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OBSERVATIONS

On the Late and Present

CONDUCT of the FRENCH,

With Regard to their

ENCROACHMENTS

UPON THE

BRITISH COLONIES

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

TOGETHER

With REMARKS on the Importance of
these Colonies to GREAT-BRITAIN.

By WILLIAM CLARKE, M. D.
of Boston in New-England.

To which is added, wrote by another Hand,

OBSERVATIONS concerning the Increase of Man-
kind, Peopling of Countries, &c.

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To His EXCELLENCY

WILLIAM SHIRLEY, Esq;

Governor in Chief and Captain-General of
His MAJESTY'S Province of the *Massachu-*
sett's-Bay; and Major-General in His Land-
Forces, &c.

S I R,

*****S the professed Design of the
* A * following Observations is to shew
***** the great Value and Importance
of the *British Colonies in North-*
America, and the unjust Encroachments of
the *French* upon his Majesty's Territories
there, they can be addressed to no One
with so much Propriety as to your EX-
CELLENCY, who hath so largely contri-
buted to explain and enforce the one, and
to oppose and prevent the other.

D E D I C A T I O N.

With your Views fixed to the *British* Interest in these Respects, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to describe the incessant Labours you have gone through, while you had the Weight of three Expeditions at once upon you; that of *Nova-Scotia*, twice before relieved and maintained by your Succours and Vigilance; of *Crown-Point*, so absolutely necessary to secure the Friendship and Fidelity of the *Six Nations*; and of *Niagara*, the Key of the Entrance into the great Lakes, and of the *French* Communication with the *Mississippi*; for the successful Execution of which last Expedition, you are now hazarding your Person.

You will permit me, *Sir*, to say, That it is very much owing to your Representations, that the Interest of these Plantations is made the great Object of the Attention of their Mother-Country, and that Spirit raised, which so happily prevails in *Great-Britain*, for their Preservation from the destructive Schemes of the *French*.

The Wisdom of your Councils, and the Integrity of your Conduct, always employed for the general Welfare of these Colonies, have gained you a Confidence through them all; without which the best concerted Plans would be ineffectual in our present Circumstances.

D E D I C A T I O N.

stances. In Consequence of this, the *Northern* Governments so speedily raised the large number of Troops now gone upon the Expedition against *Crown-Point*; and your own Province those Troops, which, in Conjunction with a Number of his Majesty's Forces there, have already dispossessed the *French* at *Nova-Scotia* of all their Forts in that Province, having again exerted that noble Spirit, which heretofore called forth by you compelled *Louisbourg* to surrender, and facilitated the Peace of *Europe*.

I might add, as a Reason of this Address, my Personal Attachment, founded upon a long Knowledge of your superior Abilities, your Learning, Humanity and Politeness, and every benevolent Affection, that render your private Character amiable; but I wave this for public Considerations, your Regard to which you esteem your first Felicity, and think none of your Talents deserving of any Estimation, in Comparison with those, which you employ for the Benefit of Mankind.

May Success, under the Protection of the Divine Providence attend your Enterprize upon *Niagara*, by reducing which, and securing that important Pass, may you be the Instrument of securing to *Great-Bri-*

DEDICATION.

tain, the Dominion of the Lakes and rich Countries beyond the Apalachian Mountains: And by cutting off the French from their ambitious Schemes, may you lay the Foundation of a lasting Peace. This may you soon see and continue long to enjoy, and by cultivating the Arts thereof, adorn that Country, which you shall have saved by your Councils and Arms.

I am, with the utmost Regard,

Your EXCELLENCY'S

Most Obedient Humble Servant,

William Clarke.

PREFACE.

THE Observations on the late and present Conduct of the French, &c. were wrote towards the latter End of the last Year; but the Publication of them hath been unavoidably deferred 'till this Time; they might have been more seasonable when they were first wrote, but it is hoped that even now they will not be entirely without their Use.

The Author's Design did not lead him to ascertain the precise Boundaries of the English and French Territories in North-America, nor yet to lay any Plan for driving the French from their late and present Encroachments upon the British ones, much less to make any long Deductions from the Facts he hath laid down.

His only View was, in the most concise Manner, consistent with Perspicuity, to shew, that the French had made many unwarrantable Encroachments upon the British Territories in North-America, contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle; that if they

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were suffered to go on, or but feebly opposed, they would greatly distress the British Colonies, and in Time become absolute Masters of them all; and finally to shew from the State of the Colonies with Relation to Great-Britain, how far she herself would be affected by such a Change of Dominion in North-America.

The great Armament the French have fitted out since that Time, and sent hither at such a vast Expence, confirm the Observations upon the Plan of the French Court with Regard to this Part of the World, and the near Approaches they have made to the actual Execution of a great Part of it, are a convincing Proof of the Danger, to which these Colonies must be always exposed, from the boundless Ambition of that Court, unless a watchful and constant Attention be given to all their Motions by the Crown of Great-Britain.

If this Attention had not been given at this Juncture, Nova-Scotia, now more than ever secured to the Crown of Great-Britain, would before this Time have been in the Hands of the French. Of what fatal Consequence that would have been not only to the rest of his Majesty's Colonies in North-America, but to Great-Britain it self, enough is said in the following Pages. Neither is it to be imagined, that we are altogether free from Danger from that Part of the Squadron which hath escaped the Vigilance of
Admiral

P R E F A C E.

Admiral BOSCAWEN: Tho' indeed their grand Scheme seems to be broke by the seasonable Arrival of the English Squadron upon this Coast.

Great Part of these Observations are taken from Memorials and other Papers of his Excellency Governor SHIRLEY, which he was so kind as to put into the Author's Hands; neither hath he made less free with any other Papers he could get into his Possession.

The first Part of a Treatise upon the present State of North-America, lately published in London, wrote with the greatest Perspicuity, Judgment and Spirit, (for which every Englishman is greatly obliged to the ingenious Author) did not come into my Hands, till the greatest Part of this was printed off. Had I seen it before, it would have induced me, in some Measure, to have altered my Plan. But though the Author hath greatly superseded me, by exactly ascertaining the Boundaries of the British and French Territories in North-America, and by giving an Account of the more early Encroachments of the French upon the British Rights and Possessions, and going into many other Things beyond my Design (which I was in Hopes some such able Hand would do) I still flatter my self the following Observations may have some good Effect towards promoting the British Interest.

The

P R E F A C E.

The Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c. were wrote some Years ago, but the ingenious Author would never suffer them to be made publick till now, when he hath been prevailed upon to consent to it by some of his Friends, who thought the Publication of them would be of general Benefit and Advantage.



OBSER-

(I)



OBSERVATIONS

On the late and present

CONDUCT of the FRENCH

IN

NORTH-AMERICA.

THE late and present Conduct of the French in *North-America*, is now very justly become the Object of Attention of the *British* Nation. They are sensible that their unjustifiable Encroachments must be attended with bad Consequences to the *British* Colonies there; and that in the event *Great-Britain* itself must be greatly affected. But the sense of these Things is, however, so general and indeterminate, that it may not be amiss at this Juncture, plainly and particularly to shew the Importance of the *British* Colonies in *North-America* to the Mother Kingdom; and the necessary fatal Consequences of the present Measures the *French* are pursuing, unless a speedy and final Stop be put to them.

To render the whole more plain and intelligible, it seems proper, previously to mention his Majesty's undoubted Right to those Territories that the *French* have been and are now invading, and fortifying themselves upon; and to give a succinct Account of the Encroachments they have made since the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and the later one of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, with some other occasional Remarks. *Sebastian Cabot*, who sailed from *England*, with a Commission from *Henry VII.* first discovered the northern Continent of *America*, in 1497; and took Possession of it for that Monarch.

It is needless to take Notice of what particular Parts of this Continent the *French* have since at different Times possessed themselves, which have been afterwards confirmed to them by Treaty; or to ascertain the exact Boundaries of all his *Britannic Majesty's* Territories in *North-America*.

It will be sufficient for the present Purpose, to observe, that the Province of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, was first granted by King *James I.* under certain determinate Bounds.

That the *French* were afterwards in Possession of it; that during the Time of their Possession, they understood the Limits to extend every Way as far at least as those described in King *James's* Grant.

That at the Negotiation for the Treaty of *Utrecht*, it was expressly insisted upon by the *French* King, that *Acadia* extended westward of *St. John's* River.

That

That by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the said Province was ceded to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, according to its ancient Limits, which was confirmed by the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; tho' Commissaries were to be appointed by the respective Crowns to settle the precise Limits.

That the *Iroquois*, or *Indians* of the five (now six) Nations, as they are commonly called, had voluntarily put themselves under the Protection of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, from the first Settlement of the *English* in that Country.

That it never was disputed before the Treaty of *Utrecht*, but always agreed by all Authors, whether *English* or *French*, that *Lake Iroquois*, by the *French* called *Lake Champlain*, *Lake Cadaraqui* or *Ontario*, and *Lake Erie*, with the Country adjacent, was the proper Country of the *Iroquois*.

That Part of the *Iroquois* formerly inhabited on the *North* side of the *Lake Ontario*, and are in the *French* Maps called *Iroquois du Nord*.

That that Part of the River *St. Lawrence*, as it is now called, between *Lake Cadaraqui*, and where the River *Outawawa* falls into it near *Mont-Real*, was formerly called the River *Iroquois*.

That the *Iroquois* have conquered most of the other Tribes inhabiting between them and the River *Mississippi*; and therefore those Lands by right of Conquest belong to the *Iroquois*, and as such are considered by them.

That by the Treaty of *Utrecht* the *Iroquois* and

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and their Country are expressly acknowledged to belong to, and be under the Dominion of, the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

That in 1744, at a Conference between the Commissioners of the Colony of *Virginia*, and the Deputies of the *Six Nations* at *Lancaster* in *Pensylvania*, the Deputies of the *Six Nations* expressly asserted their Right to the Soil of the Country claimed by the Colony of *Virginia*, from the Mountains backwards; and for a valuable Consideration at that Time sold it to that Colony.

That the Colonies of the *Massachusetts*, *Connecticut*, and *Virginia* claim Extent as far West as the *South Sea*, founded originally on a Grant of King *James I.* in 1606.

Notwithstanding the Notoriety of these Facts, and these express Stipulations, the *French* did, after the Treaty of *Utrecht*, make some Encroachments on the *North East* Part of the Province of *Nova-Scotia* for carrying on a Fishery there.

In the country of the *Iroquois* they erected several Fortresses, one between *Lake Erie* and *Lake Ontario*, on the East of the great Falls of *Niagara*, to command the *Indians* that should pass by the South Side of the Lakes; another at the West End of *Lake Erie*; and a very strong one at the South End of *Lake Iroquois* or *Lake Champlain* commonly called *Crown-Point*. This last is of the more Importance, as it gives the *French* the Command of that Lake;

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Lake; serves for a Barrier to *Mont Real* on that Side; and as a Magazine for Stores and a Rendezvous for Troops whenever the *French* or their *Indians* make any Incurfions into the Colony of *New York*, or the Western Frontiers of the *Massachusetts-Bay* and *New-Hampshire*. It's about One Hundred and twenty Miles from the City of *Albany*, all Water Carriage saving a small Carrying Place; and eighty six Miles from the nearest Part of *Connecticut River*.

These Encroachments made in Time of Peace before the last War, they pretend to hold, 'till the Limits of the Territories belonging to the two Crowns respectively in *North America* are settled by Commissaries. This is common *French Policy* or rather *Perfidy*.

The *French Court* seem always to have made *North-America* an Object of great Attention; and long ago to have formed a Plan, which they have been steadily, though slowly, carrying into Execution.

Since the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* they have been more hasty; well knowing of what Advantage it would be to their ambitious Views of universal Monarchy to accomplish it. Their Encroachments have been more numerous, their Hostilities more violent.

In the Province of *Nova-Scotia*, they have erected a Fort near *Bay-Vert*; from whence they have a Communication by Water with *Louisbourg*, and *Canada*, and other *French Settlements*.

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ments. They have erected another strong one upon the Isthmus of the *Peninsula*, mounted with 26 Cannon, which commands the Basin and Harbour of *Chiquetto* or *Boboussin*, and within very near Cannon-Shot of an inferior one built by the *English* on the other Side of the Basin. They have seized *St. John's* River, and erected two Forts there; from one of which they had lately the Insolence to fire upon one of the King's Ships. They have engrossed the whole Furr-Trade of that River to themselves; which, before the late Peace, was wholly carried on by the *English*. So that in Reality, considering the Disposition of the *French* Inhabitants, and the *Indians* that are under their Influence and Direction, they are more effectually Masters of that whole Province than the *English*. They have, in Conjunction with the *Indians*, who have been instigated by them, committed many Acts of Hostilities against his Majesty's Troops, and other Subjects in that Province; killed many, and taken others Prisoners; besides plundering Vessels and then burning them.

Since the Treaty of *Utrecht*, they have settled a considerable Village on both Sides the River *Chaudiere* *. At some Leagues distance from the southerly Bank of the River *St. Lawrence*, about twenty Leagues up this River (*Chaudiere*) there

* The River *Chaudiere* empties itself into the River *St. Lawrence*, on the South Side, a League and an half above the City of *Quebec*.

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is a Land-Carriage of a few Miles to the River *Kennebeck*. At this Place, if they have not already built a Fort, there has been good Intelligence that they had designed one. From hence the whole Force of *Canada* might, in a few Days, be poured into the Eastern Parts of the Colony of the *Massachusetts-Bay*; the great Nursery of Trees for Masts, Yards, and Bowsprits, for the Royal Navy.

Since the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, they have erected several more Fortresses in the Country of the *Iroquois*: One upon the North Side of the Lake *Ontario*, directly opposite to the *English* Fort at *Oswego* on the South Side, (called by them *Fort Trunto*) at the Place where the *Indians*, that come by the North Side of the Lakes, used to pass this Lake in order to trade at *Oswego*. They have built a large strong Stone trading House between the Lakes *Erie* and *Ontario*, to the Westward of the great Falls of *Niagara*, to prevent the *Indians* passing the South Side of the Lakes to *Oswego*.

In the Year 1753, they marched a large armed Force, consisting of Regulars, Militia and *Indians*, from *Mont-Real* into the Country of the *Iroquois*; although forbid by the *Indians* by three several Messages, and threatened to destroy all the *Indians* that should oppose them: The same Year they built two Forts, one upon a River that empties itself into the Lake *Erie*, the other at fifteen Miles distance

on the River *Obèuf*, which falls into the River *Ohio**.

Early the next Year, the *French* marched to a small *English* Fort at the Forks of *Mahongabala*, lower down the River *Ohio*; garrisoned by a small Number of People from *Virginia*, who were obliged to surrender upon Terms on the first Summons.

* The River *Ohio*, in the *Indian* Language, means the same as *Belle Riviere* in the *French*. It is a smooth easy River, not interrupted with Falls; for what is called the Falls near where it is joined by the River *Oubasche*, is nothing more than a Ripling. It takes its Rise in the Country of the *Iroquois*, and runs upon the Back of the *English* Settlements, and after a Course of more than 200 Leagues, according to the Accounts of the *Indian* Traders, it is joined by the River *Oubasche*, and after a Course of 80 Leagues more, it falls into the River *Mississippi*. In its Course it receives many Rivers from the North and the South: The *Savannas* or *Interval Lands* adjoining to this, and some of the other Rivers, that run into it, are in many Places of such large Extent, that it is agreed by all, they form a complete Horizon. The Country about it abounds with Deer, Moose, Elks, &c. the Climate temperate, and the Soil fruitful and easy of Cultivation.

The far greater Number of the *Indians* live upon those Branches of this River that come into it from the Northward, and still further to the Northward; the *English* Settlements are to the Southward: This River therefore, with the River *St. Lawrence*, and the intervening Lakes, form a perfect Communication between *Quebec* and *Mississippi*, and a Line of Separation when filled with *French* Forts and Settlements between the far greater Number of the *Indians* and the *English* Settlements.

Some

Some Time after, the same Year, a Body of eleven Hundred Men, *French* and *Indians*, attacked Major *Washington*, Commander of the *Virginia* Forces, whose Corps consisted of but about three Hundred Men, and obliged him to surrender upon Articles of Capitulation.

They have built another Fort at the Forks, where the River *Oubasche* falls into the River *Ohio*. How many more Fortresses they have erected lower down towards the River *Mississippi*, and on that River, I do not pretend to know. They have likewise built two Vessels, like our Brigantines, of about 60 or 70 Tons, for Transportation on the Lake *Ontario*. These Lakes are large Inland Seas, navigable by Vessels of a considerable Burthen.

By the Treaty of *Utrecht*, confirmed by the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, it is expressly stipulated, that the *French* shall have Liberty of passing into the Country of the *Five Nations*, and other *Indians* in Friendship with *Great-Britain*, for the Sake of Commerce; and that the *English* shall have the same Liberty of passing into the Countries of the *Indians* in Friendship with the *French* on the same Purpose.

Since the last Treaty, the *French* have plundered several of his Majesty's Subjects trading, not in the Countries of the *Indians* in Friendship with the *French*, but in the Countries of the *Iroquois*, and other *Indian* Nations in Friendship with *Great-Britain*, of Goods to a very great Value; killed some, made others Prisoners, and

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transported several to *Old-France*. They have lately avowed in the most publick Manner, their determined Resolution to make Prisoners all his Majesty's Subjects, that they shall find trading in those Countries, and to confiscate their Effects.

This Conduct of the *French* has deterred all the Traders of his Majesty's Colonies, from passing into the *Indian* Countries for the Sake of Commerce; altho' before these Hostilities of the *French*, three hundred Traders went yearly from the single Colony of *Pensylvania*.

Besides these open Hostilities, and barefaced Encroachments, the *French* are continually making Use of every Art Policy can suggest, with the greatest Industry human Nature is capable of, to seduce the *Indians* in Alliance with the *English*, and draw them over to their Interest. For this Purpose, the most artful and zealous of their Missionaries are sent among them: The lower People are encouraged to live amongst and intermarry with the Natives. The Priests after they are admitted amongst them, soon gain a great Ascendency over them. They make Use of the Religion they teach them, to inspire them with the greatest Hatred to the *English*, and Attachment to the *French*. In this they have had but too much Success; assisted as they have been, by the bad Conduct of some of the *English* Governments; to the *Indians* of the most Consequence.

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Many Years ago, a Number of the *Iroquois*, the most antient and faithful Allies of the *English*, and the most warlike of all the *Indian* Nations, went off and settled above *Mont-Real*. They have lately persuaded one Half of the *Onondago* Tribe, with many other *Indians* to remove, and have built them a Church and Fort. Many of the *Seneka's*, the most numerous tribe of the *Six Nations*, appear to be much inclined to the *French*; and there is great reason to fear that the whole Body of the *Six Nations* will soon be lost to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and gained by the *French*; unless some proper Measures be taken to prevent them, and to regain those that are lost.

The *Indians* in the *French* Interest are, upon all proper Opportunities, instigated by their Priests, who have generally the chief Management of their public Councils, to Acts of Hostility against the *English*, even in Time of profound Peace between the two Crowns. Of this there are many undeniable Instances: The War between the *Indians* and the Colonies of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, and *New-Hampshire*, in 1723, by which those Colonies suffered so much Damage, was begun by the Instigation of the *French*; their Supplies were from them, and there are now original Letters of several Jesuits to be produced, whereby it evidently appears, that they were continually animating the *Indians*, when almost tired with the War, to a further Prosecution of it. The *French* not only excited the *Indians*,

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and supplied them, but joined their own Forces with them in all the late Hostilities that have been committed within his Majesty's Province of *Nova-Scotia*.

From an intercepted Letter this Year from the Jesuit at *Penobscot*, and from other Information, it is certain that they have been using their utmost Endeavours to excite the *Indians* to new Acts of Hostility against his Majesty's Colony of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, and some have been committed*.

The *French* not only excite the *Indians* to Acts of Hostility, but reward them for it, by buying the *English* Prisoners of them; for the Ransom of each of which they afterwards demand the Price that is usually given for a Slave in these Colonies. They do this under the specious Pretence of rescuing the poor Prisoners from the Cruelties and Barbarities of the Savages; but in Reality to encourage them to continue their Depredations, as they can by this means get more by hunting the *English* than by hunting Wild-Beasts; while in reality the *French* at the same time keep up a large Army of *Indians* entirely at the Expence of the *English*, without any to themselves.

* Since the writing this, the *Indians*, at the Instigation of the *French*, have committed numerous Hostilities upon the *English*, in the Governments of *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *New-York*, *New-Hampshire*, *Massachusetts-Bay*; and the two last Governments have declared War against several Tribes of the *Abiniqui* *Indians*.

It is very uncertain, and difficult to guess, what may be the Number of *Indians* scattered upon the Back of the *English* and *French* Settlements, thro' this vast Continent. But if the Account be true, or near true, that was given in an open Council of the *Six Nations* at *Turpehawkie*, on their Return from the Treaty at *Philadelphia* in 1742, there must be a great many *Thousand* of them.

And although the *Indians* live scattered, as a Hunter's Life requires, they may be collected together from almost any Distance, as they can find their Subsistence from their Gun in their Travelling.

But let the Number of the *Indians* be what it will, they are not formidable meerly on Account of their Numbers; there are many other Circumstances that give them a great Advantage over the *English*.

The *English* Inhabitants, though numerous, are extended over a large Tract of Land, 500 Leagues in Length, on the Sea-Shore; and although some of their trading Towns are thick settled, their Settlements in the Country Towns must be at a Distance from each other: Besides, that in a new Country where Lands are cheap, People are fond of acquiring large Tracts to themselves; and therefore in the out Settlements, they must be more remote: And as the People that move out are generally poor, they sit down either where they can easiest procure Land, or soonest raise a Subsistence; add to

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this, that the *English* have fixed settled Habitations, the easiest and shortest Passages to which the *Indians*, by constantly hunting the Woods, are perfectly well acquainted with; whereas the *English* know little or nothing of the *Indian* Country, nor of the Passages thro' the Woods that lead to it. The *Indian* Way of making War is by sudden Attacks upon exposed Places; and as soon as they have done Mischief they retire, and either go Home by the same or some different Rout, as they think safest; or go to some other Place at a Distance to renew their Stroke. If a sufficient Party should happily be ready to pursue them, it is a great Chance, whether in a Country consisting of Woods and Swamps, which the *English* are not acquainted with, the Enemy do not lay in Ambush for them in some convenient Place, and from thence destroy them. If this should not be the Case, but the *English* should pursue them, as soon as they have gained the Rivers, by Means of their Canoes, to the Use of which they are brought up from their Infancy, they presently get out of their Reach: Further, if a Body of Men were to march into their Country to the Places where they are settled, they can, upon the least Notice, without great Disadvantage, quit their present Habitations, and betake themselves to new ones.

But to return from these occasional Remarks, and to point out the Consequences of the present Measures of the *French*, if they are suffered to pursue them: The

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The first and most immediate will be the engrossing the whole Furr and Pelt Trade. The Furrs and Pelts imported into *England*, have been computed to amount to about 90,000 *l.* Sterling *per Annum*, besides what are used in the Plantations, which is no inconsiderable Quantity, but I believe greatly exceed that Sum. What Part is imported from *North-America*, and what from the Northern Parts of *Europe*, I cannot tell. The whole *Indian* Trade of *North-America* is carried on entirely by Barter; and that chiefly, and indeed almost wholly for Strouds, Duffils, Blankets, and other Manufactures of *Great-Britain*.

The present Trade therefore is of great Consequence, and if it was properly prosecuted, the Advantages arising to *Great-Britain*, would be in Proportion to its Increase; not only as it would occasion a greater Consumption of *British* Manufactures, but likewise as it would bring in a greater Quantity of those valuable Commodities, which *Great-Britain* must otherwise purchase from other Powers at a dearer Rate, and pay for in Money too. The *Indians* may be supplied cheaper from the *English* than from the *French*; this is very evident, inasmuch as the *French* are frequently supplied from *Albany*, by the Means of their *Indians* (who are really Factors for the *French*) with great Part of their Goods at an advanced Price, and yet have their own Profit upon them when they sell them to the *Indians*. — The *English* Colonies are better situ-

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situated, were it not for the *French* Encroachments, to carry the Trade into the *Indian* Country than those of the *French*; and are therefore capable of encreasing and extending this Trade to a greater Advantage than they. But notwithstanding the Advantages of the *English*, and the Disadvantages of the *French*, the latter have always pushed it on with greater Vigour, and have always had by much the largest Share of it: Neither is this much to be wondered at, since the *French* of *Canada* have scarce any other Trade but this: And this is so essential to that Settlement, that if they were once to be cut off from it, that must soon languish and decay: Besides that the Tax paid by the Company on this Trade is one of the principal Funds from whence the Supplies are raised for defraying the Charges of that Government.

The Pelts and Furrs imported into *France*, amounted some Years ago to no less than 135,000 *l.* Sterling *per Annum*; and since that Time the *French* Trade in those Commodities has been continually encreasing, whilst that of the *English* has been diminishing; and in a little Time will, very probably, nay, must necessarily be entirely lost to the *English* and gained by the *French*, if the latter are suffered to continue possessed of their present Encroachments, and to strengthen themselves in them.

Whoever will compare the Account already given of these Encroachments, with the Map
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of the Country, must see at the first View that they have taken, and are taking Possession of, and fortifying all the most important Places upon the Lakes and Rivers, upon the Back of all the Northern Colonies; by which the *Indians* must pass from their Country to trade with the *English*, or the *English* into the *Indian* Country on the same Purpose.

When they shall have sufficiently strengthened themselves in these, they will effectually cut off all Communication between the *Indians* and the *English* Settlements; and oblige the Natives to trade solely with them, whether they will or no. Besides, the Natives will find it more for their Advantage in that Case to Trade with the *French* than with the *English*: For as the *French* with their Forts, will carry their Trade into the different Parts of the *Indian* Country, can any one imagine the *Indians* will carry their Goods many hundred Miles, attended with great Fatigue and Difficulty, to exchange them for those very Commodities that they can be supplied with for the same Goods, in a Manner at their own Doors? No certainly they will not.

Besides the engrossing this Trade to themselves, the *French* will, in a little Time, draw all the *Indians* entirely off from the *English*, and firmly attach them to their Interest. The cutting off the Communication between the *English* and the *Indians* by the *French* Forts and Settlements, will oblige the *Indians* to trade with
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with the *French* whether they will or no. Their carrying the Trade into the *Indian* Country, and supplying them with the Commodities they want at their own Doors, will make it their Interest to trade with them. This Exchange of Commodities, if properly regulated, will attach the *Indians* to the Interest of those that supply them with what they cannot subsist without. But above all, the Vigour and Resolution of the *French* in carrying on Settlements, building Forts, and strengthening themselves in them at such a Distance from their present Country, few as their Inhabitants are, will give them a high Opinion of the *French* Courage, and create a Dependence upon them. On the other Hand, the tame Behaviour of the *English* in looking quietly on, or in making but a feeble Resistance against these violent Encroachments, while their Interest is so deeply concerned, their Colonies are so many, and their Inhabitants so numerous, will give them a mean, contemptible Opinion of them: They will look upon the *English* as dastardly Cowards; upon the *French* as brave Men; upon the one as fit to be relied upon for Protection; on the other as unworthy of the least Confidence, and rather wanting Assistance and Protection from them, than capable of affording them any.

A Sachem of one of the Tribes of the *Six Nations*, publickly reproached the *English* with this at the late Conference between Commissioners from the *British* Governments, and the

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the *Six Nations*, at *Albany*. Addressing himself to the Commissioners: "You talk, said he, of your Strength, where do we see it? The *French* build Forts, and keep them when they have done; the *English* do not hinder them: The *French* behave like Men, the *English* like Women."

The *Six Nations* are the bravest Warriors of all the *Indians*, they have always been in Alliance with the *English*, and had formerly the greatest Aversion to the *French*. They once not only threatned, but had very near completed the Destruction of *Canada*: But from the Neglect of the *English* to cultivate this Temper, and indeed from a direct contrary Conduct in some of the Governments, and from the Industry and Affiduity of the *French* to gain them to their Interest, many went off and settled amongst the *French*, a long Time ago, a great number are lately gone off, those that remain are very wavering in their Affections to the *English*, and there is not the least Doubt to be made but that they will entirely abandon us, and that in a very little Time, if they have not already agreed to do it; unless we behave with more Discretion and Justice towards them, and more Vigour and Resolution against the *French*.

If this should be the Case, if these *Indians* should be gained to the *French*, and the numerous Tribes in Alliance with them, all the rest of the *Indians* upon the whole Continent would

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would infallibly be brought into the same Interest. What Use the *French* would make of these new Allies, we know too well from past Experience. They would most certainly employ them even in Time of profound Peace between the two Crowns, against any or all the *British* Settlements as would best suit their ambitious Views and Designs.

It has been already remarked, that the Tribes of *Indians* living upon the Lakes and the Rivers that run upon the Back of the *English* Settlements in *North-America*, are very numerous, and can furnish a great Number of fighting Men, all perfectly well acquainted with the Use of Arms as soon as capable of carrying them, as they get the whole of their Subsistence from hunting; and that this Army, large as it may be, can be maintained by the *French* without any Expence.

From their Numbers, their Situation, and the Rivers that run into the *English* Settlements, it is easy to conceive that they can at any Time make an Attack upon, and constantly annoy as many of the exposed *English* Settlements as they please, and those at any Distance from each other.

The Effects of such Incurfions have been too severely felt by many of the *British* Colonies, especially in the Eastern Parts of *New-England*, not to be very well known. The entire breaking up Places that had been for a considerable Time settled at a great Expence, both of Labour

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and Money; burning the Houses, destroying the Stock, killing and making Prisoners great Numbers of the Inhabitants, with all the cruel Usage they meet with in their Captivity is only a Part of the Scene. All other Places that are exposed are kept in continual Terror; the Lands lay waste and uncultivated from the Danger that attends those that shall presume to work upon them: Besides the immense Charge the Governments must be at in a very ineffectual Manner to defend their extended Frontiers; and all this from the Influence the *French* have had over, but comparatively, a few of the *Indians*. To the same or greater Evils still will every one of the Colonies be exposed, whenever the same Influence shall be extended to the whole Body of them.

South-Carolina may be easily annoyed in this Manner by the *Indians* that live near the *French* Settlements upon the River *Mississippi*, and the Branches of the other Rivers that run into it. *South-Carolina*, indeed, hath this Advantage at present, that these *Indians* have been for a long Time, and are still in strict Alliance with them; and whilst they continue closely attached to their Interest, they will be a Barrier to them against the *French* and their *Indians*: But this is a very precarious Dependance, considering how easy it will be for the *French*, after they have gained the rest of the numerous Tribes, to secure them also to their Interest, or else to employ their *Indians* to cut them off.

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The late and present Enterprizes of the *French*, with the Assistance of the *Indians* upon the Borders of *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and *North-Carolina*, are too strong Proofs how much they are exposed.

New-York is not more secure, but on the contrary, if the *French* should gain the *Six Nations* to their Interest (of which there is the greatest Danger) as these are the most warlike of all the *Indians*, as they are perfectly well acquainted with that Country, and might perhaps have a particular Resentment against that Colony; and at the same Time can be easily supplied by Water from the *French Magazine* at *Crown-Point*, with Ammunition and Provisions; this Colony would perhaps be more exposed than almost any other to the most cruel Ravages and Depredations.

The Colonies of *New-Jersey*, *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*, are at present secured, by having some of the other Colonies as a Barrier to them.

The Western Parts of the Colonies of the *Massachusetts-Bay* and *New-Hampshire*, lay open to the Incurfions of the *Indians*, that may be supplied from *Crown-Point*, it being not quite ninety Miles from that Fort to *Connecticut-River*. But the Eastern Parts of these Provinces, especially the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, are still more exposed, and have been often and for a long Time together, through the Instiga-

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tion of our good Allies the *French*, the Theatre of War.

The *St. John's* and other *Nova-Scotia Indians*, whom the *French* have gained to an entire Dependance upon them, may be employed either against the Eastern Parts of *New-England*, or the Province of *Nova-Scotia*.

The Damage the Province of *Nova-Scotia* has already suffered from them, at the Instigation and with the Assistance of the *French*, has been such, as has hitherto prevented their making Settlements back into the Country, whereon they might raise their own Subsistence, and threatens, if not remedied, to prevent any future Settlement of that Country by the *English*.

Upon the whole, it cannot be doubted that if the *French* should engross the Furr Trade to themselves, and attach the *Indians* firmly to their Interest, they would never want Inclination or Power to employ them, even in Time of profound Peace between the two Crowns, to harass any Number of the *English* Colonies as should best suit their Purposes; which, besides all the other Evils already mentioned, would be attended with this, that it would effectually hinder the Increase and Settlement of his Majesty's Territories, whilst it would give the *French* an Opportunity to increase and settle their own, and not only their own, but such Part of his Majesty's as they have unjustly taken Possession of.

But the Calamities of the *English* Colonies would be greatly increased under these Circumstances

stances in Case of a War between the two Crowns.

As the Fort at *Crown-Point*, where the *French* may collect a sufficient Number of Forces for their Purpose, is within little more than a hundred Miles of the City of *Albany*, and much nearer to many of their other Settlements, as there is an easy Passage by Water from this Fort, it would be no difficult Matter for the *French*, with the Assistance of the *Indians*, especially of the *Six Nations*, who border upon, and are intimately acquainted with, every Part of that Colony, not only to burn and destroy the out Settlements, but even the City of *Albany* itself, before they could receive Assistance from the other Parts of the Government: At the same Time their Neighbours may be prevented from giving them any, by having Employment enough at home, to defend their own Frontiers against other Parties of *Indians*.

The same Remark may be made with Regard to the Western Frontier of the Colony of the *Massachusetts-Bay*: But it is in the Eastern Part that this Colony and the Province of *New-Hampshire* is most exposed in Time of War to the Ravages of the *French* and their *Indians*.

Quebec, the Capital of all the *French* Governments, is so near this Part of the *Massachusetts*, that whilst other Parts of the Country, and their Neighbours too, are kept in a continual

tinual Alarm by Parties of *Indians*, the whole Force of *Canada*, with as many *Indians* as they see Cause to join with them, may very suddenly and secretly make their Attack here, burn and destroy many Towns, break up others, kill many of the Inhabitants, and make more Prisoners, destroy their Stock, and return back with great Security, before a sufficient Force could be sent against them. They might at the same time destroy the King's Woods, from whence Masts, &c. are supplied for the Royal Navy, unless they should hope one Day to be Masters of them themselves, and on that Account reserve them for their own Use. But in case of a War between the two Crowns, the Province of *Nova-Scotia* will not only feel all the forementioned calamitous Effects; but under its present Circumstances, would be in Danger of being totally lost to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and gained by the *French*. As *Louisbourg*, which is in the Neighbourhood of this, is on all Accounts a proper Place of Rendezvous for regular Troops and a Navy to be sent from *France*, as the *French* have already a Fort upon *Bay Vert*, and another upon the Basin of *Chignecto*, as they have secured the River *St. John's*, and attached the *Indians* of that River, and the other *Indians* to their Interest, as the *French* Inhabitants are well known to be better inclined to the *French* than the *English* Government, and must eternally be so, as long as they are suffered to have *French* Ro-

man Catholic Priests, Subjects of the *French* King, and under the Direction of the Bishop of *Quebec*, among them; and as the *English* have not one Fort except *Annapolis-Royal*, that can hold out one Day against a proper Number of regular Forces provided with sufficient Cannon, if the *French* should, before the *English* are aware of it, send a large Body of Troops, with necessary Artillery, and a Number of Men of War to protect them, the *French* Inhabitants, who amount to many Thousands, would upon their first Appearance universally revolt, and the Conquest of that whole Province would not take up one Fortnight. When the *French* have once made a Conquest of this Province, and strengthened themselves in it, they will have laid a good Foundation for dispossessing the *English*, in some future Time, of all their other Colonies in *North-America*, and securing them to themselves, with all the Advantages of them.

That the *French* have had this in View from the Beginning of their Settlements in *North-America*, seems clear from their surrounding the *English* Colonies, and building Forts upon the Lakes, and most convenient Rivers on the back of the *English* Settlements from *St. Lawrence-River* to *Mississippi*, and claiming an exclusive Navigation in those Lakes and Rivers, and the Property of all that Part of the Continent.

What a Value *France* sets upon the Colony of *Nova-Scotia*, and how essential a Territory she esteems

esteems it for the Support of her other Settlements, and for compassing the Design she hath upon the whole Continent of *North-America*, plainly appears from the extreme Reluctance with which she made the Cession of it to *Great-Britain* at the Treaty of *Utrecht*; and it is clear from that Negotiation, that nothing but the feeble State in which she then felt herself, nothing but the last Necessity could have reduced her to make it. What an attentive Eye she hath kept upon it ever since it hath been in the Possession of the *English*, appears from the continual Practices of the Governor of *Canada*, the Bishop of *Quebec*, and the *French* Missionaries from thence in Time of Peace, to seduce the *French* Inhabitants from their Allegiance to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. The same is evident from the repeated Attempts of the *French* during the late War; some of them very expensive and hazardous to a very considerable Part of her Navy, for the Reduction of it; as also since the Conclusion of the Peace, from her Encroachments upon the Isthmus and *St. John's-River*, in manifest Violation of her most solemn Stipulations at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and with an apparent View of holding herself in Readiness to take the first favourable Opportunity upon a Rupture between the two Crowns of surprizing the Colony.

One great and indeed main Security of the *English* Colonies in *North-America* against the fatal Effects of the *French* Encroachment, consists in this, that the *French* Settlements at present

about the Quota of Men and Money which they should respectively contribute; and considering themselves as more or less concerned, according to the Distance of their Colonies from immediate Danger, so that it is very difficult for them to agree upon any one Plan, and as difficult to execute it, if one could be agreed on. Of this there is a most melancholy Proof at this very Time, since notwithstanding the present common Danger, no two Governments can agree upon any Measures, nor has any one Government separately, except the *Massachusetts-Bay*, acted with any Degree of Vigour; much less with that Vigour that the present Circumstances demand*.

It is easy therefore to conceive, that a large Body of Men, Part of them regular Troops, with the Assistance of the *Indians*, scattered thro' the Continent, upon the Back of all the *English* Colonies, (as the *French* Settlements likewise are) when under the absolute Command of one Governor-General, who upon all Emergencies can direct their Force as he pleases, may reduce a Number of disunited independent Colonies, unsupported with regular Troops, tho' much superior to them in Point of the Number of Inhabitants.

The Effects of this Difference of Government within the *French* and *English* Colonies were

* At that Time the Expedition to *Crown-Point* was not on Foot.

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most sensibly felt in the late War. And if we may judge by the late and present Proceedings of the *French* upon this Continent, they design we shall feel them more sensibly still, and that perhaps sooner than we imagine.

It is therefore highly necessary that the most vigorous Measures should be speedily and unitedly projected and pursued, to oppose any farther Encroachments of the *French*, and to oblige them to relinquish those they have already made. The Safety and Security of all the *English* Colonies in *North-America*, their very Being as *English* Colonies, make such Measures absolutely necessary, and that without any Loss of Time. And how far the Interest of *Great-Britain* itself may make such Measures necessary, will appear from considering the Importance of these Colonies to the Mother-Kingdom.

That the present Grandeur of *Great-Britain* is owing to its large and extended Commerce, is agreed on all Hands.

That it is by this large Commerce that she is enabled to keep up so large a Naval Force, and that the Superiority of her Naval Force maintains her present Power and Independency, is equally certain.

What Addition is made to her Commerce, and consequently her Wealth, Strength and Superiority of Naval Power, by her being possessed of so many large Colonies, and particularly how far her Colonies in *North-America* conduce to the Support and Increase of these, will appear from the following Remarks. The

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The Inhabitants of the Colonies in *North-America* make a large Addition to the Subjects of *Great-Britain*. The Extent of these Colonies, exclusive of the Island of *Newfoundland*, and measuring it upon the Sea-Coast from *Nova-Scotia* to *Georgia*, inclusive of both, is about five Hundred Leagues, and the Depth of them as far back as the *South-Sea*.

The Settlements, which are chiefly on the Sea-Coast, may be computed to contain above One Million Inhabitants, exclusive of Indian Savages, and Negro Slaves.

These Inhabitants within the Compass of one Hundred and Forty Years, from which Time the utmost Æra of the eldest of these Colonies is to be dated, have from small Draughts made out of the Mother-Country and her Dependencies, chiefly in the Beginning of their Settlements, grown to their present Number by the natural Increase of the People, saving what Addition they have received by such as have transplanted themselves from the Northern Parts of *Germany*.

It has been found by Assessments made from Time to Time of the rateable Polls in the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, where there are now near two hundred Thousand Inhabitants, that taking their Increase at a Medium, from the first Settlement of the Colony to the Year 1743, they have doubled their Number once in twenty Years.

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If this should not be thought an equitable Rule of estimating the future Growth of the Inhabitants within this Province, when their Number is so large, (though it seems it should hold good as long as there is Room enough for them to spread) yet it seems a moderate Computation to reckon, that their present Number may be doubled at the End of thirty Years, and if that is a just Rule for rating the Increase of the Inhabitants within the other Colonies, as it seems to be, then the Number of Inhabitants within all the *British* Colonies in *North-America*, may be expected from their natural Increase, and without making any Allowance for the transplanting of Protestant Families from the *Palatinate*, *Swiss* Cantons, and other Northern Parts of *Germany*, to amount at the End of that Period to near three Millions.

More distant Calculations may seem too remote and uncertain; it may suffice to remark, that from the general Healthfulness of the Climate thro' the whole Range of these Colonies, and the immense Tracts of Lands fit for all Kind of Agriculture, that this Territory is capable of supporting as many Inhabitants at least as any Kingdom in *Europe*.

The Advantage accruing to the Mother-Country from the great Number of Inhabitants in her Northern Colonies, will appear from the Consideration of the Consumption they will occasion of *British* Manufactures, and also of all other *European* Commodities in general, which
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last must be landed and rehipped in *Great-Britain* (which is by the Acts of Trade made the Staple of them for all the *English* Colonies) before they can be imported into *America*.

I shall not enter into a Detail of the *European* Commodities which are consumed within the Colonies, or a Computation of what Number of Hands their present Inhabitants may employ in *England*, for furnishing them with the *British* ones: Extracts from the Custom-house Books of the Goods exported for the Colonies, have shewn them to be very large at present; what is exported for *New-England* only amounting to *Four Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling per Ann.* and the future Vent of them continually increasing in Proportion to the Growth of its Inhabitants, must of itself in Time become a more considerable Trade, and of a more beneficial Nature in every Respect to *Great-Britain*, than all its Branches of Commerce with foreign States put together. It is computed that near Half the present Shipping of *Great-Britain* is improved in the Commerce carried on with her Plantations, which Trade alone will in Time employ a much greater Quantity of Shipping, than all the present Shipping of *Great-Britain*. Besides, this Trade will enable her with greater Advantage to extend her Commerce with other Countries.

Another Remark relates to the Fisheries carried on in the adjacent Seas: Very particular Estimates have been made of the *New-England*

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Cod-Fishery, whereby the Returns of it appear to be (exclusive of the *Newfoundland* Fishery, for all of which there is a sufficient Market) above *One Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling per Annum*. All this Fish, except what is consumed in *America*, which is but an inconsiderable Part of it, is exported to *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, and there sold for Gold, or Bills of Exchange payable in *Great-Britain*, from whence Returns are made to the Colonies in *English* Goods; so that the Produce of the Fishery, as well as the Profit of furnishing the Outset of it, center in the Mother-Country.

Besides this, a Whale-Fishery is carried on within the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, from whence considerable Quantities of Oil are yearly exported to *England*, perhaps to the Amount of *Twenty Thousand Pounds Sterling*, or more annually, the prime Cost in *New-England*.

The Profits of these Fisheries are the more beneficial, as they are gained out of the Sea, (a Fund not to be exhausted) and find Employment for a great Number of Hands, many of which might be useless, or but of small Account on Shore; as is found to be the Case of most Countries with Respect to the Refuse Part of their Inhabitants: And Fisheries are more particularly advantageous to a Maritime Power, as they breed up the best of Sailors. The Cod-Fishery of *New-England* has therefore been ever justly esteemed a good Nursery of Seamen for the Royal Navy, and it has the Advantage even

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of the *English* Colliery in this Respect, that whereas ten or twelve Hands are sufficient to navigate a Collier of a large Burthen, as great a Number of Hands is necessary to be employed on Board a Fishing-Vessel of fifty Tons, for navigating it, and catching and curing the Fish; all of whom may be reckoned good Seamen, or at least very fit for immediate Service on Board the King's Ships

The next Remark relates to the Naval Stores: Every Species of these is of the Growth and Produce of the Northern Colonies. The Royal Navy is almost wholly supplied from the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* and *New-Hampshire*, with Masts, Yards and Bowsprits; as the Shipping of *England* in general is with Pitch and Tar from *Carolina*.

Upon this Article it may be observed, that it is an invaluable Advantage to a Maritime Power to have its Naval Stores of the Produce of its own Dominions, independent of a Foreign State, and not liable to be cut off from them by the Accident of War, or Prohibition of the Prince, in whose Dominion they must be purchased: To have them likewise imported in its own Shipping, at reasonable Rates, and in Exchange for its own Manufactures.

The Difference between being dependent upon a foreign Power for any of these Stores, and having them of the Growth of the *British* Territories, is remarkable in the Article of Tar. When *Great-Britain* was obliged to take that Species

Species from the Northern Powers, the Price of it rose to *Three Pounds* Sterling per Barrel; and *Sweden* in the Year 1710 refused to let it be exported in *English* Vessels*. This Imposition occasioned a Bounty to be given by Parliament for the Encouragement of raising Tar in the *English* Colonies in *North-America*, the Effect of which has been to lower the Price of it to a tenth Part of what was before given; and to be paid for to Subjects of *Great-Britain* in *British* Manufactures, instead of being paid for to Foreigners in Silver and Gold.

Great-Britain may likewise in Time be supplied from her Northern Colonies with Bar-Iron, Hemp and Pot-Ash. Pot-Ash has been made in *New-England*, and that of the best Quality, and imported from thence to *England*: And was the Method of making it publickly known, *Great-Britain* might be supplied from her Colonies in *North-America* with her whole Consumption of that Article.

The next Remark relates to the rich Commodities of Furrs, Tobacco §, and Rice, which are the Produce of these Colonies. There is likewise a fair Prospect of *Carolina's* raising sufficient Plantations of Mulberry-Trees for the Production of Raw-Silk; they have already got to a considerable Perfection in raising and mak-

* *Vide* Preamble to the Act of 3d and 4th of *Q. Anne*, cap. 10.

§ There are about 85,000 Hogheads of Tobacco exported annually from *Virginia* and *Maryland*.

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ing Indigo: Its Oranges are found to be near as good as those of *Seville*; and it is not to be doubted but that the Climate and Soil of the *British* Northern Colonies is capable of producing a Variety of Wines that may vie with those of *Europe*.

The next Thing to be remarked is, that the Lumber, Horses and Fish (not to mention the Flower and Pork) with which *North-America* supplies the Sugar Colonies, are necessary for carrying on the Sugar Works in the Plantations there, and for the Subsistence of their Negroes, so that the Support of these Islands depends upon that of the *English* Northern Colonies: Were those to be lost, the Sugar Islands, independent of their being conquered by the *French*, would soon languish and decay to such a Degree as to be of little Service to the Mother-Country.

The last Remark to be made is, that the Prince, who holds Possession of the *English* Colonies in *North-America*, will be in a Condition to keep the Sovereignty of the *Atlantic* Ocean, through which the homeward bound Trade from the East and West *Indies* generally passes: This evidently appears from the Extent of the Sea-Coast, which the Colonies of *North-America* take up, abounding with most commodious Harbours, from whence the Ships passing through those Seas, may be intercepted. *France* most sensibly felt the Effects of it during the last War in the Captures made by the *English* of their Trade in general, returning from those Parts:
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And it is well known that the Harbour of *Louisbourg* is the Rendezvous of the *French* East-India and South-Sea Trade in their Passage Home to *France*. It is evident from what has been mentioned, how much the Shipping, Trade and Maritime Power of *Great-Britain*, must be increased by the Advantages arising to her from her Colonies in *North-America*: And on the other Hand, how much her Power would be diminished, and that of *France* aggrandized, if she should ever happen to lose them to the *French*.

The Observation therefore, which has been made by some, That *England* maintained her Power and Sovereignty at Sea before she was augmented with her Colonies, and therefore may as well support it now without them, is ill-founded. It is true, was the Consequence of her losing them only to be, that they would become vacant, or which is the same Thing with Respect to the Powers in *Europe*, be occupied only by *Indian Savages*, (which was the State of *North-America* before the *English* and *French* entered into Possession of it) *Great-Britain*, though much weakened by the Loss of her Colonies, might still (supposing the Marine of *France* to be as much inferior in all other Respects to that of *Great-Britain*, as it was before the two Crowns acquired their respective Possessions in *North-America*) support her Power at Sea in the same State she did before the Acquisition of them. But that is not the Case; if the *English* should lose Possession of them, the *French* would gain
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it; and the Question is, What Alteration in the State of Power this Change might make to the Prejudice of *England*; and whether the *French*, after *England* had suffered this Diminution in her Trade and Maritime Strength, would not by their Acquisition of it, in Addition to the Resources of Wealth and Power which *France* already has in herself and her *American* Territories, have laid a sure Foundation for a general and lasting Dominion by Sea as well as Land? Undoubtedly if this should ever be the Case, the Trade and Commerce of *France*, and with it her Naval Power, would increase to such a Degree of Superiority over that of *Great-Britain*, as must entirely destroy her Commerce, reduce her from her present State of Independency to be at last nothing more than a Province of *France*. The *French* Court are very sensible of this, and have long been pursuing such Measures as may finally bring about this Event, tho' perhaps at a distant Time.

With this View, Maps of this Country have been from Time to Time published under the Direction of that Court, in every later one of which they have been making greater Excisions of his Majesty's Territories, and tacking them to those of the Grand Monarch; and at the same Time actually taking Possession of them, settling and fortifying upon them.

Upon the whole, it is evident that the *French* have been, and are now, in manifest Violation of the most solemn Treaties, making the most hostile

hostile Encroachments upon his Majesty's undoubted Territories.

That the Consequences of these Encroachments, if the *French* are suffered to keep Possession of them, and strengthen themselves in them, will be;

1. The engrossing the whole of the Furr-Trade of *North-America* to themselves.
2. The attaching all the *Indians* scattered thro' that vast Continent upon the Back of all the *English* Settlements to their Interest.
3. The employing those *Indians* when thus attached to them, even in Time of profound Peace between the two Crowns, to annoy any or all his Majesty's Colonies, as may best serve their Purposes.
4. That they will one Day make themselves Masters of all the *British* Colonies in *North-America*.

That these Colonies are of such Consequence to the Trade, Wealth and Naval Power of *Great-Britain*, and will in future Time make so much larger Additions to it, that whilst she keeps them entire, she will be able to maintain not only her Independency, but her Superiority as a Maritime Power. And on the other Hand, should she once lose them, and the *French* gain them, *Great-Britain* herself must necessarily be reduced to an absolute Subjection to the *French* Crown, to be nothing more than a *Province of France*.



OBSERVATIONS

CONCERNING THE

INCREASE OF MANKIND,

Peopling of Countries, &c.

I. TABLES of the Proportion of Marriages to Births, of Deaths to Births, of Marriages to the Numbers of Inhabitants, &c. formed on Observations made upon the Bills of Mortality, Christenings, &c. of populous Cities, will not suit Countries; nor will Tables formed on Observations made on full settled old Countries, as *Europe*, suit new Countries, as *America*.

2. For People increase in Proportion to the Number of the Marriages, and that is greater in Proportion to the Ease and Convenience of supporting a Family. When Families can be easily supported, more Persons marry, and earlier in Life.

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3. In Cities, where all Trades, Occupations and Offices are full, many delay marrying, till they can see how to bear the Charges of a Family; which Charges are greater in Cities, as Luxury is more common; many live single during Life, and continue Servants to Families, Journeymen to Trades, &c. hence Cities do not by natural Generation supply themselves with Inhabitants; the Deaths are more than the Births.

4. In Countries full settled, the Case must be nearly the same; all Lands being occupied and improved to the Height; those who cannot get Land, must labour for others that have it; when Labourers are plenty, their Wages will be low; by low Wages a Family is supported with Difficulty; this Difficulty deters many from Marriage, who therefore long continue Servants and single. --- Only as the Cities take Supplies of People from the Country, and thereby make a little more Room in the Country, Marriage is a little more encouraged there, and the Births exceed the Deaths.

5. *Europe* is generally full settled with Husbandmen, Manufacturers, &c. and therefore cannot now much increase in People: *America* is chiefly occupied by *Indians*, who subsist mostly by Hunting. --- But as the Hunter, of all Men, requires the greatest Quantity of Land from whence to draw his Subsistence, (the Husbandman subsisting on much less, the Gardener

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on still less, and the Manufacturer requiring least of all) the *Europeans* found *America* as fully settled as it well could be by Hunters; yet these having large Tracts, were easily prevailed on to part with Portions of Territory to the new Comers, who did not much interfere with the Natives in Hunting, and furnished them with many Things they wanted.

6. Land being thus plenty in *America*, and so cheap as that a labouring Man, that understands Husbandry, can in a short Time save Money enough to purchase a Piece of new Land sufficient for a Plantation, whereon he may subsist a Family; such are not afraid to marry; for if they even look far enough forward to consider how their Children when grown up are to be provided for, they see that more Land is to be had at Rates equally easy, all Circumstances considered.

7. Hence Marriages in *America* are more general, and more generally early, than in *Europe*. And if it is reckoned there, that there is but one Marriage *per Annum* among 100 Persons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in *Europe* they have but four Births to a Marriage (many of their Marriages being late) we may here reckon eight, of which if one half grow up, and our Marriages are made, reckoning one with another at twenty Years of Age, our People must at least be doubled every twenty Years.

8. But notwithstanding this Increase, so vast is the Territory of *North-America*, that it will require

require many Ages to settle it fully; and till it is fully settled, Labour will never be cheap here, where no Man continues long a Labourer for others, but gets a Plantation of his own, no Man continues long a Journeyman to a Trade, but goes among those new Settlers, and sets up for himself, &c. Hence Labour is no cheaper now, in *Pensylvania*, than it was thirty Years ago, tho' so many Thousand labouring People have been imported.

9. The Danger therefore of these Colonies interfering with their Mother Country in Trades that depend on Labour, Manufactures, &c. is too remote to require the Attention of *Great-Britain*.

10. But in Proportion to the Increase of the Colonies, a vast Demand is growing for *British* Manufactures; a glorious Market wholly in the Power of *Britain*, in which Foreigners cannot interfere, which will increase in a short Time even beyond her Power of supplying, tho' her whole Trade should be to her Colonies: Therefore *Britain* should not too much restrain Manufactures in her Colonies. A wise and good Mother will not do it. To distress, is to weaken, and weakening the Children, weakens the whole Family.

11. Besides if the Manufactures of *Britain* (by Reason of the *American* Demands) should rise too high in Price, Foreigners who can sell cheaper will drive her Merchants out of Foreign Markets;

Foreign Manufactures will thereby be encouraged and increased, and consequently foreign Nations, perhaps her Rivals in Power, grow more populous and more powerful; while her own Colonies, kept too low, are unable to assist her, or add to her Strength.

12. 'Tis an ill-grounded Opinion that by the Labour of Slaves, *America* may possibly vie in Cheapness of Manufactures with *Britain*. The Labour of Slaves can never be so cheap here as the Labour of working Men is in *Britain*. Any one may compute it. Interest of Money is in the Colonies from 6 to 10 per Cent. Slaves one with another cost 30*l.* Sterling per Head. Reckon then the Interest of the first Purchase of a Slave, the Insurance or Risque on his Life, his Cloathing and Diet, Expences in his Sickness and Loss of Time, Loss by his Neglect of Business (Neglect is natural to the Man who is not to be benefited by his own Care or Diligence), Expence of a Driver to keep him at Work, and his pilfering from Time to Time, almost every Slave being *by Nature* a Thief, and compare the whole Amount with the Wages of a Manufacturer of Iron or Wool in *England*, you will see that Labour is much cheaper there than it ever can be by Negroes here. Why then will *Americans* purchase Slaves? Because Slaves may be kept as long as a Man pleases, or has Occasion for their Labour; while hired Men are continually leaving their Master (often in the midst of

of his Business,) and setting up for themselves. §. 8.

13. As the Increase of People depends on the Encouragement of Marriages, the following Things must diminish a Nation, *viz.* 1. The being conquered; for the Conquerors will ingross as many Offices, and exact as much Tribute or Profit on the Labour of the conquered, as will maintain them in their new Establishment, and this diminishing the Subsistence of the Natives discourages their Marriages, and so gradually diminishes them, while the Foreigners increase. 2. Loss of Territory. Thus the *Britons* being driven into *Wales*, and crowded together in a barren Country insufficient to support such great Numbers, diminished till the People bore a Proportion to the Produce, while the *Saxons* increased on their abandoned Lands; 'till the Island became full of *English*. And were the *English* now driven into *Wales* by some foreign Nation, there would in a few Years be no more *Englishmen* in *Britain*, than there are now People in *Wales*. 3. Loss of Trade. Manufactures exported, draws Subsistence from foreign Countries for Numbers; who are thereby enabled to marry and raise Families. If the Nation be deprived of any Branch of Trade, and no new Employment is found for the People occupy'd in that Branch, it will soon be deprived of so many People. 4. Loss of Food. Suppose a Nation has a Fishery, which not only employs

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employs great Numbers, but makes the Food and Subsistence of the People cheaper: If another Nation becomes Master of the Seas, and prevents the Fishery, the People will diminish in Proportion as the Loss of Employ, and Dearness of Provision makes it more difficult to subsist a Family. 5. Bad Government and insecure Property. People not only leave such a Country, and settling abroad incorporate with other Nations, lose their Native Language, and become Foreigners; but the Industry of those that remain being discouraged, the Quantity of Subsistence in the Country is lessened, and the Support of a Family becomes more difficult. So heavy Taxes tend to diminish a People. 6. The Introduction of Slaves. The Negroes brought into the *English* Sugar Islands, have greatly diminished the Whites there; the Poor are by this Means deprived of Employment, while a few Families acquire vast Estates, which they spend on foreign Luxuries, and educating their Children in the Habit of those Luxuries; the same Income is needed for the Support of one, that might have maintained one Hundred. The Whites who have Slaves not labouring, are enfeebled, and therefore not so generally prolific; the Slaves being work'd too hard, and ill fed, their Constitutions are broken, and the Deaths among them are more than the Births; so that a continual Supply is needed from *Africa*. The Northern Colonies having few Slaves encrease
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in Whites. Slaves also pejorate the Families that use them; the white Children become proud, disgusted with Labour, and being educated in Idleness, are rendered unfit to get a Living by Industry.

14. Hence the Prince that acquires new Territory, if he finds it vacant, or removes the Natives to give his own People Room; the Legislator that makes effectual Laws for promoting of Trade, increasing Employment, improving Land by more or better Tillage, providing more Food by Fisheries, securing Property, &c. and the Man that invents new Trades, Arts or Manufactures, or new Improvements in Husbandry, may be properly called *Fathers of their Nation*, as they are the Cause of the Generation of Multitudes by the Encouragement they afford to Marriage.

15. As to Privileges granted to the married, (such as the *Jus trium Liberorum* among the *Romans*) they may hasten the filling of a Country that has been thinned by War or Pestilence, or that has otherwise vacant Territory, but cannot increase a People beyond the Means provided for their Subsistence.

16. Foreign Luxuries and needless Manufactures imported and used in a Nation, do, by the same Reasoning, increase the People of the Nation that furnishes them, and diminish the People of the Nation that uses them.—Laws therefore that prevent such Importations, and
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on the contrary promote the Exportation of Manufactures to be consumed in foreign Countries, may be called (with Respect to the People that make them) *generative Laws*, as by increasing Subsistence they encourage Marriage. Such Laws likewise strengthen a Country doubly, by increasing its own People and diminishing its Neighbours.

17. Some *European* Nations prudently refuse to consume the Manufactures of *East-India*:— They should likewise forbid them to their Colonies; for the Gain to the Merchant is not to be compared with the Loss by this Means of People to the Nation.

18. Home Luxury in the Great, increases the Nation's Manufacturers employed by it, who are many, and only tends to diminish the Families that indulge in it, who are few. The greater the common fashionable Expence of any Rank of People, the more cautious they are of Marriage. Therefore Luxury should never be suffered to become common.

19. The great Increase of Offspring in particular Families, is not always owing to greater Fecundity of Nature, but sometimes to Examples of Industry in the Heads, and industrious Education; by which the Children are enabled to provide better for themselves, and their marrying early is encouraged from the Prospect of good Subsistence.

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20. If there be a Sect therefore, in our Nation, that regard Frugality and Industry as religious Duties, and educate their Children therein, more than others commonly do; such Sect must consequently increase more by natural Generation, than any other Sect in *Britain*.—

21. The Importation of Foreigners into a Country that has as many Inhabitants as the present Employments and Provisions for Subsistence will bear, will be in the End no Increase of People, unless the New-comers have more Industry and Frugality than the Natives, and then they will provide more Subsistence and increase in the Country; but they will gradually eat the Natives out.—Nor is it necessary to bring in Foreigners to fill up any occasional Vacancy in a Country; for such Vacancy (if the Laws are good, § 14, 16) will soon be filled by natural Generation. Who can now find the Vacancy made in *Sweden*, *France*, or other warlike Nations, by the Plague of Heroism 40 Years ago; in *France*, by the Expulsion of the Protestants; in *England*, by the Settlement of her Colonies; or in *Guinea*, by 100 Years Exportation of Slaves that has blackened half *America*?—The Thinness of Inhabitants in *Spain*, is owing to national Pride and Idleness, and other Causes, rather than to the Expulsion of the *Moors*, or to the making of new Settlements.

22. There is in short no Bound to the prolific Nature of Plants or Animals, but what is made

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made by their crowding and interfering with each other's Means of Subsistence. Was the Face of the Earth vacant of other Plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one Kind only; as for Instance, with Fennel; and were it empty of other Inhabitants, it might in a few Ages be replenished from one Nation only; as for Instance, with *Englishmen*. Thus there are supposed to be now upwards of one Million *English* Souls in *North-America*, (tho' 'tis thought scarce 80,000 have been brought over Sea) and yet perhaps there is not one the fewer in *Britain*, but rather many more, on Account of the Employment the Colonies afford to Manufacturers at Home. This Million doubling, suppose but once in 25 Years, will in another Century be more than the People of *England*, and the greatest Number of *Englishmen* will be on this Side the Water. What an Accession of Power to the *British* Empire by Sea as well as Land! What Increase of Trade and Navigation! What Numbers of Ships and Seamen! We have been here but little more than 100 Years, and yet the Force of our Privateers in the late War, united, was greater, both in Men and Guns, than that of the whole *British* Navy in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time.—How important an Affair then to *Britain*, is the present Treaty for settling the Bounds between her Colonies and the *French*, and how careful should she be to secure Room enough, since on the Room depends so much the Increase of her People?

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23. In fine, A Nation well regulated is like a Polypus; take away a Limb, its Place is soon supply'd; cut it in two, and each deficient Part shall speedily grow out of the Part remaining. Thus if you have Room and Subsistence enough, as you may by dividing, make ten Polypes out of one, you may of one make ten Nations, equally populous and powerful; or rather, increase a Nation ten fold in Numbers and Strength.

And since Detachments of *English* from *Britain* sent to *America*, will have their Places at Home so soon supply'd and increase so largely here; why should the *Palatine Boors* be suffered to swarm into our Settlements, and by herding together establish their Language and Manners to the Exclusion of ours? Why should *Pensylvania*, founded by the *English*, become a Colony of *Aliens*, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our Language or Customs, any more than they can acquire our Complexion.

24. Which leads me to add one Remark: That the Number of purely white People in the World is proportionably very small. All *Africa* is black or tawny. *Asia* chiefly tawny. *America* (exclusive of the new Comers) wholly so. And in *Europe*, the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *French*, are generally of what we call a swarthy Complexion; the more northern Nations with the *English*, making the principal body of White People on the Face of the Earth. I could wish
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their Numbers were increased. And while we are, as I may call it, *Scouring* our Planet, by clearing *America* of Woods, and so making this Side of our Globe reflect a brighter Light to the Eyes of Inhabitants in *Mars* or *Venus*, why should we in the Sight of Superior Beings, darken its People? why increase the sons of *Africa*, by Planting them in *America*, where we have so fair an Opportunity, by excluding all Blacks and Tawneys, of increasing the lovely White and Red? But perhaps I am partial to the Complexion of my Country, for such Kind of Partiality is natural to Mankind.

T H E E N D.