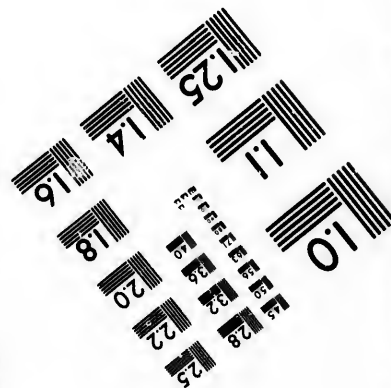
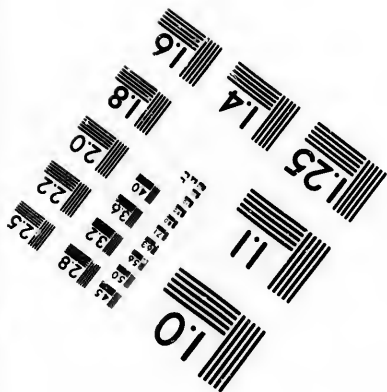
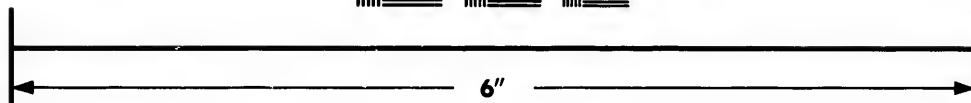
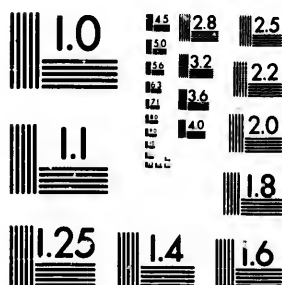


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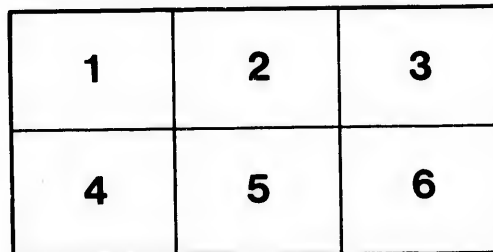
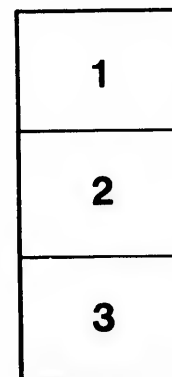
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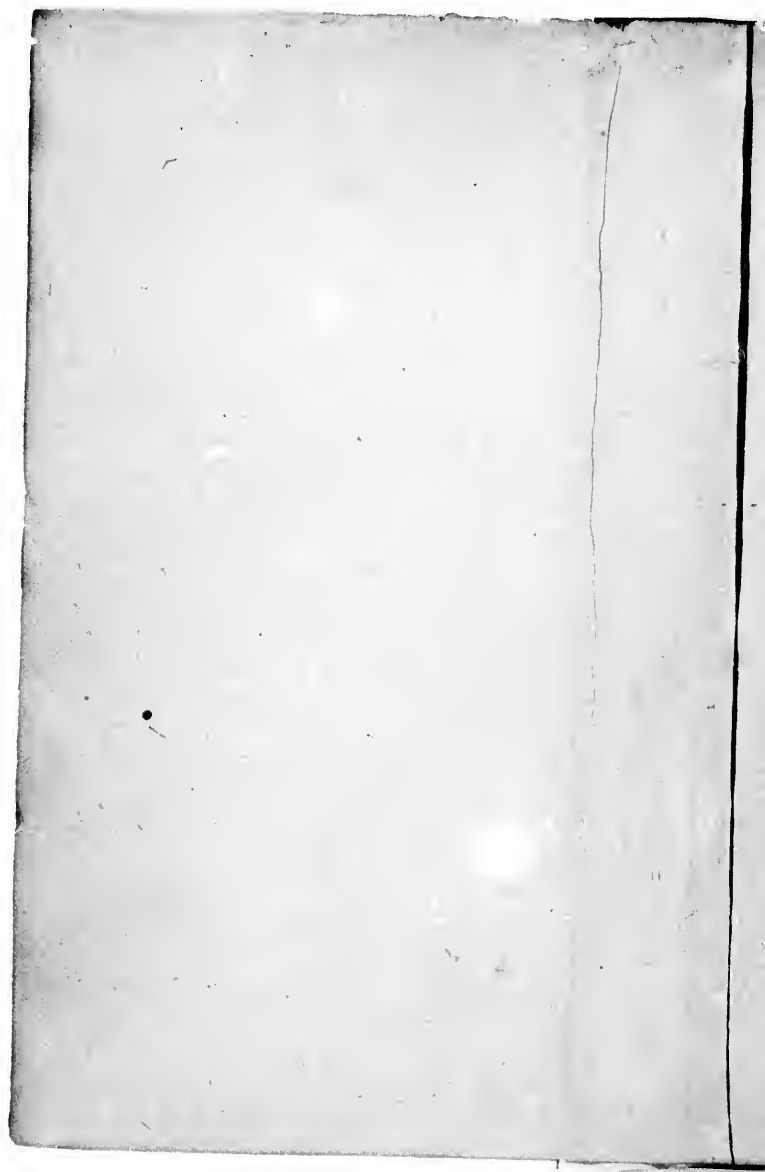
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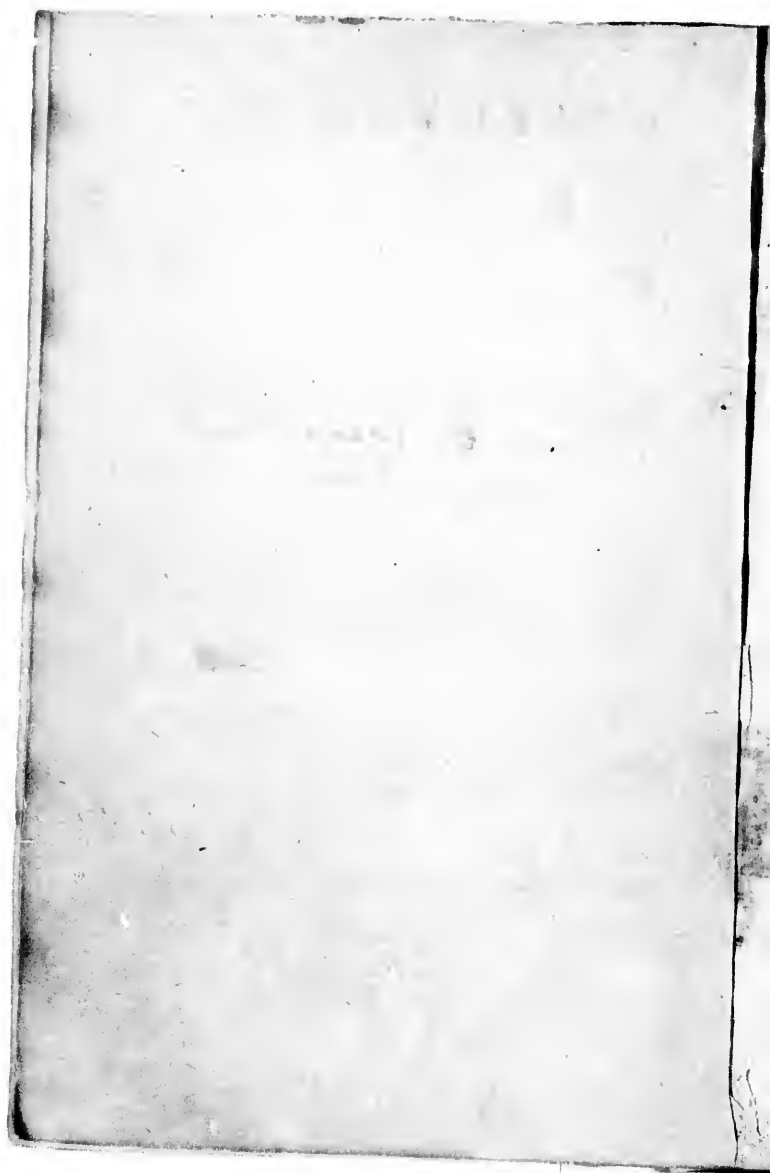
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French Encroachments
upon the British Colonies



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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*.

To which is added, wrote by another Hand ;

OBSERVATIONS concerning the Increase
of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c.

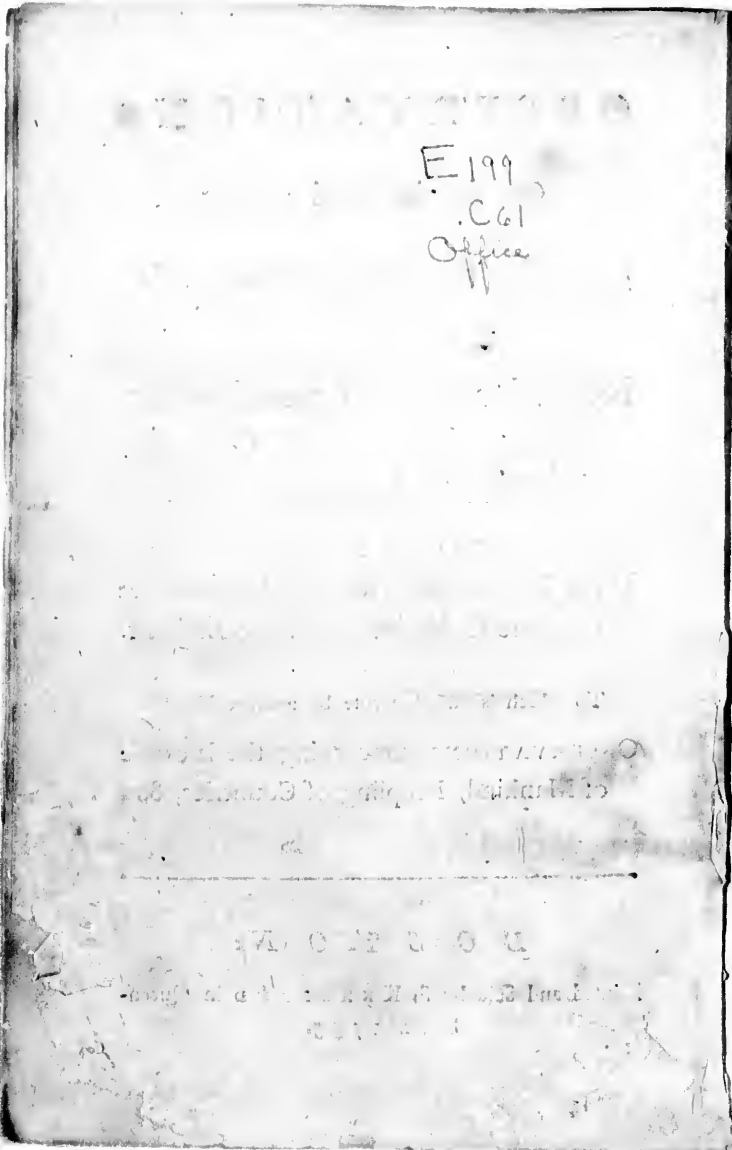
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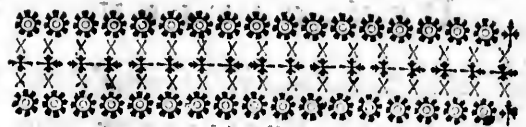
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TO HIS EXCELLENCY

WILLIAM SHIRLEY, Esq;

Governour in Chief and Captain-General
of His MAJESTY'S Province of the
Massachusetts-Bay; and Major-General
in his Land Forces, &c.

S I R,

AS the professed Design of the
following Observations is to
show the great Value and Im-
portance of the *British* Colonies in
North-America, and the unjust En-
croachments of the *French* upon his
Majesty's Territories there, they can be
addressed

DEDICATION.

addressed to no One with so much Propriety as to your EXCELLENCY, who hath so largely contributed to explain and enforce the one, and to oppose and prevent the other.

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 thro', while you had the Weight of three Expeditions at once upon you ; that of *Nova-Scotia*, twice before relieved and maintained by your Succours & 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
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D E D I C A T I O N .

of the *French* Communication with
the *Mississippi* ; for the successful Exe-
cution 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 Mo-
ther-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

DEDICATION.

Confidence thro' them all; without which the best concerted Plans would be ineffectual in our present Circumstances. 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 gave Peace to *Europe*.

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D E D I C A T I O N .

I might add, as a Reason of this Address, my Personal Attachment, founded upon a long Knowledge of your superiour Abilities, your Learning, Humanity and Politeness, and every benevolent Affection, that render your private Character amiable; but I wave this for publick 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,

DEDICATION.

Pafs, may you be the Instrument of
securing to *Great-Britain*, the Domi-
nion 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.

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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 show, that the French had made many unwarrantable Encroachments upon the British Territories in
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North-America, contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht & Aix-la-Chapelle; that if they 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 show from the State of the Colonies with Relation to Great Britain, how far she her self 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, and 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

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*Britain it self, enough is said in the fol-
lowing Pages: Neither is it to be imagined,
that we are altogether free from Danger from
that Part of the Squadron that hath escaped the
Vigilance of Admiral BOSCAWEN: Though
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 Ex-
cellency Governour SHIRLEY, which he was
so kind as to put into the Author's Hands; nei-
ther hath he made less free with any other Pa-
pers 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 Eng-
lishman is greatly obliged to the ingenious Au-
thor) did not come into my Hands, till the great-
est 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 tho'
the Author hath greatly superseded me, by ex-
actly ascertaining the Boundaries of the British
and French Territories in North-America, and
by giving an Account of the more early En-
croachments of the French upon the British
Rights*

IV . P R E F A C E .

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 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.



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* the 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 Britannick Majesty's Territories in *North-America*.

It will be sufficient for the present Purpose, to observe, that the Province of *Nova-Scotia*, or *Accadia*, 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

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

That by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the said Province was ceded to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, according to its antient 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*,

qui, and where the River *Outawarwa*, 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 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 *Pennsylvania*, 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* 1st. 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

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 ; 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 Incursions into the Colony of *New-York*, or the Western Frontiers of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, & *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

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, tho' 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 *Louisbourgh*, and *Canada*, and other French Settlements. They have erected another strong one upon the Isthmus of the *Peninsula*, mounted with 26 Cannon, which commands the Basin and Harbour of *Chiquesto* or *Bobausfin* ; 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.

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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 Sub-
jects 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 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 River *Chaudier*: empties itself into the River
St. Lawrence, on the South Side, a League and an
half above the City of *Quebec*.

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* ; altho' forbid by the Indians by three several Messages, and threatned 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 *Obdus*, which falls into the River *Ohio*.*

Early

* 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

Early the next Year, the French marched to a small English Fort at the Forks of *Mohongahala*, 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.

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, & obliged him to surrender upon Articles of Capitulation.

C

They the River *Oubafche*, is nothing more than a Ripling. It takes its Rise in the Country of the *Iroquois*, & runs upon the Back of the English Settlements, & after a Course of more than 200 Leagues, according to the Accounts of the Indian Traders, it is joined by the River *Oubafche*, & 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 *Savannahs* 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 compleat Horizon. The Country about it, abounds with Deer, Moose, Elks, &c. the Climate temperate, & 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.

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They have built another Fort at the Forks, where the River *Oubatche* 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 transported several to *Old-France*. They have lately avowed

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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 con-
fiscate 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 *Pennsylvania*.

Besides these open Hostilities, and Bare-
faced Encroachments, the French are con-
tinually making use of every Art, Policy
can suggest, with the greatest Industry
humane 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 & 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 Attach-
ment to the French. In this they have had
but too much Success; assisted as they have
been,

been, by the bad Conduct of some of the English Governments, to the Indians of the most Consequence.

Many Years ago, a Number of the *Iroquois*, the most antient and faithful Allies of the English, and the most War-like 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 publick 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 & the Colonies of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, & *New-Hampshire*, in 1723; by which those Colonies suffered so much Damage,

was

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 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.

* 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.

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.

It is very uncertain, & difficult to guess, what may be the Number of Indians scattered upon the back of the English & 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 altho' 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 merely on Account of their Numbers; there are many other Circumstances that give them a great Advantage over the English.

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The English Inhabitants, tho' numerous,
 are extended over a large Tract of Land,
 500 Leagues in Length, on the Sea-Shoar;
 and altho' 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 ac-
 quiring 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 this,
 that the English have fixed settled Habita-
 tions, 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 through the Woods that lead to it.
 The Indian Way of making War, is by sud-
 den Attacks upon exposed Places; and as
 soon as they have done Mischief they re-
 tire, 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

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 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 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

whole Indian Trade of *North-America*, is carried on entirely by Barter ; and that chiefly, & indeed almost wholly for Strouds, Duffils, Blankets, & 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 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 increasing and extending,

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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 & Furrs imported into *France*, amounted some Years ago, to no less than £. 135,000 Sterling per Annum; and since that Time, the French Trade in those Commodities has been continually increasing, whilst that of the English hath been diminishing; and in a little Time will, very probably, nay, must necessarily be entirely lost to the English & 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

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the Map of the Country, must see at the
 first View that they have taken, & are tak-
 ing Possession of, and fortifying all the most
 important Places upon the Lakes & 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 strength-
 ened 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 Ad-
 vantage 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 Com-
 modities 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 them-
 selves, 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 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 & 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 Dependance 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

brave Men ; upon the one as fit to be relied upon for Protection ; on the other as unworthy of the least Confidence, & rather wanting Assistance & 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 *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 compleated 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 Assiduity 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

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, & 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 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

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 Incursions 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 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

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 Dependence, 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.

The late and present Enterprises of the French, with the Assistance of the Indians upon the Borders of *Pennsylvania*, *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

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most War-like of all the Indians, as they
are perfectly well acquainted with that
Country; and might perhaps have a par-
ticular 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 Pro-
visions ; 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 Bar-
rier 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, thro' the Instigation of our good
Allies the *French*, the Theatre of War.

The *St. John's* and other *Nova-Scotia* In-
dians, whom the French have gained to an
entire Dependence upon them, may be em-
ployed either against the Eastern Parts of

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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 nor 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 & 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
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Circumstances 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 to this Part of the *Massachusetts*, that whilst other Parts of the Country, and their Neighbours too, are kept in a continual 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 fore-mentioned 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

upon the Basin of *Chignecto*, as they have secured the River of *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 Roman 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, & 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

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 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 Governour 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

dent 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 her self 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 are not capable of subsisting a Body of Troops strong enough to over-run the English Settlements ; but should the French make themselves Masters of *Nova-Scotia*, which is a Country fruitful of all Kind of Grain and Provisions ; they would be in a Condition to introduce and subsist a Body of Troops strong enough with the French *Acadians*, and Inhabitants of *Cape-Breton* and *Canada*, together with the *Indians*, to reduce all the English Colonies.

Another

Another great Security to the English Colonies, is, that the French have no convenient Harbours, but only in the Island of *Cape-Breton*; but should they make themselves Masters of *Nova-Scotia*, they might from their Possession of so large a Sea-Coast extending from *Cape-Sable* to *Cape-Canceau*, ninety Leagues upon the Atlantic Ocean, abounding with most commodious Harbours for Ships of the largest Burthen, be in a Condition to dispute the Mastery of those Seas. Those who know the Situation and State of the Colonies upon the Continent of *North-America*, will not doubt but that the immediate Effect of the *French* gaining *Nova-Scotia*, would be the Loss of the *New-England* Cod-Fishery, and the intercepting and destroying the greatest Part of the Trade of those Colonies, the Loss of the King's Woods in the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* and *New-Hampshire*, which contain all the Nurseries of white Pine Trees; from whence the *British* Navy is at present supplied with Masts, Yards & Bowsprits; and occasion the breaking up all the English Settlements within the *Province of Maine*, which is the Eastern Part of the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, as also of *Albany* and the Settlements about it, which makes the Western Part of *New-York*: And that thus
by

by Degrees with a proper Force and the continual Incurfions of the Indians, all the English Colonies might probably be overrun in a few Years, unless they were strongly supported with regular Troops from Home.

This may appear very extraordinary at first View, considering the superiour Number of Inhabitants within the *English*, to those of the *French* Colonies, especially as the English are Masters of such a large Sea-Coast: But if the Advantages which the Form of Government in the French Colonies gives them, over that of the English Colonies in Time of War is considered, this will not seem an improbable Supposition. All the French Settlements in *North-America*, how many small Governments soever they may be divided into, are under the absolute Command of the Governor of *Canada*.

The English Colonies, exclusive of *Georgia* and *Nova-Scotia*, are divided into eleven distinct Governments, within each of which nothing of any Consequence can be transacted but by their respective Assemblies: They are independent of each other, some of them very remote from the other, those which are near are generally disunited in their Councils upon the Manner of acting against the common Enemy, disagreeing a-

bout 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 melancholly 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 dispersed independent Colonies, unsupported with regular Troops, tho' much superior to them in Point of the Number of Inhabitants.

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

The Effects of this Difference of Government within the *French & English* Colonies were most sensibly felt in the late War. And if we may judge by the late & 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 further 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* it self 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 & 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 & Increase of these, will appear from the following Remarks.

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*, & measuring it upon the Sea-Coast from *Nova-Scotia* to *Georgia*, inclusive of both, is about five Hundred Leagues, & 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 Drafts 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

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.

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, (tho' 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.

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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 last must be landed and reship'd 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*

Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling per Annum : and the future Vent of them continually increasing in Proportion to the Growth of its Inhabitants, must of it self 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* 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 Re-

turns.

turns 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, & it has the Advantage even of the English Colliery in this Respect, that whereas five or six Hands are sufficient to navigate a Collier of a large Burthen, a greater Number of Hands is necessary to be employed on Board a Fishing Vessel of fifty Tons,

Tons, for navigating it, and catching & 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 from the Northern

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Powers,

Powers, the Price of it rose to *five 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 publicly 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* & 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

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

already got to a considerable Perfection in the raising & making Indigo : It's 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, & 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, thro' 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 thro' 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: 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)

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Great Britain, tho' much weakened by the Loss of her Colonies, might still (supposing the Marine of *France* to be as *superior* 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 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 her self 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 & 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

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 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

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*.



as may be seen by all his Majesty's Colonies
 as may best be seen by their Petitions.
 It is that they will one Day make them-
 selves Masters of all the British Colonies in
 America.
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 those to the Trade, Wealth and Naval
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 than what the present Colonies will
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 Power. And on the other Hand should be
 made for the Trade, and the Trade gain them
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 spected for the Subjection to the Crown
 Great, to be nothing more than a Province
 of Great-Britain.



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OBSERVATIONS concerning
the Increase of Mankind,
Peopling of Countries, &c.

By Benjamin Franklin.

1. **T**ables of the Proportion of Marriages to Births, of Deaths to Births, of Marriages to the Numbers of Inhabitants, &c. form'd on Observations made upon the Bills of Mortality, Christnings, &c. of populous Cities, will not suit Countries; nor will Tables form'd 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 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.

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

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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 encourag'd 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

subsisting on much less, the Gardner 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 Tracks, were easily prevail'd on to part with Portions of Territory to the new Comers, who did not much interfere with the Natives in Hunting, and furnish'd 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 4 Births to a Marriage (many of their Marriages being late) we may here reckon

8, of which if one half grow up, and our Marriages are made, reckoning one with another at 20 Years of Age, our People must at least be doubled every 20 Years.

8. But notwithstanding this Increase, so vast is the Territory of *North-America*, that it will 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 *Pennsylvania*, than it was 30 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

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 £. 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

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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 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 engross 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, & 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

sufficient to support such great Numbers, diminished 'till the People bore a Proportion to the Produce, while the *Saxons* increas'd 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, draw 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 also be soon deprived of so many People. 4. Loss of Food. Suppose a Nation has a Fishery, which not only 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

come Foreigners ; but the Industry of those that remain being discourag'd, the Quantity of Subsistence in the Country is lessen'd, 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 diminish'd the Whites there ; the Poor are by this Means depriv'd 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 maintain'd 100. 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 increase 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 & 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 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 compar'd with the Loss by this Means of People to the Nation.

18. Home Luxury in the Great, increases the Nation's Manufacturers; employ'd 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 suffer'd 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,

themselves, and their marrying early, is encouraged from the Prospect of good Subsistence.

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
 E 2 Slaves,

Slaves, that has blacken'd 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 by their crowding and inter-
 fering with each others Means of Sub-
 sistence. Was the Face of the Earth
 vacant of other Plants, it might be gradu-
 ally 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 replenish'd from
 one Nation only; as, for Instance, with
Englishmen. Thus there are suppos'd 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

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 ?

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

establish their Language and Manners to the Exclusion of ours? Why should *Pennsylvania*, 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*, *French*, *Russians* and *Swedes*, are generally of what we call a swarthy Complexion; as are the *Germans* also, the *Saxons* only excepted, who with the *English*, make the principal Body of White People on the Face of the Earth. I could wish 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

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.



