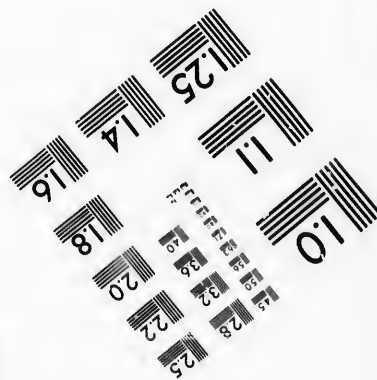
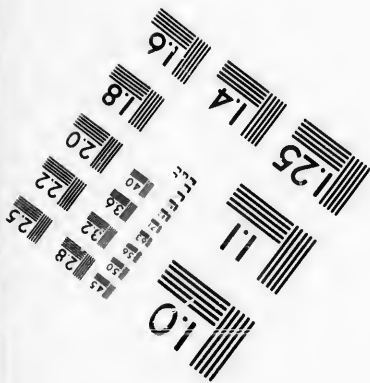
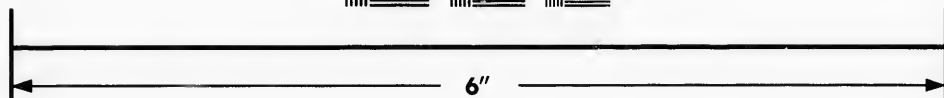
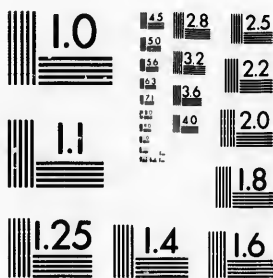


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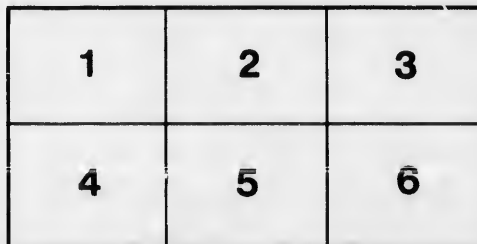
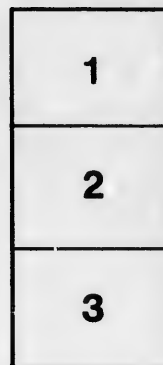
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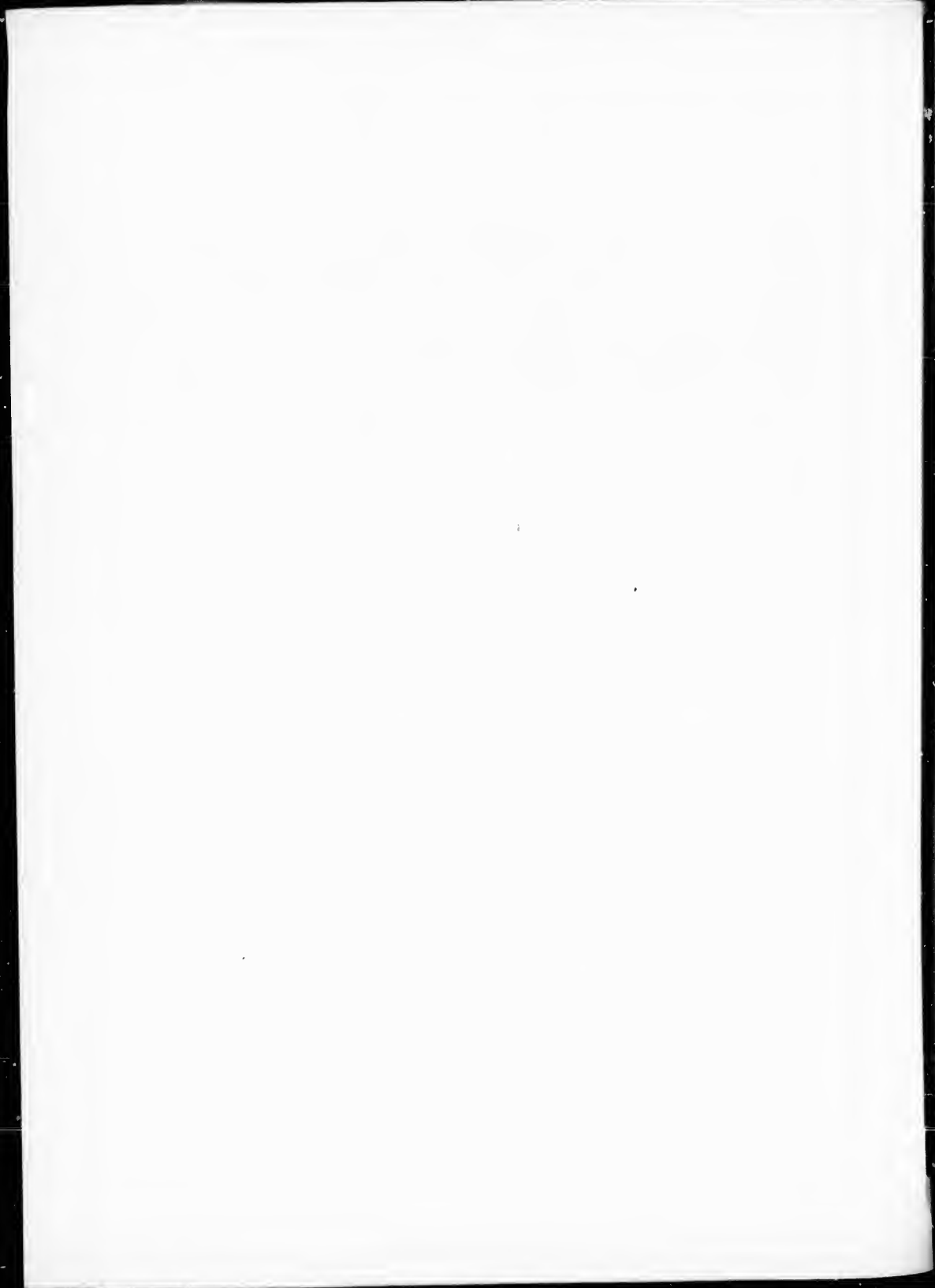
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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE POLICY OF

RELAXING THE RESTRICTIONS

NOW IMPOSED UPON

The Commerce

OF THE

NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.

HALIFAX :

PRINTED AT THE NOVA-SCOTIA ROYAL GAZETTE OFFICE:

1824.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE SECOND

BY

JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES

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OBSERVATIONS.

MANY Persons in the Mother Country, and in the Colonies also, entertain an opinion, that whenever a Colony attains a certain degree of strength and prosperity, it has a natural tendency to disengage itself from its connection with the Parent State.

It has been observed that predictions sometimes accomplish their own fulfilment, by the effect which they produce upon the minds of those whose fate they foretell—and political tenets may, in the same manner, become correct, by influencing those who entertain them to adopt a line of conduct calculated to produce the events which they deem inevitable.

A Minister, for instance, who thinks that a Colony must ultimately become independent, however just or liberal he may be, as an individual, can never bring himself, as a Minister, to view the Colonists in the same light with other subjects of the Empire. He will consider them as persons over whom he can exercise but a temporary and precarious sway; that they will not only soon cease to be subjects, but may eventually become enemies, and he will therefore feel that neither duty nor interest call upon him to adopt measures to advance their prosperity, or to increase their strength; on the contrary he may conceive it to be justifiable to cramp their exertions, and restrain their efforts, to attain wealth or power

power, as the best means of preserving their dependence upon the Country, whose immediate interest it is his duty to protect.

Upon the same principle. a leading Man in the Colonies, who entertains this opinion, although he may have no predilection for any other form of Government, nor be desirous of any political change, yet, considering such change as inevitable, his conduct and plans become regulated by it ; and while the Minister, acting under the influence of this opinion, endeavours to make the interest of the Colonists entirely subservient to those of the Inhabitants of the Mother Country, he rouses to oppose such plans, and without considering whether the interests of both cannot be united, directs all his efforts to hasten the period, when the Colonies will be delivered from what he deems thralldom.

With such Agents at work on both sides of the Atlantic, it would not be wonderful if they should ultimately prove themselves to be men of penetration, and convince the world; that their opinions were sound ; whereas, had each been actuated by different sentiments, they might have produced a different result.

I will readily admit that neither Individuals nor Communities willingly permit their interests to be made subservient to those of others, and so long as the Colonies are considered merely as Markets for the Mother Country, so long as the Colonist is compelled to purchase from the British Merchant those articles which he can procure upon better terms elsewhere ; articles which the Mother Country does not herself produce, and for which he is compelled to become an unwilling customer, merely to put money into the Pocket of his fellow subject in Great-Britain, so long, I say, as this system is acted upon, so long will a Minister have good grounds to think, that the Colonies will one day throw off their dependence, and so long will Men of influence in the Colonies wish, with more or less ardour, for the arrival of that period. Many will undoubtedly lament its approach ; many will strive to avert such an event ; but all their efforts will be unavailing while the powerful feeling of interest, silently but irresistibly, convinces the bulk of the People of the good policy of the measure.

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It is the duty of those who wish well to the Country, to consider this question, divested of all ardent feelings: let sentiments of loyalty have their full share of praise whenever they are discussed, nor let rational liberty ever be decried because Demagogues have sometimes brought the word into disrepute; but it is a particular system of policy, and the effects which it is calculated to produce, that we are now considering, and it should receive a cool and dispassionate examination.

Let us suppose two Individuals, one an Inhabitant of the British Province of New-Brunswick, the other a Citizen of the United States of America, to commence the building of a Ship on the opposite banks of the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which separates the dominions of the two Countries. The Timber would be procured upon equal terms by both, the workmen may be fed by one, perhaps, as cheaply as the other, but the American can send direct to Russia for his Cordage, Canvas, &c. while the Colonist cannot procure them from the place of production, but must import them from England, and pay the expense of the double voyage, in addition to the profit which the Merchant there will seek from the transaction.

This difference of expense will be felt as long as the two Vessels exist. If built for sale the American can undersell the Colonist; if intended for the Carrying Trade, he can afford to take lower freights; if designed for the Fisheries, he can sell his Fish at a cheaper rate, because the Vessel employed to catch them costs him less Money than that of his Colonial opponent. These things are felt, they require no train of reasoning to bring home their truth to the mind, but they advert at once to the Pocket, and I leave it to the cool and the dispassionate to pronounce, whether it would not be natural for the Colonist to wish that he was as unfettered in his commercial pursuits as the American, and let them also determine what the probable result will be, when that wish is generally entertained.

But although I do not deny that the continuance of that system might ultimately produce a separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country, I by no means admit such separation to be inevitable, on the contrary I think if a more liberal

liberal line of policy were adopted towards them, that a separation would be a very improbable event. There is, I believe, scarcely a Man now engaged in Commerce in the Colonies, who does not deprecate these restrictions, who does not think that his interest is made subservient, if not sacrificed, to his fellow subject in London or in Liverpool, and yet, general as this feeling is, it has not yet produced its full effect, and numbers of them would sincerely regret such an event as a separation. Mankind are accused of being prone to change, and, in the more trifling circumstances of life, abundant instances of fickleness may certainly be produced, but great political changes have rarely commenced without causes of corresponding magnitude. Men of property and influence, whose interests are affected by any measures of the Government under which they live, know that if force is used to remedy the evil, they cannot tell where it may stop, and that their all may be endangered by such efforts to better their situation: such persons view great changes with apprehension, and seldom resort to open violence until they are quite convinced that no other means can afford them redress.

When those unfortunate measures which led to the severance of the United States of America from Great-Britain, were first adopted by the British Parliament, they were universally condemned in America; not a voice was raised in their favor, except by some few Officers of Government, the leading men throughout the Country were strenuous in their opposition to them, and many of the most loyal adherents of the British Crown, were among the most zealous Members of the Congress, which met to procure the repeal of these obnoxious Statutes; but when Independence was talked of, when a separation from the Mother Country was proposed, how many of those, who admitted that the Government of the day was wrong in the measures adopted towards America, could not bring themselves to throw off all allegiance to the Parent State, but fondly cling to their connexion with the land of their fathers; and had not the vacillation of the British Government, and the temporizing principles of many of the leaders of her fleets and armies rendered their efforts unavailing, they might perhaps have induced the majority of the inhabitants of the Country to participate in their feelings.

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Let us now turn our attention to the Spanish Colonies, let us view a Country trodden down and oppressed in the most shameless manner, debarred from all intercourse with the World, and merely allowed to exist for the benefit of Spanish Monopolists; notwithstanding that the struggle in which they have been engaged for fourteen years has fully apprized them of the benefits to be derived from shaking off the shackles of Spain; how long did many feel unwilling to break off all connexion with their Mother Country, the duration of the contest proves this; Spain has had but little power to assist her adherents, and after making every allowance for the influence of Priests and the power of Vice-Roys, we must be satisfied that the Royal Cause must have derived much of its support from genuine feelings of attachment to the Mother Country, and from that disinclination to change, arising from the uncertainty of what that change may lead to, which very generally prevails among those who have any thing to lose.

If then, under such untoward circumstances, so many of the Colonists have been found to adhere to their Parent State, why should it be supposed that Colonies must inevitably separate from the Mother Country. In the instances in which such separations have hitherto taken place, the Parent State has made it the interest of the Colony to sever from her. Let it be recollected that so long as a state of tranquility subsists, it is the Mother Country who alone can cut the tie which unites them; the Colonies are merely passive, they may remonstrate indeed, but constitutionally they can do no more: whatever errors, therefore, exist in the Colonial System, are the errors of the Mother Country, and she alone can remedy them in a peaceable manner.

If she should choose then to apply that remedy, and remove all reasonable cause of complaint, is it probable that Men of Property and Influence in the Colonies would, from the mere spirit of restlessness, encounter the dangers of their persons and property attendant upon a Revolution? No, they would recollect that it is impossible to foresee the event of an attempt to introduce a change of Government; that their own influence and importance would be endangered; and therefore while they have no real grievances to complain of, they will prefer the protection of a powerful Nation to the empty charm of Independence.

And

And as long as Men of Influence and Property feel it their interest to continue the connection with the Mother Country, so long will that connection subsist : for it is among that class of Society in the Colonies that opposition to Government generally commences, although the opponents may soon become unable to controul the popular commotions they may have excited.

Having thus endeavoured to shew that separation from the Parent State is not an inevitable consequence of the prosperity of a Colony, I will now adduce some particular arguments to prove, that Great-Britain will have good ground to depend upon the adherence of her North-American Colonies; unless she drives them from her by debarring them the use of their natural advantages, and imposing impolitic restrictions upon their Commerce.

The situation of British America differs widely from that of the Thirteen Colonies who revolted from Great-Britain, and declared themselves independent in 1776. Many of the Leaders of that Revolution were stimulated by the desire of erecting an Independent Government, and had good ground to hope that, when they succeeded, they should attain to situations of power and influence in the Supreme Councils of an extensive Country, but we can have no such expectation; there is no natural bond of union between Upper-Canada and Nova-Scotia; it is our political connexion with Great-Britain, that now blends the interests of the Colonies; and should that be dissolved, they would not unite together to form an independent Nation, but would naturally fall under the dominion of the United States. Upper Canada would assimilate with New-York, and the Inhabitants of the Genessee Country, and Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick would, under another name, become another State of Maine; but if admitted to an union upon the same terms with other States of the Confederation, we could have no hope of acquiring much influence in the National Councils. The power of the Supreme Government of the United States is evidently travelling westward, and should the Union continue to subsist, the Atlantic States must reconcile themselves to the idea of seeing the reins of Government in the hands of the leading Men of that immense Valley to the westward of the Alleghany Mountains.

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The Eastern States have indeed been made to feel already that their influence is not great in the National Councils : in the most important step which the Government of the United States have taken since they have existed as an Independent Nation, viz. that of declaring War against Great-Britain, the voice of New-England was totally disregarded ; that portion of the Union was not only drawn into the war against its own consent, but was insultingly told that the measure which destroyed their Trade and Navigation, was adopted for the defence of both, by those who had little concern with either. Men of intelligence in the Colonies were not regardless of the conduct of the American Government upon that occasion, and are aware that they would derive no great addition to their political importance from an union with that Country, an event which must, in all human probability, take place should ever our connexion with Great-Britain be dissolved.

As no great temptations then present themselves to induce the Inhabitants of the Colonies to seek a connexion with America, let us next enquire whether they feel dissatisfied with their present civil constitutions. With the exception of Lower Canada, where some discontent prevails; arising out of circumstances totally unconnected with any desire of independence or feeling in favor of America, the Inhabitants of the Colonies are, I believe, universally satisfied with the manner in which their civil and political rights are secured : they are sensible that their persons and property are protected by Laws which they or their ancestors have had a voice in enacting, and that they enjoy as much personal freedom as the inhabitants of any Country upon the face of the Globe. They are satisfied that Justice is administered as impartially by Judges appointed by the Crown, as it would be, if the popular voice had either directly or indirectly more influence in their selection, nor does any desire prevail to substitute popular elections, for the present mode of appointing public officers. They value highly and justly the elective franchise, which secures to them the privilege of choosing

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from among themselves a most important Branch of the Legislature: and nothing would sooner rouse them to opposition than any attempt to infringe that right; but, the very persons who owe all their weight and influence in the Country to the support which they have given to the popular cause in the several Houses or Assembly, would, with very few, if any, exceptions, regret the extension of the privilege of election to the offices of Governor or Councillors. The ardent advocate for the people's rights, who, at the commencement of his political career, denounced every measure which proceeded from any other than a popular source, gradually sobers down into the cool, considerate examiner of public measures, turns his attention more to their effect upon the general interests of the community, than to the sources from whence they originated; and finding that the ardour of the elective body has frequently received salutary checks from the other Branches of the Legislature, he becomes convinced that the public interest is best secured by admitting those who do not derive their authority from the people, to participate in the power of those who do,—our young men of talents generally harangue with warmth upon the abstract principles of liberty: the generous feelings of youth naturally lead them to that side of the question; but to the credit of the good sense and sound feeling of the Country, be it said, that notwithstanding the Colonial Governments have but little patronage to induce public men to change their creeds, the odious character of an aged demagogue is very rarely to be met with among us.

Indeed I think I may venture to assert, that a large majority of our men of influence and property, (and I must again repeat that they will generally give the tone to public feeling) would be unwilling to follow the example of our neighbours in the United States, in rendering the situations of Governors and Councillors elective. Feelings, which it requires no great knowledge of human nature to comprehend, would induce them to prefer a Governor sent by Royal Authority, from the Mother Country, to the elevation of one

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of their own number to that station; and while His Majesty continues to select such men as he has appointed for some years past to preside over these Northern Colonies, there is no probability of their entertaining a wish to elect a Governor for themselves; and as it respects the situation of Councillors, men who have attained the age, respectability and independence, which qualifies them in the public opinion to become Candidates for seats in Council, would rather receive permanent appointments from the Crown, than submit to the bustle and intrigue of an election, for a few years only.

I use the phrase, permanent appointment from the Crown, in opposition to a temporary election on the part of the People, although I am aware that all appointments in the Colonies are held during the Royal Pleasure only, but as in *point of practice* these situations are generally enjoyed during life, the effect upon the minds of those who look forward to them is the same as if no such words as *during our Royal Will and Pleasure*, were introduced into the Patents.

If indeed any doubt has been entertained in the Mother Country, whether or not the North American Colonies, are satisfied with their present Laws and Constitution, and with the mode in which those Laws have been administered, their conduct during the late American War ought to remove it.

Whatever secret motives might have induced the Rulers of America to declare War against Great-Britain, they spared no pains to accomplish the avowed object of possessing themselves of these Colonies: both force and flattery were employed to overcome or undermine the loyalty of the Colonists, and as the arduous struggle in which the Mother Country had been so long engaged in Europe, had caused her to leave her transatlantic Possessions in a defenceless state, if they had been disposed to quit her side, the declaration of that wish would have insured its accomplishment.

But no opposition could have been more earnest or more strenuous than that of the British Colonists to their American invaders; and although the more active exertion of it could only display itself in the Canadas, where the invasion actually took place, yet the sentiments which led to that exertion were generally if not universally felt throughout British America.

The

The day on which we received the intelligence of the capture of His Majesty's Ship *Guerriere* by the American Frigate *Constitution*, I left Halifax, in company with two of my friends, upon an excursion to Windsor : we carried the first accounts of the unfortunate event into the Country, and I shall never forget the deep mortification which the countenance of every person to whom we communicated it exhibited. Farmers and Mechanics, Tavern-Keepers and Teamsters, all participated in the *Grief*, for I will use no weaker expression, which the result of this action excited in the minds of the gentry : the effect was instantaneously produced ; there was no time for hypocrisy to arrange its formal lamentations ; it was a complete display of genuine British feeling, and proved, better than five hundred loyal Addresses could have done, that the People of the Country felt like Englishmen for the honour of Old England. In addition to this anecdote, I may remark, that the enthusiastic zeal with which Seamen and Troops were passed through the Province, for the protection of Canada, by the voluntary and cheerful aid of the inhabitants, did not escape the notice and approbation of Government.

I contend therefore that so far from their being any justifiable reasons to suppose that these Colonies must one day separate from Great-Britain, there is good cause to conclude, that, if they are fairly dealt by, they will long cling to their Mother Country : they are sensible that they never can go alone ; and their habits and feelings will always induce them to prefer sheltering themselves under the powerful protection of Great-Britain, to participating in American Independence, by becoming States of little influence or importance in that confederation.

But it is the opinion of some persons that, however strong the feelings of the Colonists may be in favor of Great-Britain, their situation renders them at all times liable to the attacks of America, and that they must ultimately fall under the dominion of that Country.

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When the result of the attempt made by the Armies of the United States, during the last War, to overrun the Canadas, is brought forward, in opposition to this opinion, its advocates reply, that New-England gave no support to the assaults, but rather counteracted the plans of the General Government, and that had that portion of the Union earnestly assisted the invaders, the Canadas must have fallen.

How far the lukewarmness of New-England might have paralyzed the efforts of America to conquer the British Provinces, I will not undertake to determine; that it produced some effect of that kind, must, I think, be admitted; and let it be remembered, that, in a Government so constituted, such difference of opinion and want of hearty concurrence in important measures may generally be expected.

But should a greater degree of unanimity than their Constitutions authorise us to expect, prevail among the American People in any future War, I by no means subscribe to the opinion that these Colonies must fall as a matter of course.

If Great-Britain frees them from the Commercial Restrictions under which they now labour, and makes their interest unite with their inclination to continue a portion of the British Empire, the population of the Colonies would rapidly increase, and would soon be equal to resist any force that such a Government as the United States could perhaps send against them.

So long as the American States retain their present Civil Constitutions, standing Armies will always be viewed with jealousy: they will never submit to the expense of retaining any large body of Soldierly in pay during peace; and even if the expense itself were not an object, a People so jealous of their liberties would not place any number of Troops at the disposal of their Rulers. America is not a Country in which a regular Army can be hastily raised; and although the Militia of a free Country is an admirable force to resist an invading enemy, as freemen will always fight for the defence of their own fire-sides, yet they will reluctantly quit them, subject themselves to military discipline, and engage as common Soldiers in distant expeditions.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding, therefore, the great disproportion which does, and probably always will, exist, between the population of the American States and the British Provinces, the American Government would not be able to avail itself of the physical strength of the Country, nor could it, upon any sudden emergency, bring a greater portion of it to bear upon the Colonies than the Colonists, if actuated by an ardent desire to resist them, could successfully oppose, until they received the aid of the Mother Country.

The Colonies are capable of supporting as dense a population as that portion of the United States which adjoins them: judicious treatment on the part of Great-Britain would soon create that population, and might easily instil, into their breasts, ardent sentiments of attachment to the British Government; and when this was effected, we should have little more to apprehend from America, than they would have from us: the Colonial Settler would have no inclination to leave his comfortable home to make an unprofitable inroad into the United States; and the American Citizen would, generally speaking, be equally unwilling to quit his farm and his family, and trudge with his knapsack on his back, to render the British Colonies subject to the American Government, or to incorporate them into a Confederation of which they were not desirous to become Members.

Let those who attach so much importance to the positive superiority of the United States over the Colonies, in point of numbers, reflect, that even the formidable power of the Russian Empire (where the pursuits and habits of the People dispose them to become Soldiers, and the absolute sway of the Sovereign enables him to command their services) is much lessened by the distance of that country from the ordinary scene of action; and if that is the case, under such a Government, and with such a People, how much more so must it be under such a Government as that of the United States, who cannot compel a single inhabitant within their extensive territories to march beyond their limits, but must depend upon voluntary enlistment to recruit their Armies, and find means to induce peaceful Citizens to quit the warm and fertile vallies of the Mississippi to encounter the rigours of a Canadian campaign.

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I have no hesitation, therefore, in asserting, that if these Colonies are properly cherished, they will soon be peopled by a hardy race whom the American Government would not find it easy to overcome.

Admitting that the Colonies would not be disposed to dissolve their connection with Great-Britain, if freed from the Commercial Restrictions, and that the United States would be unable to compel them to do so, it may still be asked what inducement would Great-Britain have to retain them, if she abandoned the privilege of restricting their Commerce to herself.

This is indeed a most important question, for if we are not worth keeping, except upon terms on which we are not desirous to be kept, the seeds of discord are too deeply sown to enable the most ardent lover of peace to extirpate them.

I trust, however, it may be proved, not only that the retention of these Colonies would be desirable for Great-Britain, if she relinquished the restriction of their commerce to herself, but that the extension of their Commerce to other Countries would eventually prove more beneficial to her than a perseverance in the present system of restriction.

I will not deny that the abandonment of that system, would prove in some measure injurious to the individuals immediately concerned in supplying the Colonies with such articles of foreign produce as they can now only procure through the medium of a British Merchant, but I contend, that though these individuals might be injured, the inhabitants of the Mother Country at large would be benefited by any measure that enriched the Colonies.

If a rich man is a better customer than a poor one, so is a rich country: the wealth which the Inhabitants of the United States have acquired since they have had the privilege of an unrestricted commerce, has rendered their trade of much more value and importance to Great-Britain, than it was while restricted to herself; it is true, that political motives, by which Colonies would not be actuated, induce the Government of that Country to encourage speculators to establish domestic Manufactories, but centuries must probably elapse before America will be sufficiently populous to rival Europe in
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any but the coarsest productions of art, and, in the mean time, the wealthy Inhabitants of this side of the Atlantic will always seek the finer articles from the countries where they are produced of the best quality, and at the cheapest price. England may long expect to retain her present superiority as a manufacturing country, and so long will both Colonial and Independant America resort to her for the supply of those articles which they want, and the measure of their wants will be proportioned to their population and their ability to purchase.—A poor Country, however populous, can purchase but little, and must therefore feed and clothe itself with its own coarse productions; but if its inhabitants acquire wealth by commercial or any other means, they will not fail to expend it in procuring those articles of use or luxury, which their own country does not afford. If this position be correct, and I believe it is undeniable, it follows, as a matter of course, that whatever enriches the Colonies will make them better customers to the Mother Country, and if the reasoning in these letters be correct, they will be free from that desire for entire independence, both political and commercial, which prevails in the United States, they will have no inducement to force manufactures into existence among themselves, while they can be better supplied by their fellow subjects in the Mother Country.

It may be said, with some appearance of plausibility, that if the Colonies are permitted to supply themselves with the manufactures of Foreign Countries, they will not consume the same quantity of British Goods, as they do while all their wants must be supplied from the Mother Country. To this plausible opinion we can not only advance the position before mentioned—that the wants of mankind always increase with the means of indulging their desires, but we can at once resort to fact: during the late war this Colony was as well supplied with French and other Foreign Goods by the Prizes which were brought into Halifax, as if the commerce of the world had been laid open to us;—French silks surrounded us, French wines covered our tables, and yet, during that period the Inhabitants of this Country, consumed a much larger quantity of British Goods than they now do, and simply

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ply for this reason, they were richer than they now are. The expenditures for the Fleets and Armies, Government Contracts, and the Commerce which these very Prizes occasioned, threw a great quantity of money into the Country, and that was expended by those, whose poverty now obliges them to wear homespun clothing, in the purchase of Broad Cloth and other articles of British manufacture.

It may here be remarked with truth and force, that an English Colonist will ever prefer the merchandize of the Mother Country: because it is rivetted in his mind that every thing that is English is best.

But while I confidently assert that the commerce of Great-Britain would be increased by every measure that enriched the Colonies, I strenuously contend, even if that position could not be established, and it were admitted that the removal of the restrictions upon Colonial Trade would necessarily be accompanied with some loss to the Mother Country, that sound policy requires the speedy relaxation, and ultimate abandonment, of those restrictions.

I must again deprecate the idea of introducing any warm feelings of loyalty or of liberty into this question: the Colonists, like the rest of mankind, will be influenced by their interests, and should Great-Britain persist in a system which will make it more beneficial for them to separate from her, than to continue their present connexion, it cannot be doubted that they will do so, whenever a good opportunity presents itself to effect a separation.

Should such an event ever take place, Great-Britain would then lose the commercial advantages she now derives from the restrictions, as completely as if she were herself to withdraw them; but in the latter case she would only relinquish those commercial advantages, whereas in the former, she would lose her political power also; these Provinces would cease to be part of her dominions, and would not merely leave her side, but would join the United States, and add to their wealth and strength in all their subsequent contentions with Great-Britain.

It is requisite therefore that the Statesman who turns his attention to this subject, should not confine his views to commercial

mercials considerations alone : he should consider how far the Empire may be weakened or aggrandized by the system of policy, to be adopted towards the Colonies ; he should look at the extent of territory which they contain, comprising thousands of acres of fertile soil, capable of maintaining a numerous population daily increasing ; at the salubrious though rigorous climate, which renders that population healthy, hardy, and enterprizing ; at the numerous minerals which will supply them with sources of industry, of comfort, and of commerce ; at the immense line of Coast, washed by waters filled with Fish, and abounding in commodious harbours, which the removal of these commercial restrictions, will fill with laborious Fishermen and enterprising Merchants ; and he should then ask himself if it would not be desirable for Great-Britain to retain her influence over such a Country, and to prevent it from throwing its strength into the scale of America ; if it would not be an object for the first Naval Power in the World, to call these commodious harbours her own, to identify the People of the Colonies with her native subjects, and thus ensure to herself the supply of Seamen which their Fisheries and Foreign Commerce would afford for her Navy ; to secure her West-Indian Possessions from the miseries they would endure in a future War with the United States, should these Colonies become part of that confederation ; and finally, to create a British People on this side of the Atlantic, who would feel as proud of their connexion with Great-Britain as the inhabitants of the United States can be of their boasted independence : that this would be desirable, can scarcely admit of a question, and would it not be an object worthy of the pursuit of an enlightened Statesman.

We cannot, it is true, dive into futurity, nor foretell with certainty what will be the fate of individuals or of nations, but a knowledge of their characters and circumstances will frequently enable us to form very probable conjectures respecting them ; and I think it is as practicable as it is desirable, to establish such feelings, as I have mentioned, throughout British America.

Those ideas of National Liberty, which, in Europe, formerly urged a race of feudal Vassals, to encounter every danger,

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danger, to support the independence of the Country over which their liege Lord presided; enter very little into our notions of freedom on this side of the Atlantic; we look to the substance rather than the sound; and though great sticklers for our rights, while we feel in the Colonies that we are free as the Citizens of America, (and we are so, in every thing, excepting our Commerce,) we do not envy them the mere name of Independent States. If these commercial restrictions were once removed, few, very few, could be found who would wish the inconvenience attendant upon an alteration of our Constitution, merely to exchange the appellation of British Subjects for that of American Citizens, without any real addition to our civil privileges; while the number of those who now feel proud of forming a part of one of the most powerful Empires in the World, would be greatly increased, and the feeling itself would not only become more prevalent but more intense.

I have endeavoured in these observations to bring under consideration a few of those arguments which should induce His Majesty's Ministers to listen favorably to the earnest application of His Majesty's Subjects in the Colonies, to be relieved from those restrictions which depress their Commerce, and prevent them from availing themselves of the advantages which nature has abundantly bestowed upon this portion of the British Empire.

I feel satisfied that the Public will do me the justice to believe, that I am too much of an Englishman in my feelings to wish that the real interest of the Mother Country should be sacrificed to benefit the Colonies: but if my humble efforts can, in any measure, contribute to convince those who preside over the National Councils, that the best interests of British America may be consulted and advanced, not only without injury to the Parent State, but that she would herself participate largely in their prosperity—if I can induce them to believe that Colonies do not necessarily separate from their Mother Country, and that these British Colonies, when relieved from these restrictions, would have many strong reasons to perpetuate their connexion with Great-Britain—that

that the United States of America could not readily wrest them from the British Empire, while they were earnestly disposed to continue a portion of it—that the Inhabitants of British America might be trained to consider their interests and their political institutions to be identified with those of the Mother Country, and feel that they must ever stand or fall with her—if indeed, I could be instrumental in any degree in causing the Colonies to be viewed in this light, by those in whose hands their destiny is now placed, it would add greatly to the happiness of a

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