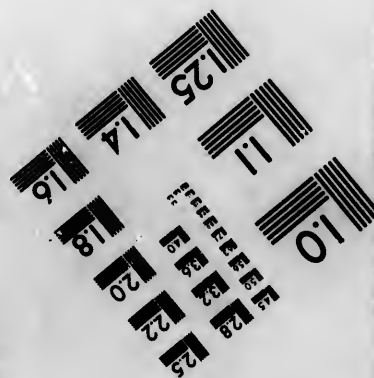
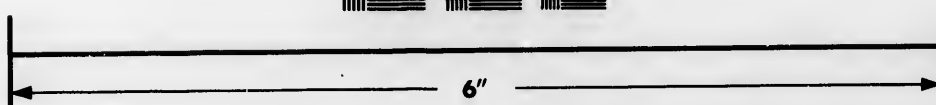
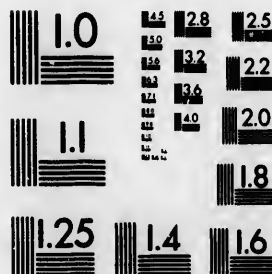


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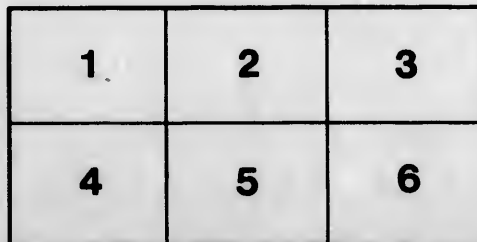
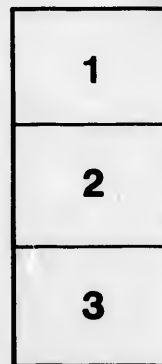
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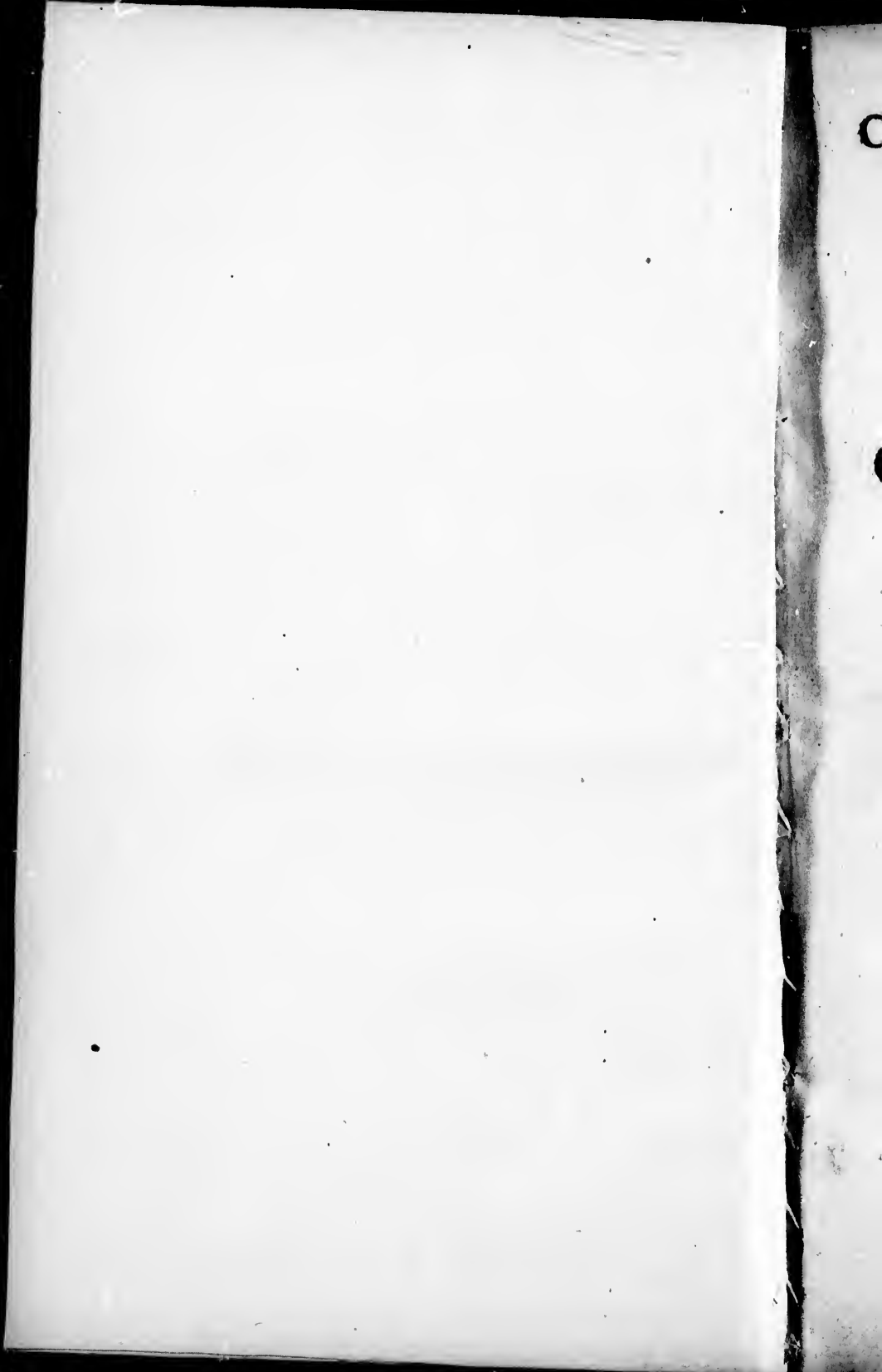
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CONSIDERATIONS

Relative to the

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COLONIES.



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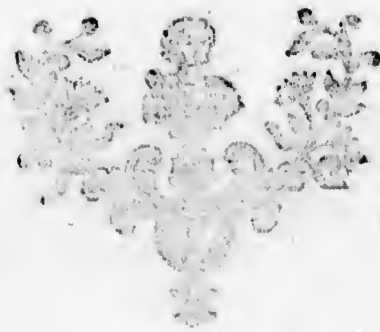
MDCCLXV.

CONSIDERATIONS

By J. H. ...


NORTH AMERICAN

COLONY.



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CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

THE Affairs of *North America*, are of so much Importance to this Kingdom, that I make no Apology for offering a few Thoughts on this Subject, to the Consideration of the Publick.

For whether we look at the Well-being and Content of near two Million of *English* Subjects, on that Continent, descended from and inseparably connected with ourselves; or weigh the Effects which their Discontent and Unhappiness, must unavoidably produce on this Country, scarce a more important Object can present itself to an *Englishman*.

The Interests and Affairs of the neighbouring Kingdoms and States in *Europe*, affect us in a very remote Degree, however we may have been accustomed to consider

them, when compared with those of our own Colonies, and the Effects that naturally, inevitably arise from the Loyalty and Affection, or the Disgrace and Ill-will of so large a Part of our Fellow-Subjects: Men, indeed, who are bound to us by *Duty*, but whose Distance from us, would render it difficult for this Kingdom, to keep them always under the Restraints of *Duty*, should they ever find it their *Interest* to attempt in Earnest, a Dissolution of that sacred Bond; and either concert the Means of shaking off their Dependance on us, by their own Force, or court the Protection of some other Power, till they were able to unfetter themselves from the temporary Aid they had chosen to rely on, and stand upon their own Foundation.

That this may be the Case in some future Period, should they think themselves hardly dealt by, may not be improbable. It therefore becomes us to foresee and prevent, and by the most prudent and equitable Means, the Consequences of such an Event; Consequences the most serious in their Nature, destructive in their Tendency to *Great Britain* and her Colonies, who ought to tremble at
 even

even at the most distant Apprehension of such a fatal Revolution.

If we enquire into the Conduct of the wisest States to their distant Colonies, we shall find it always to have been to treat them with Kindness, and Indulgence, to engage them to look back to the Mother Country, with Duty and Affection, and to recompence the Protection they have enjoyed, by the Produce of their Labours, their Commerce, and, when needed, their Assistance.

We meet with not many Instances, comparatively, even of distant conquered Countries, revolting, till Causes of strong Disgust had sown the Seeds of Discontent, and succeeding Acts of Oppression and Injustice, had ripened them into Rebellion.

Colonies sprung from *Britain*, will bear much ; but it is to be remembered, that they are the Sons of Freedom, and what they have been early taught to look upon as Virtue in their Ancestors, will not soon be forgot by them. Nay, they will the sooner be apt to vindicate their Wrongs, and perhaps in an improper Manner, the more

more strongly these Principles have been instilled, and the more distant they are from the Source of Power, and proper Information.

North America, for the most Part, since the Time of its being discovered by *Europeans*, has received its Inhabitants from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*: Great Numbers, indeed, have flocked from *Germany*, and some other Parts of *Europe*, from Tyranny and Oppression, to our Colonies, as a Land of Ease and Freedom. These esteem themselves *British* Subjects, equally with the Offspring of *Britain*: They all look upon this as their Mother Country, interest themselves in its Safety and Happiness, and esteem themselves under every Obligation that Society admits of, to contribute to the Prosperity of *Britain*; for in this they contribute to their own.

The late Conquests from *France*, are not included in this Account. The Inhabitants derived their Origin from *France*, as the Inhabitants of our own Colonies sprung from hence. Yet of these, a great Number are acquiring, and by a just and equal Government, will further acquire the like social
 Regard

Regard for the Interest of this Country, as they have done for another. Time and good Treatment strangely metamorphose Enemies into Friends.

If then the reigning Disposition in our own Colonies, has always been to consider this as their Mother Country ; the Country wherein their Hopes of Protection center ; to which they look with Gratitude and Affection, and to which they cheerfully bring all the Produce of their Labour and Commerce they can spare, to exchange for its Manufactures, an Exchange which gives Bread to Thousands, Riches to many Individuals, and vast Strength to the State ; if we consider them in this Point of View, and in such a Point they have ever been considered, by all who knew any Thing of *America*, till the present unhappy Period, it admits not of a Doubt, what kind of Regard is due to the *Americans*, or what manner of Treatment it is the Interest of *Britain* to exercise towards them.

And here it may be proper to explain what was meant by asserting, that the Affairs of our Neighbours in *Europe*, affect us in a remote Degree, compared with our Colonies.

Colonies. The Colonies not only bring an Increase of Revenue by their Traffick, consume vast Quantities of our Manufactures, produce, and will still increase in producing, many raw Materials; but they are so situated, their Numbers so increased, their martial Abilities so well known, as to give vast Addition to the Consequence of *Great Britain*.

The maritime Powers well know this; they see, they feel our growing Influence; and that if we encourage and protect our Colonies, as we have done, the Enemies of *Britain* have every Thing to dread, its Friends every Thing to hope from the wise Management of the Power we possess; How easily are Fleets or Armies recruited for an *American* or *West Indian* Expedition, from two Millions of People just upon the Spot? With what Expedition and Secrecy can an Armament be fitted out, of great Strength, from an *American* Port, to annoy the *West India* Settlements, of those who may ever think it their Interest to quarrel with us? But this Power may be deemed to be yet in its Infancy: Its Growth indeed is rapid, and Wisdom is requisite, to guide its Efficacy
to

to proper Ends: This Power is, however, *British*, and will choose to be subservient to the Interest of the Parent, if the Connection is maintained as it ought to be.

But should this happy Connection be ever shaken, or weakened by any Means; should the Lust of Dominion at Home, or should Avarice banish the Remembrance, that the *Americans* are Sons, and conceive a Design to enslave and fetter a free People, all these glorious Prospects vanish as a Dream. If they prove refractory, and submit unwillingly to Restraints, which they think subversive of their Liberties, and should we aim by Force, to bring them to our Terms, is not the House indeed divided against itself, the Kingdom split? and instead of possessing a Force capable of supporting ourselves and Confederates, against all human Opposition, and of awing into good Behaviour, those who envy our Happiness and good Fortune; we lessen our Influence in Proportion to the Exertion of our Strength, and waste our Force in cutting the Veins that supply Vitality and Vigour, and tearing off those Sinews on which depend the Exertions of our Power.

B

How

How much better for the Whole would it be, if any Distinction is to be made, to treat those distant Subjects with particular Indulgence; and indeed they deserve it. For whatever the Motives of their Migration may have been, the Effects of this Migration have undoubtedly been signally beneficial to this Country; and some Degree of Gratitude seems due even to those who have done us a Kindness, though without deigning it.

When the first *English* Adventurers arrived in *America*, the Lands were of no Use, no Advantage to us. What little was added to the common Stock, was produced by Barter with the Natives, and this was but an inconsiderable Acquisition. When the *English* began to settle, to clear and cultivate, then began the real Acquisition of Wealth to the common national Stock. Every Acre was an Addition of substantial Value, as the Produce, or the greatest Part of it, was destined for the Mother Country, in Return for her Produce and Manufactures. From single Plantations, they have increased to Colonies and Provinces; Governments respectable in themselves, and which have done

Credit

Credit to their Mother Country in Abundance of Instances, by the Wisdom of their Institutions, and the Virtue of their Administrations. How oft have they already supplied their Parent with important and effectual Aids, both in Peace and War?

Under Providence, it solely depends upon ourselves, whether this Power shall increase or diminish; whether it shall be for us, or against us. Wise and gentle Methods will ever strengthen this Union, will encourage Population, Cultivation, Commerce, whilst the Produce of all centers in *Britain*. Harsh and ungracious Means will as necessarily weaken the Union, will make them desirous of forgetting that they are of *English* Descent, will lessen their Duty and Allegiance, and teach them to think hardly of a Country, to which they indeed owe their Original, but which they find disposed to disinherit them, and to deny them the Privileges of their Birthright. Such Means will infallibly kindle Jealousies, spread Discontent and Disaffection, and put a Stop to Industry, and to every virtuous Aim or Emulation.

People

People under such Circumstances, impatiently look forward to that Independency, which their Situation favours ; and this the more eagerly, in Proportion to the Prejudices they have early imbibed against a Government they think oppressive ; they grudge to contribute to the Support of a State that threatens to abridge their Liberties ; Discontent prompts them to enquire by what Means they can most safely give Vent to their Revenge. They make a Virtue of their Necessities, grow frugal, either make a shift without, or supply by their own Industry, many Articles of Commerce, the Product of the Mother Country ; Trade then begins to languish at Home : The Merchants will first feel the Effects of this Decay, the Manufacturers suffer next, but without knowing the Cause. The Landed Interest then finds itself embarrassed ; yet how few are able to trace up the Cause of this general Distress ? The remotest Parts of this Kingdom already feel, and will yet feel more dreadfully, the fatal Effects of such an unhappy Conduct.

Far from charging the Authors of these unhappy Effects, with a Design of *oppressing*
the

the *Americans*, I am only recounting the Effects ensuing from their Conduct. That the *Americans* think themselves *oppressed*, or designed to be oppressed, is most certain: Witness the universal Opposition to the late intended Regulations on that Continent.

Let us view what must happen amongst them on this Occasion: Children and Youth are disposed early to imbibe the Language and Sentiments of their Parents: They remember, during their Lives, and are often ruled by, the passionate Dictates of their Forefathers. What a Prospect this for *Britain*? One illadvised, unnecessary Act, has embittered the Minds of almost all the Inhabitants of *America*. The Youth will receive the Tincture, and it is needless to expatiate on the Effects. An Age will not expunge the unhappy Impressions.

— *Servabit odorem*
Testa diu.

He, who by wrong Measures, and imprudent Counsels, alienates the Affections of the People from their Sovereign, is the greatest Enemy to the Happiness of the
King,

King, and the Prosperity of his Subjects: and the more universal the Disaffection, and the more remote the Subject from better Information, the greater is the Detriment. It is laying a sure Foundation for Independancy in the Colonies; and involving both them and the Parent in Discontent and Ruin.

Thousands of Manufacturers are already turned out of Employ; Multitudes soon must follow. The Landed Interest must then support them, or they must perish. Thus in Hopes to save a few Pence in the Pound, at the Expence of *America*, have we saddled ourselves with an additional Poor's Rate of ten times the Amount, and ruined our Commerce, till wiser Measures bring it back to its former Channel.

Should any ambitious neighbouring Power embrace the present Juncture to revenge their past Disgraces, can we be sure that the *Americans* will immediately forget their Animosities against us, and join with their former Zeal in our Assistance? To act against us they never will, till Oppression, grievous Oppression, convinces them, that they are no longer deemed the Offspring of *Britain*,
and

and have no longer to expect the Inheritance of their Ancestors, *British* Freedom, and a *British* King for their Sovereign.

The Administration of Government in *America*, has hitherto, for the most Part, been easy to the Subject. Such of the Governors sent amongst them, who were acquainted with Men and Things, held the Reigns with Ease and Gentleness; they saw, that for the most Part, the early Colonists were such as inclined to republican Sentiments; they saw that their remote, independent, unconnected State, favoured those Sentiments, and that they submitted to Restraint with Impatience. Indeed, if Soils, Climates, Situations, dispose Mankind to peculiar Habits, the Genius of *America* seems to favour Freedom. The aboriginal Natives of the Northern Part of this Hemisphere, are, perhaps, the most free and unrestrained of any in the known World. To unveil at once, the most unfavourable Parts of Monarchy, to such a People, was certainly the most unlikely Means of gaining the good Opinion of Subjects almost bordering on Republican Madness. To restrict their Foreign Commerce, by which they subsisted;

to

to impose domestic Taxes, without their Concurrence; whilst they were overloaded with Provincial Debts, contracted to support the *British* Cause to annihilate, instead of rectifying their Medium of Commerce; to sink them at once, in their own Opinion, from the full Fruition of Liberty, to the lowest State of conquered Countries, was too hardy a Step in a reasonable Administration; and those who have the Conduct of the Helm at present, must feel the Weight, the baneful Influence of such fatal Regulations.

A *British* Parliament has certainly *Power* to do many Things, which they have no *Right* to do. They have *Power* to enact what Laws they think fit, respecting any Part of the *British* Subjects; but still it is to be remembered, that Reason is the supreme Law, and any thing inconsistent with it, is void in itself. The Distance of *America*, renders it impossible for its Inhabitants to be properly represented in a Parliament of *Great Britain*. The very Title of the Parliament shews, that the *Americans* are yet no Part of it; and consequently to subject them to Laws, in the making of which
they

they have no Voice, can have none, is striking at the Root of our own Constitution.

Let us look back to the Discovery of *America*, by *English* Subjects; view their Rise, Progress, Estab^lishments, and Connections with their Mother Country, and we shall soon observe, that those who advised Measures of the kind hinted at, have robbed the Crown of one of its most essential Privileges, and seem to be guilty of little less than High Treason.

An Adventurer discovers an unknown Country, unpossessed by any Potentate, with whom either Law, or Custom, has established any formal Connections; he treats with the native Inhabitants, purchases a Tract of Country from them, returns home, and applies to his Sovereign for Leave to settle, and proposes Terms of Cultivation.

A Charter granting Possession, agreeable to the Terms of possessing *English* Property, and certain Privileges to encourage the Adventurer to settle in so remote a Place, are agreed upon, and confirmed. His Family,
C
Relatives,

Relatives, and Friends transport themselves to the distant Settlement; confiding in the Right of his Sovereign to grant him the Property, and the Privileges of his Birth-right: Laws for the good Government of the Settlers, consonant to the Laws of their native Country. This Confidence acquires by Time, the full Influence of a fundamental Principle, and occupies the Minds of those to whom it is granted, with a Degree of Force, not easily to be obliterated.

They think that if the Charter constituting these Regulations is defective, it may soon become a Doctrine, that their Property is also precarious; and that every Attempt to deprive the *Americans* of any Degree of that Freedom, which was at first granted them; unless some obvious Tendency to Malversation appears, may soon be followed, by taking from them, the Property and Possession they enjoy by virtue of the same Charter.

The *Americans* never seem to have disputed the Right of the *British* Parliament, to regulate their Trade and Affairs, so as to prevent them from interfering with the Advantage

vantage of the Mother Country. They consider themselves as a Part of that great *Whole*, over which the *British* Parliament presides, and in every reasonable Instance yeild to its Authority. They pay Duties, Imposts, Taxes laid upon their Commerce agreeable to the Laws of Navigation. They trade to some Places, omit trading to others; they export Goods to one Part of the World, and not to another, just as the Laws established for the Good of the *Whole* directs, and this is but their reasonable Duty.

The Parliament of *Great Britain* has, most undoubtedly, a Right to direct all this; and every Transgressor against Regulations, calculated for the Good of the *Whole*, and to restrain one Part of the Community from availing themselves of any Circumstances in their Situation, that might tend to the Detriment of another is justly punishable.

But if we step further, May not that Right at least be doubted? I am an *Englishman*, a *British* Subject; the Parliament has Power to deprive me of any Part of my Property they think fit, and to subject me

to every possible Degree of Misery and Wretchedness; but if I have done nothing to deserve it, *Power only* gives them no *Right* to do it.

If I mistake not, when Contributions are to be raised in a conquered Country, the Vanquished have always Liberty to raise the Sum demanded, in what manner they think convenient. And ought our Colonies to be placed in a worse Situation than Countries subdued by the Force of Arms? Deprived of the Privilege of raising Money expected from them, for the Aid of Government, in the manner most easy to the Individuals who must pay it? Nothing can afford stronger Proofs, both of the Reasonableness and Necessity of leaving this Power with the Colonies, wherever the Right may be lodged, than the Acts that have occasioned a Discontent through the Colonies, next to Madness, a universal Stagnation of Commerce, and the Ruin of a Multitude of industrious *British* Manufacturers. A trifling Instance will suffice to demonstrate this Assertion; to enter into a full Detail of all would exceed my Leisure and Abilities.

The

The Stamp Act directs the like Duties to be paid for the publick News-Papers, and the Advertisements contained in them, as in *England*. Heretofore, as no Duty was paid, an *American* could advertise the Loss of a Cow, a Horse, or a Hog, and sometimes things of less Value, at a little Expence. The News-Papers being cheap, came into many Hands, and Strays in their Wilderness Country, were often by this Means recovered. But all this is now at an End. The News-Papers will be drop'd in many Places; in others, the Price of circulating Intelligence will become too expensive; and thus the poor *American*, who needs it most, has it least in his Power to recover his Substance, through this easy and effectual Means. Were these Duties only framed to restrain the Liberty of the Press in *America*, the Operation of this Law will do it effectually, and the Precedent may in future times be pleaded nearer Home.

It may seem to many, that Charters for *American* Governments, were granted without much Consideration, without Regard to any thing but the Petitioner's Request. But this is a great Mistake. It was expressly covenanted,

covenanted, that the Adventurers should perform certain Conditions on their Side: In Consideration of which, they were to enjoy certain Benefits. With what Right then can any Man, or any Body of Men, interfere in such solemn Compacts, unless sufficient Cause is administered? What Discouragement would hence arise to future Settlements? What Diminution of Regal Authority? An Authority wisely supposed ever to subsist in the Crown, for publick Benefit.

This way of Reasoning seems just to the Writer, as well as to the *Americans* in general who live under these Grants, and who little suspect that the Tenure of their Property, the Enjoyment of their Liberties, the Possession of every thing they esteem valuable, is entirely at the Mercy of Men totally ignorant of their Condition, Abilities; nay, many of whom may justly be supposed, from what has happened, to be altogether ignorant, that they are the Descendants of *Englishmen*, claim the like Privileges, and look up to the same Royal Sovereign for Protection.

Canada,

Canada, and its Dependencies, a vast Country, superior in Extent, equal in Number of Inhabitants to some ancient Empires, that make no contemptible Figure in History, is a conquered Country; it belonged to the *French*, was a Thorn in our Sides, and was at Length wrested from them, by great military Virtue, and the Permission of Providence. Conditions of Surrender were stipulated, and these Stipulations are to be the Basis of all Regulations in that Country. If no express Agreement was made, that they should enjoy the *British* Privilege of having no Monies raised upon them, but by the Consent of their Representatives, the *British* Parliament have a Right, as well as Power, to make what Assessments upon it they think fit. But it is apprehended, that the Case of our Colonies sprung from ourselves, and living under Charters expressly granting them particular Exemptions, is very different. Otherwise there would be no Advantage to have been born the Subjects of *Great Britain*, since they must yield to the same harsh Terms which Men subjected by the Sword, have been forced to submit to; be governed by Laws, and their Property disposed of by Regulations, in the making

making of which they have no Voice, can give no dissent:

The publick Prints inform us sufficiently of the Disquietude which these imprudent Measures have produced: The Administration, doubtless, have yet more perplexing Accounts. Riots, Tumults, and every Species of Anarchy, that People, mad with the Prospect of Oppression, can exemplify.

What can be done under such Circumstances? To reverse these fatal Acts and Regulations; may seem to encourage a licentious Rabble to oppose every Act of Power, however conducive to the publick Good, if it squared not with popular Opinion. To persevere in a Resolution, to subject such untractable Spirits, even by Force, if it was necessary, would be next to Distraction. Our wise Neighbours already see this, and rise in their Demands, increase in their obstinate Refusal to our Claims, in Proportion to the Prospect of this Disunion. A dangerous Precedent on one Hand, as some may think to reverse without Trial, an Act of the supreme Legislature: on the other a ruinous

civil

civil Discord. These are among the unfortunate Legacies to the present Administration.

It may perhaps be reply'd, that the *Americans* ought to be reduced to Reason by any Means, rather than the supreme Authority of a *British* Legislature, should be treated with Opposition or Contempt: That they ought to have remonstrated against Grievances when felt, and not to revolt against Government, for imaginary Evils; all this is granted. But let us for a Moment place ourselves in their Situation.

Many of these People fled from Tyranny and Oppression, and took all the Care they could in the Charters they obtained, to have as much Freedom, as the Genius of our Constitution could allow.

The Sons have been taught to esteem these Privileges as the most sacred Deposit, and in Defence of which they ought to risque every thing.

When the Resolutions of Parliament were sent over to *America*, and the Inhabitants

D

found

found the Privileges which they deemed most sacred, were to be abolished for ever; what could be expected from Persons bred up almost in Independency, and full of Republican Sentiments? They were struck with the deepest Astonishment; they attempted to remonstrate, some with as much Temper as could be expected from People in this Situation; others, with such evident Tokens of Resentment, as plainly indicated that Reason had for the Time forsook them.

But when they were informed by their Agents, that their Remonstrances could not be heard; that the Measure was finally resolved on, without their being allowed to explain themselves in any manner; and that they had no Part left, but to submit; their Rage of the Populace broke all Bounds, and they have proceeded to such Lengths, as their warmest Advocates can by no Means justify.

Let it likewise be remembered, that when the Stamp Duty was laid upon this Nation, it was only one Quarter Part of the present. It has risen by Degrees to what it is, as the Riches of the Country could bear it.

America

America was by no Means so rich as *England*, when this Duty commenced; yet the People are taxed not only as high as the *English*, but as much higher, as a Shilling is more valuable in *America* than in *England*, which in some Provinces, I apprehend, is a Third, if not one Half more; that is, a Shilling Sterling in *England* is equal to 1s. 6d. or 2s. in the Colonies. So that at one Step, not only a Tax is laid upon them without their Consent; but considering their Poverty compared with *England*, and the Difference of Exchange, the Load is heavier than this Country would ever submit to. A convincing Proof, how necessary it is that all internal Taxes should every where be raised, only by the Representatives of those who pay them.

It has been alledged, and most weakly alledged, that the *Americans* are represented, as much as Copyholders, many large Towns and populous Communities in this Kingdom. It is amazing how such an Opinion could possess the Mind of any Man of Reflection. There is not a Man in this Kingdom, be his Condition ever so low in Life, who may not be said to have an Influence

in the Choice of our Representatives, though not worth a single Shilling. He can at least make Part of the Mob, and huzza for the Man he likes. But if he has Property, his Influence rises in Proportion. There are People in this Capital, who are neither Freemen, nor Freeholders, yet have it in their Power greatly to affect the Choice of Representatives, in this City, as well as in many Parts of the Nation. Can an *American* do this? How vain was the Sophistry! How flimsy the Deception! What an Affront to the Understandings of sensible People.

It has been proposed by some that the Colonies ought to be represented in the *British* Senate, by Members chose by the *Americans*. This indeed proves that they are not yet represented there, in the Opinion of those who make the Proposition, and this is some Palliation to the present Extravagancies: But the Writer thinks they never should be; and that it is the mutual Interest of the Colonies, and *Great Britain*, that no Deputies from *North America* should ever have a Seat in the *British* Senate.

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Can they send any Deputies who will at no time give up their own, or the *British* Liberties, for a Place or a Pension? The more distant they are from their Constituents, the more they are exposed to Temptation. The less Property these Deputies have, the less will be the Purchase of their Votes. Will *Americans*, who are able to serve their Country, and of independent Fortunes, be at all times willing to risque their Lives across the Ocean in this Service? Will the Distance admit them to consult their Constituents, during the Sessions? Must we have an auxiliary Army of *American* Pensioners, in Conjunction with some other distant Members, not less purchaseable, to bear down the Sons of Freedom and Independance in the *British* Senate, when perhaps the whole Fortune of Liberty is at Stake? No. We see enough of the Effects of venal Poverty at Home, without adding to its Influence from our Colonies.

In forming our Opinions of the Degree of Subjection to be expected from the *Americans*, we should place ourselves in their Situation, and consult Reason; the Laws of Nature and Nations. To form our Ideas of
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this Point, from Precedents to be found in *English* History, is vain. *England* never had a like Precedent. When *Magna Charta* was first established, where were her Colonies? When the People used to meet themselves, to transact their own Business, but found it necessary to choose Representatives in Parliament, what was *America*? The Wisdom of those who first granted Charters of Colonization, saw the Impossibility of the Colonies being represented in the *British* Legislature, by any other than the King's Person, who as a Part of the Legislature, was liable to have his Advisers called to Account, if the *British* Subjects whom he therein represented, were not governed as they ought to be.

A Governor, the King's Representative, resides in every Province. No Laws can be passed without his Consent; nor are these Laws valid till they have received the Royal Approbation at Home. Thus the Allegiance of the *Americans* is at once secured to the Mother Country, and Care is taken that no Act shall be passed in any one Government, that shall be detrimental to another; to the Whole, or to *Great Britain*, by forming
any

any legal Confederacy, amongst themselves to her Disadvantage.

It is well known, that the Powers of the King's Representatives are such, that if any Colony proves refractory to the just Desires of the Crown, there are many legal Expedients by which a Governor can awake the People to Reason.

Suppose the King's Ministers had advised him to instruct the *American* Governors, that a Stamp Act would be useful to the respective Governments, and to apply to their several Houses of Representatives on this Occasion, laying before each the general Plan upon which they were to proceed. Would this have been refused? most probably not. They would have seen their own Security, and the Good of the State united in a Stamp Act, conducted by Persons acquainted with the State of the Country, and Ability of its Inhabitants; which, permit me to say, are not so generally, so fully understood in this Country, as is necessary for our own sake, as well as theirs: This I assert not at Random, or mere Conjecture, but from daily Observation and Experience.

perience. Should *America* in Process of Time, become the greater Country, and the Residence of a Monarch of its own, should a Parliament there be formed of Representatives wholly *Americans*; should this Legislature take upon them to tax *Great Britain*, and have the Power in their Hands to compel its Submission, or to reduce it to extreme Distress, how would this Country like such Treatment? They would pay Obedience no longer than they could help it; would think of the *Americans*, precisely as they think of us; that we at such a Distance must be wholly unacquainted with their real State; that the Acts made concerning them gave evident Proofs of it, and that it would become them either to stand by themselves, or look out for less rigorous Masters.

I am not ignorant that Endeavours are used, to prompt those who are to decide on these important Affairs, to exert what they call *Authority*, and to *inforce* the Acts that have given such universal Discontent through *America*, and opened a Prospect of Ruin to Thousands in this Country, who deserve a better Fate.

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Let us trace the Effects of this Counsel. The *Americans*, they say, will soon submit to this, and every other Act the *British* Parliament think fit to prescribe. But are they sure this will be the Result? Admit however that these Gentlemen are in the right, that the *Americans* quietly submit to Parliamentary Authority; yet they must likewise admit, that the *Americans* in general are disgusted with a Law, that deprives them of what they plainly tell us they think their Birthright. Whether they think right or wrong is nothing to the Argument, it is enough that this Persuasion is general: Force may prevail upon them to act against their Persuasion, but will it follow that Force will change their Opinion? By no means: *Rigour* and *enforcing* may possibly oblige them to submit, till it is in their Power to emancipate themselves, not from internal Taxes only, but from all foreign Jurisdiction; and this Event will undoubtedly approach the faster, as the means employed to force them to Obedience, are more disgustful and compulsory.

How much more advantageous would it be to this Nation, could the Legislature unite

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in this single Consideration. By what means can *Great Britain* most effectually render it the Interest and Inclination of her Colonies, to continue not only dependant upon, but inviolably attached to her.

It is hard to gain a dispassionate Hearing, against Prejudices that flatter at once our Vanity and our Avarice. If the Stamp Act is repealed, we encourage the *Americans* to shake off all Dependance: This is the general Language I own, and am sorry for our own Sakes that it is so, because it betrays our Vanity and Selfishness. The most sanguine Abettors of *enforcing* cannot vindicate the Act itself, nor urge one Plea for its Necessity; at least I have neither seen nor heard any reasonable Arguments on this Head. If then an Act has been passed by the *British* Legislature, that carries evident Tokens of Impropriety, would it not be more prudent to rescind such an Act, and to convince the *Americans*, that they will ever meet with Justice in the *British* Senate, should they at any time be in Danger of Oppression by imprudent Conduct; than persist in a Mistake, because it has once been adopted, and hold out to them an Example of injudicious Adherence

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rence to Errors once committed? What should we think of such a Conduct in private Life? Yet Justice, Equity, Moderation, and good Sense, are the same, whether they relate to the Concerns of private Men, or of States and Empires.

In reflecting on this Subject, one cannot but regret, that the Geography and History of our Colonies, is so little attended to. It is not among the Vulgar only, that we meet with Persons who are totally unacquainted with the Situation, Produce, Inhabitants, their Condition, manner of Life, their Traffick and Connections.

And this is the more inexcusable, as there are not wanting many useful Treatises upon these Subjects, and were the Publick, or that Part of the Publick which ought to be inquisitive after proper Information, as liable to become a Part of the *British* Senate, and empowered by the *British* People, the grand Source of Power, to decide on Questions of the utmost Importance to *America*; I say was this Part of the Publick solicitous after Information, in respect to these important

Objects, numerous Occasions of it, would daily present themselves.

How many People are there, and those too of no small Figure, who know no Difference between the Inhabitants of *North America*, and those of the *West-India* Islands? They form their Ideas of all, by the Manner and Appearance of a Few, who have no Resemblance to them in Manners, Way of Life, or Fortune. The *British* Inhabitants of *North America* are of two Sorts; those who live in the northern Part of the Continent, and those who inhabit the Southern. *Nova Scotia*, *New England* and its Dependencies, *New York*, the *Jerseys* and *Pennsylvania*, belong to the former Division: *Maryland* may be divided between both; *Virginia*, the *Carolinas* and *Georgia*, are the other Part. Of the late southern or northern Acquisitions I say nothing, as they are yet very light in the Scale of Power. The Inhabitants of the northern Part, live like our lower *English* Farmers; they plough, sow, reap, and vend different Kinds of Grain, as the Land they occupy and the Climate permits; Maize, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Pease, and the like rural Produce. They raise Cattle, Hogs,
and

and other Domestick Animals for Use and Sale; also Hemp, Flax, Naval Stores, but yet in small Quantities. Their Summers are hot, their Winters severe, and their Lives are passed with the like Labour and Toil, and with the same Impossibilities of acquiring more than is sufficient to maintain their Families just above Want, as the little Farmers in *England*.

This they have in their Favour. As Land is for the most Part cheap (a most certain Sign of Poverty) the young People can marry without much Risque of maintaining themselves and their Offspring. The Parents can give a few Cows, Swine and perhaps a few Moveables, and help them to build a Log House. Here the young Couple sit down contented, they labour as their Parents have done, are content with hard Fare and mean Cloathing. If they get enough to support them, they are satisfied, and if they can afford to have an *English* Utenfil, or *English* Cloathing, they are rich. Here and there one applies to commerce, and settles in the next Town, as in *England*. Fortune, aided by Capacity and Industry, raises him above the Level, and he acquires the Reputation
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of a considerable Merchant, on a Capital that would not furnish a Chandler's Shop in *London*. He is however, a most useful Member of Society, he imports all the *British* Manufactures he can, and vends them amongst his Compatriots. The Grower of the Product, suppose it Wool, the Manufacturers, for there are many; the *English* Merchant, the Navigators, the *American* Merchant, all are Gainers by a poor Wilderness *American*, the Consumer. What a pleasing Prospect for *Britain*, who will every Day more sensibly feel the Advantages of this Commerce, unless by — shall I call it their evil Genius, they are goaded on, to accelerate their own undoing, by oppressing the *Americans*.

Such is the Way of Life of the *North Americans* of the Northern District. The Inhabitants of the Southern approach nearer to the *West Indians*. The Land is capable of producing Riches of another Nature; Tobacco, which has been the pleasing Intoxication of many Nations, is produced in *Maryland* and *Virginia*, chiefly by the Labour of Negroes. Rice is the Product of the *Carolinas*, a happy Succedaneum for Bread; the proper, the most suitable Support of hot Countries;

Countries ; this likewise is raised, cultivated, dress'd by the Labour of Negroes.

The Wisdom of Providence is every where conspicuous to the attentive Observer ; and perhaps in nothing more, than in the the different Degrees of Fertility of the different Parts of the Globe, most wisely adjusted to the Necessities of the respective Inhabitants. In the colder Regions, the Earth produces its Stores with Difficulty. Strength and Labour here are requisite to unlock the little Treasure that the Earth contains. But the bracing Cold, the whetted Appetite, the strong Powers of Digestion, derived from Cold and Penury, render Labour easy, and the Consequences pleasureable. Thus the dreary Wastes of *Siberia*, the mountainous *Alps*, the bleak *Highlands*, the *Cumbrian Hills*, the *Yorkshire Wolds*, and *Welsh Mountains*, breed as hardy as contented, and as useful a Set of Mortals, as the Universe produces.

A few Acres in *Barbadoes*, or others of the *West India* Islands, properly cultivated, yeild a Crop, in Value superior, perhaps, to one hundred times the Extent, either in *North America* or in *England*. And it is just that they
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should do so. In these hot Climates, if the Author of Nature had not despenfed the Means of Subsistence with a more liberal Hand than in the Northern Regions, who could have subsisted there?

Were the Possessors of Lands in these hot Countries, obliged to labour for themselves, we should not see the many Instances we do, of Idleness and Extravagance. But the Slave Trade enables the Inhabitants of these warmer Regions, to procure, not only the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, but vast Wealth, at the Expence of People, who born under a hotter Sun, are found able to bear Labour equal almost to a Native of the North, in his own Country, and compelled to work by fore and grievous Stripes. Men in all things like ourselves, Colour and some Circumstances of Form excepted, torn from the tenderest Tyes of Nature, by Violence and Fraud, to drudge in Servitude during the Residue of their Days, without Hope of Redemption!

The Wealth accruing from the Sweat of these poor Wretches, who sooner or later may be permitted to become the dreadful Executioners

Executioners of slow-paced Vengeance, has unhappily fixed in the Minds of many here, an Idea that the *West Indians*, and *North Americans*, are in the like Situation, in Respect to the Means of acquiring Riches, and possessing them; a Mistake which an attentive Consideration of the Premises, may perhaps contribute to remove.

For as the Northern People of *America* trust to their own Industry; so the Southern Inhabitants are rich in Proportion to the Number of Slaves they possess. In the former all are low and middling People, the sure Support of any Country, none are great or rich. In the latter there are few middling People, a very few are considerable, the rest are below the middle Class in general.

The Conduct of these People, I mean the Inhabitants of the Southern District, when they arrive in *England*, approaches nearer to Shew and Extravagance, than the Northern Inhabitants, and has added to the general Mistake in this Country, that the *Americans* are rich. The Conduct of the *West Indians*, has perfected this Idea. Bred for the most Part

at the Breast of a Negro Slave ; surrounded in their Infancy with a numerous Retinue of these dark Attendants, they are habituated by Precept and Example, to Sensuality, Selfishness, and Despotism. Of those sent over to this Country for their Education, few totally emerge from their first Habitudes ; view them as Sons, Husbands, Fathers ; as Friends, Citizens, and Men, what Examples ! Splendor, Dress, Shew, Equipage, every thing that can create an Opinion of their Importance, is exerted to the utmost of their Credit. They are thought rich, and they are so indeed at the Expence of the poor Negroes, who cultivate their Lands, could they be contented with Mediocrity.

If People of Quality and Condition would Study the Geography and State of our Colonies ; would they give themselves the Trouble of distinguishing their different Situations, it would prevent them from confounding together, Circumstances extremely opposite ; from inferring, that because an opulent *West Indian* vies in Glare with a Nobleman of the first Distinction, therefore a poor *American* Farmer is able to bear the same heavy Load of Taxes, or ought to be placed in the same Scale of Ability. In

In a Word, the Inhabitants of the *West India* Islands, are in general the Reverse of the Northern *North Americans*: Whilst these are poor, laborious, contented with a little, Examples of Diligence and Frugality. the best Riches of a State; the *West Indians* are too often the Reverse. Much indeed is to be allowed for the different Climates. Heat enervates, it creates Sensuality, and urges to contrive every Means of Gratification.

Another Circumstance has likewise contributed not a little to establish an Idea of the Riches of *North America*; which is, the known Hospitality of these People in general, to all *British* Strangers. Vying with each other who shall afford their Guest the most hospitable Entertainment, they have unfortunately rivetted an Opinion in Travellers, that they are rich, only because they are generous to Excess.

But leaving this ample Field to others, who have more Leisure, and greater Abilities, I shall here remark that there are too few, who have Hearts sufficiently dilated to conceive, that a Conduct founded on noble,

generous, upright Principles, is the Glory of Man, and invariably procures him every Blessing compatible with his Situation. A Fact of sufficient Authenticity, will perhaps illustrate this Assertion, and at the same Time point out the Mark we should aim at, in the present interesting Situation of our Affairs.

When the *Roman* Army was shut up in the *Caudine* Forks, the wise *Samnite*, with a thorough Sense of this Principle, advised his Son to permit the *Romans*, without Injury, to retreat from the Danger in which they saw themselves irretrievably involved.

This displeas'd the haughty General, and his Army; the wise old Man then advised the total Destruction of the *Roman* Army.

Neither of these Alternatives were pursued: Selfishness and Pride presented a middle Way, that ended in the Destruction of the Nation; the *Samnite* Leader, flushed with the Success of his Machinations, determin'd to enjoy the Pleasure of a Triumph. He gave the *Romans* their Lives, at the Expence of their Honour. The Iniquity was too great for the *Roman* People to forgive; they

they vowed Revenge, and hoped, though vainly, to blot out the Remembrance of their Disgrace and Perfidy, by the Extirpation of the *Samnite* People, which, contrary to Justice and Humanity, they effected.

Let us profit by this Lesson; the Cases, I own, are not parallel, but yet the Moral may be of Use to us. Three Ways are proposed to extricate ourselves from the present Perplexities. First to enforce the Stamp Act; the second to suspend, and the third to repeal it.

The first seems like the *Samnites* Opinion, to destroy the *Roman* Army totally, then in their Power. The *Americans*, most probably will not give up their Claims without Bloodshed, and whoever suffers, the King by that loses a Subject, and the Affections likewise of many more.

To suspend the Act seems to be holding a Yoke of Disgrace over them, which though they may bear at present, without Marks of Impatience, will only prompt them to make the quicker Strides to absolute Independency.

A Repeal

A Repeal of the Stamp Act, will convince the *Americans* so fully of our Equity and Moderation, that they will no longer suspect us of Designs against their Freedom, their Privileges, or their Interests. They will be sure of Redress, if Grievances arise, and will bear them patiently, till they can be heard.

Remember, my Countrymen, that the *Americans* are not a conquered, but a free People; descended from freeborn *Englishmen* for the most Part, and those who are of another Progeny, have acquired the like Sentiments, by Proximity and Acquaintance. They are People of the like Passions with ourselves, and look upon oppressive Power, with the same Spirit of Intolerance; while their Generosity and Affection, to those who treat them kindly, is like the Region they inhabit, vast, and whose Limits are hitherto unknown.

The Wisdom of Parliament may nevertheless, in Time, discover such Means of perfect and stable Connection with the Colonies, as may secure a just Authority over them, and at the same Time, preserve
inviolable,

inviolable, the Privileges and Immunities, purchased by our Brethren in *America*, at the Expence of cultivating a Wilderness for our Advantage,

And indeed by the prudent Policy of those who planned or granted the several Charters, the Task of securing the Dependance of the Colonies, is rendered much less difficult to Government, than it might have been, had the Charters been uniform. But by granting distinct Privileges and Establishments to the several Provinces, each has acquired an Opinion, that its own is the most perfect, and would not willingly exchange its Condition, or communicate its *Peculiar*, with any other Colony. Thus they are, and must long remain, not only *unconnected*, but in some Cases *Opposites*, till the Prospect of some common Danger appears, and forces them to unite in their common Defence, and build up a potent and formidable Confederacy.

If we permit the *Americans* to trade as they have done; if we permit them to raise every Kind of raw Materials, of which we have need, either for Use or Commerce; if we render it their Interest, by such Means,

to be dependant upon us, they will be so continually.

If we promote Scholarships for *Americans* in our Universities; give Posts and Benefits in *America*, to such *Americans* who have studied here, preferably to others. If the Government permits such Youth as come to *Europe*, on account of their Studies, to come over in the King's Ships *gratis*, we shall still unite them more firmly. The *Americans*, by mixing with our own Youth at the University, will diffuse a Spirit of Enquiry after *America*, and its Affairs; they will cement Friendships on both Sides, which will be of more lasting Benefit to both Countries, than all the Armies that *Britain* can send thither.

If such be the Conduct of this Nation towards her Colonies, she will ever possess their Affections; the Product of their Labours will center here; their Power will be subservient to our Command, and a Force will be generated, Providence permitting, superior to what any Country now possesses.

F. I. N. I. S.

J. Fothergill

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