its place; and that nothing else than a renewal of the former Commercial System will raise this nation
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to the power and riches it possessed before the war.

AN opinion has been very rashly inculcated amongst us, not only by the noble Author in the Publication which has been mentioned, but by many others, that America, by becoming an Independent Sovereignty, partakes so fully of the nature of a foreign State, that we cannot consider her in any other view. The arguments they chiefly make use of, are of the same nature with those of the supporters of the Navigation Act, when first made, and which have been already adverted to in the former part of this Work. To these they join the dread of Russia, which they hold out as a bugbear to us; and conclude by threatening us with the resentment of Ireland. In the first place, it is to be observed, that our circumstances
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at this time, and at the passing of the Navigation Act, are so widely different, as not to admit any parity of reasoning upon the subject. In the next, Russia is actually a rival to us in many of our capital manufactures; and with respect to their principal raw materials, with which they supply us, viz. iron, hemp, and flax, the chief articles in common to that Empire and America, if we do not think the importation duty free from both nations, necessary for the encouragement of our own manufactures, as well as for the discouragement of those which have grown up in the same country with the materials, there can be no objection to the equalizing of the duties upon them. As to Ireland, there is no small probability (from the connection which that country, particularly the Northern part, has with America) of her being disposed to take the lead herself in this business, if we do not.

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THERE are many important points for our consideration. The sale of three millions of our manufactures, the probability of a very great increase,* and the former employment of nearly 4000 ships in our Commerce—This is an enormous gap to be filled up, and which the experience of a few years since the breaking out of the war, has shewn us was supplied, not by British but by foreign ships; and which increased so much, as to form at this time seven parts in fifteen of the shipping we employ. The price we pay for foreign shipping is in ready money; the balance of trade with the nations from which we chiefly receive the supply being greatly against us! If we build ourselves, it must be at an expensive rate: Whilst American ships

* The writers upon American Population agree in that Country's doubling her inhabitants every twenty-five years. In fifty years, therefore, her annual purchases of our manufactures would amount to no less than twelve millions sterling.

are purchased cheap, and are paid for in barter of our own manufactures. But as this general head of American ships may admit of some difference, that country being composed of such a variety of people and situations, as to make it impossible to apply the same argument to all, a division should be made of the New England States, from those to the Westward and Southward of them; because the principal fear which we are taught to apprehend, arises from the former, they being represented as the only great builders of ships, and therefore supposed to be in a capacity (if admitted as formerly) to prevent the use of British built ships. This is not strictly true; for of the ships built in America, the New England States supplied only about three-fifths. But to take it upon the largest scale, would it not be a profitable trade, to barter our manufactures for their ships, or upon the stipulated terms of their being the joint property

perty of British subjects, and the citizens
 of the United States ; one half of which
 to be always the property of British sub-
 jects, and to be navigated by a propor-
 tionate number of British seamen. Ex-
 clusive of the political benefits to be de-
 rived from so close a connection with a
 people of the same manners and language,
 it would insure to us the manufactures of
 cordage, sails, and stores. Such a trade has
 been always considered to be advantageous
 to a nation ; and as the New-England
 States are rivals in our fisheries, and the
 only part of America that may be made
 capable, in time, of injuring us in the car-
 rying trade, would it not be more pru-
 dent in us, if we could procure a sufficient
 supply of ships upon good terms from
 them, to get into possession of some of
 these dangerous weapons of offence ;
 and to participate (at least as much as we
 can) in the trade which these States carry
 on, by the supply of our manufactures for
 their

their ships and produce? In short, having a full experience of the past, and admitting this fear of the New-England States to have some foundation, whether it is not better

To bear those ills we have,
Than fly to others which we know not of?

But should even the trade of the New-England States, with respect to the advantage it is of to this country, be suspended in a doubtful balance, that of the Middle and Southern States would, however, preponderate greatly in our favour. They build many ships; but they were always, and will again be, by order, and for the account of British Merchants, manned by British sailors, the stores of British manufacture; and they will bring from these States their produce to Great Britain; the payment for which will be made in manufactures directly to them. Such decisive advantages, particularly with respect to the carrying trade, at
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the time that they shew the propriety of our cultivating the strictest union with these States, point out the necessity of taking into our consideration, how far, less advantages, or even a trade carried on without loss, with the New-England States, ought to have weight with us, if such an advantageous connection with the other States is to be procured on no other terms.

THE advantages which will arise to this country, by making it an entrepot for American commodities, have been already stated. But if the Americans are considered in the same view as foreigners, the additional charges to which their shipping will be liable, and of which they now bitterly complain, will render this plan abortive. The very small charge in the free ports of France and Holland, will throw the scale greatly in their favour. If we recur to our experience, to the amazing
 growth

growth of our power and riches, which kept an even pace with the growth of our Colonies, it would certainly point out to us the superior wisdom of endeavouring to recover what is gone astray from us, rather than in a fit of puerile and fruitless resentment, to turn Knights Errant in search of new consumers of our manufactures. A country, where agriculture or fishery is the staple, and where great plenty of unoccupied and fertile lands prevent the settlement of manufacturies, will prove better and more certain customers, than settled nations, whose principle is to encourage manufactures of their own.

THE former narrow policy of France and Spain, which is held out as an example to us, has been very much changed in both countries. They have given proofs, France very strong ones, of the benefits they have received in consequence. It was a very opposite conduct to the policy
thus

thus recommended, that put this nation in possession of her power and riches.—But absolute Monarchies are not the countries to search for examples of commercial regulation. It would be wiser for us to turn our eyes to the industrious Dutch, whose immense riches shew the advantages of the establishment of a free trade. Could this country be made one great free port, the same consequences would follow. But alterations of importance are of serious moment in this country.

By the treaty between France and America, the former must have all the privileges of the most favoured nation. The subsequent treaties between America and the European powers are upon a principle of reciprocity: An argument is drawn from this, that as America can give us in return no superior advantages, we are not to grant more to her than to other foreign nations.

tions. It is not such treaties, it is the probable effects of trade that ought to direct our actions. It can never be a detriment to us, that France possesses the power when she has not the means of carrying the privileges into execution. The advantages, which we enjoy, will render it useless to her. France has no other prospect of material advantages by the independence of America, than what accrues to her from the dismemberment of our empire, and the weakness to which we are in consequence reduced. But this is in itself of the greatest importance to her, and amply indemnifies her for the expences of the war, and whatever losses she sustained in the contest. It is very flattering to our pride but not to our pockets, to consider the resistance which we made to a host of enemies. Our resources went beyond the most sanguine expectations. But our exertions have ad-

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ded about one hundred millions to our debt, and four millions per annum to our taxes.

The mutual advantages which this country and America would receive from a close connection with each other, are easily conceived; nor will the establishment of such a connection be a matter of so much difficulty, as from the present apparent indisposition towards it on either side, might be imagined. There is not yet, that stock of good temper in either people that could be wished. This is however the effect of very natural causes, which a little time may remove. The English are yet sore from their disappointment, and though they have lost a part of their dominions, they have not lost the recollection of having been masters, and expect something like the usual deference, still to be paid to them. The Americans, on the contrary, having by perseverance and patient suffering attained to an unlooked
for

for sovereignty, and to the establishment of great republics, are elated with the possession of a power, of which they had not the smallest idea at the breaking out of the war. They would be without the common passions of mankind, if they could meet such fortune unmoved. But it has an unpleasant tendency at present to make them jealous of the most innocent expressions, and to search for causes, which never had existence but in their own conception.

This was the case with the late proclamation forbidding American ships bringing their produce into our West India Islands, a proclamation merely of an established regulation, which naturally followed the granting of independence to America, whose trade, being then altered in its relation to us, became subject to the existing prohibitory laws. The putting them in execution was the more necessary, as the ports had been opened in
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the West Indies without authority. The establishment of our laws became the first consideration, the next, how far an alteration could be made in them to the advantage of the country, by an examination into its commerical interests with respect to America. In such an examination, this proclamation would of course have given place to an arrangement of trade between the two nations. Had we not put in force the laws respecting this material part of our trade, there could have been no discussion concerning it. We had then surrendered the West India trade to America, without the least stipulation. In the discussion of a commerical treaty, the terms upon which this part of it would have been formed, could not have been difficult, as the mutual interest of each country required, that the West Indies should be open to the supply of lumber and provisions from the American States, and therefore, the terms upon
which

which this part of the treaty was to be founded, would have made the proclamation a mere temporary enforcing of our laws, necessary at the time, whilst our commerce was in an unsettled state.

But it had unfortunately happened, that several trifling and unforeseen events, had fallen out in America, and produced a coolness, which intemperate men have had too much effect in increasing. At New York, the flag of an American vessel was forcibly hauled down by the Refugees. The British flag was treated in the same manner in an American port, and, as will always happen on these occasions, each threw the first offence upon the other. Both Governments were ignorant of these outrages at the time they were committed, and when they came to their knowledge, they declared their disapprobation. They were the acts of private

vate people, done in the height of resentment and retaliation, and which neither of the Governments could prevent. Another cause, producing a more unpleasant effect, arose in South Carolina. That people sore, with the immense losses their state has sustained, and irritated by the taking away of negroes by the Refugees, which they alledged were the property of persons remaining in the state, but which in the unavoidable confusion at New York, whither they were carried, could never be ascertained; in resentment loaded our sugars with a duty of twenty five per cent. more than those of any other nation. Such causes ought to have been considered as proceeding from the sudden heat of private people, and not to have produced national effects.

The disorders in America indicate very plainly, that the Government is not in the
hands

hands of the cool and temperate part of the country. The consequence which the people of this country draw from these disorders is, that the present Government of America cannot continue under its present form, but that either a monarchy, or the separation of each State from the other, (forming a number of small kingdoms or republicks) will take place; and that until some settlement is made, great disorders will prevail. These sentiments are very natural to them. It would most probably be the case in Europe. It has happened in our own country, and men generally reason from the experience they have of their own affairs. But the Americans having no powerful neighbours to watch opportunities of increasing their dissensions, in order to separate and weaken them, and being in general, or the great-

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er part, men of strong understandings, plain manners, and of a spirit very little disposed to submit, they will be found equal to the quieting these disorders, and establishing, if not one union, very powerful States. The greatest difference of manners is between the New England States, and all the others to the westward or southward of them. Frequent marks of mutual disgust were formerly shewn; unconquerable by any other means, than our placing them in one common situation of grievance and danger, at the commencement of the War. During that period, their mutual safety obliged them to keep closely connected together. This cause being now at an end, the old disputes between the New England and the other States (there does not appear to be any disagreement of consequence amongst any of the middle and southern States,) might possibly revive. But there is a circumstance

stance that will prevent them from arising to any dangerous height. This, is the settlement of the Refugees in such great numbers in Nova Scotia, as will probably prove a constant check upon the New England States. The inveteracy, which they mutually possess to each other, will not cease in the present age. If we consider America as one union, her conduct in suffering such a number of enemies to be collected in one body, does not appear to be very good policy. At the same time we cannot but admire the fortuitious event, which by bringing them so nearly together, has removed the greatest danger that America had to fear from internal disputes.

Although the resentment of America operated very strongly against this country, during the war, yet it subsided very unexpectedly at the peace. For it is owing

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to very trifling subsequent circumstances, that new jealousies have arisen. But although their resentment sunk towards this country, it did not towards the Refugees. It is too severe a task to walk in mournful procession over the calamitous scenes of the late unhappy war. Every page of history that treats of civil dissensions, records them as productive of the greatest cruelties and distresses. Like family quarrels, they are always the most inveterate. We are therefore not to be surprized, either at the passions of the Americans being continually goaded by the severe recollection of the loss of a husband, a wife, a parent, or a child, still fresh in their memories, nor at the violence of the Refugees, driven from their possessions, and themselves and their families reduced to penury and want. A very few months only have passed since the peace, the ratification has not yet reached them. When the Americans are settled quietly

quietly and at peace, their passions will subside, and we must be led to hope, that they will make a distinction among the Refugees, and that equitable measures will be taken, both with respect to them and the estates of the absentees. Accordingly as the merits of the former appear, which may be done by classing them, some part of their property will probably be restored; and with respect to the latter, the same liberality of sentiment which prevails in European wars, cannot fail to excite the attention of America.

The sober men in America are fully sensible of the necessity of a moderate conduct, and are striving to regain the power which in some States they have been forcibly driven from, and in others have indiscreetly parted with. Some of them have had the wisdom to bend to the violence of the storm, and by a temporary submission

are now regaining possession of Government. Others, whose impatience was most prevalent, and who retired from the administration in disgust, find much greater difficulties to encounter. The American affairs thus situated, have been the means of an opinion strongly urged, that till this is effected, and the congress is invested with an authority upon which a reliance can be placed by foreign powers, no treaty of commerce should be made. This evil can only be removed in this country, by the knowledge we have of our mutual interests, and lending our assistance to compose those disorders, by an acquiescence in all that concerns our common advantages. For it is by no means a certainty that congress will ever recover a permanent authority over all the states. The necessity of a sovereign power may produce a temporary one to compose the present differences, and to settle their debts. But to
continue

continue the union of this extensive country, is a matter of great doubt. It is most probable, that the divisions of the States which have been mentioned in the remarks upon the trade, will take place, and that there will be three great republics, according to the similitude of their manners, customs, and commerce. The New England States will make one. Nature has united them in the strongest manner. New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia will form another, the richest and most powerful. This country will command the great internal navigations, flowing through the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, and the great Bay of Chesapeak, communicating by several portages, with the waters of the Ohio, and, by that means, with the whole interior country over the mountains; the most fertile lands, and the best climate of all America; and to the inhabitants

tants of which, British ships will be the carriers of the manufactures of Great Britain, and the exports of an abundant produce in return. The third Government in America will be the Carolinas and Georgia, nations of planters, great consumers of manufactures, and full of luxurious products, of which we shall also be the carriers. All our consular establishments ought to be made upon this supposition, as the most natural and most conducive to our interests.

If there is any Englishman who does not regret the loss of America, he does not deserve that name ; but to suppose, as we have been seriously told, that independence must prove ruinous to America, requires more belief than even Englishmen themselves, and they are not deficient in credulity, possess. It is too much to suppose, that the fnows of Canada and Nova Scotia will

will be found so full of temptation, as to cause the emigration of the inhabitants of the United States ; or that a six months winter can render those fertile and beautiful countries, so widely extended at the back of the middle and southern states, and in which a perpetual summer reigns, deserted and desolate. The attainment of sovereignty, by any people who have sufficient internal strength to support it, can never be injurious to themselves. The states of the seven United Provinces were not ruined by throwing off the government of Spain, and yet their situation was as much more precarious than America, as they were in all respects inferior to her in power, and in future prospect. Countries which have severely felt the scourge of war, are recruited by a very few years of peace. Flanders, which has so often felt it, is one of the richest countries in Europe. No English trader refuses to
trust

trust a German, because his country was laid waste in the last, and almost in every continental war. America, though loaded with debt, has sufficient resources within herself to pay it. The Colonies of Nova Scotia and Canada, which are held out to us in so glorious a light, will never, notwithstanding their freedom from taxes, increase like her states. The superior benefits to be derived from climate, from being better peopled, and from the possession of vast tracts of fertile lands for new cultivation, will in a course of years remove every burthen arising from her debts. Her establishments are easy to her. Every nation in Europe solicits to partake of her trade, and as commercial principles are now well known, she will find sufficient markets for her produce, should we refuse to receive it.

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By seriously reflecting upon our own situation, and endeavouring, dispassionately to repair the losses we have sustained, we shall be better able to recover from them. Our situation is bad, but not desperate. The restoration of our commerce must be the means, and the only means of the restoration of our power. It is an act of wildness and desperation to suppose America lost to us, because she is connected with France, and to reject her with horror, lest she should become a rival to our commerce, which it is her own actual interest to support.

We must be surprized to observe so much ill timed resentment in our present situation. For to what other cause, than to prevent a future connection with America, can we attribute the pains, which the noble author of the observations, on the commerce of the United States, has taken

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to wander through the lakes of America,
 to discover that “ there is but one mile
 “ portage between Cayahoga River, that
 “ empties itself into Lake Erie, which
 “ *finally runs into the River St. Lawrence*
 “ and the River Muskingum, which runs
 “ into the Ohio, and communicates with
 “ the Gulph of Mexico. Notwithstand-
 “ ing the navigation of the Rivers St. Law-
 “ rence and Missisipi is obstructed in
 “ Winter and Spring, in the first by
 “ Ice, and in the last by the rapidity
 “ of the waters, and notwithstanding the
 “ distance is not above sixty miles be-
 “ tween the navigable part of the Potow-
 “ mack, which runs into the Chesapeak,
 “ and a navigable branch of the Ohio, yet
 “ the River St. Lawrence, (the exclusive
 “ trade of which belongs to Great Britain,
 “ (the Lakes, the Ohio, and the Missisipi
 “ will be the principal communications of
 “ the vast country beyond the moun-
 “ tains”) The mistakes of the portage,
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and the badness of navigation in America, which are mentioned, are not necessary here to be adverted to.) He farther observes that “ Our islands, especially Jamaica, might receive supplies from the Missisipi, whilst a cargo might at the proper season go up the River, *if it is open to us*, and bring lumber, cattle, mules, and supplies of every kind, except fish”—A system of trade which, it must be acknowledged, would be most perfectly adapted to the wants of our West India Colonies ; provided—That the Cayahoga and the Muskingum Rivers, belonged to us.—That the navigation to the St. Lawrence was not very expensive and full of obstructions—That the St. Lawrence was not shut up six months in the year, and that we had any property at all in the Missisipi, or, in the mode of expression used by our author, *if it was open to us*. That unfortunate monosyllable *if*, could it be got the better of, would make all the

difference which he states in our situation.

The experience of a century has made, what he calls, "the youthful ardor of grasping at the American trade," grey in the employment, and although it might be youthful in us, it would be nevertheless wise to run a race with any foreign nation, however eager for it, sooner than lose any part that is in our power to retain. If the foreigner has suffered by his rash and early adventures, his losses will be our gain. But as commerce is fluctuating, and as a first loss often prompts the merchant to try to repair it,

Mox reficit rates

Quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati

we should not restrain our merchants, but do our part to open the trade, and leave the rest to their discretion. They are men of ability, industry, and experience,

perience, and if we repair the broken road, we may safely trust the journey to their care. But if, persisting in our former haughtiness, we rely upon the necessity, which we think the Americans are under of taking our manufactures, we may draw the cord too tight, and occasion its breaking in our hands, and plunging us into that mire into which our folly has drawn us. The Americans are relapsing into their former luxury and enjoyments. The war precluded them for a time, but a spirit for indulgence now breaks forth, with increased force, and the orders for goods which have been lately transmitted, are filled with as many superfluities as necessities. Whether this is a wise conduct in such states, must be the consideration of their own Government; but it will not be a wise conduct in us, if we neglect the means of drawing them into that dependence which their trade will produce; at
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the same time that it is attended with the greatest benefit to ourselves, by disposing of our manufactures for useful commodities, both for our own consumption and for export. They will come to us for ordination for their clergy, for masters to educate their children, and for free communication in all those habits, from which the closest connections are derived.

As the definitive treaty with America is now signed, and her commerce will become an early object of parliamentary deliberation, we should be vigorous in our exertions to improve such promising advantages. France, apprehensive of them, is fully sensible of her danger, in the restoration of our ancient commercial connection; and no circumstance escapes the vigilance of her minister in America, which can flatter the pride, or cherish the resentment of the United States against us.

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She spares neither art, influence, or money, to effect her purposes. She has consuls, and vice-consuls, agents, both public and private, distributed and pensioned in every part of America. Her appointments are liberal and magnificent. It is not, however, difficult for us to counter-act her designs. We can do it with little trouble, and as little expence. A minister of good sense, and commercial knowledge, more eminent for a plainness of manners, necessary to live in habits with a plain people, than for the greatness of his birth, or the splendor of his titles—Three consuls for the New England, the middle, and the Southern States (the consul for the middle States to be at the same time consul general) possessing the same qualities, living in familiarity with the people, and judiciously chusing the vice-consuls in the different ports (which would be little or no charge to government) would

would produce the effect in a very short time, of making this country once more the centre of American commerce. It is too early to think of treaties of alliance ; America is yet too young. As little occasion is there for treaties of commerce ; a plain act of parliament, avoiding all manner of reference to former acts, comprehensive of the duties and regulations of the whole trade, would have as good an effect as any treaty whatever. It would make our laws of trade, respecting America, familiar and easy to her merchants, encouraging them to form connections with us, which the similarity of our language and manners would mature into a perfect union.

Our interest demands that this union should take place with frankness, and with the warmest return of antient affection. We have no better means of judging of the
future,

future, than by a recollection of former benefits. Our habits are made to each other. We are descended from one common stock, and though unhappy disputes have separated us for a season, the day of reconciliation is arrived, which we hope will unite us again for ever.

Nothing remains but to explain the particular motives which induced the Author to intrude these observations upon the world. They arose from a well-grounded apprehension of the danger, which an intemperate resentment of the past quarrel, and an ill-timed contempt for a future connection with America, would probably bring upon this nation. America may be froward, but she is young and full of warmth; a quality which requires only gentle usage, to improve into the most

satisfactory temper. It becomes our wisdom, as an antient and well constituted Government, to act with prudence and forbearance, and we shall then reap the ample fruits which such a conduct will produce.

Such were the motives that actuated him in the production of this work. It is offered with the humility which becomes an Englishman at this period, when the distresses of the Empire call for the wisdom of the wisest, to remove them from us. If there is any thing in them contrary to the good of either country, it is most sincerely submitted to the judgment of more able and intelligent men. In matters of this serious nature, it would be presumption to suppose, that imagination has not crept in with reason, or error with truth. Fallibility is the inseparable companion of human nature. The Author has taken pains carefully

fully to collect the most known and approved facts, which relate to the subject. These will speak for themselves, when the opinions which he has formed upon them are forgotten, and in the dust.

F I N I S.

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