Essay V "Reflections on the means of restoring the political ballance and procuring a general peace to the world" 1

I have ever believed that common justice on the part of England, and a due appreciation of the political importance of the U. S. would prevent war with them; I am confident that she will severely feel its effects; I believe that the declaration of War by us, will restore her to her senses; and that a ministry such as *may be formed in England* will be desirous of restoring harmony between two states that seem destined by Providence to be the guardians of the liberties of mankind. I therefore humbly submit to the reflections of the wise, the following outlines of a plan for a general pacification. The points it embraces are new, perhaps extravagant, but as hints I flatter myself they may be usefull, and susceptible of great improvement. The present situation of the civilized world is new: History presents us with no semblance of it: latent principles either unknown, or disregarded before, spring up with Vigor and activity, and seem irresistibly to claim the attention of the statesman and the Philosopher.

The political ballance in Europe being irrecoverably destroyed by the humiliation of the great states on the continent, and the incorporation of the minor ones into the French Empire; and the rule of the Ocean usurped and maintained by Great Britain; the whole civilized world seems on the point of being forced into a contest against their consent, and against their interests, the object of which seems to be to ascertain from which of the two great powers they may quietly receive laws. It seems impossible according to the immutable laws of nature that the weak must cede to the strong, that the political ballance can again be restored in Europe. The resources and courage of England will struggle in vain against the power of France on the continent; they may for a time retard the catastrophe, but they must finally cede and leave the French Emperor master of the Peninsulae of Spain. Neither does it seem probable that Russia can oppose any effectual resistance to the overwhelming power of France, and prevent her from organizing the turkish Empire and

turning its immense resources to the accomplishment of her views of Universal dominion. England alone in this old world seems to rise in the Majesty of her strength & oppose an insurmountable barrier to the destructive ambition of Napoleon. England alone in the eyes of every reflecting man is the sole dike between him and universal dominion at least in Europe. But England under the controul of an infatuated ministry and an imbecille prince makes an abuse of the advantages of her situation; and instead of being a consolation and blessing to mankind she violates in the most wanton manner the sovereign rights of other states: the same rights that she pretends to be herself contending for, and renders her influence even more abhorrible than that of France. In this state of things what can be done? what should be the policy of the U. S.? Their rights are trampled on, and their feelings insulted by both England and France: they have allmost equal cause of war with both of those unjust powers. A Union with the latter would probably be the ruin of the former, which would leave them in the necessity of subscribing unconditionally to the plans of France, or to engage in war with her single handed. But it appears that if England were governed by wise councils, that a coalition might be formed with the american confederation that would insure the safety of both states, and leave France not only in possession of her power but under it beneficial to the World. As the independence of European Spain is absolutely unattainable, it should be abandoned as such: all treaties having that object in view should be considered as null. There is no dishonor in abandoning an impracticable object, and there are other interests still existing which if properly fostered and managed may again restore the political ballance, and give peace to mankind. The Spanish and Portuguese Colonies in America contain an active population of more than twelve million of souls besides Indians; those countries abound in provisions; timber; in every species of raw material; and the precious metals: their soil, climate, sea coasts, bays and harbors, seem to mark them as destined by nature to favor the greatest development of human industry if they were freed from the shackles of barbarism and ignorance, and under the influence of wise and patriotic governments. The Union

in friendship of England and the U. S. and consequent action in concert of those two powers would cause discord to cease in those fine countries; would give the people the full liberty to chuse and organize such forms of government as best suit their manners, habits, and local circumstances; and finally to unite them in a grand confederation on principles best calculated to insure their own happiness and the peace of the world. This confederation should be formed on principles that remove forever every political jealousy. England may have a fair claim to such indemnities as shall give complete security to her possessions in the East and West Indies; and the U. S. require the same for the security and future peace of the Union. It is therefore presumed that a treaty formed on the following basis would attain and secure the objects desired. Viz. Article 1. The provinces of the Canadas; Nova Scotia; the Island of Cuba; and the Florida's with their respective dependencies shall be forever united to the American Confederation.

Article 2. A portion of Brasil beginning at a convenient boundary south of the river amazons and extending north and west to the southern limits of French Guiana; the Islands of Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo; and the Philipine Islands with their respective dependencies shall forever be united to the British Empire.

Article 3. The remaining Spanish provinces on the Continent of America shall be united into Sovereign independent States, under such forms of government as their respective inhabitants shall elect, and their independence forever guarrantied by the contracting parties. Their inhabitants shall be invited to adopt the following political limits as the most natural Viz.

- 1. The provinces north and west of the Istmus of Darien to form a sovereign state.
- 2. The provinces lying on the atlantic from the Istmus of Darien to the western limits of Dutch Guiana, and on the pacific ocean from the same Istmus of the S.E. limits of the Province of Quito to form a sovereign state.

- 3. The remainder of the Provinces forming the Vice Royalty of Peru in their whole extent to form a sovereign state.
- 4. The Vice Royalty of Buenos Ayres and the Captaincy General of Chili to form a sovereign state.

The Contracting parties pretend not to meddle with or interfere in the political or civil concerns of the above mentioned states, further than at their request to furnish them with the necessary aid to prevent every foreign power whatever from a similar interference. But they shall be invited to join in a grand confederation for the purpose of securing the great interests embraced in this treaty; and shall not but by common consent make a separate peace with the common enemy during the present War.

Observations on the foregoing Treaty.

1. As the Canadas must be regarded as at the mercy of the U. S.; as they are necessary to the future peace and security of the Union; and as in the hands of England they will ever be considered as a germ of War, it is believed that no insurmountable objection [to] their cession can be made. Nova Scotia may be a subject of more discussion from the probability of its being regarded as necessary to the prosperity of the British fisheries.

Cuba is certainly of incalculable Value and importance: if it is duly appreciated objections will certainly be made to its cession, to obviate which an arrangement may be made for its intire independence, which if properly secured would be as beneficial to the U. S. as its incorporation into the Union. To the cession of the Floridas no objection is foreseen. It may also be observed that the great and important acquisitions that will naturally fall to England in the European and African Seas; such as Cyprus; Candia; Sicily; Sardinia; the Belearic Islands; the Azores; the Canaries &c ought to

annull any jealousy she might feel at the acquisitions of power to the U. S. contemplated in this arrangement.

2. The command of the navigation of the Amazons gives England the most complete security for her southern continental possessions; and may also be regarded as a very important source of commercial prosperity. The Islands of Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, considered as colonies, are of incalculable importance.

The Philipine Islands are necessary to the security of the British Empire in the East: besides their importance as territorial possessions of the greatest value, they will give to G.B. the command of the most important commerce with Mexico, Peru, and Chili. The only objection foreseen to this cession is, that it can be obtained without our consent.

It may be objected that these cessions are made at the expense of the Spanish monarchy, the ally of England, but in reply it may be observed that this arrangement is predicated on the necessary conquest of Spain & Portugal, where those portions of territory however valuable they may be, must be regarded as a derelict: they belong to no one, unless it be to the conqueror of the Peninsulae.

The Continental Spanish provinces have no interest in claiming them, or the means of supporting their claims if they had the interest. The Kingdom of Brasil will be amply remunerated for the inconsiderable cession required for England by the security they will acquire for the vast remains of their territory.

Those provinces which by this arrangement are created into independent states, will undoubtedly be the greatest gainers, as by it they will acquire a powerfull and competent garrantie for their independence, and every obstacle is removed to the formation of regular governments, which if they have common sense, will secure their national prosperity & happiness. Finally this arrangement secures to the U. S. their natural boundaries, and the intire command of the navigation of all their great rivers: and it is believed that it would place the confederate States in intire

independence of France and oblige her to conclude a general peace on principles consistent with the future safety and independence of all parties.

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