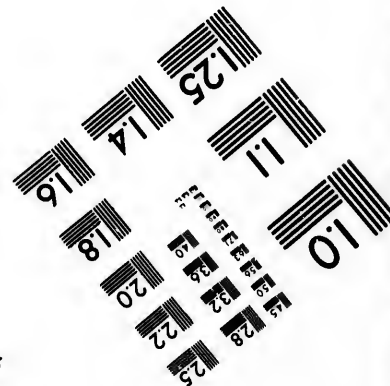
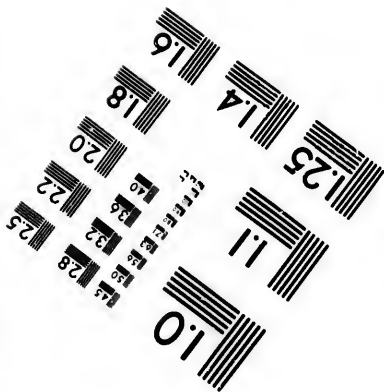
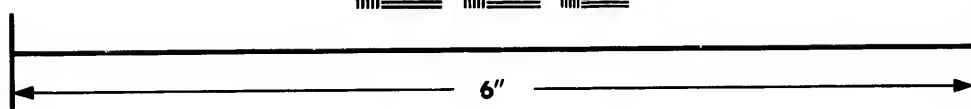
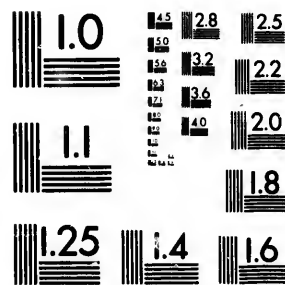


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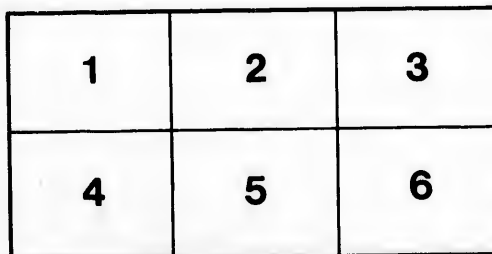
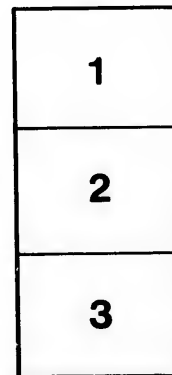
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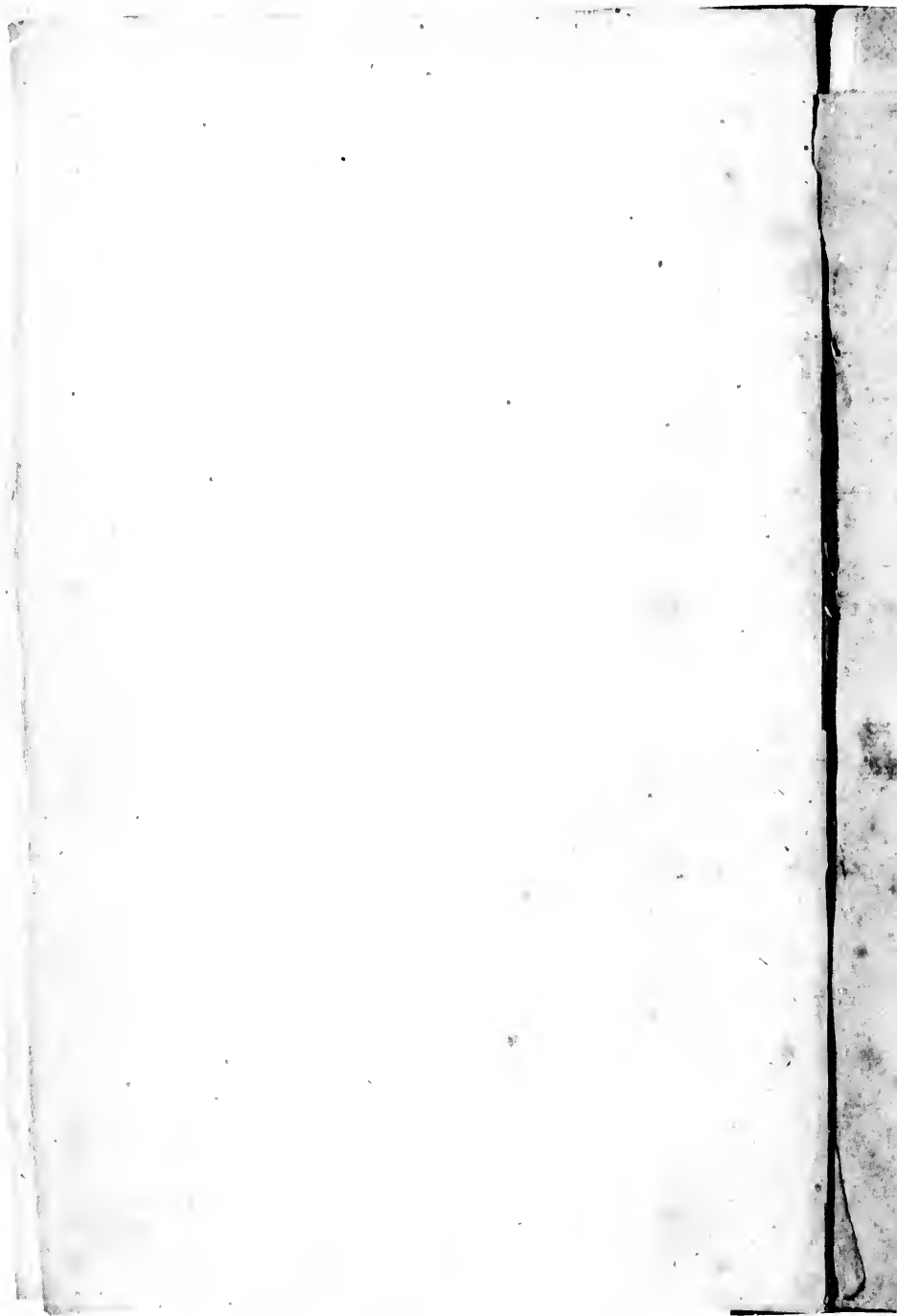
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OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
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OF THE
AMERICAN STATES

WITH
EUROPE AND THE WEST INDIES;
Including the several ARTICLES of
IMPORT AND EXPORT.

ALSO, AN
ESSAY
ON
CANON AND FEUDAL LAW.

BY JOHN ADAMS, ESQUIRE;
AMBASSADOR PLENIPOTENTIARY, from the
UNITED and INDEPENDENT STATES of NORTH AMERICA,
To their High MIGHTINESSES the STATES GENERAL of the
UNITED PROVINCES of HOLLAND.

To which is Annexed, the Political Character of the said
JOHN ADAMS, ESQUIRE;

By AN AMERICAN.

PRICE HALF A DOLLAR;

PHILADELPHIA:
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OBSERVATIONS

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1851

THE

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONERS

OF THE

LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR

1851

LONDON

PRINTED BY

H. COLEMAN AND CO. ST. MARTIN'S LANE

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OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
COMMERCE
OF THE
AMERICAN STATES
WITH
EUROPE AND THE WEST INDIES.

AS a sudden revolution, an unprecedented case, a momentous change, the independence of America, has bewildered our reason and encouraged the wildest follies of imagination, systems have been preferred to experience, rash theory to successful practice, and the Navigation Act itself, the guardian of the prosperity of Britain, has been almost abandoned by the levity or ignorance of those who have never seriously examined the spirit or the consequence of ancient rules. Our calmer reflections will soon discover, that such great sacrifices are neither requisite nor expedient; and the knowledge of the exports and imports of the American States will afford us facts and principles to ascertain the value of their trade, to foresee their true interest and probable conduct, and to choose the wisest measures (the wisest are always the most simple) for securing and improving the benefits of a commercial intercourse with this foreign and independent nation. For it is in the light of a foreign country that America must henceforward be viewed; it is the situation she herself has chosen by asserting her independence, and the whimsical definition of a people *sui generis*, is either a figure of rhetoric which conveys no distinct idea, or the effort of cunning to unite at the same time the advantages of two inconsistent characters. By asserting their independence, the Americans have renounced the privileges, as well as the duties, of British subjects. If in some instances, as in the loss of the carrying trade, they feel the inconvenience of their choice, they can no longer complain; but if they are placed on the footing of the most favoured nation, they must surely applaud our liberality and friendship, without expecting that, for their emolument, we should sacrifice the navigation and the naval power of Great Britain. By this simple, if only temporary expedient, we shall escape the unknown mischiefs of crude and precipitate systems, we shall avoid the

4 OBSERVATIONS

the rashness of hasty and peralicious concessions, which can never be resumed without provoking the jealousy, and perhaps not without an entire commercial breach, with the American States.

In the youthful ardour of grasping the advantages of the American trade, a bill*, still depending, was first introduced into parliament, Had it passed into a law, it would have affected our most essential interests in every branch of commerce, and to every part of the world; it would have endangered the repose of Ireland, and excited the just indignation of Russia and other countries †; and the West India planters would have been the only subjects of Britain who could derive any benefit, however partial, from their open-intercourse directly with the American States, and indirectly with the rest of the world. Fortunately some delays have intervened, and if we diligently use the opportunity of reflection, the future welfare of our country may depend on this salutary pause.

Our natural impatience to pre-occupy the American market, should perhaps be rather checked than encouraged. The same eagerness has been indulged by our rival nations; they have vied with each other in pouring their manufactures into America, and the country is already stocked, most probably overstocked, with European commodities ‡. It is experience alone that can demonstrate to the French, or Dutch trader, the fallacy of his eager hopes, and that experience will operate each day in favour of the British merchant. He alone is able and willing to grant that liberal credit which must be extorted from his competitors by the rashness of their early ventures; they will soon discover that America has neither money or sufficient produce to send in return, and cannot have for some time; and not intending or being able to give credit, their funds will be exhausted, their agents

* Moved in parliament by the Right Hon. W. Pitt, late Chancellor of the Exchequer; intitled "a bill, for the provisional establishment and regulation of trade and intercourse between the subjects of Great Britain and those of the United States of America."

† To instance only Russia: by treaty she is to be considered as the most favoured nation. She will not easily be amused by any ridiculous attempts that may be made to treat the American States other than foreign. Iron from Russia pays a duty on importation into this country of 2l. 16s. per ton; while iron from America, when a part of the empire, was free of all duty. If we do not put both countries on an equal footing, we may sacrifice the best trade we have.

‡ The American market is already glutted with European manufactures. British goods of several kinds were cheaper last year in New-York than in London, and the last Letters from Philadelphia mention several articles 25 per cent. cheaper.

agents will never return, and the ruin of the first creditors will serve as a lasting warning to their countrymen. The solid power of supplying the wants of America, of receiving her produce, and of waiting her convenience, belongs almost exclusively to our own merchants. If we can abstain from mischievous precipitation we may now learn what we shall hereafter feel, that the industry of Britain will encounter little competition in the American market. We shall observe with pleasure, that, among the maritime states, France our hereditary foe, will derive the smallest benefits from the commercial independence of America. She may exult in the dismemberment of the British empire, but if we are true to ourselves, and to the wisdom of our ancestors, there is still life and vigour left to disappoint her hopes, and to controul her ambition. §

To form the following state it was necessary to examine and ascertain what are the wants of America, what this country can provide her with, which cannot be procured elsewhere on terms equally advantageous, and what are the productions of America to give in return. The observations made on them may throw some light on a subject as interesting, although perhaps as ill understood as any that can be agitated among us, and when stated in this manner, they may be better comprehended and considered than if spoken to benches usually almost empty, except when a ministerial question depends.

The imports and exports of the American States must in general, from many causes, be the same, and for a long time to come, that they formerly have been.

To begin with imports from Europe: — They may be divided into those in which Great Britain will have scarce any competition; those in which she will have competition; and those which she cannot supply to advantage.

Articles

§ There is no circumstance of the war that can inspire France with any confidence in her fleet, her army, or her finances. By the suspension of the carrying trade, by her neglect and abuse of her army, she made up a fleet that was in no instance victorious. Some time before the signing of the preliminaries, she stoped payment of the bills drawn by her Commissaries in America. Britain always resisted, and sometimes vanquished the maritime powers of the world, and her efforts will be as glorious in the annals of history, as her most successful wars. The resources which have supported a war so distant, so various, so expensive, have been superior to the expectation of the most sanguine. Our advantage may be fairly ascribed to the strength and spirit of the country: our failure, more especially in America, to the misconduct of individuals, and the errors of Parliament.

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Articles in which there will be scarce any Competition.

WOOLLENS.

In this great and capital article Great Britain will have very little competition, except in superfine cloths made in France, to appearance of equal quality to those made in England; they fail in firmness and durability, but are afforded cheaper; they have a superior lustre. France excels in single colours, though seldom in mixed colours; but the demand of the superfine cloths from America will be very inconsiderable; the consumption of that country is chiefly under fourteen shillings per yard; the quantity of those of a higher price bears no proportion to that of any one of the inferior qualities, down to the coarsest and cheapest. There will be no competition in woollen stuffs of other kind and quality, such as camblets, callimancoes, shalloons, durants, &c. The manufactures at Lille and some other towns in France have attempted camblets, serges, and some other light woollens, but have hitherto made so little progress, that the same cloths of English manufacture, loaded with duties or expences near 30 per cent. are preferred, both in the French and Austrian Netherlands. As to the shalloons, tammies, durants, and other light stuffs for the lining of cloaths, and such uses, the French manufacturera have hitherto made nothing but some very bungling and coarse imitations. The article of wool being from 15 to 20 per cent. dearer in France than in England, though the price of labour is lower; yet, whilst wool continues to be dear, it is hardly possible that coarse cloths, which require a greater proportion of materials than of labour, can be afforded so cheap in France as in England; and it is certain, that all coarse woollens are at this time at least 15 per cent. dearer in France than in England.

Cutlery, Iron and Steel Manufactures, of every Kind.

Which never were, nor probably ever will be imported to any amount, but from Great Britain. The Americans already exceed the French workmen, both in the fashion and finishing of their iron and steel manufactories. French nails are clumsy, and bad. At Liege nails may be had cheaper than in England, but they also are clumsy, and do not suit the American market. By having British workmen many articles are made as well in America as in Europe, but in no quantities, except scythes and axes, which are much better, but bear near double the price. Porcelain

* No branch of commerce is more interesting to us than the manufactures of iron; yet we suffer them to be clogged with a most improper

ON COMMERCE. 7

*Porcelain and Earthen Ware of all Qualities,
except the most gross and common.*

The consumption of this article has been very considerable, and will increase. The importation has been and must be made from Great Britain, on account both of the quality and price. An attempt to manufacture this article was made at Philadelphia, but failed; it may succeed hereafter. East India china is perhaps cheaper in Holland; a very trifling quantity is used in America.

G L A S S.

per duty, for the sake of a revenue. There is scarce any article on which it would not be more prudently laid. The duty on foreign iron being 46s. per ton, undoubtedly produces considerably. In 1781, 50,000 tons were imported from Russia alone; but the average importation yearly from thence, does not exceed 30,000. It is a duty however we should lower very much, or spare intirely, notwithstanding the moment of difficulty to our financiers. There should be no duty on raw materials, especially in this case. Russia, Germany, and other countries which have iron without duty, will undersel us in the manufacture of it.

The cheaper the raw materials, certainly the greater advantage to the manufacturer, and to the country; and for the sake of British iron mines, we should not burthen the raw materials. The mint cannot be an object of so much consequence; besides our iron is inferior to foreign. Raw materials are better for us in return than gold; they are the parents of many manufactures. As the duty now stands, the manufacturer of nails in Russia might afford to sell them 3l. a ton cheaper than we can. Russia makes great quantities for home consumption, and having now taken off the duty, may soon greatly undersel us. Iron imported into England pays 56s. per ton; iron into Ireland 10s. per ton only. As there is no drawback in either country upon foreign iron manufactured, Ireland can export at 46s. per ton advantage. Coals, and the means of manufacturing, are however much in favour of England. We should also take off the duty on hemp and tar from Russia, which would greatly help our exportation of cordage. We import 15,000 ton of hemp yearly from thence. An advantage in return might be expected from Russia, on such articles as she gets as cheap or cheaper from other countries.

As to woollens, at present, we have lost the cloathing of the Russian army by abuses in the manufacture, especially by overstretching the cloth; the consequence of which is, shrinking extremely when worn. Our treaty of commerce with Russia expires in 1786.

May we hope before that time our ministers will have leisure, from political struggles, to pay attention to that most interesting business. Our intercourse is, and must ever be, great with Russia. She has not inhabitants for manufactures; she cannot interfere with us much in

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8 OBSERVATIONS.

G L A S S.

The importation of looking-glasses, drinking-glasses, and other glass furniture, though it rose to a large sum, bore no proportion to the importation and consumption of window-glass. — Except the looking-glasses made in Holland, (supposed made in France) there is no article of glass in any part of Europe but the British which will answer in the American market. — There are glass-works in Pennsylvania. Bad glass is made in New-Jersey for windows, but there is not any quantity of glass made in America as yet, except bottles. Hitherto these manufactures have been carried on there by German workmen.

S T O C K I N G S.

The great consumption of stockings in the American States is worsted, linen and cotton; that of silk will never bear any proportion; the worsted, linen and cotton have been and most probably will be imported from Great Britain; the silk from different countries. A considerable quantity of coarse worsted stockings is made in America.

S H O E S.

The importation of men's shoes, except in Virginia, and the Carolinas, was never to any great amount; but of women's it was and must continue to be considerable, and will be made from Great-Britain only principally †, until some other nation in Europe shall learn the art of manufacturing and working leather as well; at present, the most advanced of them are far behind the Americans themselves in that branch. Soles are better made in England, because better tanned. — America has not stock to afford to tan the leather as in England, where it lays three years in the tan-pit; in America they leave it only one year. Upper leathers for shoes are as good in America as in England.

B U T T O N S.

the carrying trade. Her efforts as a maritime power have not, and cannot succeed. Her ports being shut six or seven months in the year by ice, she cannot have many sailors. The articles we have from her are necessary to us. The trade with her is more in our favour than is at first imagined. All the articles from Russia, except linens, come unmanufactured. All we send in return are manufactured, even her own iron.

† *A considerable quantity of women's shoes are made in Massachusetts particularly at Lynn, some for exportation to the other colonies; but the stuff, such as callimanco, &c. the binding and lining come from Britain.*

ON COMMERCE. 9

BUTTONS.

This will be one of the last manufactures which the Americans will go into; and whilst Great Britain supplies great part of Europe with this article, it cannot be questioned from whence the Americans will import it.

HATS.

The Americans will be able to manufacture beaver-hats for themselves, which they prefer to foreign ones, though they will not by any means keep out rain so well as fine felt hats; but the high price of wool and of labour in the American States must induce them to import the felt and common hats; and as wool is cheaper in Great Britain than on the continent, the British manufacturers must be able to afford them cheaper.

Cotton or Manchester Manufactures of all Kinds.

These collectively form a very capital branch of importation in the American States, and, except at Rouen in France, there is no considerable manufactory of them in any part of Europe. The manufactures at Rouen are good, but they have been hitherto near 20 per cent. dearer than those from Manchester, which has given the latter the preference in the Netherlands, in Holland, Germany, and most parts of Europe, and must do the same in America. Though labour is cheaper in France, and cotton to be had at the same price, or cheaper, the superior skill and stock of England gives the great advantage.*

HABERDASHERY and MILLINARY.

Pins and needles will come best from Britain. Fine linen tapes and fine thread are best from Holland or Flanders; but the common British tapes are cheapest, and also all kinds of worsted bindings, garters, coarse threads and sewing silks. As to ribbands, England sends a great quantity to France, but, where beauty is not depending, France will have the advantage, consequently in plain goods, such as common black ribbands. Our ribbands are made of Turkey, Bengal, and China silks, and some Italian. France will be a competitor with us in black modes and fattins, but in persians and farfenets we have the advantage. Gauzes are cheapest and best from Britain. As America takes its fashions from England, millinary goods will go from hence in large quantities, as

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* Manchester goods are carried from England into France, and there sold as French manufactures.

10 O B S E R V A T I O N S

they have always done. Muslins, also, will come most reasonable from Britain. Manchester begins to vie with the East Indies in that article, and manufactures a large quantity.

*Tin in Plates, Lead in Pigs and in Sheets,
Copper in Sheets, and wrought into Kitchen
and other Utensils.*

The consumption of tin in sheets, wrought in America, into kitchen furniture and other articles, and of lead in pigs and sheets, for different purposes, was of considerable amount, and will be of still of greater in future. These articles can be had from Great Britain only, to any advantage; and though copper may possibly be brought in the rough cheaper from Sweden than from England, or the copper mines of America, yet the dearth of labour in the American States will lead the importer to purchase the article of copper wanted in America ready made in Europe, and, consequently, the manufacturers in Great Britain, in that article, must have the preference; and the American States have so few articles to send to Sweden, or indeed to any part of the North, that all the articles from the Baltic may be imported through Great Britain, to greater advantage than directly from those countries. There are fine lead mines in Virginia, near the surface, not yet worked, or in a small degree. There are also very rich mines on the Ohio and Mississippi.

P A I N T E R S C O L O U R S .

The dwelling houses, and other buildings in the American States, (except those in the cities) are almost universally built of wood, which circumstance causes a large demand for oil, and painters colours. Oil is made in the country from the refuse of the flaxseed, taken out in cleaning of it for exportation; but the articles for colouring must be imported. The articles of whiting or chalk, and white lead forms at least three-fourths of all paint, and being cheaper in Great Britain than elsewhere, must come from thence.

Cordage and Ship Chandlery.

The American merchants prefer the cordage made in America from hemp of the growth of the country, or imported from Russia; but of foreign made cordage, they will, as far as imported, prefer the British, and the proper assortment of ship chandlery cannot
be

ON COMMERCE. II

be had elsewhere. The Dutch cordage made for exportation is by no means good, being made of the refuse of hemp and old cables, but that which is made for their own use is very good. America manufactures a considerable quantity of cordage, but at least imports from Britain one half. Russia makes a great deal of cordage for exportation, and may become competitors with us in that article, if we do not take off or lower the duty on hemp and tar, to enable us to furnish America cheaper. We now take 15,000 tons of hemp yearly from Russia.

*Jewellery, and ornamental, as well as useful,
Articles in the Birmingham Style, such as
Buckles, Watch-Chains, &c. &c.*

These articles will be imported from Great Britain. In France, they are either too costly, or too badly designed and finished, to suit the American taste; whilst the British manufactures of those articles have so far succeeded, in uniting the solid and useful with the showy and agreeable, as to have the preference, even in France.

*Materials for Coach-makers, Sadlers, and
Upholsterers.*

These articles must be imported from Great Britain, as well as all such of the articles for house furniture, which are not manufactured in the American States. The materials principally will be imported. Upholstery, in many articles, is too bulky; but all that goes from Europe will be from England.

MEDICINAL DRUGS.

Will be imported from Great Britain in preference to any other country, on account of the knowledge which the apothecaries, physicians, and surgeons in the American States, have of the method of procuring and preparing them in Great Britain, and from the familiarity of the practice of medicine and surgery in the two countries.

STEEL in BARS.

At present this article, for all common uses, is made to good profit in the American States, but they still import a great deal of English and German steel. The English is cheapest, therefore in general used; but the latter is best.

INDIAN

12 O B S E R V A T I O N S
I N D I A N T R A D E .

Goods in general, for the Indian trade, can be had cheapest in Great Britain, and are principally coarse woollens, cutlery, guns, and paints.

B O O K S .

This is a considerable article of importation into America from Britain, and must continue so as long as the price of labour is high there, and the language continues the same.

In the following articles there may be competition.

L I N E N S .

Of all prices, from four shillings per yard down to the coarsest and lowest prices are imported into America. It was but seldom that lincens above 4s. were imported, and but a small quantity at so high a price. The French lincens will not answer in the American market; nor are the linen manufactures of France equal to her home consumption, which calls for large quantities from the Austrian Netherlands and Germany. The lincens of Ghent, Courtray, and other towns in Flanders, are strong and durable, and may on that account be intrinsically as good as the Irish; but they do not bleach, dress, and pack them in such a manner as to please the eye; and the Americans, accustomed to the Irish lincens will give them the preference, at least for their wearing or body lincens. Irish lincens, in general, is as cheap as any that can be got through Flanders. America cannot be supplied with Russia and German lincens, as cheap through England as through Holland, on account of duties and other expences here. The Russian competition will only be in sheeting and drilling. Of sheeting, 15,000 pieces were imported in 1782 into England from Russia. Russia sheeting is made of Hemp; Irish is made of flax.

S A I L - C L O T H

Of every kind is imported by the American States. Russia had the advantage in Rossiaduck and Ravenduck, but when charged with the duty on importation here, they were as dear as British sail-cloth. Russia duck in England is about 6s. per piece (of 36 yards) dearer than in Holland, arising from duties and other expences. †

† Which as far as it will not interfere with our linen manufacture, should be lowered. At present Russiaduck is so scarce in England, that near 3l is given for a piece, that formerly sold from 35s. to 40s. This

The law that obliged American ships to have the first set of sails of British canvas being at an end, the Russia duck only will be used. It is said the British sail-cloth is more apt to mildew, but that may be prevented in great measure by pickling when new. It is also said, that the Russia sail-cloth is more pliable. France makes sail-cloth, but it is much dearer and inferior. Some has been made at Philadelphia, but the quantity must be trifling for some time.

PAPER and STATIONARY.

Writing-paper is cheaper in France and in Flanders than in Great Britain or Holland; but there is very little to be met with in either of the former countries of a good quality. Good paper may be got from Holland. She can undersell England; but a considerable quantity of paper and stationery will continue to be sent from the latter. Coarse paper for newspapers, &c. is made in America.

L A C E S.

The importation of the better quality of Flanders or Brussels lace, at it is called, cannot, for a long time to come, amount to any thing considerable. The most ordinary and low priced thread lace, and the black silk lace for trimmings, are more immediately in demand in the American States. The thread laces are best in Flanders and Britain. Although black silk laces may be had on the best terms at Barcelona and Marseilles, considerable quantities of the British manufacture has been imported into America.

Calicoes and printed Goods.

Next to woollens, linens and cutlery, this is one of the most considerable articles imported into the American States, and as there are now large manufactories established in the Netherlands, in France, in Switzerland, and in many other parts of Europe: The price at which those goods can be afforded in the several countries, and the credit that may be obtained, will determine the Americans in their purchases: England, it is thought, will have the advantage greatly in this branch, especially in the finest and most beautiful patterns. Switzerland manufactures these articles as cheap, if not cheaper than any country, but her situation is not advantageous for export to America. France, during the war, had

This has occasioned a great demand for British sail-cloth, which has a bounty of 2d per yard on exportation. The duty on Russia duck when shipped, is about 2s per piece of 36 yards. It is considerably wider than English.

14 OBSERVATIONS

had great part of its white cottons for printing from England, but her intercourse with the East Indies, now opened, may enable her to supply herself.

S I L K S.

The whole importation of silk goods of every kind into the American States, never was at any time equal to that of callicoes and printed linens, nor is it probable that it will exceed in future; but a small proportion of the inhabitants of the American States can afford to wear costly silks. The men wear very little, except for vests, breeches and stockings, and the women universally prefer a chiatz, or callicoe, to a common silk. Light silks are not likely to become a general wear in America; neither France or any other country will ever engross the whole, or even the principal part of that branch of commerce with the American States, but it will be divided between Spain, France, and England. Black cravats, and silk handkerchiefs of all kinds, amount to nearly as much as any one article of silk consumed in America, and those, with silk lace, and some other articles, are to be had at Barcelona better than in any other part of Europe; though great quantities of silk handkerchiefs, and cravats made at Manchester and Spitalfields, slighter and cheaper, are sent to America. Silk hose, and light showy silks of every kind, may go from France, and the more substantial and durable silk from England. All mixtures of silk and cotton, and silks and worsted, will come best from Manchester and Norwich. Possibly silk may hereafter be raised in America. It is said, it succeeded with the French in the Illinois, but it must be a long time before it can be used in manufactures there.

S A L T from E U R O P E.

This article will seldom or never answer to form an intire cargo, but is profitable to ballast with. American articles are bulky, those taken in return from Europe are not so. Salt will be taken indiscriminately from France, Great Britain, and wherever ships want a ballast on their return to America, and the salt is to be had. English salt is cheaper than French. Much goes from Lisbon and St. Ubes, and is best for fish, English is best for beef, and West India salt for pork and butter.

Tea and East-India Goods in general.

The amount collectively is very considerable, and those nations in Europe that can afford them the cheapest and best will have the preference. As to tea, Holland purchases an inferior kind, and can undersel us, but the tea not being so good as ours, we shall have

ON COMMERCE 15

have a share of the trade*. The American States may have East-India pepper from us cheaper than elsewhere, and they took a great quantity from us. China earthen-ware is merely brought in our ships as ballast, and to raise the teas above the danger of wet †; it is an article of no consequence, and little is used in America. It will hardly be her interest to go to Canton; she has no articles to send there, or money.

SALT-PETRE and POWDER.

In time of peace, the importation has been and will continue to be too inconsiderable to merit attention; but it will be imported cheaper than it can be made in America: From whence cheapest remains to be decided.

LAWNS.

The consumption of this article is greater than that of cambric, and it is a question, whether coarse kinds of it can be had on better terms in Flanders, France, or Britain. Large quantities are made at St. Quintin, and that part of the continent, and also in Scotland; but the finer kinds are run into England from France and Flanders.

THREAD.

Great quantities are made in Scotland, Ireland, and England, but there will be a competition with Flanders.

HEMP.

America does not raise the fiftieth part she consumes. She formerly got it through England and Holland, from the Baltic. It is necessary to screw it down to prevent its being too bulky, but in consequence, it is liable by heating to suffer great damage, unless it is very well cured, put on board dry, and kept so. If not it will be necessary to unload it to air, on so long a voyage as that from the Baltic to America. Some might go unscrewed, with heavy articles, to make up a cargo, such as cordage; but America has little to send to the Baltic, and a cargo for America could not easily be made up there.

Articles

* The Dutch navigate in most respects cheaper than us; but so slow, that in the end there is no great difference. Tea (Bobea) has been as low as 1s. 4d. in Holland, when in England it was at 2s. 11d. and 3s. The Dutch purchase the damaged teas.

† There are often in London orders from Holland for china.

Articles which cannot be supplied by Great Britain to Advantage.

W I N E.

The wines consumed in America are almost solely Madeira, Lisbon, Fayal, Teneriff, and some Sherry, and were nineteen twentieths of the whole ever consumed in the American States. The quantity of Port and claret was inconsiderable. The Americans will import wines directly from the countries which produce them, and will perhaps use more French wines than they did. They could not heretofore get them cheap through Britain. French and Spanish wines will be run cheaper through the American States, both to the West Indies and Canada, &c. than through England, till the act is repealed, which obliges them to pass through Britain. Every attempt to make wine in America has failed. The great heat and the rains are supposed to cause such a luxurious vegetation, that the grapes burst before they are ripe.

B R A N D I E S.

There has never been any great consumption of brandy in the American States, nor will be so long as good West India rum can be had at half the price, which was the case, and the people preferred it; but the importation of brandy will be from France, Spain, and Portugal, chiefly from the two latter; especially, as that from Spain and Portugal is of a better quality, and of higher proof than that of France. Barcelona has sent 20000 pipes of brandy to France in one year. Some good brandies are made in America, from peaches, but it is scarce; some not good is made from apples, and malt.

G E N E V A.

This article is in less demand than brandy, and will be imported from Holland; it may soon be made in America, being distilled from rye. Reduced lands, that no longer will bear wheat or Indian corn, will bear that grain.

Oil, Raisins, Figs, Olives, and other Fruits.

The importation, which is not of a capital amount, will be chiefly made from Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

C A M B R I C S.

The consumption of this article in the American States is not of equal value to many others: it can be had on the best terms from France and Austrian Flanders.

Nearly

Nearly all the articles of importation from Europe into the American States are comprehended under the above general heads. The principal part, at least four fifths of them, were at all times made in credit. The American States are in greater want of credit at this time than at former periods. It can be had only in Great Britain. The French, who gave them credit, are all bankrupts; French merchants in general cannot give much credit; many principal commercial houses in France have been ruined by it. The Dutch have not trusted the Americans to any amount, and will not; it is not their custom to give credit, but on the best security. It is therefore obvious, from this and the above state of imports, into what channels the commerce of the American States must inevitably flow, and that nearly four-fifths of their importations will be from Great Britain directly. Where articles are nearly equal, the superior credit given by England will always give the preference, and it is probable, many foreign articles will go to America through Great Britain.

It is of great importance to attend to the exports from America to Europe, to pay for the goods imported. They consist of the following.

*The Produce of the Whale and Cod Fisheries, viz.
Whale, Oil, Bone, Fins, and Salted Fish.*

Whale oil, bone and fins were formerly sent from the American Colonies to Great Britain only, but if permitted hereafter to be brought from the American States, our fisheries, particularly that of Greenland, will be ruined. The articles now in question must be received by us only in ships British built, including those of Canada and Nova-Scotia. The whale-fishery can be carried on from Nova-Scotia and St. John's to as good, if not greater advantage than any part of America. The Salted fish from the American States found a market in the ports of Spain and of Portugal, and in the Mediterranean, but none in France or any of the northern ports of Europe. Little is brought to England. The whole amount of salted fish sent yearly to the European market from New-England, varied from 130 to 135,000l. It remains to be seen what turn this trade will take. France, for the sake of employing her shipping and raising seamen, will make great efforts, but America must be able to undersell and supply Europe, and will supply Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean. Nova-Scotia and the settlements on the gulph of St. Lawrence will fish more advantageously than the American States, being nearer, consequently at less expence. There are many places on the coasts of Nova-Scotia, where, at certain seasons, large quantities of cod are taken in the ports by a sein, and the salmon fishery in that province

C

Nearly

province and in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on the Canada and Nova-Scotia shores, is unquestionably the best in the world. The whale fishery on the American coast was so much exhausted before the revolution, that the New-Englanders went to the coast of Africa, the Faulkland's-islands, the western islands, and the coast of Ireland, and with considerable success; the oil or blubber was carried to America. If blubber it was manufactured into oil, and the whole sent to the British market it is obvious that this trade can be carried on to greater advantage to the above-mentioned places from Britain and Ireland, than from America, and a double voyage will be avoided. The reduction or taking off the small duty on oil, and the heavy duty on spermaceti imported in British ships, and leaving the duties on what is brought from the late British colonies, will be a proper encouragement. The quantity of spermaceti imported as such is small.

FLOUR and WHEAT.

This article has been of equal, if not of greater importance in the American exportations than the preceding; but excepting the instance of three or four years, there never was any market in Europe for the wheat and wheat-flour of America, except in Spain, Portugal, and the ports of the Mediterranean. Before the war, the wheat from Canada began to be preferred in Spain. It is heavier, and keeps better in a hot climate, being usually sent in grain, and yields from 60 to 65 pounds per bushel, yet the flour of it not being very white, sells proportionably cheaper. Being in grain, the Spanish purchaser had the advantage of manufacturing it, and there being a demand in Canada for a low-priced, but strong red wine of Spain, for which there was none in the American States, the Canadian merchants had great advantages, and they may be still increased. No winter wheat in Canada previous to 1763. In 1774 vast quantities of both that and summer wheat were exported, not less than 500,000 bushels, with which above 100 vessels were loaded for Europe, besides what was sent in flour and bread to the West Indies and fisheries, and 100,000 bushels left in hand for want of ships to export them. In five or six years, 3 or 400 sail might be employed from Canada in different branches. The merchants of Philadelphia, the capital of the corn country, sent ships to Quebec, to load with wheat from thence to Europe. Canada can supply the Newfoundland fisheries with flour and bread. France probably will not allow, except in times of scarcity, the American States to supply their fisheries in North America with bread or flour. *—French fishing ships going out have nothing else to carry, except implements for fishery and salt.

Naval

* England should use the same policy to encourage her agriculture, especially as Canada and the American States are likely to have most of

Naval Stores, viz. Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine.

These articles were exported principally from North Carolina, and to Great Britain only; for without the bounty given by Parliament they could not have been exported, and as the same encouragement cannot be given in future, the Americans will scarcely be able to carry those articles to any European market.

Naval stores from Carolina, before the war would barely pay freight with the assistance of a bounty. If the price should, however, keep up as it has done, during the war, they may still come from thence; but that cannot be expected. None can be made to advantage, or in any quantity but in North-Carolina, where the sandy poor soil towards the sea produces the pitch-pine.

Turpentine comes from the same part, from a different tree, which is chiefly to be found in that State; Tar was from 4 to 5s. sterling per barrel of 32 gallons, pitch and turpentine nearly double the price. The bounty on tar was more than the original price, viz. 5s. 6d.

The Baltic had a monopoly of these articles before the bounty was given on American naval stores; the bounty of course reduced the price considerably, but naval stores from the Baltic are of a superior quality.

Masts and Spars for the Navy, and for Merchants Ships.

The timber suitable for masts and spars, is not found in North America, south of 41 degrees of latitude; this is a fact well ascertained. Where this species of timber fails essentially, or entirely to the northward, has not been precisely ascertained, but it is generally agreed, that north of 48 degrees, no quantity is to be found in any degree of perfection. The masts and spars formerly sent to Europe from America, were procured in the northern parts of New England, but they have been gradually cut near to water carriage, and are daily becoming more scarce and more difficult to be got in the American States. Whilst the forests of Nova Scotia and Canada, abounding in timber of that kind, remain untouched. All that is near Lake Champlain must go down the river St. Laurence. New-York and Philadelphia were supplied

of the corn trade which England had. In war time, the importation of flour from America has usually been allowed into the French islands, but in peace it is prohibited both in the Dutch and French settlements, A vessel having 20lb. weights of flour in any of their ports, would be confiscated. The flour the French got from America came through some free ports, except the small quantity that was smuggled.

S

Canada and world. The coast of Africa, the coast of blubber was into oil, and this trade can mentioned places double voyage small duty on a British ships, the British colonies of spermaceti

importance in it excepting the any market in except in Spain. Before the war, to Spain. It is usually sent in it, yet the flour cheaper. Being of manufacturing low-priced, but in the American states, and they Canada previous to number wheat were which above 100 sent in flour and 50 bushels left in six years, 3 or different branches. the corn country, hence to Europe. with flour and times of scarcity, North America log but have no sand salt.

Naval

her agriculture, likely to have most of

plied principally from the province of Maine and Nova Scotia, although there is a considerable quantity of masts and spars up the Hudson's River, the Delaware, Chesapeake, and Susquehanna, but they are of an inferior kind, not large and more difficult to be got: the inhabitants have other employment. Britain has its great and best masts principally from the Baltic*.

Pipe-Staves and Lumber in general.

This was a considerable article to Spain and to Portugal, and to some other parts of Europe; as also to Madcira, and the other wine islands and countries; but the best timber for these purposes is to be found in Canada and Nova-Scotia, and the forests in those countries have been hitherto almost untouched: they will be found for a long time to come, inexhaustible, whilst timber has already become scarce in most of the American States, and in the middle and southward provinces, it is not of so good a quality.

F L A X S E E D.

This article was exported from the American States to Ireland only; no other country in Europe is in want of it. nor can Ireland be furnished with it to so good advantage from any other part of the world. for though it may be had from Flanders †, and in the Baltic, it is of an inferior quality and dearer, and must be paid for in money, instead of linens, which are exchanged for it in America.

I R O N and P O T - A S H.

Every part of north America abounds in Iron mines, but from the high price of labour in the American States iron could not have

* American masts are much inferior to those which come from Riga, and the Empress has lately allowed masts to be cut down on the estates of the nobles, and exported from Petersburg; but the largest and best come from Turkey and Poland; their grain is much closer. A mast from these countries, of 22 inches, is equal to an American mast of 24 inches. They may be chosen from the woods at ten dollars, or about 50 s. each; the carriage costs 100 dollars. They are carried against the stream of the Dniپر to the head, and over land above 30 miles to the head of the river Dwina; there is a heavy duty at Riga. In time of war the freight is very extravagant; and the largest masts when they arrive in England, will cost from two to three or four hundred pounds.

† The seed is very indifferent there, because the flax is pulled while green, for the sake of having it finer and better.

have been exported without the Advantage of entering free into Britain in competition with foreign iron, which pay 56r. per ton. Canada has plenty of iron mines, The quantity of iron made in Britain by means of pit coal, increases very greatly, and will decrease importations. Pot-ash may be made to greater advantage in Nova-Scotia and Canada than elsewhere in America, on account of the quantity of wood burned there to clear the country.

T O B A C C O.

This capital article was exported from Virginia and Maryland to Great Britain only, where it was sorted and re-exported unmanufactured, except a small quantity. The exportation being now free to every part, it remains to be determined by experience, if it be more advantageous to transport it to every country where it is consumed, or to carry it first to one general market to meet the purchasers. It will be sent in large quantities in return, or payment for our manufactures, and we can afford to give the best price in this manner, by taking it in return. The first price is from one 1d. half-penny to 2d. per pound, seldom lower; duty in England, 1s. 3d. in France; the whole is monopolized by the farmers-general. America will not afford her tobacco so cheap to France, as the latter got it through British contractors before the war †. The consumption of tobacco in Britain and Ireland, was about 20,000 hogheads, near 8000 of which are supposed to have been smuggled. Britain imported the five or six years before the war between 90,000 and 100,000 hogheads, and only manufactured for her own consumption. France is supposed to consume from 20 to 24,000 hogheads, about 19 or 20,000 of which came from America. The use of tobacco has declined in England and America. One thousand tons of tobacco was exported last year from Petersburg, and about 500 tons from Riga and other parts of Russia; it chiefly went to Lubeck and Holland; a considerable part was returned manufactured. A large quantity, (the growth of the Ukraine) during the war, went to France through Holland, &c. Russia supplied herself, but the consumption is not very great there. Hamburgh had, for common use, from Germany, and some from England. A considerable quantity is raised in Brandenburg, on the Rhine, in the Palatinate, Flanders and Holland. Flanders grows more tobacco than she consumes. Virginia, during peace, will supply better and cheaper than these countries.

The

† France will be much disappointed. The cultivation of tobacco has been greatly interrupted; it will never be so great as it has been. There has and will be a considerable emigration from the tobacco country. The lands wear out. Better land beyond the mountains may be got very cheap, and free from taxes. Other kind of farming is preferred.

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The Baltic will not take a great quantity. European tobacco will be much better under proper cultivation and management. In America tobacco is dried in a house: In Europe, the flavour is exhale by drying in the sun; at least a sufficient quantity might be raised in Europe, though perhaps not of the best quality.

FURS and PELTRY.

Previous to the reduction of Canada, the exportation was very considerable from the American States; but since 1763 it has been of no great consequence. What it may be in future it is as yet uncertain. Probably the trade will be divided. The old channel that is Quebec, will have the advantage, especially as Britain furnishes Indian goods.

S P E R M A C Æ T I C A N D L E S.

A considerable and encreasing export from the Northern Colonies to several countries, but particularly to the British and foreign West India islands.

I N D I G O and R I C E.

No part of the American States produces these articles, but the Carolinas and Georgia; † a certain quantity of the last article may answer in almost every part of Europe; but the former only in the northern parts, including Great Britain and Ireland. The quantity however of North American indigo that goes to the Baltic is trifling. The Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians, get indigo from South America the best in the world. The French also raise a large quantity in their West India islands, which is much better than the indigo of the American States. From the latter a great quantity is sent to England, and must be taken in return for goods.

Ships built for Sale or the taking of Freight.

The business of building ships for Sale, in Great-Britain, or the taking of freights there, or in the West-Indies, was both considerable and profitable. American-built ships have not hitherto been in demand in any part of Europe, except in Great-Britain and Ireland; nor have they, but in few instances, ever obtained freights elsewhere, than in those kingdoms, and in the British West-Indies. American ships for sale are not substantial or well built: The timber not of lasting as that of British ships. [*What can be better than Mulberry, Live-oak, or Cedar?*] It is evident that this trade can never take place any where on the continent to the North of France. France probably will not suffer America to supply her with ships.
Britain

† The country on the Mississippi will produce much better indigo, and sufficient to supply the whole world.

Britain cannot take her shipping without ruining her own: She must consider them as foreign-built ships; and if she encourages ship-buildings in Canada and Nova-Scotia, it is to be expected that ship-building for sale in the American States will be lessened, if not entirely stopped for a time. * Such encouragement will draw the sailors from New England, raise many in Canada; and that province will become a very considerable nursery for seamen.

The above Articles comprehend nearly the whole of the exports from the American States, of the growth of the country.

The Articles imported by the American States from the West India Islands and settlements in general, were the following viz.

SUGARS.

The difference of price between French and British West India sugar was so great, that above two-thirds of the sugar imported into America come from the foreign islands, and cheaper notwithstanding the duty on the foreign of 5s. per hundred; the greatest part was regularly entered.

That which was smuggled into America is computed to have incurred an expence equal to half the duty, besides the expence of getting it in a clandestine manner from the French islands and Surinam †. France will not suffer the American States to carry sugar from her ports in the islands, notwithstanding the connection now between them.

MOLASSES,

* It is difficult to see what advantage the New-England States will derive from the independence and separation from this country. Such lights as we have, point out that it must be ruinous to them, and that nothing could be more to their advantage, than to become again part of the empire. It is not obvious where they will find a market for their shipping, lumber, and the produce of the whale fisheries: (and they had no other trade of any consequence except salt fish) in the place of the markets of the West Indies, Great Britain, and Ireland.

† It is clear from this, that our sugars will not be taken for consumption in the American States, and that they only mean to be carriers elsewhere, if permitted to go to our islands.

24 OBSERVATIONS

MOLASSES, or SYRUPS,

Which are of very great importance to the American States, on account of the numerous distilleries, and the extensive commerce, carried on by means of the rum made out of them, were purchased and imported into the American States from the French islands, and from Surinam, in great quantities. The British West India islands prudently distil their own molasses, and export a small quantity.

R U M.

The amount of this article, imported and consumed in the United States, greatly exceeded that of any one article of the West-India produce imported in the New-England States; it was more than equal to every other article, that of molasses excepted; with this circumstance, that of the other articles a part was re-exported, particularly the rum made out of the molasses, the greatest part of which was sent to Africa, to Nova Scotia, to Newfoundland, and to Canada*. But the rum imported from the West Indies, was consumed in the country; and except a small quantity, and a trifle from Santa Cruz, of a very indifferent quality, the whole was imported from the British West India islands. The French make very little rum, and that of a bad quality. They do not encourage the making of rum; it might interfere with their brandies.

C O F F E E.

The consumption of this article was so very inconsiderable in the American States, that it scarcely bears any proportion to the others; it was chiefly imported in a clandestine manner from Martinico, and from other French and Dutch possessions.

C O T T O N.

Was never imported in any considerable quantity, there being no demand for it, except for the home or family manufactures of the country. It was imported free from the British West Indies, but prohibited in the French and Dutch ports. The demand was so inconsiderable, that it never became an object of commerce. The Dutch at Surinam raise very fine cotton, and are increasing their plantations: it will be run from thence.

Indigo,

* The distilling of spirits from corn will become a great business in Canada, grain being cheap.

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Indigo, Cocoa, and a few other Articles of no great Value,

Were in much the same degree of importance with coffee and cotton, and were purchased and imported in nearly the same manner. Cocoa was more considerable than the other articles.

S A L T,

A great part of the salt consumed in the American States especially for butter and pork, was imported from the salt islands in the West Indies; but the planters had no concern with it; it was no production of their labour, but of the heat of the sun, and was collected by the Bermudians, and sold at a low price to the ships from the continent; and not unfrequently the crews of the ships collected it themselves, and were at no other expence than their labour.

The Articles exported to the West Indies were the following, viz.

H O R S E S for the Saddle,

Came from New England on the best terms, and may be supplied through Nova Scotia.

Horses for Draught and for the Sugar-Works.

Are essentially necessary in the Windward islands, and can be had from Canada on better terms than from any other country. [They are not fit for sugar works, are too heavy and require much feed, mules answer better.]

W H E A T.

It might answer to send horses, 14 or 14 and a half hands high, from Britain, but especially from Ireland to the West Indies, if carried on the deck in the same manner as done by the Americans. They will sell from 10l. to 15l. advantage each horse. It might cost less than one third more to carry a horse from Ireland than it does from America. A single-decked vessel of 100 tons carries 40 horses on deck from Canada to the West Indies. The carriage of each horse from Canada came to about 5l. sterling, and provisions 30s.

D

Has for several years past, and previous to the war, been cheaper in Canada than in the American States.

Salted Beef, Salted Pork, Butter, Candles, and Soap.

No quantity of beef was exported from any colony but Connecticut. The merchants of New York, Philadelphia, Rhode-Island, and Boston, were supplied from thence and New Jersey. There is but little in Virginia. The beef of the provinces south of Pennsylvania is not good. Connecticut supplied more than all the other American States. The Southern States make very little use of salted beef; they have but few ships to victual, and their slaves are fed on Indian corn and rice. On the back part of the Carolinas and Georgia great herds of cattle are bred very small and lean; they run wild in the woods. The mildness of the winters enables them to live without expence. The settlers fatten as many in the inclosed pastures and meadows as they want for their home consumption. The wild cattle, when lean, are sold for a guinea or a guinea and a half to persons, who drive them to Pennsylvania, where they are fattened for the Philadelphia market. The want of a demand may be the cause why the settlers on the back part of the Carolinas and Georgia have not as yet improved the breed of cattle, and fattened them for exportation. Their attention has been given to their staple articles—rice, indigo, tobacco, and Indian corn: but having fine pastures in the back country, there seems to be nothing to prevent them, when there is a sufficient demand in their sea-ports. It is not long since they discovered that they could make as good pork as their Northern neighbours, and there is no expence attending them till they are fully grown; and Indian corn, the best food for hogs, is 30 per cent. cheaper in the Southern than Northern States.

The banks of the Ohio and Mississippi may in future supply beef for exportation, and Vermont also; but the latter principally through Canada.

American beef however does not keep as well as the Irish; salt hardens it, and eats up the fat. [*What occasions this? Is it the manner of curing, the quality of the salt, or the want of age in the beefs; or all three?*]

At present, beef undoubtedly may be imported cheapest and best into the West India islands from Ireland, where the salting of it is better managed than in any part of the world. Cattle are raised and fed cheaper there, and even in England, than in any of the maritime countries of Europe. The southern parts of Europe are

are not good pasture countries for cattle; and in the northern the great severity of the winters give England and Ireland the advantage. The countries that can raise and feed cattle the cheapest, can in general afford to undersell others also in the articles of butter, candles, and soap. Not long since butter was imported into New York from Ireland; but before the war began New-York exported butter to the West Indies; but it does not keep by any means so well as the Irish.

The southern states must take some butter, soap, and candles from Britain and Ireland.

The West Indies will take a large quantity of those articles and salted beef. A considerable quantity of candles and soap used to go from England to America: — there is a bounty on exportation of 1d. per pound on candles, and 1d. halfpenny on soap. If the trade with the West Indies should be laid open, Britain and Ireland may lose the soap and candle trade.

Russia exported 350 tons of the last article in 1782. * She has taken off the duty on soap and candles when exported. As to pork, the Carolinas raise such a prodigious quantity of hogs and can feed them at so little expence, as before-mentioned, that pork may be afforded there one third cheaper than from England or Ireland.

S A L T E D F I S H,

From many circumstances can be sent from Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, to the West Indies, cheaper than from the American States.

Lumber, viz. Staves and Hoops, Scantling and Timber for House and Mill Frames, Boards, Shingles, &c.

From the great plenty of timber in Nova Scotia and Canada, and the beginning scarcity of it near water carriage in the American States; these articles may be imported from the former, on as good, if not better terms, than from the latter. Hoops for sugar hogheads

* However extraordinary it may appear, it is however true, that notwithstanding tallow is the natural produce of the Northern States of America, it has been and may be imported from Russia and sold as cheap as that raised in the country, leaving a considerable profit to the importer. The same may be said of bar iron; considerable quantities of which are imported into America, from Russia, Sweden, and Spain; and also of flax, from the northern parts of Europe.

hogheads are often carried from England. Ships going to the West Indies have only a light freight, and carry out this article; and it will answer to carry from hence slaves, boards, and shingles; and they are of a superior quality.

*Live Oxen, and Sheep, Poultry of every Kind for
Fresh Provisions, &c. in the Islands.*

A considerable number of oxen have been sent from New-England to the Windward Islands, and some sheep, but none to Jamaica; mutton is not much eaten in the islands; some sheep are raised there. Nova Scotia may raise oxen sufficient for the islands, having fine pastures. Poultry will probably be purchased cheaper in Canada than in the American States. Bermuda vessels bring poultry and onions.

RICE, INDIAN CORN, and TOBACCO.

Of Rice no great quantity goes to the West Indies; what is sent comes chiefly from South Carolina. Indian corn is much preferred to it, which is chiefly exported from Virginia and North Carolina; but the planters raised provisions for their negroes in a great measure during the war; but it can hardly answer at other times, except a few yams, and potatoes for present use. They also raise nearly tobacco enough for the negroes. Bermuda vessels will bring as much of these articles as are wanted; and also lumber cheaper than the vessels of the American States.

*Pease which may be made a Substitute for Rice
and Indian Corn,*

Are cheaper in Canada than in any part of the American States, where they are only raised in the province of New York and the Jerseys. Though perhaps there may not be a sufficient quantity raised in Canada at present to supply any great demand there may soon. There is no bug in that country; but pease planted on other parts of the continent, except about Albany, are devoured by bugs or flies. [*Dip the grain in pickle before planting, it will in some measure stop the bug, it never will blight or blast.*]

As to the African trade, Congress and the General Assemblies have declared against it. Probably the Carolinas and Georgia must continue it for some time: but the importation by no means kept pace with the increase. The price of slaves was lowered before the war; slaves born in the country were preferred, as
seasoned

seasoned to the climate. From the foregoing state of the imports and exports of the American states to and from Europe and the West Indies, a judgement may be formed of their natural course and tendency, and their importance, and what measures ought to be taken by Great Britain; or rather, it appears, that little is to be done, and our great care should be to avoid doing mischief.

The American States are separated from us and independent, consequently foreign, the declaring them such, puts them in the only situation in which they can be, all difficulty is removed, nothing is hazarded, no hidden mischief is to be dreaded, but relying on those commercial principles and regulations under which our trade and navy have become so great, Great Britain will lose few of the advantages she possessed before the American States became independent.

The Navigation act prevented the Dutch from being the carriers of our trade. The violation or relaxation of that act in favour of the West Indian Islands, or of the American States, will give that advantage to the New-Englanders. The bill, in its present state, allowing an open trade between the American States and our islands, relinquishes the only use and advantage of colonies or West India islands, and for which alone it could be worth while to incur the vast expence of their maintenance and protection, viz. The monopoly of their consumption; and of the carriage of their produce; our late wars have been for the exclusive trade of America, and our enormous debt has been incurred for that object. Our remaining colonies on the continent and islands, and the favourable state of English manufactures may still give us the trade of America almost exclusively; but the bill grants the West India trade to the American States on better terms than we can have it ourselves, and these advantages are bestowed, while local circumstances insure many others which it is our duty to guard against, rather than promote.

It makes it the interest of our merchants to trade under the American flag; every man knows that shipping, and every provision necessary for shipping, may be had in America at two-thirds of the expence they may be had here.

It is the policy of France and Spain, not to suffer foreign vessels to trade to their islands and colonies, and it has been hitherto our policy; but the bill, without the least necessity, gives up this most necessary restriction, and our whole commercial system.

The French, indeed, opened the trade to their West India islands in 1779, to neutral nations, that they might take every seaman they possibly could for their navy. The consequences would soon have been the destruction of their navy as it was of their trade. Ships from all parts went to their islands, and carried the produce where they pleased. West India produce became scarce in France at the time it was plentiful in the north. The revenue failed. France lost one million and a half sterling, and the

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the same loss would have been annually repeated as long as the war continued.

There was an end of the trade. There was no nursery for seamen left, and if the war had continued, several ships must have been laid up every year for want of sailors. Representations came from Bourdeaux, Nantes, &c. and immediately on the signing the preliminaries, the permission for neutral nations to go to her islands was withdrawn: and so jealous were the French of the trade of their islands, that before the loss of Canada and Louisbourg, those colonies were not allowed a direct trade to them, and France has had the good sense, by her treaty with the American States, to withhold the very thing we are seeking to give up.

By any violation or relaxation of the Navigation act, that act will be entirely lost as to Ireland: that kingdom adopted it only and expressly as long as it should remain unaltered in Great Britain. It is a principal tie between the two countries; but, besides the loss of the act, as far as it confines Ireland, we should involve ourselves most seriously with that kingdom in another respect.

Ireland received, as a right, every advantage she had lately acquired, except the participation of the West India monopoly, for that she was thankful, and in return passed the act which lays the same duties as British on imported sugars and other West India articles, and lays prohibitory duties on similar articles from foreign islands. By this bill that monopoly would cease; deprived of the advantage, Ireland will think Britain has done away the consideration that induced her to shut her ports against foreign sugars. The Irish act laying prohibitory duties is biennial, and will expire next Christmas; and it is not to be supposed, under the circumstance alluded to, it would be continued.

Her redress might be to take foreign West India goods; at least, she would not think it necessary to charge her own consumption of sugars with higher duties than is required from America. She will expect to have West India goods on as good terms as the American States, now become foreign, West India planters should consider whether a direct trade to the American States will recompence them for the loss of the Irish consumption, and Parliament should consider what would be the state of smuggling from Ireland into this country, if Ireland should become the depot for foreign West India goods, or of our own, under low duties.

The representation of the committee of West India planters and merchants to the King's Ministers, sets forth, that "the permission of American ships as heretofore, freely to bring the produce of the dominions of the American States to the Sugar Colonies, and take back the produce of our islands in return, is obviously essential."

The wool-growers of England might also say a free exportation of wool is obviously essential to their interest, but it would put an
end

end to our most valuable export of woollens; it would be able France to undersel us. It has been said that the islands cannot exist without an open trade to the American States; it may be asked, how they have existed during the war, when even Canada or Nova Scotia, and also England and Ireland, were not open to them without great expence and risk?

They got their lumber by prizes and through neutral islands; but not so much as may now be got immediately from Canada and Nova Scotia. The lumber of those colonies are the best in America. Some little time may be necessary before a full supply of all the articles they can produce will be obtained but it will be better for this country to allow a bounty on lumber, conveyed in British vessels from Canada and Nova Scotia to the West Indies for a limited time, than to sacrifice our carrying trade also a bounty on building ships in Canada and Nova Scotia, to be employed in the fishery or carrying trade to the West Indies; also a small bounty for a limited time on making wheat into flour in Canada, to encourage mills † there, and to supply the fisheries with bread or biscuit.

From the bay of Fundy or Halifax, or even from the gulph of St. Laurence to the West Indies, the navigation is little longer or more tedious than from the Delaware or Chesapeake. Vessels going from the American States are obliged to steer far to the east to get into the trade winds. From the most Leeward Islands, the passage to the gulph of St. Laurence may be made in 15, 20, or 25 days, although 35 or 40 may be necessary to go to Quebec.

Under the article of corn, it has appeared how amply Canada can supply our islands. It appears also, that no part of the world furnishes greater advantages for ship building. The oak of Canada is heavier and much more lasting than that of New England. In short, it is unquestionably a fact, that Nova Scotia and Canada will soon become capable, with a very little encouragement, of supplying our islands with all the shipping, fish, timber, and lumber of every kind, and with mill or draft horses, with flour and several other articles they may want; and Bermuda shipping might supply the islands with such articles as will be wanted from the Southern States, viz. Indian corn, rice, and the little tobacco that may be necessary in addition to what is grown in the West Indies for the negroes.

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** In general, as to the bounties, we had better withdraw them in as many instances as possible, and take off duties on raw materials imported at least to the amount of the saving from bounties; but in the present case it might be advisable to give bounties for five or seven years certain. Five shillings per ton on Canada or Nova Scotia built ships, not under forty tons, would encourage many articles there, and draw workmen thither. Ten shillings on each*

The West India planters undoubtedly would derive great advantage from the shipping of the American States being permitted to carry their produce to any part of the world; the value of their produce would be much raised, and the price of freight would be much lowered by the competition; but surely they are liberal men, and, on reflection, will not, from the most self-interested motive, wish the greatest mischief to the empire. Many do not; if any should, we must not, for their emolument, sacrifice the marine of England, and the advantages of their trade. Much may be done in other ways for the West India planters and merchants. It is to be hoped they will be relieved in the manner of paying duties, and some perhaps might be lowered; more efficacious means might be taken to prevent smuggling foreign produce into these kingdoms; and it is to be wished the state of the country would allow the duty on rum to be lowered; perhaps it would be the most effectual means of preventing the smuggling of French brandies among us. Delays at the Custom House may be removed, and reforms made there in many points to the advantage of the trader and the revenue. Encouragement undoubtedly might be given to the growth of indigo, coffee, cocoa, and tobacco, on such lands as, from soil and situation, are unfit for the culture of sugar; and there are great tracts of uncultivated lands very fit for those articles. Cotton also might be a valuable produce.

Our West India islands will have many advantages in North America. The States cannot get rum elsewhere in any quantity, of a good quality; * and though much was distilled by the New-Englanders from molasses imported from the French islands, it was of a bad quality, and was exported. A great part of their own consumption was supplied from our islands, and has been stated before as one of their greatest imports. The importation into Canada and Nova Scotia of the inferior rum distilled by the American States, should be prohibited; * and also the use of foreign sugars in those colonies must be prevented.

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each horse exported from Canada, and landed in the West Indies. To encourage mills, one shilling per cwt. on biscuit or flour exported. One shilling on every quintal of fish to the West Indies. Five shillings per 1000 feet on lumber, boards, scantlings, saws, &c.

† *There is only one capital mill now in Canada.*

* *The rum from Demerara, which is in great part settled by planters from Barbadoes, is good, but the quantity is inconsiderable.*

‡ *Nova Scotia, St. John's, and Canada, have distilleries already, which may be greatly increased, and soon. In favour of these distilleries, rum imported into Canada and Nova Scotia, pay 1s. per gallon, which goes to the support of their civil government. The molasses imported pay only one 1d. One hundred gallons of common molasses make 100 gallons of rum. The better sort will make 105 gallons.*

The increase of the consumption of sugar must continue to a great amount. As yet sugar is not commonly used throughout half of Europe. It is said the consumption of England and Ireland is so much increased, as to take almost the whole produce of our islands. France is increasing her sugar plantations; and nothing but bad management or extravagance can prevent our islands from selling as cheap as the French, although they now undersell us so greatly. The Spaniards cultivate barely sufficient sugar for their own consumption. The Southern provinces of the American States are not likely to succeed in that article, — frosts and north-west winds will prevent. Attempts have been made at New-Orleans, and have failed: a great field, therefore, will be open for the sugar colonies; and when it is necessary to relieve them, it must be done by other means than the sacrifice of our carrying trade, the nursery of our seamen. Canada and Nova Scotia will soon amply supply the principal articles wanted in the islands, except Indian corn and rice; and if there should be difficulty in getting these articles, the cheapness of wheat and pease in Canada will soon afford a good substitute.

It appears from what has been stated, that there will be no difficulty with respect to lumber and provisions, except in the beginning, and that may be obviated. British shipping must go from our islands and colonies to the American States, and cannot be refused admittance on the same footing as in other foreign countries. We should not admit into our ports in Britain the produce of one of the American States in the shipping of another, unless they allow the shipping of Canada and Nova Scotia also to carry the produce of the States. If they should refuse it, they will lose the market to our islands, of which they might always have a share through our shipping. But no mandate of Congress will prevent those of the States (whose interest it is,) from supplying us with any article we want.

If the American States should endeavour to pay their debts, their commerce will be burthened with duties and taxes, and the lands and produce of the farmers must for some time lie under very heavy impositions. If, then, the agriculture and commerce, and fisheries of Canada and Nova Scotia, be left not only free, but receive proper encouragement, the important consequences are too evident to need their being pointed out or enlarged on. The distilleries, the fisheries, and ship-building, have heretofore been the only resources and supports of the commerce of the Northern American States. A large proportion of the ships when built were sent to the West Indies with cargoes of timber, lumber and fish; and to Europe, to be sold or take freight; and a great part of the rum distilled in the American States was consumed in Nova Scotia, and in Canada, and in the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, &c.

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But the distilleries may be carried on to as great profit in Nova Scotia as on any part of the continent; and still more so the important business of ship-building; and nothing can be more evident than that Nova Scotia in particular is better situated for the fisheries than any other country whatever. In short, if proper attention is paid to Nova Scotia, the lands in that province, at present of little value, will increase in their price more rapidly than can at first be imagined.

It is obvious how necessary Canada and Nova Scotia are to our islands; that we should put those colonies on the best possible footing; and that the government of Canada must be altered.— That the Canadians in general are discontented under their present government, appears from the aid and countenance they gave the American army when in Canada. § If we are not wise enough to give them a free constitution and government agreeable to the wishes of the people, the encouragement and aid they might have from their neighbours may promote the wish of a government independent of Great Britain. A military police is bad for a town, except in a state of war, but totally inadequate for the government of a large country, such as Canada. The exorbitant fees of office, and expence of obtaining justice in the courts there, and the great distance, in many cases, from them, are considered as a great grievance, and loudly complained of by the Canadians. If we could find out that government they would like best, — if they could agree in their ideas of the best form of government, — they ought to have it according to their wishes, except in such points as clash with the necessary commercial interests of the country that nurtures, encourages, and protects them. At present they have no representatives; they should have a General Assembly, and trial by jury. If their constitution is formed on the best plan of our late colonies, † it will draw many inhabitants from

§ It did not arise from a wish to return to the dominion of France; they had experienced the advantage of belonging to Britain. They were kept poor under the French government: they have grown rich under ours. Their priests acknowledge they have, in great measure, lost their influence. The French Canadians were dissatisfied, but the settlers since the peace of 1763 still more so. The cause of discontent will be explained.

† In some of the colonies the Council was appointed by the Crown, and the office was held during pleasure. In other colonies it was chosen annually by the people. The Council should be more independent of the Crown, and entirely independent of the people: it should be during good behaviour. If prejudice or policy think it necessary that none but protestants should be of the Council, yet Roman Catholics ought to be capable of being elected of the Assembly. The Council would

from them, affording an asylum to the oppressed, and to those who may see the advantages of living under a British government, and enjoying its benefits: but unless a free constitution is given, the emigrations from the American States (which, it may be expected, will be very considerable) would only tend to weaken the power of government in that country, and bring about a revolution. It may be the best and the only means to prevent a wish to separate from this country; for with a proper constitution the Canadians might be the happiest people on earth; and independence, that is, a separation from this country, the greatest curse, depriving them of the very great and many advantages they will have over the American States by their being a part of the British empire. It is obvious, that, if added to the Union, they would fall into a much more insignificant state.

In competition with the American States, Canada and Nova Scotia will have many exclusive advantages: We must reserve to our remaining colonies those to which they are entitled. § The inhabitants of Nantucket and the Fishing Coast will migrate to Nova Scotia for the sake of the superior advantages of our fisheries, and from other parts of the American States for different advantages, which British subjects should exclusively have; but if we do not reserve these advantages to our colonies, not content with the irreparable and for-ever-debasing sacrifice of the Loyalists and their property to the rebels, we continue to hold out a premium for rebellion. * But if our remaining colonies are put on a proper footing, nothing could be more destructive to their interest than a separation from us by revolt or conquest.

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would be a sufficient check on them. Europe, now in great measure devoid of fanaticism and priestcraft, and the policy supported by them, might learn liberality in these matters from America. Protestants were often elected of the Assembly in Maryland by Roman Catholics. Perhaps our Ministers cannot risque any, although the most proper measure, that may possibly be unpopular, even with the most narrow-minded, ignorant, and absurd; or may give an opportunity of interference to wild, malicious, or designing men.

§ Every encouragement or advantage given to Canada and Nova Scotia will be given in a great measure to the Loyalists, who may settle there, and who so well deserve them.

* A very different system is necessary for the existence of government. The late ministers seem to have acted on such principles that if civil war or rebellion should arise, it cannot be supposed any reasonable or reasoning man will support Government, till what has been done is expiated. The Provisional Articles tell us every thing is, to be lost by supporting the Legislature, every thing to be got by rebellion.

We are told it is proper to court the trade with the American States, but their treaties with France and Holland in direct terms forbid our being put on a better footing than those countries. *

The state of our manufactures make it unnecessary, and nothing can be more weak than the idea of courting commerce, † America will have from us what she cannot get cheaper and better elsewhere, and she will sell to us what we want from her as cheap as she will to others. But in other respects she will assume a tone of importance, she will partake of the nature of new men; she has indulged and will indulge in puerile insolence; in that, perhaps, she will not shew herself much unlike her parent, — but she has sense and information; all her people in some shape or other are commercial, and in that line particularly they are knowing and intelligent.

* Article II. of the Treaty of Commerce between France and the United States of America, “the most Christian King and the United States engage mutually not to grant any particular favour to other nations, in respect of commerce and navigation, which shall not immediately become common to the other party, who shall enjoy the same favour freely.”

† By ineffectual and unnecessary attempts to court American commerce, we shall disgust nations with whom we have great intercourse, and prejudice the best trade we have. Our exports to the Baltic and the countries North of Holland are equal to what our exports to the American States were at any time, and more real British shipping has been employed to the North, than had ever been employed to the American States. Before the war, very few British ships went to the ports north of Philadelphia; they went principally to the Southern States.

List of ships that, passed the sound, to and from the Baltic, for three years preceding 1782

Nation	Ships in 1779	Ships in 1780	Ships in 1781
British - - -	1651	1701	2001
Dutch - - -	2075	2058	9
French - - -	0	0	0

It is curious to observe the increase of our shipping to the Baltic, and the decrease of the Dutch in one year from 2058 to 9 ships only, — and that not one French ship passed the Sound during three years. [*Because the English had a stronger fleet.*]

The British shipping that went to Hamburg and other ports of the North was also very considerable, but of the 2001 British ships that passed the Sound to and from the Baltic, the greater part made two voyages, and probably we had not more than 6 or 700 ships employed in that trade.

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intelligent. — The truth is, we want little of her produce in Great Britain, coarse tobacco excepted. The finest tobacco grows in the islands, and in South America. The indigo of the islands and of South America is, infinitely better than that of North America, but we must take that and naval stores, and other articles from the American States which may be got as good or better elsewhere, in return for our manufactures instead of money. In payment, for want of other sufficient returns, large quantities of tobacco must come to Great Britain, and we can afford to give the best price for it, by taking it in exchange for our manufactures. The other principal advantage we derived from the tobacco trade was the employment of our shipping and sailors; we manufactured little for exportation, we sorted it only for the European markets, and we may still have the carriage of much of it from hence to those markets. We shall have transports and seamen in plenty unemployed, to carry our manufactures to America, and to carry on the trade of the West Indies, and so far from giving up any of the carrying trade, we should exert ourselves to prevent our unemployed seamen from passing over to the Americans.

Instead of exaggerating the loss suffered by the dismemberment of the empire, our thoughts may be employed to more advantage in considering what our situation really is, and the greatest advantage that can be derived from it. It will be found better than we expect, nor is the independence of the American States, notwithstanding their connection with France, likely to interfere with us so essentially as has been apprehended, except as to the carrying trade, the nursery for seamen. The carriage of our produce is nothing in comparison with that of America; a few tobacco ships will carry back as much of our manufactures as all the American States will consume. We must therefore retain the carrying trade wherever we possibly can. — But the demand for our manufactures will continually increase with the population of America. Those who have been disposed to despond may comfort themselves with the prospect, that if the American States should hereafter be able to manufacture for themselves, as the consumption of the manufactures of England decreases with them, the demand will increase elsewhere; they will for ages go up the Mississippi § and river

§ Half the Mississippi has been reserved to us by the provisional treaty with the American States; but the right to the half where the country on both sides belongs to Spain, is not mentioned in the treaty with the latter. If we had kept the Floridas, Britain would have been the most necessary ally to Spain. Canada and Nova Scotia on the back, and the Floridas in the front, would awe and keep down the enterprizes of the American States against New Spain. The Indians, who are powerful towards the Flori-
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river St. Laurence, and by means of a most extraordinary inland navigation, supply regions infinitely greater and more fertile, and capable of a greater degree of population than the American States, full of rivers navigable to their source, † a country four times as large as the American States most unnecessarily and illegally given up, and most unexpectedly by the Americans themselves, which Congress however neither has, or will be capable of controuling, and which, probably, will divide into many independent governments. But it will be a long time before the Americans can manufacture for themselves. Their progress will be stopped

das, much more so than elsewhere, will soon be incited against the Spaniards. They will be supplied with arms and ammunition.— Those provinces would have been a good barrier between the American States and our islands. In our hands they would become populous by the migration of Loyalists and other advantages, instead of remaining almost desert under the Spaniards, and if considered as a curb on Spain, her trade might be more effectually molested from the harbours of Florida, (near which every ship from the gulph of Mexico and the Havanah must pass,) than from Gibraltar.

† It is remarkable, that there is only one mile portage between Cayahoga river, that empties itself into lake Erie, which finally runs into the river St. Laurence, and the river muskingum, which runs into the Ohio, and communicates with the gulph of Mexico, Notwithstanding the navigation of the rivers St. Laurence, and Mississippi is obstructed in Winter and Spring; in the first by ice, and in the latter by the rapidity of the waters; and notwithstanding the distance is not above 60 miles between the navigable part of the Potomack which runs into the Chesapeake, and a navigable branch of the Ohio, yet the river St. Laurence, (the exclusive trade of which belongs to Britain) the lakes, the Ohio, and Mississippi will be the principal communications of the vast country beyond the Allegany mountains.

The navigation of the Potomack above Alexandria is indifferent. The Susquehanna being full of rapids and falls, and not deep, the navigation of that river is bad. All the rivers of the American States which run into the ocean have in general bad navigation, and only for flat boats from 5 to 30 tons, except as high as the tide flows; but the Mississippi has no tide, and the rivers which fall into it run through a flat country, and are navigable to their sources. Our islands, especially Jamaica, might receive supplies from the Mississippi ships, while a cargo is preparing at Jamaica, might at the proper season go up that river, if it is open to us, and bring lumber, cattle, mules, and supplies of every kind except fish.

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stopped by the high price of labour, and the more pleasing and more profitable employment of agriculture, while fresh lands can be got; and the degree of population necessary for manufactures cannot be expected, while a spirit of emigration, especially from the New England provinces to the interior parts of the continent, rages full as much as it has ever done from Europe to America.

If manufacturers should emigrate from Europe to America, at least nine-tenths will become farmers; they will not work at manufactures when they can get double the profit by farming.*

No American articles are so necessary to us, as our manufactures &c. are to the Americans, and almost every article of the produce of the American States, which is brought into Europe, we may have at least as good and as cheap, if not better, elsewhere. Both as a friend and an enemy America has been burthenfome to Great Britain. It may be some satisfaction to think, that by breaking off rather prematurely, Great Britain may find herself in a better situation in respect to America, than if she had fallen off when more ripe.

America never furnished us with many sailors; more than half the number employed by the American States during the war, were not Americans. In the Southern Provinces, British and Irish sailors principally were employed before the war; in all the other colonies, they were half British and half Americans, except in

* The emigrants from Europe to the American States will be miserably disappointed; however having got into a scrape, they may wish to lead others after them. When the numberless difficulties of adventurers and strangers are surmounted, they will find it necessary to pay taxes, to avoid which probably they left home, and in the case of Britons, gave up great advantages. The same expence, the same industry that become absolutely necessary to save them from sinking in America, if properly employed in most parts of Europe, would give a good establishment, and without the entire sacrifice of the dearest friends and connections, whose society will be ever lamented, and whose assistance, although not to be exerted at the moment, might at other times be most important.

The absolute necessity of great exertions of industry and toil, added to the want of opportunity of dissipation in the solitary life of new settlers, and the difficulty and shame of returning home, alone support them there. They find their golden dream ends, at most, in the possession of a tract of wild uncultivated land, subject in many cases to the inroads of the proper and more amiable owners, the Indians.

Emigration is the natural resource of the culprit, and of those who have made themselves the object of contempt and neglect; but it is by no means necessary to the industrious.

in New England, three-fourths were natives. In the time of her greatest prosperity, the money she raised was trifling. She will feel the loss of 370,000*l.* a-year, which was the expence of the British establishment there, and was drawn from this country. * Pennsylvania was 18 years suffering about 300,000*l.* sterling, granted for the expence of the war begun in 1755, at the rate of 18*d.* in the pound on the annual value of real and personal property. Pennsylvania, although she never paid much above 20,000*l.* a-year currency, complained greatly of her taxes.

It will not be an easy matter to bring the American States to act as a nation; they are not to be feared as such by us. It must be a long time before they can engage, or will concur in any material expence. A Stamp act, a Tea act, or such act that never can again occur, could alone unite them; their climate, their staples, their manners, are different; their interests opposite; and that which is beneficial to one is destructive to the other. In short, every circumstance proves that it will be extreme folly to enter into any engagements, by which we may not wish to be bound hereafter. It is impossible to name any material advantage the American States will, or can give us in return, more than what we of course shall have. No treaty can be made with the American States that can be binding on the whole of them. The act of Confederation does not enable Congress to form more than general treaties §: at the moment of the highest authority of Congress,

* Before the war in 1755, the expence of our establishment in America was 70,000*l.* From the peace of 1763 to the time of the Stamp act, it was 370,000*l.* yearly, although the French were driven from North America; and Canada and the Floridas only were added. The customs from the 8th of September, 1767, when the Board was established, to the 5th of January 1775, when the troubles began, amounted to about 245,000*l.* for a little more than seven years; out of which the expence of collecting is to be deducted. The only other revenue was the quit-rents, which were never tolerably paid, and barely paid the expence of collecting. If we maintain the carrying trade, half the commerce of the American States, or even less than half, without the expence of their government and protection, and without the extravagance of bounties, would be infinitely better for us than the monopoly, such as it was. If the imports into America were to the amount of four millions sterling, only two millions were British, one from the whole of the West Indies, and one from the rest of the world. Great part of the last taken through Great Britain.

§ Part of the ninth article of confederation, &c. Provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts

Congress, the power in question was with-held by the several States. No treaty that could be made would suit the different interests. When treaties are necessary, they must be made with the States separately. Each state has reserved every power relative to imports, exports, prohibitions, duties, &c. to itself. But no treaty at present is necessary. We trade with several very considerable nations, without commercial treaties. The new case and the necessity of enquiry and full consideration, make it improper for us to hurry any engagements that may possibly injure our navigation. When men talk of liberality and reciprocity in commercial matters, it is clear, either that they have no argument or no knowledge of the subject that they are supporting a favourite hypothesis or that they are intercolled; it is not friendship or favour, but exactness and punctuality, that is looked for in commerce.

Our great national object is to raise as many sailors and as much shipping as possible; so far acts of parliament may have effect; but neither acts of parliament nor treaties, in matters merely commercial, will have any force, farther than the interests of individuals coincide; and where advantage is to be got the individual will pursue it. It is repeated, that the capital part, at least four-fifths, of the importations from Europe into the American States were at all times made upon credit, and that the States are in greater want of credit at this time than at former periods. It can be had only in Great Britain. The French who gave them credit are all bankrupts: French merchants cannot give much. The Dutch have not trusted them to any amount; and it is not their custom to give credit but on the best security. It is therefore obvious from this and the foregoing state of imports and exports into what channels the commerce of the American States must inevitably flow, and that nearly four-fifths of their importations will be from Great Britain directly. Where articles are
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imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subject to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever; of establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the American States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining, finally, appeals in all cases of captures.

The sixth article says, No State shall lay any duties which may interfere with stipulations in treaties entered into by the American States, in Congress assembled, with any Prince or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed to the courts of France and Spain. The Confederation is dated the 9th of July, 1778.

nearly equal, the superior credit afforded by England will always give the preference; and it is probable many foreign articles will go to America through Great Britain. The Americans send ships to be loaded with all sorts of European goods: in our ports all articles may be got with dispatch; a most winning circumstance in trade.

Free ports at Bermuda, the West Indies, &c. have been suggested, as means of assisting commerce, but they would be dangerous to our carrying-trade; they would undoubtedly be the means of dividing it with others. America, or the shipping of any nation, would carry from them our West India produce where they pleased. In many respects free ports are exceptionable; but the fixing on certain ports in Great Britain where the produce and merchandise of the American States, (imported only in ships of that country or of Britain,) may be stored until a sale can be made of them in Great Britain, or in some other part of Europe, might be of great advantage to both countries. The produce and merchandise when landed should, if sold for consumption in the kingdom, be subject to and pay, the duties and taxes which are, or may be, laid upon such articles; but such part as shall be re-exported to foreign markets to be subject to such a rate per cent. as will pay storage, and the expence of proper certificates and clearances from the officers who shall be appointed for that purpose. The expence of storing, re-shipping, &c. however ought to be kept as low as possible. By this the British merchant will have the first offer in the sales; and the American, without running the risk, and incurring the expences of going from one port to another, will be at all times sure of the best market to be had in Europe.

The American commerce, especially for the most necessary and the most bulky articles, would, in a great measure, center in this kingdom; and the merchants in America not being able to make remittances in advance, but, on the contrary, obliged to go in great part on credit, being able thus to deposit their effects at the disposal of their correspondents, at the highest market which can be had in Europe; and in case they are universally low on the arrival of the produce, to wait a demand, and rise of them, will be a very essential advantage to the American merchant, and a security and inducement to the British merchant to answer the American orders for goods, previous to the sale of the articles shipped to him for payment.

By this we should have the carrying from hence the several articles, or great part of them, in British ships. This might in a great degree prevent the ships of the American States from going to other countries; thereby preventing the taking from thence produce and manufactures merely for a freight, though not so advantageous; and it would promote the taking, through Britain, such articles as the American States may want from other countries which

which this country does not supply. The articles should be placed in public stores, and only three or four ports allowed to receive them. Bonding is allowed at every port, even the most insignificant, and the bonded articles are kept in private stores. It gives an opening to smuggling and evasions, and there is much abuse under pretence of re-exportation. France is not without the idea of opening ports in the manner now mentioned. The idea is suggested for consideration, and may be worthy attention.

The facts on which these observations are founded were not by any means lightly taken up; they have been minutely and carefully enquired into, and strictly examined, especially those which are in any great degree material; but there may be mistakes, although every precaution has been taken to avoid them. The observations have been thrown out as they occurred, in a hurry, and without a nice attention to method or ornament. The purpose, however, will be answered, if they should lead men to see the necessity of maintaining the spirit of our navigation laws, which we seemed almost to have forgot, although to them we owe our consequence, our power, and almost every great national advantage. The Navigation act gave us the trade of the world; if we alter that act, by permitting any state to trade with our islands, or by suffering any state to carry into this country any produce but its own, we desert the Navigation act, and sacrifice the marine of England. But if the principle of the Navigation act is properly understood, and well followed, this country may still be safe and great. The Ministers will find, when the country understands the question, that the principle of the Navigation act must be kept entire, and that the carrying trade must not in any degree be given up. — The Ministers will see the precipice on which they stand; any neglect or mismanagement in this point, or abandoned policy to gain a few votes, will inevitably bring on their downfall, even more deservedly than the miserable peace brought on that of their predecessors; and as the mischief will be more wanton, their fall should be more ignominious. Their conduct on this occasion ought to be the test of their abilities and good management, and ought to decide the degree of confidence there should be placed in them in future. This country has not found itself in a more intersting situation; it is now to be decided whether we are to be ruined by the independence of America or not. The peace in comparison was a trifling object; and if the neglect of one interest more than another deserves impeachment, surely it will be the neglect of this.

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CANON AND FEUDAL LAW.

By JOHN ADAMS, ESQUIRE;

AMBASSADOR PLENIPOTENTIARY, from the
UNITED and INDEPENDENT STATES of NORTH AMERICA,
To their High MIGHTINESSES the STATES GENERAL of the
UNITED PROVINCES of HOLLAND.

To which is Annexed, the Political Character of the said

JOHN ADAMS, ESQUIRE;

By AN AMERICAN.

PHILADELPHIA:

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CANON AND FEUDAL LAW.*

"IGNORANCE and inconsideration, are the two great causes of the ruin of mankind."—This is an observation of Dr. Tillotson, with relation to the interest of his fellow-men, in a future and immortal state: But it is of equal truth and importance, if applied to the happiness of men in society, on this side the grave.—In the earliest ages of the world, *absolute Monarchy* seems to have been the universal form of government. — Kings, and a few of their great counsellors and captains, exercised a cruel tyranny over the people who held a rank in the scale of intelligence, in those days, but little higher than the camels and elephants, that that carried them and their engines to war.

By what causes it was brought to pass, that the people in the middle ages, became more *intelligent* in general, would not perhaps be possible in these days to discover: But the fact is certain, and wherever a general knowledge and sensibility have prevailed among the people, arbitrary government and every kind of oppression have lessened and disappeared in proportion.— Man has certainly an exalted soul! and the same principle in human nature; that aspiring noble principle, founded in benevolence and cherished by knowledge; I mean the love of power, which has been so often the cause of *slavery*, has, whenever freedom has existed, been the cause of freedom. If it is this principle, that has always prompted the princes and nobles of the earth, by every species of fraud and violence, to shake off all the limitations of their power; it is the same that has always stimulated the common people to aspire at independency, and to endeavour at confining the power of the great, within the limits of equity and reason.

The poor people, it is true, have been much less successful than the great — They have seldom found either leisure or opportunity to form an union and exert their strength — ignorant as they were of arts and letters, they have seldom been able to frame and support a regular opposition. This, however, has been known, by

* Wrote at an early period of Mr. Adams's Life.

by the great, to be the temper of mankind, and they have accordingly laboured, in all ages, to wrest from the populace, as they are contemptuously called, the knowledge of their rights and wrongs, and the power to assert the former or redress the latter. I say RIGHTS, for such they have, undoubtedly, antecedent to all earthly government—*Rights*, that cannot be repealed or restrained by human laws—*Rights*, derived from the great Legislator of the universe.

Since the promulgation of christianity, the two greatest systems of tyranny, that have sprung from this original, are the *canon* and the *feudal* law—The desire of dominion, that great principle by which we have attempted to account for so much good, and so much evil, is, when properly restrained, a very useful and noble movement in the human mind: but when such restraints are taken off, it becomes an encroaching, grasping, restless and ungovernable power. Numberless have been the systems of iniquity, contrived by the great, for the gratification of this passion in themselves: but in none of them were they ever more successful, than in the invention and establishment of the *canon* and the *feudal* law.

By the former of these, the most refined, sublime, extensive, and astonishing constitution of policy, that ever was conceived by the mind of man, was framed by the Romish clergy for the aggrandisement of their own order. All the epithets I have here given to the Romish policy are just; and will be allowed to be so, when it is considered, that they even persuaded mankind to believe, faithfully and undoubtingly that GOD ALMIGHTY had intrusted them with the keys of heaven, whose gates they might open and close at pleasure— with a power of dispensation over all the rules and obligations of morality— with authority to license all sorts of sins and crimes— with a power of deposing princes, and absolving subjects from allegiance— with a power of procuring or withholding the rain of heaven, and the beams of the sun— with the management of earthquakes, pestilence and famine.— Nay, with the mysterious, awful, incomprehensible power of creating out of bread and wine, the flesh and blood of God himself.— All these opinions they were enabled to spread and rivet among the people, by reducing their minds to a state of sordid ignorance and staring timidity; and by infusing into them a *religious* horror of letters and knowledge. Thus was human nature chained fast for ages, in a cruel, shameful, and deplorable servitude, to him and his subordinate tyrants; who, it was foretold, would exalt himself above all that was called God, and that was worshipped.

In the latter we find another system similar in many respects to the former; which although it was originally formed perhaps for the necessary defence of a barbarous people, against the inroads and invasions of her neighbouring nations; yet, for the same purposes of tyranny, cruelty and lust, which had dictated the *canon* law, it

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AND FEUDAL LAW 47

was soon adopted by almost all the Princes of Europe, and wrought into the constitutions of their government. — It was originally a code of laws, for a vast army in a perpetual encampment. — The general was invested with the sovereign propriety of all the lands within the territory. — Of him, as his servants and vassals, the first rank of his great officers held the lands; and in the same manner, the other subordinate officers held of them; and all ranks and degrees, held their lands, by a variety of duties and services, all tending to bind the chains the faster, on every order of mankind, in this manner, the common people were holden together, in herds and clans, in a state of servile dependence on their lords; bound even by the tenure of their lands to follow them, whenever they were commanded, to their wars; and in a state of total ignorance of every thing divine and human, excepting the use of arms, and the culture of their lands.

But, another event still more calamitous to human liberty, was a wicked confederacy, between the two systems of tyranny above described — It seems to have been even stipulated between them, that the temporal grandees should contribute every thing in their power to maintain the ascendancy of the priesthood; and that the spiritual grandees, in their turn, should employ that ascendancy over the consciences of the people, in impressing on their minds, a blind, implicit obedience to civil magistracy. —

Thus, as long as this confederacy lasted, and the people were held in ignorance; Liberty, and with her, knowledge, and virtue too, seem to have deserted the earth; and one age of darkness succeeded another, till God, in his benign Providence, raised up the champions, who began and conducted the Reformation. From the time of the Reformation, to the first settlement of America, knowledge gradually spread in Europe, but especially in England; and in proportion as that increased and spread among the people, ecclesiastical and civil tyranny, which I use as synonymous expressions, for the *canon* and *feudal* laws, seem to have lost their strength and weight. The people grew more and more sensible of the wrong that was done them, by these systems; more and more impatient under it; and determined at all hazards to rid themselves of it; till, at last, under the execrable race of the Stuarts, the struggle between the people and the confederacy aforesaid of temporal and spiritual tyranny, became formidable, violent and bloody. —

It was this great struggle that peopled America. — It was not religion alone, as is commonly supposed; but it was a love of *universal* liberty, and an hatred, a dread, an horror of the infernal confederacy before described, that projected, conducted, and accomplished the settlement of America. —

It was a resolution formed by a sensible people, I mean the *Paritans* almost in despair. They had become intelligent in general, and many of them learned. — For this fact I have the testimony

testimony of Archbishop *King* himself, who observed of that people, that they were more intelligent, and better read than even the members of the church whom he censures warmly for that reason.— This people had been so vexed, and tortured by the powers of those days, for no other crime than their knowledge, and their freedom of enquiry and examination; and they had so much reason to despair of deliverance from those miseries on that side the ocean, that they at last resolved to fly to the *wilderness* for refuge, from the temporal and spiritual principalities and powers, and plagues, and scourges of their native country.

After their arrival here, they began their settlement, and formed their plan both of ecclesiastical and civil government, in direct opposition to the *canon* and the *feudal system*.— The leading men among them, both of the clergy and the laity were men of sense and learning: To many of them, the historians, orators, poets and philosophers of Greece and Rome were quite familiar: and some of them have left libraries that are still in being, consisting chiefly of volumes, in which the wisdom of the most enlightened ages and nations is deposited, written however in languages, which their great grandsons, *though educated in European Universities*, can scarcely read.

Thus accomplished were many of the first planters of these colonies. It may be thought polite and fashionable, by many modern fine gentlemen, perhaps, to deride the characters of these persons as enthusiastical, superstitious and republican: But such ridicule is founded in nothing but soppery and affectation, and is grossly injurious and false.— Religious to some degree of enthusiasm, it may be admitted they were; but this can be no peculiar derogation from their character, because it was at that time almost the universal character, not only of England but of Christendom. Had this however been otherwise, their enthusiasm, considering the principles in which it was founded and the end to which it was directed, far from being a reproach to them, was greatly to their honour: for I believe it will be found universally true, that no great enterprise, for the honour or happiness of mankind, was ever achieved without a large mixture of that noble infirmity. Whatever imperfections may be justly ascribed to them, which however are as few as any mortals have discovered, their judgment in framing their policy was founded in wise, humane and benevolent principles. It was founded in revelation and in reason too: It was consistent with the principles of the best, and greatest, and wisest legislators of antiquity.— Tyranny in every form shape and appearance, was their disdain and abhorrence; no fear of punishment, nor even death itself, in exquisite tortures, had been sufficient to conquer that steady, manly, pertinacious spirit, with which they had opposed the tyrants of those days, in church and state. They were very far from being enemies to monarchy; and they knew as well as any men, the just regard and honour that is due to the character of a dispenser

dispenser of the mysteries of the gospel of grace: But they saw clearly, that popular powers must be placed as a guard, a controul, a balance, to the powers of the monarch and the priest in every government; or else it would soon become the man of sin, the whore of Babylon, the mystery of iniquity, a great and detestable system of fraud, violence and usurpation. Their greatest concern seems to have been to establish a government of the church more consistent with the Scriptures, and a government of the state more agreeable to the dignity of human nature, than any they had seen in Europe: and to transmit such a government down to their posterity, with the means of securing and preserving it for ever. To render the popular power in their new government as great and wise as their principles of theory, i. e. as human nature and the christian religion require it should be, they endeavoured to remove from it as many of the feudal inequalities and dependencies as could be spared, consistently with the preservation of a mild limited monarchy. And in this they discovered the depth of their wisdom, and the warmth of their friendship to human nature.—But the first place is due to religion.—They saw clearly, that of all the nonsense and delusion which had ever passed through the mind of man, none had ever been more extravagant than the notions of absolutions, indelible characters, uninterrupted successions, and the rest of those fantastical ideas, derived from the canon law, which had thrown such a glare of mystery, sanctity, reverence and right, reverend eminence, and holiness around the idea of a priest, as no mortal could deserve, and as always must, from the constitution of human nature, be dangerous in society. For this reason they demolished the whole system of Diocesan episcopacy, and deriding, as all reasonable and impartial men must do, the ridiculous fancies of sanctified effluvia from episcopal fingers, they established sacerdotal ordination on the foundation of the Bible and common sense.—This conduct at once imposed an obligation on the whole body of the clergy, to industry, virtue, piety and learning; and rendered that whole body infinitely more independent on the civil powers, in all respects, than they could be where they were formed into a scale of subordination, from a Pope down to priests and friars and confessors, necessarily and essentially, a sordid, stupid, and wretched herd; or than they could be in any other country, where an archbishop held the place of an universal bishop, and the vicars and curates that of the ignorant, dependent, miserable rabble aforesaid; and infinitely more sensible and learned than they could be in either.—This subject has been seen in the same light by many illustrious patriots, who have lived in America, since the days of our forefathers, and who have adored their memory for the same reason.—And methinks there has not appeared in New England, a stronger veneration for their memory, a more penetrating insight into the grounds and principles and spirit of their policy, nor a more earnest desire of perpetuating the blessings of it to posterity, than that fine institution of the late

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Chief Justice Dudley, of a lecture against povery, and on the validity of presbyterian ordination. This was certainly intended by that wise and excellent man, as an eternal memento of the wisdom and goodness of the very principles that settled America. But I must again return to the feudal law.—The adventurers so often mentioned, had an utter contempt of all that dark ribaldry of hereditary indefeasible right,—the Lord's anointed,—and the divine miraculous original of government, with which the priesthood had enveloped the feudal monarch in clouds and mysteries, and from whence they had deduced the most mischievous of all doctrines, that of passive obedience and non-resistance. They knew that government was a plain, simple intelligible thing, founded in nature and reason, and quite comprehensible by common sense.—They detested all the base services, and servile dependencies of the feudal system — They knew that no such unworthy dependencies took place in the ancient seats of liberty, the republics of Greece and Rome: and they thought all such slavish subordinations were equally inconsistent with the constitution of human nature, and that religious liberty with which Jesus had made them free. This was certainly the opinion they had formed, and they were far from being singular or extravagant in thinking so.—Many celebrated modern writers in Europe have espoused the same sentiments.—Lord Kaimes, a Scottish writer of great reputation, whose authority in this case ought to have the more weight, as his countrymen have not the most worthy ideas of liberty, speaking of the feudal law, says, “ A constitution so contradictory to all the principles which govern mankind, can never be brought about, one should imagine, but by foreign conquest or native usurpations.” Brit. Ant. p. 2.—Rousseau speaking of the same system, calls it, “ That most iniquitous and absurd form of government, by which human nature was so shamefully degraded.” Social compact, Page 164.—It would be easy to multiply authorities; but it must be needless, because as the original of this form of government was among savages, as the spirit of it is military and despotic, every writer, who would allow the people to have any right to life or property or freedom, more than the beasts of the field, and who was not hired or inflit under arbitrary lawless power, has been always willing to admit the feudal system to be inconsistent with liberty and the rights of mankind.

To have holden their lands allodially, or for every man to have been the sovereign lord and proprietor of the ground he occupied, would have constituted a government, too nearly like a commonwealth.—They were contented, therefore, to hold their lands of their King, as their sovereign lord, and to him they were willing to render homage; but to no mesne and subordinate lords, nor were they willing to submit to any of the baser services.—In all this they were so strenuous, that they have even transmitted to their posterity, a very general contempt and detestation of holdings by quit rents: As they have also an hereditary ardour for liberty, and thirst for knowledge. ————— They

They were convinced by their knowledge of human nature derived from history and their own experience, that nothing could preserve their posterity from the encroachments of the two systems of tyranny, in opposition to which, as has been observed already, they erected their government in church and state, but knowledge diffused generally through the whole body of the people.—Their civil and religious principles, therefore, conspired to prompt them to use every measure, and take every precaution in their power to propagate and perpetuate knowledge. For this purpose they laid very early the foundations of colleges, and invested them with ample privileges and emoluments; and it is remarkable, that they have left among their posterity, so universal an affection and veneration for those seminaries, and for liberal education, that the meanest of the people contribute cheerfully to the support and maintenance of them every year, and that nothing is more generally popular than productions for the honour, reputation, and advantage of those seats of learning. But the wisdom and benevolence of our fathers rested not here. They made an early provision by law, that every town, consisting of so many families, should be always furnished with a grammar school.—They made it a crime for such a town to be destitute of a grammar school-master for a few months, and subjected it to an heavy penalty.—So that the education of all ranks of people was made the care and expence of the public in a manner, that I believe has been unknown to any other people ancient or modern.

The consequences of these establishments we see and feel every day.—A native of America who cannot read and write, is as rare an appearance as a Jacobite, or a Roman Catholic, i. e. as rare as a comet or an earthquake.—It has been observed, that we are all of us lawyers, divines, politicians, and philosophers.—And I have good authority to say that all candid foreigners who have passed through this country, and conversed freely with all sorts of people here, will allow, that they have never seen so much knowledge and civility among the common people in any part of the world. It is true there has been among us a party for some years, consisting chiefly, not of the descendants of the first settlers of this country, but of high churchmen, and high statesmen, imported since, who affect to censure this provision for the education of our youth as a needless expence, and an imposition upon the rich in favour of the poor;—and as an institution productive of idleness and vain speculation among the people, whose time and attention, it is said, ought to be devoted to labour, and not to public affairs, or to examination into the conduct of their superiors. And certain officers of the crown, and certain other missionaries of ignorance, soppery servility, and slavery, have been most inclined to countenance and encrease the same party.—But it remembered, however, that liberty must at all hazards be supported. *We have a right to it, derived from our MAKER!* But if we had not, our fathers have earned and bought it for us at the expence of their

ease their estates, their pleasure and their blood.—And Liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge, among the people, who have a right, from the frame of their nature, to knowledge, as their great CREATOR, who does nothing in vain, has given them understandings and a desire to know; but besides this they have a right, an indisputable, unalienable, indefeasible, divine right, to that most dreaded and envied kind of knowledge, I mean of the characters and conduct of their rulers, *Rulers are no more than attorneys, agents, and trustees for the people*: and if the the cause, the interest, and trust are insidiously betrayed, or wantonly trifled away, the people have a right to revoke the authority that they themselves have deputed, and to constitute abler and better agents attorneys, and trustees. And the preservation of the means of knowledge, among the lowest rank, is of more importance to the public, than all the property of all the rich men in the country. It is even of more consequence to the rich themselves, and to their posterity.—The only question is, whether it is a public emolument? and if it is, the rich ought undoubtedly to contribute in the same proportion as to all other public burdens, i. e. in proportion to their wealth, which is secured by public expences. But none of the means of information are more sacred, or have been cherished with more tenderness and care by the settlers of America, than the press. Care has been taken that the art of printing should be encouraged, and that it should be easy and cheap, and safe for any person to communicate his thoughts to the Public.—And you, Messieurs Printers whatever the tyrants of the earth may say of your Paper, have done important service to your country, by your readiness and freedom in publishing the speculations of the curious. The stale, impudent insinuations of slander and sedition, with which the gormandizers of power have endeavoured to discredit your Paper, are so much the more to your honour; for the jaws of power are always opened to devour, and her arm is always stretched out, if possible to destroy, the freedom of thinking, speaking, and writing.—And if the public interest, liberty and happiness have been in danger, from the ambition or avarice of any great man, or number of great men whatever may be their politeness, address, learning, ingenuity, and in other respects integrity and humanity, you have done yourselves honour and your country service, by publishing and pointing out that avarice and ambition.—These views are so much the more dangerous and pernicious, for the virtues with which they may be accompanied in the same character, and with so much the more watchful jealousy to be guarded against.

“Curse on such virtues, they’ve undone their country.”

Be not intimidated, therefore, by any terrors, from publishing with the utmost freedom whatever can be warranted by the laws of your country; nor suffer yourselves to be wheedled out of your liberty by any pretence of politeness, delicacy, or decency. These, as they are often

—And Liberty, among the nature, to know- g in vain, has ; but besides e, indefeasible, of knowledge, s, Rulers are no : and if the ayed, or wan- ce the authority itute abler and ervation of the of more import- rich men in the rich themselves, whether it is a t undoubtedly public burdens, are more sacred, care by the fet- taken that the should be easy his thoughts to er the tyrants of ortant service to publishing the ininnuations of zers of power much the more ys opened to de- sible to destroy, g.—And if the in danger, from ber of great men , ingenuity, and e done yourselves nd pointing out much the more ich they may be o much the more e country.”

in publishing with the laws of your of your liberty by cle, as they are often

often used, are but three different names for hypocrisy, chicanery, and cowardice. Much less I presume, will you be discouraged by any pretences, that malignants on this side the water [*Boston in America.*] will represent your Paper as factious and Seditious, or that the Great on the other side the water will take offence at them. This dread of representation has had for a long time in this province effects very similar to what the physicians call an *hydrophobia*, or dread of water. — It has made us delirious — and we have rushed headlong into the water, till we are almost drowned, out of simple or phrensical fear of it. Believe me the character of this country has suffered more in Britain, by the pusillanimity with which we have borne many insults and indignities from the creatures of power at home, and the creatures of those creatures here, than it ever did, or ever will by the freedom and spirit that has been or will be discovered in writing or action. Believe me, my countrymen, they have imbibed an opinion on the other side the water, that we are an ignorant, a timid, and a stupid people; nay, their tools on this side have often the impudence to dispute your bravery. — But I hope in God the time is near at hand, when they will be fully convinced of your understanding, integrity and courage. But can any thing be more ridiculous were it not too provoking to be laughed at, than to pretend that offence should be taken at home for writings here? — Pray let them look at home. Is not the human understanding exhausted there? Are not reason, imaginations, wit, passion senses, and all, tortured to find out satire and invective against the characters of the vile and futile fellows who sometimes get into place and power? — The most exceptionable paper that ever I saw here is perfect prudence and modesty, in comparison of multitudes of their applauded writings. Yet the high regard they have for the freedom of the Press, indulges all.—I must and will repeat it, Newspapers deserve the patronage of every friend to his country. And whether the defamers of them are arrayed in robes of scarlet or sable, whether they lurk and skulk in an insurance, office, whether they assume the venerable character of a priest, the sly one of a scrivener, or the dirty, infamous, abandoned one of an informer, they are all the creatures and tools of the lust of domination.—

The true source of our sufferings, has been our timidity.

We have been afraid to think. — We have felt a reluctance to examining into the grounds of our priviledges, and the extent in which we have an indisputable right to demand them, against all the power and authority on earth. — And many who have not scrupled to examine for themselves, have yet, for certain prudent reasons, been cautious and dissident of declaring the result of their enquiries.

The cause of this timidity is perhaps hereditary, and to be traced back in history, as far as the cruel treatment the first settlers of this country received, before their embarkation for America, from the government at home. — Every body knows how dan- gerous

gerous it was, to speak or write in favour of any thing, in those days, but the triumphant system of religion and politics. And our fathers were particularly, the object of the persecutions and proscriptions of the times. — It is not unlikely therefore, that, although they were inflexibly steady in refusing their positive assent to any thing against their principles, they might have contracted habits of reserve, and a cautious diffidence of asserting their opinions publicly. — These habits they probably brought with them to America, and have transmitted down to us. — Or, we may possibly account for this appearance, by the great affection and veneration, Americans have always entertained for the country from whence they sprang — or by the quiet temper for which they have been remarkable, no country having been less disposed to discontent than this — or by a sense they have that it is their duty to acquiesce under the administration of government, even when in many smaller matters grievous to them, and until the essentials of the great compact are destroyed or invaded. These peculiar causes might operate upon them; but without these, we all know, that human nature itself, from indolence, modesty, humanity or fear, has always too much reluctance to a manly assertion of its rights. Hence perhaps it has happened, that nine-tenths of the species, are groaning and gasping in misery and servitude.

But whatever the cause has been, the fact is certain, we have been excessively cautious of giving offence by complaining of grievances. — And it is as certain, that American governors, and their friends, and all the crown officers, have availed themselves of this disposition in the people. — They have prevailed on us to consent to many things, which were grossly injurious to us, and to surrender many others with voluntary tameness, to which we had the clearest right. Have we not been treated formerly, with abominable insolence, by officers of the navy? — I mean no insinuation against any gentleman now on this station, having heard no complaint of any one of them to his dishonour. — Have not some generals, from England treated us like servants, nay, more like slaves than like Britons? — Have we not been under the most ignominious contribution, the most abject submission, the most supercilious insults of some custom-house officers: Have we not been trifled with, browbeaten, and trampled on, by former governors, in a manner which no King of England since James the Second has dared to indulge towards his subjects; Have we not raised up one family, placed in them an unlimited confidence, and been soothed, and flattered, and intimidated by their influence, into a great part of this infamous tameness and submission? — “These are serious and alarming questions, and deserve a dispassionate consideration.” —

This disposition has been the great wheel and the main spring in the American machine of court politics. — We have been told, that “the word *Rights* is an offensive expression.” That “the King, his ministry, and Parliament, will not endure to hear

hear Americans talk of their *Rights*." That "Britain is the mother and we the children, that a filial duty and submission is due from us to her," and that "we ought to doubt our own judgment, and presume that she is right, even when she seems to us to shake the foundations of government." That "Britain is immensely rich, and great, and powerful, has fleets and armies at her command, which have been the dread and terror of the universe, and that she will force her own judgment into execution, right or wrong." But let me intreat you, Sir, to pause—Do you consider yourself as a missionary of loyalty or of rebellion? Are you not representing your King, his Ministry and Parliament, as tyrants, imperious, unrelenting tyrants, by such reasoning as this?—Is not this representing your most gracious Sovereign, as endeavouring to destroy the foundations of his own throne?—Are you not representing every member of Parliament as renouncing the transactions at *Runes Meadow*; [the meadow, near Windsor, where *Magna Charta* was signed,] and as repealing in effect the bill of rights, when the Lords and Commons asserted and vindicated the rights of the people and their own rights, and insisted on the King's assent to that assertion and vindication? Do you not represent them, as forgetting that the Prince of Orange was created King William by the People, on purpose that their rights might be eternal and inviolable?—Is there not something extremely fallacious, in the common place images of mother country and children colonies? Are we the children of Great Britain, any more than the cities of London, Exeter and Bath? Are we not brethren and fellow-subjects, with those in Britain, only under a somewhat different method of legislation, and a totally different method of taxation? But admitting we are children, have not children a right to complain when their parents are attempting to break their limbs, to administer poison, or to sell them to enemies for slaves? Let me intreat you to consider, will the mother be pleased, when you represent her as deaf to the cries of her children? When you compare her to the infamous miscreant, who lately stood on the gallows for starving her children? When you resemble her to Lady Macbeth, in Shakespear, (I cannot think of it without horror)

Who "had given suck, and knew
 "How tender 'twas to love the babe that milk'd her."
 But yet, who could
 "Even while 'twas smiling in her face,
 "Have pluck'd her nipple from the boneless gums,
 "And dash'd the brains out."

Let us banish for ever from our minds, my countrymen, all such unworthy ideas of the King, his Ministry, and Parliament. Let us not suppose, that all are become luxurious, effeminate and unreasonable, on the other side the water, as many designing persons would insinuate. Let us presume, what is in fact true, that the spirit of liberty is as ardent as ever among the body of the nation.

tion, though a few individuals may be corrupted.—Let us take it for granted, that the same great spirit, which once gave Cæsar so warm a reception; which denounced hostilities against John, 'till Magna Charta was signed; which severed the head of Charles the First from his body, and drove James the Second from his kingdom; the same great spirit (MAY HEAVEN PRESERVE IT TILL THE EARTH SHALL BE NO MORE!) which first seated the great grandfather of his present most gracious Majesty on the throne of Britain, is still alive and active, and warm in England; and that the same spirit in America, instead of provoking the inhabitants of that country, will endear us to them for ever, and secure their good-will.

This spirit, however, without knowledge, would be little better than a brutal rage.—Let us tenderly and kindly cherish therefore the means of knowledge. Let us dare to read, think, speak and write.—Let every order and degree among the people rouse their attention and animate their resolution.—Let them all become attentive to the grounds and principles of government, ecclesiastical and civil.—Let us study the law of nature: search into the spirit of the British constitution; read the histories of ancient ages; contemplate the great examples of Greece and Rome: set before us the conduct of our own British ancestors, who have defended, for us, the inherent rights of mankind against foreign and domestic tyrants and usurpers, against arbitrary kings and cruel priests, in short against the gates of earth and hell.—Let us read and recollect, and impress upon our souls the views and ends of our own more immediate forefathers, in exchanging their native country for a dreary, inhospitable wilderness. Let us examine into the nature of that power, and the cruelty of that oppression which drove them from their homes. Recollect their amazing fortitude, their bitter sufferings! The hunger, the nakedness, the cold, which they patiently endured! The severe labours of clearing their grounds, building their houses, raising their provisions, amidst dangers from wild beasts and savage men, before they had time or money, or materials for commerce! Recollect the civil and religious principles, and hopes, and expectations, which constantly supported and carried them through all hardships, with patience and resignation! Let us recollect it was liberty! The hope of liberty for themselves and us and ours, which conquered all discouragements, dangers and trials!—In such researches, as these, let us all in our several departments cheerfully engage! But especially the proper patrons and supporters of law, learning and religion.

Let the pulpit resound with the doctrines and sentiments of religious liberty.—Let us hear the danger of thralldom to our consciences, from ignorance, extreme poverty and dependance, in short from civil and political slavery.—Let us see delineated before us the true map of man. Let us hear the dignity of his nature, and the noble rank he holds among the works of God!

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that consenting to slavery is a sacrilegious breach of trust, as offensive in the sight of God as it is derogatory from our own honour, or interest or happiness; and that God ALMIGHTY has promulgated from heaven, liberty, peace and good-will to man!

Let the Bar proclaim "the laws, the rights, the generous plan of power" delivered down from remote antiquity; inform the world of the mighty struggles, and numberless sacrifices, made by our ancestors, in the defence of freedom.—Let it be known, that British liberties are not the grants of princes or parliaments, but original rights, conditions of original contracts, co-equal with prerogative, and co-eval with government.—That many of our rights are inherent and essential, agreed on as maxims and established as preliminaries, even before a parliament existed.—Let them stand for the foundation of British laws and government in the same manner as man nature, in the constitution of the intellectual and moral world.—There let us see that truth, liberty, justice, and benevolence, are its everlasting basis; and if these could be removed, the superstructure is overthrown of course.

Let the colleges join their harmony, in the same delightful concert.—Let every declamation turn upon the beauty of liberty and virtue, and the deformity, turpitude and malignity of slavery and vice.—Let the public disputations become researches into the grounds, nature, and ends of government, and the means of preserving the good and demolishing the evil.—Let the dialogues and all the exercises become the instruments of impressing on the tender mind, and of spreading and distributing, far and wide, the ideas of right and the sensations of freedom.

In a word, let every sluice of knowledge be opened and set a flowing. The encroachments upon liberty, in the reigns of the first James and the first Charles, by turning the general attention of learned men to government, are said to have produced the greatest number of consummate statesmen, which has ever been seen in any age, or nation. The Brooke's, Hamden's, Falkland's, Vane's, Milton's, Nedham's, Harrington's, Neville's, Sydney's, Locke's, are all said to have owed their eminence in political knowledge, to the tyrannies of those reigns. The prospect, now before us, in America, ought in the same manner to engage the attention of every man of learning to matters of power and of right, that we may be neither led nor driven blindfolded to irretrievable destruction. *Nothing less than this seems to have been meditated for us, by somebody or other in Great-Britain.* There seems to be a direct and formal design on foot, to enslave all America.—This however must be done by degrees.—The first step that is intended seems to be an entire subversion of the whole system of our Fathers, by the introduction of the canon and feudal law, into America.—The canon and feudal systems though greatly mutilated in England, are not yet destroyed. Like the temples and palaces, in which the great contrivers of them were once worshipped and inhabited, they exist in ruins; and much of the domineering spirit of them still remains.

—The designs and labours of a certain society to introduce the former of them into America, have been well exposed to the public,

lic, by a writer of great abilities; and the further attempts to the same purpose that may be made by that society, or by the ministry or parliament, I leave to the conjectures of the thoughtful. — But it seems very manifest from the Stamp Act itself, that a design is formed to strip us in a great measure of the means of knowledge, by loading the Press, the College, and even an Almanack and a News-Paper, with restraints and duties; and to introduce the inequalities and dependencies of the feudal system, by taking from the poorer sort of people all their little subsistence, and conferring it on a set of stamp officers, distributors and their deputies. But I must proceed no farther at present. — The sequel, whenever I shall find health and leisure to pursue it will be a “disquisition of the policy of the stamp act.” — In the mean time however, let me add, these are not the vapours of a melancholy mind, nor the effusions of envy, disappointed ambition, nor of a spirit of opposition to government: but the emanations of an heart that burns for its country’s welfare. No one of any feeling, born and educated in this once happy country, can consider the numerous distresses, the gross indignities, the barbarous ignorance, the haughty usurpations, that we have reason to fear are meditating for ourselves, our children, our neighbours, in short for all our countrymen, and all their posterity, without the utmost agonies of heart, and many tears.

T H E E N D.

T H E
 POLITICAL CHARACTER
 OF
 J O H N A D A M S, *Esq.*
 BY AN AMERICAN.

AS the States General of the United Provinces have acknowledged the independency of the United States of North America, and made a treaty of commerce with them, it may not be improper to annex a short account of John Adams, Esq; who, pursuing the interest of his country, hath brought about these important events.

Mr. Adams is descended from one of the first families which founded the colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1630. He applied himself early to the study of the laws of his country; and no sooner entered upon the practice thereof, but he drew the attention, admiration, and esteem of his countrymen, on account of his eminent abilities and probity of character. Not satisfied with barely maintaining the rights of individuals, he soon signalized himself in defence of his country, and Mankind at large, by writing his admirable Dissertation on the Canon and feudal laws; a work so well worth the attention of every man who is an enemy to ecclesiastical and civil-tyranny, that it is here subjoined. It showed the author at
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an early period capable of seconding efficaciously the formation of republics, on the principles of justice and virtue. Such a man became most naturally an object of Governor Bernard's seduction. The perversion of his abilities might be of use in a bad cause; the corruption of his principles might tarnish the best. But the arts of the Governor, which had succeeded with so many, were ineffectual with Mr. Adams, who openly declared he would not accept a favour, however flatteringly offered, which might in any manner connect him with the enemy of the rights of his country, or tend to embarrass him, as it had happened with too many others, in the discharge of his duty to the public. Seduction thus failing of its ends, calumny, menaces, and the height of power were made use of against him. They lost the effect proposed, but had that which the show of baseness and violence ever produces on a mind truly virtuous. They increased his honest firmness, because they manifested, that the times required more than ordinary exertions of manliness. In consequence of this conduct, Mr. Adams obtained the highest honours which a virtuous man can receive from the good and the bad. He was honoured with the disapprobation of the Governor, who refused his admission into the council of the province; and he met with the applause of his countrymen in general, who sent him to assist at the Congress in 1774, in which he was most active, being one of the principal promoters of the famous resolution of the 4th of July, when the colonies declared themselves FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.

This step being taken, Mr. Adams saw the inefficacy of meeting the English Commissioners, and voted against the proposition; Congress, however, having determined to pursue this measure, sent him, together with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Rutledge, to General Howe's head quarters. These Deputies, leading with them, in a manly way, the hostages which the general had given for their security, marched to the place of conference, in the midst of twenty thousand men ranged under arms. Whether this military show was meant to do honour to the Americans, or to give them an high idea of the English force, is not worth enquiry. If its object was to terrify the Deputies of Congress, it failed; making no more impression on them, than the sudden discovery of elephants did upon certain ambassadors of old. The utmost politeness having passed on both sides, the conference ended, as had been foreseen, without any effect.

Mr. Adams having been sixteen months one of the Commissioners of the War department, and a principal suggestor of the terms to be offered to France, for forming treaties of alliance and commerce, he was sent to the court of Versailles, as one of the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States. After continuing some time invested with this important trust, he returned to America; where he no sooner appeared, than he was called upon by the State of Massachusetts Bay to assist in forming a system of government, that might establish the rights of all on clear, just, and permanent grounds. He was never employed in a business more agreeable to himself; for the happiness of his Fellow-Citizens is his great object. He

fought

sought not honour in this arduous undertaking, but it fell ultimately upon *Him*. He has gained it all over Europe. If he endeavoured to obtain it by the esteem and love of his countrymen, he has succeeded: for they know they are chiefly indebted to him for the constitution of the State of Massachusetts Bay, as it stands at this day.

This important business being completed to the satisfaction of all, he came back to Europe, with full powers from Congress to assist at any conferences which might be opened for the establishment of peace; and had sent him, soon after, other powers to negotiate a loan of money for the use of the United States; and to represent them, as their Minister Plenipotentiary, to their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces. Such important trusts shew, in what estimation he is held by his country; and his manner of executing them, that confidence is well-placed.

On his arrival in Hollaad, nothing could have been more unpromising to the happy execution of his mission than were the affairs of that country. The influence of the Court of St. James's over a certain set of men, the interest that many had in the funds and commerce of England, and the dread of her power, which generally prevailed throughout the Provinces obliged him to act with the utmost circumspection, unknown, and at first unnoticed, (at least but by a few) he had nothing to do but to examine into the state of things, and characters of the leading men. This necessary knowledge was scarcely acquired, when the conduct of the British Ministry afforded him an opportunity of shewing himself more openly. The contempt, insult and violence, with which the whole Belgic nation was treated, gave him great advantages over the English Ambassador at the Hague. He served himself of his rival's rashness and folly with great coolness and ability; and, by consequence, became so particularly obnoxious to the prevailing party, that he did not dare to go to a village scarcely a day's journey from his residence, but with the utmost secrecy; the fate of Don Quixote was before his eyes. Having been therefore under the necessity of making himself a Burgher of Amsterdamb, for protection against the malice of the times, he soon gained the good opinion of the Magistrates by his prudent conduct as a private Citizen. The bad policy of England, enabled him to step forward as a public character. As such, he presented to the States General his famous Memorial, dated the 19th of April, 1781, wherein the declaration of the independency of America on the 4th of July, 1776, was justified; the unalterable resolution of the United States to abide thereby asserted; the interest that all the powers of Europe, and particularly the States General, have in maintaining it proved; the political and natural grounds of a commercial connection between the two Republics pointed out; and information given that the Memorialist was invested with full powers from Congress to treat with their High Mightinesses, for the good of both countries.

The presenting this Memorial was a delicate step; Mr. Adams was sensible, that he alone was answerable for its consequences, it being taken not merely from his own single suggestion, but contrary to the opinion and advice of some of great weight and authority. However, maturely considering the measure, he saw it in
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all its lights, and boldly ventured on the undertaking. The full and immediate effect of it was not expected at once. The first object was, that the nation should consider the matter thoroughly; it being evident, that the more it was ruminated on, the more obvious would be the advantages and necessity of a connection between the two countries. When therefore the Memorial was taken by the States General *ad referendum*, the first point was gained; the people thought of, and reasoned on the matter set before them; many excellent writings appeared and they made the greatest impression; a weekly paper in particular, entitled *Le Politique Hollandois*, drew the attention of all, on account of its information, the soundness of its argument, and its political judgment and patriotism. At length the time came when the work was to be completed; the generality of the people of Holland, seeing the necessity of opening a new course to their trade, which the violent aggression of England, and the commercial spirit of other nations tended to diminish, demanded an immediate connection with the United States of America, as a means of indemnifying themselves for the loss which a declared enemy had brought on them, and the rivalry of neighbouring nations might produce.

Mr. Adams seized the occasion which the public disposition afforded him, and presented his Utterior Address of the 9th of January, 1782; referring therein to his Memorial of the 19th of April, 1781, and demanding a categorical answer thereto. The Towns, Cities, Quarters, and States of the several Provinces took the whole matter into immediate deliberation, and instructed their several Deputies, in the States General, to concur in the admission of Mr. Adams in quality of Minister plenipotentiary of the United States of North America. This was done by a resolution, passed by their High Mightinesses the 19 of April, 1782; and on the 22d of the same month, Mr. Adams was admitted accordingly, with all the usual ceremonies.

This event seems to have been as great a blow as any that has been given to the pride and interests of England during the war. It shewed the Dutch were no longer over-awed by the power of their enemy, for they dared to brave him to his teeth. It set an example to other nations to partake of the commerce of those countries, which England had lost by her inconsiderate conduct. It confounded at once the English partisans in Holland, and proved that Sir Joseph Yorke was not the great minister he had hitherto been supposed to be. It gave occasion to an ambassador of one of the greatest monarchs of Europe to say to Mr. Adams: *Vous avez frappé, Monsieur, le plus grand coup de tout l'Europe. C'est le plus grand coup, qui a été frappé dans la cause Americain. C'est vous qui a effrayé et terrassé les Anglomans, C'est vous qui a rempli cette nation d'enthousiasme.*—You have struck, Sir, the greatest stroke in all Europe. It is the greatest stroke that has been given in the American Cause. It is you who have frightened, and struck to the ground the English party? It is you who have filled this nation with enthusiasm: then turning to another gentleman, he said, *Ce n'est pas pour complimenter Monsieur Adams, que je dis cela: C'est parcequ' en vérité, je crois que c'est sa due.*—It is not to make a compliment to Adams that I say this: it is because truly I think it is his due.

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This diplomatic compliment has been followed by others. I transcribe with pleasure a convivial one contained in the following lines, which an ingenious and patriotic Dutchman addressed to his excellency Mrs. Adams, on drinking to him out of a large beautiful glass, which is called a *botteale*, and had inscribed round its brim, *Aurea Libertas*:

AUREA LIBERTAS! gaude! pars altera mundi
 Vindex te requit subare colla jugo
 Haec tibi legatum quem conlers Belga recepit
 Pastore sincera popula plena fero.
 Utraque gens nollit, mox suspicando tyrannit,
 Quae libertati vincula sacra precor!

[An Imitation of the Verses beginning with AUREA LIBERTAS.]

Now Liberty exult! see, on thy fostering wings,
 Far from the bloody despot's yoke, Columbia springs,
 Come Favourite of the Goddess, on the Belgic shore,
 To ebb the rich libation shall her votaries pour:
 And may congenial States † in endless Bonds unite!
 Whilst the fell Tyrant trembles at the glorious Sigh!

• Mr. Adams. † Holland and America.

They who have an opportunity of knowing his Excellency Mr. Adams trace in his features the most unequivocal marks of probity and candour. He unites to that gravity, suitable to the character with which he is invested, an affability, which prejudices you in his favour. Although of a silent turn, as William the Prince of Orange was, and most great men are, who engage in important affairs, he has nevertheless a natural elegance for the discussion of matters which are the objects of his mission, and for the recommending and enforcing the truths, measures, and systems, which are dictated by sound policy. He has neither the corrupted nor corrupting principles of Lord Chesterfield, nor the qualities of Sir Joseph Yorke, but the plain and virtuous demeanour of Sir William Temple. Like him too he is simple in negotiation, where he finds candour in those who treat with him. Otherwise he has the severity of a true republican, his high idea of virtue giving him a rigidness, which makes it difficult for him to accommodate himself to those intrigues which European politics have introduced into negotiation. " Il suit que l'art de negocier n'est pas l'art d'intriguer et de tromper; qu'il ne consiste pas a corrompre, a se jouer des sermens, a semer les alarmes et les divisions; qu'un negociateur habile peut parvenir a son but sans ces expedients, qui sont la triste ressource des intriguans, sans avoir recours a des manœuvres detournees et extraordinaires. Il trouve dans la nature même des affaires qu'il négocie des incidents propres a faire réussir tous ses projets. — He is sensible the art of negotiating is not the art of intriguing and deceiving: that it does not consist in corrupting; in making a farce of oaths, and in sowing alarms and divisions. That an able negotiator can arrive at his end without those expedients, which are the miserable resource of intriguers. Without having recourse to out of the way and extraordinary manœuvres, he finds, even in nature, circumstances in which he negotiates incidents proper to make his projects succeed."

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