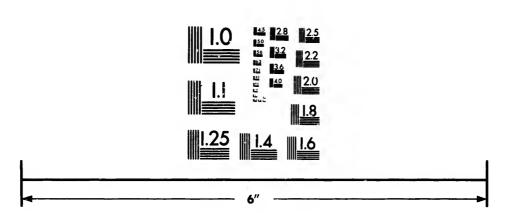


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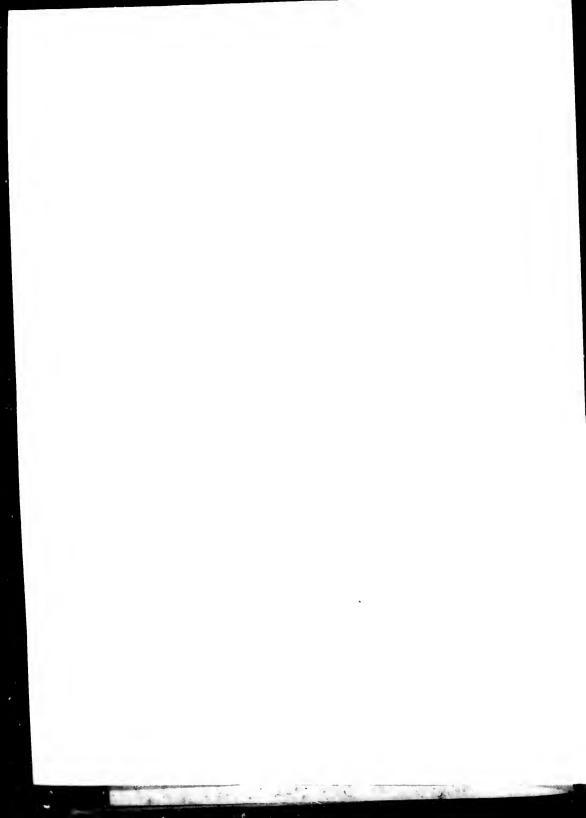
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CANDID and FAIR EXAMINATION

OF THE

REMARKS

ONTHE

Letter to Two Great Men.

Directed to the Author of that Piece.

Fiat juftitia, percat mandas.

TACIT.

The SECOND EDITION. Corrected.



LONDON:

Printed for A. HENDERSON, in Westminster-Hall,
M, DEC, LX.

(Price Six-Panez.)

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EXAMINATION

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Remarks on the Letter to Two Great Men.

SIR,

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S the ensuing Negotiation for Peace is of the utmost Importance, and that not only the Happiness of the present Age, but even of Generations to come, depends upon the Terms that may be obtained:

fo I beg Leave to fend you some Observations' upon the Remarks you have made on the Letter addressed to two Great Men.

The Author of that Performance and you differ in two essential Particulars: He is for retaining Canada, You are for ceding a Part of it. He is for delivering up Guadaloupe to the A 2 Enemy,

Enemy, You are for keeping Possession of it. And though a Discussion of these two Points might be sufficient to engross the Attention of the Publick, yet I shall examine your different Positions, at the same time declaring in your own Words, "that I aim at no Seduction of Judgment;" for my Views are only to ferve my Country, by laying open what is of the utmost Concern and Advantage. To what Purpose are the laboured Arguments, " That " Success inspires a blind and haughty Con-" fidence?" - and that "A virtuous and so able Ministry may in some fort find their Virtue and Abilities brought to act against " themselves, — and that their Victories and Successes have excited so much Arrogance in those who had no Share in acquiring " them, as to destroy all their Effects; they es may find their Virtue and Moderation overruled by the Madness of the People, and be thus disabled from availing themselves of a " fuccessful War, in the Attainment of an ad-" vantageous Peace *1?

That Success has a Tendency to inspire with Arrogance will readily be allowed; but that there can be any Danger where the Laws have their free Course, can with Truth be denied: Can you or any Man be of Opinion, that the Course of Justice would be diverted from its proper Channel, or that a Criminal would be more easily passed in Case Great Britain was

to retain all her Conquests, than he is now? The Wisdom of every Legislature has found that in Proportion as any State increases in Wealth and Affluence, the Execution of Justice ought to be more strict and truly distributed; and if the Ministers of Justice and the Dispensers of Religion co-operate in their Endeavours, there need be little fear of fecuring the Populace within the Bounds prescribed by Law, as much at least as they are kept within the legal Restraints before the amazing Success whose influencing Consequences you seem to dread so much. 'Tis the Duty of a Minister. of State to procure the most solid Advantages. without raising Doubts which can have no Existence but in a heated Imagination, and a Mind ready to startle at supposed Difficulties.

I admit with you, that France has frequently violated the most solemn Treatics, and particularly the Article with Respect to the Demolition of Dunkirk; a Violation as frequently complained of as the Demolition of Azoph on the Black Sea by the Turks; of Belgrade by the House of Austria; of Caminiecz by the Poles; or if you please of Berwick by the Scots

and English.

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Far from approving of violated Treaties, I may be allowed to declare, that I think no Nation has a Right founded either in Equity, Justice, or the Nature of Things, to insist that another Power should be circumscribed from doing what he pleases upon his own Territory.

In the Case of private Property, where two Gentlemen

Gentlemen have Estates, the Law is express that every Proprietor has a Power to fence his own tho it should be to the Prejudice of his Neighbour; who in his Turn is at full Liberty to defend his own Property by every legal-Method. I remember once to have been in the Court of Seffion in Scotland * when a Cause came in between two Gentlemen whose Estates lay contiguous: The Action was brought for building an high Dyke over an Ascent, which threw not only the Rain, but the Water of a Brook when swelled, upon a large Pasture Ground, the other's Property. The Arguments taken from the Common Law were examined, several Passages were quoted from the Corpus Juris Civilis, and learnedly commented upon, and after a full Hearing the Court by a Majority found, that every Heritor had a Right to build on his own Property, and that his Neighbour had no Remedy as in the Case before them, but to take the best Care of themselves in their Power.

I am, Sir, of the Opinion of the Majority of the Court of Session, and think that from Persons of private Property the Argument will be conclusive with Respect to Potentates: And as every Man has a Power to build upon his own Estate; so every Prince or Potentate has

^{*} A Court which holds a Medium between a Court of Equity, such as the Chancery, and a Court of Justice, as the King's Bench.

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a natural Right for building what seems good to him upon his own Territory. And should another as in the Case of Dunkirk prescribe Laws to him in that Particular, he will in your own Words, "Have all the Appearance of Acting with the most wanton Insolence, with the most hateful Oppression." but so urge this a little further.

The spirited Declarations of the Earl of Stair at Paris concerning the Demolition of Dunkirk in Consequence of the Stipulation at the Treaty of Utrecht, only drew the Attention of the French to find out a Place in the Neighbourhood as commodious for an Harbour and Fort as Dunkirk itself. They built a Canal toward Mardyke, more capacious than any on that Coast: And had not the Thing been dropt at that Time, perhaps a Place more hurtful to the Trade and Commerce of Great Britain than Dunkirk, had erected its Head in the Neighbourhood; for I affure you, that from Dunkirk to Graveling, or to Marayke, many Places fit for founding a City and building an Harbour might have been found out: On all which Accounts in my humble Opinion, the Demolition of Dunkirk needs not to be infifted on as a Preliminary Proof of the Enemy's Sincerity: I shall only add that if such a Peace be obtained as the Success of our Arms and the Justice of our Cause intitle us to, we need not be anxious about Dunkirk, tho' the French should build from it to Paris, and all the

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great Towns of the Kingdom.

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I must be of Opinion that the retaining of Canada ought to be the fine qua non of the Peace, and that unless it is, we shall have "a treacherous and delusive Peace;" as the Writer of the Letter to Two Great Men expresses it.

The Candour and Uprightness of our illustrious King more than the Fast itself, will not allow us to think that the War was begun from any Views of Ambition on his Majesty's Part: He did not enter upon it to obtain Canada or Gaudaloupe; nor did he ever claim any Original Right to either. All this is granted; and yet the whole of your Rhetorical Expostulations in Page 20 must go for nothing. For as Things stand, if Canada be partitioned between the Prench and English, the River St. Laurence will be as weak a Barrier as the Rtine or the Oder to the Germans; neither of which Rivers could be a Bound to either the Swedes or French when intent upon Conquest.

Fact, which is the most stubborn Evidence, speaks against the Assertion that France was lukewarm with regard to Canada: So far was the Court of Versailles from despising this valuable Acquisition, that she scarcely seemed anxious for the Preservation of any other. Did not the War begin with taking the Alcide and the Lys, while carrying Troops and Provisions to Quebeck? Have not the French built numerous Forts, Towns and Villages from the last named Place to Lake Erie itself? By this means endeavouring to secure a Communication

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tion with the Forts, extended from the Mouth of the Missippi, on the Southern Quarter. Has not France discovered plainly her ambitious Views of encircling our Colonies from Nova Scotia even to the Southern Parts of Georgia itself? Tis certain that many handfome Towns Villages, and Plantations, form a beautiful Prospect as far as Frontenac on the Lake Ontario, at the western Extremity of which is Fort Toronto, and several others as you advance southward.

Tho' the Country of Canada be neither the Property of the French nor of Britain on the Principle of original Right, yet Experience may convince that it should now be ours by Right of Security: I readily grant you that the Country itself is equal to a Monarchy *, and if rightly divided might form some large and extensive Kingdoms that in Time might give Laws to the Europeans; for the Soil is fruitful, the Climate in many Places temperate, the Harbours for Shipping are large and commodious, and the Fisheries are plentiful and advantageous.

Upon taking a View of the River St. Laurence, I cannot help thinking that in some Respect it bears a kind of Resemblance to the Thames, about 1814 Years ago, when Julius Casar landed in England: Nor is the Country along its Banks unlike to those watered by the Thames at that Period. Who at that Time

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could have thought that a Country almost unknown and despised, and without either Towns or Villages, would have risen to such a Pinnacle of Greatness as to look with as much Contempt upon the enslaved Italians, as the People of Italy once look'd upon them? Had a Genius come and told Gasar that a City, more glorious than Rome in the Splendour of Greatness, should arise upon the Thames, and that her Merchants should be like Princes and Kings of the Earth; the Roman General would have treated the Matter as a Chimera.

The Banks of St. Laurence are as capable of Improvement as those of the Thames; the French know it, and have made great Improvements upon them; and if the Country be restored, they may in a Century or two, form Chains to all the Colonies of America. The starved Peasants of Old France will transport themselves in Multitudes to their new Settlements; Forts and Towns will appear in every Creek and Harbour; the French Navy will soon be restored, their Fisheries will be reestablished, and the Markets of Italy will be supplied by them to the Prejudice of the British Merchants.

But, Sir, when I mention Canada I don't mean that every Frenchman should be dismissed from that extensive Province: I only mean that the Crown of France should not be permitted to have one Town or Fortress, or one single Harbour on the River of St. Laurence, for this good Reason, that in a short

short Time they may pour in Troops too numerous to be opposed by the Garrisons that

may be formed there.

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St.

n a hort The River of St. Laurence, from the Mouth of the Gulph at Antecosti to Quebeck, resembles in some Degree the Gulph of Finland from the Isles of Aland to Petersburg; and as the Czar Peter the Great retained all on the South Side of the Gulph at the Treaty of Nieustade, Anno 1721, so ought we to retain every single Spot from Quebeck on the South Side of St. Laurence, and if New Britain, which is bounded by the Straits of Bellisse, be allowed to the French, let them be so far circumscribed, as not to pass beyond the River Saguina*, or to build any Forts upon the Lakes thro' which it runs.

I cannot agree to the Proposal of restoring any one Fort taken from them on the Continent of America; and would rather be for giving up Gaudaloupe, as it is very unhealthful, than for restoring any Part of Canada now in our Power, and tho the Trade from thence was of such Advantage to France as to employ 1600 Sail of Ships, and 16000 Seamen, and brought into their Revenue a Million Sterling, yet this is not the governing Principle with me: The Security of our Colonies, and a Surety of Peace entirely influence me.

The French Navy at this Time is not fo much reduced as at the End of the last War.

B 2 about

^{*} A River about 120 Miles East of Quebec,

about twelve Years ago; nor would they find it so hard to re-establish the same now as after that Period; "'tis true their King's Battles," and Marshal Saxe's Victories, do not now make up for their Disasters;" but then it is equally true, that they have supplied their Losses more during this War, by the German Spoils, than ever they did before, even when their Troops under M. Turenne wintered in the Palatinate, which they burnt by the express Order of their King.

I must be of Opinion that the Value of the Returns of Canada may be infinitely superiour to those of Gaudaloupe; and tho the Furr-Trade at this Time be little more than the Tin-Trade of Britain before the Invasion by Cæsar, yet as the Country is capable of all Manner of Improvement it will be no Divination if we conjecture, that in a short Time it may produce many other Articles, and freight Ships with Grain to supply not only their own American Neighbours, but even the

Europeans themselves.

I cannot see the Force of your Reasoning when you aver * that the Arguments "em"ployed concerning a Security for a peace"able Behaviour in Canada would be equally
"urgent for calling for the same Security in
"Europe." And after treating the Matter at
full Length you seem to extend the Argument
so far as to draw the Writer of the Letter into

the absurd Conclusion of demanding France itself for a Security: And when you mention the Subjects of that Crown as Neighbours to the English, on the Side of Picardy, and Normandy, and of the Germans on the Side of Alface and Lorrain, you have forgot to distinguish the essential Difference that there is between their being Neighbours to the former and the latter.

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Had Nature separated between the French Territories in America, and the British Colonies there in the same Manner as she has between France and England, I would readily agree to the Proposal of restoring every single Fort which we have been able to take during the Course of the War, which in the Language of our illustrious King, was undertaken from no Ambitious Views, or from any Desire of Conquest. It was begun for protecting our Colonies, whence are derived fuch Succours to this Country; but as no such Fence can be drawn about our American Possessions, as Nature has fixed about England I must be allowed to fay that the very Argument used by you when speaking of the French Encroachments, more than determine me to be of Opinion that Canada ought to be retained for our Security, "the Low Countrys, Lorrain. " Alface, shew us that the French Monarchy has " been intent upon extending their Dominion " on the Side of Germany;" the fine Provinces of Roussillon and Perpignan shew the same Thing on the Side of Spain: And what can Britain Britain expect if ever they have an Opporturity to encroach upon the Continent of Armerica; for in your own Words, "they have "tried all the Methods of War, of Treaty, "and of Marriage, to enlarge their dangerous "Empire:" The Calamities sustained by the Germans, and by the Spaniards, when the Armies of France were ravaging their Territories, may in Time be selt in our American Colonies, nay the Indians will be enticed to all the Arts of Scalping, Burning and Murder.

It is the saying of a good natured Antient *, Happy is the Man who becomes coutious from a Kiew of another's Missortunes: And happy will it be for the British Colonies if the French never arrive at any Power or be settled upon the Continent of America; as no Ties can bind Ambition, nor Oaths restrain where an insatiable thirst after Conquest prompts the en-

terprizing and powerful.

You need not, Sir, wish to see Consederacies entered into "for reclaiming their Usurpations on the Side of Germany and Spain." These have happened oftener than once in the Course of the last Century; and involved great Britain in a National Debt which will be a Work of Time to repay: This was one of the principal Motives for the samous Consederacy at the Hague about Seventy Years ago.

A Love to Truth which prompts to rectify every Mistake, determines me to join with you

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^{*} Pelin quem faciunt glieng pericula cautum;

in the Opinion for retaining Guadaleape, not ortufrom the Confideration that the Trade to the of A-Caribbees is more lucrative than what may in a have short Time be carried on from Canada, but reaty, from the Motive of being able to prevent the rerous. French from imugling among fuch of these as y the belong to Great Britain. h the tories,

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By a contraband Trade, and the pernicious practice of Smugling, such of the Caribbee Islands as belong to the Crown of Great Britain have been drained of ready Specie by them: The French Traders are the first to carry the Cargoes to the European Markets; and in short do the greatest Injury: So that I would be for retaining Gaudaloupe as the best Security against a contraband Trade, which has almost defeated and eluded the most positive Laws of the best established Government.

Though Gaudaloupe ought to be retained as being the best and largest of the Caribbees, and produces annually Forty Thousand Hogsheads of Sugar, besides vast Quantities of Cotton, Coffee, Ginger and all Sorts of Tropical Fruits, yet its Trade is far from being equal to that which Canada may be brought to. And I own I am not a little startled at the Expression in Page 41, that " Canada in our Hands would " not probably yield half what it did to " France;" for I never heard that the French Constitutions agreed with a cold Climate before: I have only to add, that as Germany has been torn to pieces by a cruel War, which raged with all its Horror and Severity, it would be a flagrant abandoning of them not to retain our Conquests upon the Continent of America, to which the Naked and Destitute of that Empire might resort for Bread, having lost their All in their own Country; which leads to a sew Observations on what you say

concerning the War in Germany.

I must be of a different Opinion from you in regard to the King of Prussia, of whom you fay " It must be remembred that it is not to his Connection with us that he owes his Diftreffes. He has not like the unhappy Prince " of Helje lost his Country twice by adhering if firmly to Great Britain in a Quarrel entirely British." The I cannot pretend to be in the Secrets of Princes, or to account for the Political Springs by which Courts are actuated; yet the Manifestoes of the King of Prussia, at the Time of his Irruption into Saxony in August 1756, plainly show, that by Means Great Britain he has engaged in the War. The Negotiations of the Duke de Nivernois in the Winter of 1755 proving fruitless at the Court of Berlin, the French applied to bringing about an Alliance between them and the Court of Vienna, which was figned and finally concluded at Versailles on the first of May thereafter, just fitteen Days before the Decla... ration of War against France on the Part of Great Britain, and near four Months before the Prussian Armies broke into Saxony.

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But however the Affertion that the King of Prusia is engaged in a War absolutely British may be doubted, yet it is an unquestionable Truth which you have denied, that his Country has been in the Hands of his Enemies: And though the whole of his Estates were not at one and the same Time. vet all of them in their Turn have felt their Calamities. Has not East-Friezeland, except the City of Embden, with his other States that lie Westward of the Weser, been harrassed and plundered by the Troops of France, who jointly possessed these with the Territories of Helle Cassel? Has not Prussian Pomerania, with the Isles of Usedom and Wollin, been occupied alternately by the Swedes and Rushans? Which last committed the most unheard of Cruelties. and wantonly exercised the most savage and inhuman Barbarities! Have not the Frontiers of Brandenburgh, and all the Pruspan Territories that lie along the Warta and Oder been visited by these Sons of Rapine and Violence? Has not Sileha bled under the Hands of the Au-Arian Croats and Pandours, Men equally fierce in their Nature, cruel in their Disposition, and rapacious by Practice as the Cossacks and Calmucks themselves? Have not the Hungarian Troops over-run Brandenburg, and been once in Possession of Berlin the Capital, where they raised Contributions, and practised the utmost Cruelties.

There are other Things in your Remarks that might be rectified, such as the State and Progress

Progress of the Sugar Trade in the Caribbees and Jamaica , all which will be duly adverted to by the Ministry: And I hope every Article will have its due Influence at the Negociation; where it was to be wished a Plenipotentiary possessed of the Coolness and Address of John Duke of Marlborough was employed; and might be as prevailing on the French Negotiator, that the Army under M. de Vaudreil should lay down their Arms at Montreal, as his Grace was upon M. Bourgonville for the Gens d'Armes, to the Number of 12570, to lay down their Arms at Blenheim in August 1704. The Arguments in the Mouth of an able Negotiator are numerous; for while M. Vaudreil stands out, the Bleffings of Peace will be procrastinated, and these Troops will be not only exposed to all the Fury of a provoked Enemy, but even to the more dreadful Revenge of the disappointed Indians.

Their Island of Martinico will be exposed to the Thunder of a British Fleet, or at least may be so incommoded by the duly stationing of the English Ships of War, that all Provisions and Succours will be interrupted from coming into it, and then if once it be obliged to surrender, not only the less Indulgence will be given to the Inhabitants, but the Island itself will be ceded back with the greater Dissiculty; as it is a Nest of Smugglers in

Time

^{*} Two thirds of Jamaica are uncultivated, and yet is yields more than all the Caribbees put together.

Time of Peace, and of Privateers in Time of War*. And not only so, but that Fort Orleans at the Mouth of the Missisppi will be invested by a Force too strong to be resisted; in which Case the dreadful Depredations, and inhuman Murders committed on the Back Settlements of Virginia and Georgia will be retaliated by the Indians themselves.

At this Time the French possess a Country along the Banks of the Missippi for 900 Leagues, and which far exceeds Canada both in the Temperature of the Climate, the Benignity of the Soil, and abounds not only with the Conveniencies of Life, but likewise the Blessings of Nature; all which they expose almost to certain Destruction, as their Fleet is

unable to support them.

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It is the Saying of Demosthenes while harranguing the Athenians, "Philip is not your
"Enemy, O Athenians! the Athenians are
"only Enemies to themselves *." The French
are not our Enemies so much as we are Foes
to ourselves if, when we have it in our Power
to secure the Blessings of Peace for many Ages,
we deliver up Canada, the very Ground and
Cause of the War: If the Crown of Great
Britain reliquish their Advantages at this Time,
and give up what the Wisdom of their Ministry
C 2

+ Demost. Philippic. 2.

^{*} It is a Sepulchre for the British Merchant Vessels, no less than I welve Hundred of these having been carried in there since the Beginning of the War.

and the Valour of their Troops have procured, the Annals of this Country will abound with Reflections upon those who now have the Administration of Affairs.

It, contrary to her own Interest, France obstinately persists in the War, in Hopes of baving all her American Territories reflored, in Lieu of the States taken from his Prussian Majesty, the greater Reason will Great Britain find to adopt the Doctrine of retaining Canada as the fine qua non of the Peace: 1 am convinced that Great Britain will find if her vigilant and fagacious Minister perseveres, that all the Charge of this War has been the most thrifty Disbursement the Nation ever made: An exclusive Fishery! A boundless Territory! The Fur-Trade ingroffed! And innumerable Tribes of Savages contributing to the Confumption of the Staple, are Sources of inexhaust ble Wealth. Whoever reflects on these Subjects, will bless the Administration who took up the Dispute which ignorant and defigning Men call a Quarrel for a few dirty Lands or Acres of Snow. "That Canada in " our Hands would not yield half what it did " to France *" Posterity will think otherwise, and the British Poor will soon have feeling Proofs, that Great Britain must fink or swim with her Colonies, not one of which ought to be relinquished. The Islands, advantageous as

^{*} Remarks p. 41.

they are, may be yielded without being under any Alarms of a Land-War; but it is not for in Case the *French* be admitted upon the same Continent with us.

As the Concessions to be made upon the Coast of Coromandel and Malabar have been scarce touched at in any of the Performances that have appeared since the Prospect of a Negotiation, so I shall say a few Words on that

Subject.

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It is evident that since the Third of August 1758, when Admiral Pocock deseated the French Fleet near Fort St. David's, that the Affairs of France have decayed as much in Asa as either in Europe or in America; their Army under M. de Lally has been every where unsuccessful; and the shameful Repulse before Madrass has rendered their Troops the Contempt of the Nabobs and their Indian Subjects; such a Tide of Missortunes has overslowed them in that Quarter, that it is not improbable but Pondicherry itself is snatched out of their Hands.

I should not be averse to restoring any of their Settlements on the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, as the Trade to the East Indies is far from being equal to that with our American Colonies. The Commodities from the East Indies only serve to drain England of the ready Specie, without taking any Goods like a proper Ballance from us: Neither can we pretend to people that Country, as it abounds with Inhabitants as much as our own.

It is admirably well observed by the Great Man, who gives Lustre to Dignity, who by the Brilliance of his Virtues, and every Part of his serene Deportment, adons the Robes which he wears, That the Deseat of the French Fleet "has been the Sasety of England in this "Age of Glory!" as the Destruction of the Spanish Armada had been in another.

This was the Coup a' Eclat which crowned the Distresses of the Enemy, and finished their Difgrace, more than if they had lost four Battles in Germany, and been driven behind the Rhine. 'So that we need not be afraid to aver, that their present Situation is owing to the Ruin of the better half of their Navy, built at fuch a prodigious Expence +. The dreadful Conflagration at St. Maloes on the Tenth of June 1758, the Demolition of the Harbour of Cherburg, that brilliant Gem of Cardinal Fleury's Ministry, the Reduction of their Settlements in the different Parts of the World, have exhausted them; so that being stript of their foreign Dominions, their Trade ruined, and they themselves shut up in every

* Mr. Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, in his Speech to Sir Edward Hawke on Monday, January 28, 1760.

[†] A Man of War in France is more costly than one of the same Force in Britain, as the French have the most Part of their Materials from Sweden and Russia; supereas we are supplied with the Implements of Ship-building either within our selves, or from our American Colonies.

every Quarter, except on the Side of Germany: we need not be afraid to differ from the Gentlemen, who maintain that the War in Germany, more than any other Circumstance, has brought them to that Verge of Ruin, from which nothing but a Peace with Great Britain can deliver them. Add to this, that more implacable Enemies than either their Britannie or Prussian Majesties have made Havock thro' the Provinces of France: Their Vintage is blafted, their Crops are withered, their Harvest has been as bad as that in England was plentiful; the Cattle, which, in Confideration of the wise Regulations of the Parliament of Ireland, for preventing the Exportation of Provisions to foreign Countries, have been almost entirely flaughtered; and after being packed on Board their Vessels, these have been picked up by our Privateers: Continual Alarms of an English Invasion have broken the Ties of Humanity, and caused the Connection between-Families to cease. Fears within, and Terrours without, prey upon their Vitals, and Jealousy like a Moth penetrates into the innermost Recesses of the French Councils, so that now is the Time to settle the Happiness of Great Britain, as far as human Prudence can for.

I have only to add, that the Postscript to your third Edition does not alter my Sentiments; for suppose the Trade from the River of St. Lawrence was stript of the Fishery, and consisted

confisted only in Lumber, as your are pleased to call it, yet Canada is still preserable to Guadaloupe, if for nothing more than exercising our Scamen; and I am sure that if the Sugar made in the C. ibbees has a Tendency to draw a considerable Quantity of ready Money from the Caraccas; and other Spanish Settlements; the Produce of Canada when improved to the Degree it is capable, would be much more so: However my Argument for retaining Canada entirely slows from the Principle of Security.

I am, &cc.

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