THE

Present STATE

OF

North-America.

- I. The Discoveries, Rights and Possessians of Great-Britain.
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- III. The Encroachments and Depredations of the French upon his Majesty's Territories in North-America, in Times when Peace subsisted in Europe between the Two Crowns, &c. &c.



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THE

Present State of North America.

CHAP. I.

The Discoveries, Rights, and Possessions of Great-Britain.

the Crown of England, did in 1496 North-America and 1497 discover and take posses rica first discovered by the uted in those Times, all the Eastern Coast of English.

North-America from Cape Florida to the North

Polar Circle, for, and in the Name of, the Crown of England. They had a Grant from the Crown of the Property of all Lands they should discover and settle Westward of Europe; but they made no Settlements in consequence of that Grant. This Discovery of the Continent of North-America was prior to that of any other Europeans; for Columbus did not discover the Islands in the Gulf of Mexico till 1498, and it was 1504 before the French discovered any Part of North-America.

In those Days Priority of Discovery, even without a continued Occupancy or Possession, Prior Discowas deemed a good Claim. It is true, we did very a good not immediately make any Settlements there, nor did we so much as navigate the Coast for

near a Century following, Henry the VIIIth being too much engaged in the Difficulties which attended the Progress of the Reformation, to be at leifure for foreign Undertakings;

Edward

Edward the VIth being a Minor; Queen Mary being bent upon the Re-establishment of Popery; and Queen Elizabeth being constantly employed in guarding against the Variety of Dangers to which the internal State of her own Kingdoms, the Power of the Crown of Spain, and the general State of Europe, exposed her. But notwithstanding this Inattention to North-America, and the little Regard England at first shewed to the Discovery of the Cabous, I have shewed it to have been the earliest Discovery made; nor can it be annulled by any subsequent Discovery pretended by any other Country, nor by a neglect of the Improvement of it on our own part. However, as feveral European Treaties have fince been made, establishing by Stipulation that Right acquired at first by this Discovery to great Part of North-America, I shall not dwell upon the Effect of the Discovery, as confirming a Right, but proceed to state the several European Treaties, fince made, relative to this Country; the Conveyances made to Great-Britain of Part of it by the Natives of the Country; the consequential Grants of the Crown, and the Settlements made by his Majesty's Subjects.

In consequence of the Treaty of Utrecht, The Bounds of Commissaries from the Crowns of Great-Hudson's - Bay Britain and France determined the Bounda-Company's Ter- ries of the Hudson's-Bay Company's Territories ascerritories, to be all that Country from the tained by Ťrea-North Pole to a certain Promontory upon the Atlantic Ocean in N. Lat. 56 Degrees ty with France. 30 M. to run S. W. to Lake Mistalin, and from thence continued still S. W. to N. Lat. 49 D. and from thence continued still S. W. indefinitely; which S. W. Line takes in Part of Lake Superior, which is as large as the Caspian Sea. Though the Sieur D'Anville has in his Map of America, published in 1750, under the Direction and Authority of the Government of France, marked the South Boundary of the above Company's Territories due West from the above Promontory, which is so far injurious.

The Limits of New-Britain, or Labradore, are not on the South and West Sides ascertained by any Treaty between Great-Britain and France; it being with the Remainder of North-America, the Boundaries whereof were not settled by the Treaty of Utrecht, referred to Commissaries of the two Crowns, who were to settle all American Disputes, concerning Boundaries * and the Dominion of the Indians, in twelve Months after the Ratifications of that Treaty were exchanged. Commissaries did

The Limits of New Britain or Labradore not fettled by Treaty, and his Majesty's Right to that Country.

^{*} Nothing can be more impolitic, when we are engaged in a Confederacy against France, than to leave any Point to be determined after the Conclusion of a Peace: for if we cannot get it conceded while the Confederacy flands and our Force is united, how can we obtain it when we are left alone upon the Diffolution of the Confederacy? The French have so often experienced the Benefit of this Imprudence on our fide, that in all their Treaties they use every Artifice in their Power to obtain this Advantage, and they feldom 'miss it. But when we recollect the weak and traiterous Ministry of this Country, who negociated the infamous Peace of Utrecht, we cannot wonder that the Interests of America, &c. should be referred to Commissaries after a Conclusion of a Peace. This Weakness and Treachery in our Managers of the Treaty of Utrecht, when it was in our Power to command our own Terms, has given Being and Support to most of the Evils that have fince happened in America between us and the French. And one would have hoped the ill Success of this Part of the Treaty of Utrecht would have deterred us from the like impolitic Conduct at the Treaty of Aix La Chapelle. But no, the Neceffity of our Situation then obliged us to submit to the same Mistake once more, and we now see and feel the Consequences of it. For the French refuse to settle any one Point in Dispute with us, unless upon such Terms as are abhorrent to our Honour and Interest; they are constantly committing Depredations on our Fellow-Subjects, and making Encroachments, on us in America, and will not recede from any one of their Encroachments, though his Majesty's Claim to most of the Territories they have invaded is indisputably just; and they have at last pushed Affairs to such an Extremity, that a European Was with them seems to be inevitable. accordingly

accordingly meet at Soissons and Cambray, but never settled one Point relative to the Limits of North-America, and the Dominions of the Indians therein, except the Boundary of the Hudson's-Bay Company I have just mentioned. prior Discovery and frequent Visitation of a Country gives Title to it, we have an indubitable one to all that Country called New-Britain or Labradore, extending Southward from the before mentioned Promontory in N. Lat. 56. D. 30 M. to the North Side of the Entrance into the Streights of Belle-Ifle, and from thence due West till it meet the Southern Boundary of Hudson's-Bay Company's Territories. the French have been careful to colour the whole of this Country upon their Maps for themselves. Three Years ago a Number of wealthy Merchants of the City of London petitioned for an exclusive Grant of this Country, for a Number of Years, on Terms that would have been very beneficial to the Public, as well as themselves. Their Petition was referred to the Right Honourable Lords for Trade and Plantations, who reported in favour of the Project, and proved his Majesty's Title to the Country; but for political Reasons it was afterwards dropped. And fince that there have been several bolder Attempts than ever of private Traders, Subjects of his Majesty, to establish Commerce with the Eskimeaux Indians, who refide on and near the Sea Coast of this Country, which has from one End to the other been often explored by his Majesty's Subjects; but there never was any Establishment made in it by any European Nation; for the Natives have an invincible Antipathy to all Foreigners, and destroy all those that happen to be wrecked on their Coast, or attempt to trade with them, whenever it is in their Power.

By the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which in this respect Newfoundis confirmed by that of Aix La Chapelle, Newland *ceded* FOUNDLAND was ceded to Great-Britain, to the Crown reserving to the French, through the good Ofof Greatficers of our iniquitous Administration in 1712, Britain by Liberty to visit and to erect Huts and Stages for drying Fish from Cape Bonavista to the the Treaty of Utrecht. Northermost Point of the Island, and from thence

thence down the Western Side to the Point Riche, contrary to the Treaty of Peace and Neutrality for America concluded in November 1656, between England and France, wherein it is stipulated, that the Subjects of each Crown are not to trade, fish, or harbour (except in Cases of Distress to repair, wood and water) in one another's Diffricts. And there is inferted also a Clause, in the 15th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht with Spain, whereby a Pretence is given to the Spaniards to claim a Right to fish at Newfoundland, in direct Contradiction to the 7th and 8th Articles of the Treaties made with that Crown in 1667 and 1670, whereby it is agreed that Great-Britain shall enjoy for ever, with plenary Right of Sovereignty, all those Lands and Places whatfoever, being or fituate in the West-Indies, or in any Part of America, which the Subjects of Great-Britain do at present hold or possess. And that the Subjects and Inhabibitants, Merchants of the Kingdoms and Dominions of each Confederate respectively, shall forbear to fail and trade in the Ports and Havens which have Fortifications, Magazines, or Ware-houses, and in all other Places whatsoever, possessed by the other Party in the West-Indies, or in any Part of America. The Board of Trade being consulted on the Spaniards claiming a Right to fish at Newfoundland, returned the following Answer to Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State, dated June 13, 1712. " We have confidered the Extract of " a Memorial from the Marquis de Montelon, relating to a "Claim of the Inhabitants of Guypuscoa to fish on the Coast of Newfoundland; and thereupon take leave to inform " your Lordship, that we have discoursed with such Persons " as are able to give Information in that matter; and we find that some Spaniards are come hither with Passes from "her Majesty, and others may have fished there privately; but never any, that we can learn, did do it as of Right belonging to them. By the Act to encourage the Trade to 66 Newfoundland, passed in the Tenth and Eleventh of his " late Majesty, when we were in Amity and Alliance with Spain, it is declared and enacted, "That no Alien or 66 Stranger whatsoever, not residing within the Kingdom of " England.

ce England, Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon "Tweed, shall at any time hereafter take Bait, or use any " fort of Trade, or Fishing whatever, in Newfourdland, or " in any of the Islands adjacent." Pursuant to which Act " Instructions have been every Year given to the Commo-"dores of the Convoys, to prevent Foreigners coming "thither." The Secret Committee of the House of Commons, in 1715, confess in their Report, that they were at a loss to account for the Reasons that prevailed with the Ministry to admit the Insertion of the above Article into the Treaty of Utrecht, for the Management of it was intrusted with an Irish Papist who was sent to Spain for this Purpose, and to negociate what was expected from that Crown relating to the Pretender, and no Papers concerning it were to be found in the public Offices. Upon the Foundation of the above Article in favour of Spain, we find Don UZTARIZ, formerly Privy Counsellor to the King, and Secretary in the Council and Chamber of the Indies in Spain, in his most excellent Theory and Prastice of Commerce, &c. advising the King his Master to avail himself of that Right whenever he has Power sufficient to make good his Pretensions.

Acadie, or Nova-Scotia, ceded to Great-Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht. ACADIE, extending from the River of St. Lawrence to the River Pantagoit or Penobscot, was not only first discovered, but first settled by the English; for in 1602 we had, both by the Accounts of English and French Historians, a Settlement in that Country, which is two Years before ever a French Family settled in any Part of it, as appears from the

fame Authority. In 1620 all that Part of Acadie as far as the 48 D. of N. Latitude, was granted by the Crown to the Council of Plymouth or New-England, which Company I shall have further occasion to speak of. In 1621 the Council of New-England resigned to the Crown all Parts of their Grant to the Northward of the River St. Croix, when it was then granted with the rest of Acadie to Sir William Alexander, Secretary of State for Scotland, and called Nova-Scotia. In 1623 King Charles the Ist, marrying a Daughter of the French

French King, gave all Acadie or Nova-Scotia to Frances in 1627 it was taken from the French by Sir David Kirk-In 1632 it was again ceded to France by the Treaty of St. Germain. In 1654 Cromwell sent and reduced it. In 1662 it was again delivered up to the French King by Charles II. and confirmed to France at the Treaty of Breda in 1667, notwithstanding a Remonstrance against it from the Parliament of England and the People of New-England. In 1690 it was taken by 700 New-England Men, at the Expence of that Country, which was never reimbursed them. In 1697 it was again ceded to France. In 1710 it was reduced again by Forces from Great-Britain and New-England, and confirmed by the Treaties of Utrecht and Aix La Chapelle to the Crown of Great-Eritain, "With its antient Bounda-" ries, as also the City of Port-Royal, as fully as ever France

possessed them by Treaty or other Means."

From this Summary of Facts there cannot be any Doubt of Great-Britain's Right to the whole of the Country called Acadie or Nova-Scotia. And as the Sovereignty and Possession of it has been fo often changed by Treaty and other Means, one would have imagined it impossible any Doubt could have arose about the Extent of it. But it is certain that France has ever fince the Treaty of Aix La Chappelle infifted on its antient Boundaries to have never extended beyond the South-Eastern Peninsula, and have accordingly taken possession of all the Country we claim as Acadie or Nova-Scotia, except the above Peninsula, which is not one third of the Country both Crowns always possessed for Acadie or Nova-Scotia before and fince its precise Bounds were ascertained in consequence of the Treaty of Breda, as appears by both English and French Historians, &c. though no Bounds were expressed in the Treaties of St. Germain and Breda. However, a Difpute arising in the Execution of the Treaty of Breda, a Difcussion of its Limits ensued, and it was then stipulated by the two Crowns, that St. Lawrence River should be its Northern Boundary, the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Streight of Canfo its Eastern, Cape Sable-shore its South-Eastern, and the River Pantagoit its Westerne Which Limits France always possessed

as Acadie, and it ever retained down to the Treaties of Utrecht and Aix La Chappelle, when it was confirmed to the Crown of Great-Britain with its antient Boundaries, as fully as ever France possessed it by Treaty or other Means.

Now to proceed regularly and clearly with respect to his Majesty's further Rights in North-America, I must state the

Process of Grants, &c.

His Majesty's further
Right to all
the Country,
from the Atlantic to the
Pacific Ocean lying between 34 D.
and 45 D. N.
Lat.

CABOT'S Grants being dropped, Sir Walter Raleigh did obtain of Queen Elizabeth in 1584 a Patent for exploring and planting Lands in North-America, not actually possessed by any Christian Prince: and when he returned to England the next Year, the whole Country from Cape Florida to St. Lawrence River, which before went under the general Name of Florida, was called Virginia, in Honour of the Virgin Queen, there being yet no distinct Settlements which gave particular Names to the several Places along the Coast. Upon Sir Walter's Attainder, his Patent be-

ing forfeited, several Adventurers petitioned King James I. for Grants, and a Grant was made in 1606 to two Companies (one of London, the other of Bristol) in one Charter, of all the Country lying from thirty-four to forty-five Degrees of Northern Latitude on the Atlantic Ocean, and the Islands within a hundred Miles of the Sea Coast, and from the said Coast inland indefinitely, if not actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People. Neither the French nor any other Christian People, but us, had at that Time any Settlements South of St. Lawrence River, but in Acadie, where the French begun to settle two Years before the Date of this Charter, as appears by De Laet of Antwerp, by Pere Charlevoix, and several other of their, and by several of our own, Historians. Nor had the French, as appears from the same Authority, made any Discoveries or Settlements at this Time higher up the River St. Lawrence than Montreal. Nor had any European Power, but the English, any Settlements in any Part of this Grant at that Time. The Grant extends

upon the Atlantic Ocean from the Cape now called Cape Fear to the Mouth of Pantagoit River, which is the Western Boundary of the Country we claim as Acadie or Nova-Scotia. Indeed P. Charlevoix says, M. Monts entered Kennebeck, or Sagadahoc River, which is within this Grant, in 1604; but he also says, he and all the Adventurers with him immediately removed to Port-Royal in Acadie, and in 1606 they all returned to France.

Both the London and Bristol Companies began, immediately after their Grant, to make Adventures in Trade and Settlements. The London Company pursuing them to the Southward of the Bay called Chefapeak, and the Bristol Company to the Eastward, beginning at Sagadahoc River.

In 1620 a Dispute arose between those Companies about the former's Right to fish at Cape-Cod, upon which a new Patent was granted to the latter, and feveral other Noblemen and Gentlemen, for all the Country lying from 40 D. to 48 D. North Latitude, which is three Degrees further to the Northward than the former Grant, and takes in the greatest Part

His Majesty's further Right -three Degrees more to the Northward.

The Grant extends due West of Acadie or Nova-Scotia. from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, if not then actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People. And this new Company was called the Council of *Plymouth* or *New-England*; which latter Name was given to this Country upon Capt. Smith's prefenting a Plan of it to the Court of England on his Return in 1614, and it retains the Name to this Day from twenty Miles East of the City of New-York as far as the River St. Croix, and is now divided into the four Provinces of Massachuset's-Bay, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island and Connecticut. Capt. Smith surveyed the Coast well, and gave Names to many of the Head Lands, Bays and Rivers, which are mostly continued to this Time.

The North Line of this Grant crosses the North Side of St. Lawrence River a little above Sagueney, and running due West strikes the North Side of Lake Superiour, to which the South Boundary of the Hudson's-Bay Company's Territories

do extend. But as the French were before this fettled at Quebeck, Trais Riviers, and feveral other Places on the North Side of St. Lawrence below Montreal, which are within this Grant, all that Part of the Grant to the Northward of the River St. Lawrence as high as Montreal is invalid. But as they had not made any Settlements prior to this Grant higher than Montreal, they have no Right to any part of the Country to the Southward of the River St. Lawrence below Montreal, nor to the Southward of the North Bounds of this Line above Montreal.

This New-England Company made many Grants of Land, one of which, in particular, in 1629, gives to Sir Ferdinando Gorge and Captain Mason all that Tract of Land lying from the Heads of Merrimack River, and Sagadahoc or Kenebeck River to the Lake Iroqueis, now called by the French Champlain, and the River which empties itself from the said Lake into St. Lawrence River opposite to St. Peter's Bay, to be called Laconia. Part of this Grant was afterwards sold to the Agent of the Massachuset's-Bay Province, and confirmed

by the Crown in 1639.

The London and New-England Companies, being disappointed in their Hopes of valt Wealth from their Projects, furrendered their Patents to the Crown in 1635. And in the Beginning of Charles I. new Grants were procured: but by reason of the ensuing Civil Confusions and Divisions in England the Conditions of these new Grants were not complied with, and People set down at pleasure and at random. Upon the Restoration of Charles II. those Settlers petitioned for peculiar Grants, and had them; but it is not pertinent to my present Subject to trace Royal and other Grants for Lands to the Northward of 34 D. of Latitude any surther. But it is necessary to mention three other Species of his Majesty's Right to a very large Part of the same Country, which he derives from European and Indian Treaties.

While the London and Bristol Companies

His Majesty's were engaged in trading and settling at the

further Right

Etc.

While the London and Bristol Companies

were engaged in trading and settling at the

two Extremes of their Grant, the Swedes,

Fins, and Dutch in 1609 crept into that part

of it lying from the Lat. of about 38 D. to the Lat. 41 D. N. comprehending the present Provinces of New-York. New-Jersies, and some part of Pennsylvania. In 1618 the Governor of Virginia had feveral Bickerings with the Dutch, &c. fettled in, and trading to, this Country, as interfering with his Master's Grant. However this served no other purpose than to frighten the Swedes and Fins under the Protection of the Dutch, who soon after had a Governor appointed by the States of Holland, and the Country was called New-Netherlands. The Court of England complained, but the States disowned it, and faid it was only a private Undertaking of an Amsterdam West-India Merchant. Upon which King James I. commissioned a Governor, and called the Country New-Albion, to which the Dutch submitted. But during the Civil Troubles in England in Charles I. Reign, and in the Administration of the Republican Party, the Dutch again established a Government there, till it was reduced by England in 1664. In 1667 at the Peace concluded at Breda, between England and the United Provinces, it was stipulated by the third Article of the Treaty that the English were to remain in Possession of that whole Country, in Exchange for the Country of Surinam, which the Dutch had taken from the In 1672 the Datch reduced New-Albion, but the English. Year following, at the Treaty of Westminster, it was restored to England, with whom it has continued ever fince. the Treaty of Breda, nor that of Westminster, specifies the Bounds of New-Netherlands, or New-Albion, but in general Terms cedes to England all the Rights and Possessions of the Dutch in North-America.

The first Year the Dutch begun to settle in this Country, they entered into an Alliance with, and by Treaty did acquire the Protection and Sovereignty of, the Five Nations of Indians then living on the South Side of St. Lawrence River, opposite to Montreal; who are known to the English under the Names of Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senekas; and to the French by the general Name of Iroquois. This Alliance and Subjection continued without a Breach on either Side till 1664, when the English upon the taking

of New-Netherlands, which from this time was called New-York, immediately entered into a strict Friendship with those Five Nations, which has held without the lest Breach to this Day. * The Five Nations by this Treaty acknowledged to the Governor of New-York at Albany, "That they had given "their Lands and submitted themselves to the King of Eng-" land." And in a few Years after they defired and had the Duke of York's Arms put up at each of their Castles, as Tokens of their being Subjects and under his Protection. above Treaty was made three Years preceding the first the French ever made with them, for they were constantly at War with the Five Nations, as appears by their own, as well as our, Historians, from 1603, when they first fettled at Canada, to 1667, when they entered into a Treaty of Friendship only, which continued till 1683, when the French most perfidiously broke it. The above Right of Sovereignty and Property, conveyed to us, the Five Nations recognized by a Treaty in 1684, and by another at Albany in 1687. And at this last Treaty, when Col. Dungan, Governor of New-York, could not support them openly, having positive Orders from King James II. to procure Peace for the French, they expressed themselves to the Governor and Commissioners of New-York in these Words, "Brethren, you tell us the King

^{*} Notwithstanding the Duke of York, Proprietor of this Country from the Time it was taken in 1664 to his Accession to the Throne, ordered the Governors of New York to give the French Priests all the Encouragement in their Power to settle among the Five Nations. But Col. Dungan, who was his Governor when he mounted the Throne, though a Roman Catholic, was so much of an Englishmen that he ever persuaded the Indians not to receive them, prevailed on them not to make Peace with the French in 1687, and effectually prevented them from becoming the Subjects of the French King. But his Measures were not agreeable to those his Master had taken with the French Court, at whose Request he was soon after removed from his Government, because he had not procured a Peace with the Indians for the French, and admitted them to settle and gospelize among them, as the King hi Master had ordered him.

of England is a very great King, and why should not you " join with us in a very just Cause, when the French join " with our Enemies in an unjust Cause? O Brethren, we " fee the Reason of this; for the French would sain kill us " all, and when that is done they would carry all the Beaver "Trade to Canada, and the King of England would lose "the Land likewise; and therefore, O great Sachem, be-" youd the great Lake, awake and suffer not those poor In-" dians that have given themselves and their Lands under your " Protection, to be destroyed by the French without a Cause." All which Grants they further confirmed by several subsequent Treaties, and a Deed of Sale of all their hereditary and conquered Country, for a valuable Confideration, in 1701. Which was also renewed 1726; and again, very particularly fo, at a Treaty held at Lancaster in the Province of Pennsylvania in 1744. But as Treaties with the Natives of America by European Powers may not be thought sufficient. or be admitted, in support of a Claim to Property and Jurisdiction, in a European national Discussion, unless confirmed by a European Treaty between contending Nations for American Rights, I have not quoted any, or shall I, (though there are many subsisting in almost every part of his Majesty's North-American Dominions, as much to the Purpose of Property and Jurisdiction as those of the Five Nations) but those that relate to the Iroquois, because they are fully and amply confirmed by France to Great-Britain in the Treaties of Utrecht and Aix La Chapelle. They are there acknowledged to be Subjects of, and the Dominion over them is ceded to, the Crown of Great-Britain; and it is stipulated that neither they, nor any other Indians, who were Friends to the English should be molested by the French, but that the Subjects of both Crowns should enjoy free Liberty of going and coming to the Colonies of either, for the Promotion of Trade as a common Benefit. But as the Treaties of Utrecht and Aix La Chapelle refer the Dominion of each Crown over all the Indians in North-America, except the Iroquois, to be fettled by Commissaries after the Ratifications were exchanged, the Treaties that have from time to time been made by his Majesty's Governments in North-America with the Indians, will

will be of great Service if ever this Affair should come upon the Tapis. And if our Governors had known the Importance of such Treaties, they might have improved the Opportunities they have had with more Clearness and Precision than they have done in some Instances, both as to Dominion and

Property.

Those Cessions of the Five Nations confirmed by France to Great-Britain are of infinite more Importance than they appear to be at first fight; for they are further and conclusive Proofs for the utter Exclusion of any French Pretensions to the Five great Lakes, all the Country between the Lakes, all the River and Country of the Ohio, And a vast Extent of Territory besides. But to have a nearer View, and to convey a more adequate Idea of the vast Importance of these Cessions, we must ascertain what is the Extent of the Five Nations, Hereditary and Conquered Country.

The French Historians tell us, that when they settled at Canada in 1603, which is six Years before the Dutch possessed themselves of the Five of New-Netherlands, now called New-York, Nations.

The French Historians tell us, that when they settled at Canada in 1603, which is six Years before the Dutch possessed themselves of New-Netherlands, now called New-York, the Iroquois lived in that Part of the Country extending upon the South Banks of the River

St. Lawrence from the Mouth of the Iroquois or Sorrel, River, as high up St. Lawrence as to be opposite to the West End of Lake Sacrement, and from the West End of the said Lake thro' that and Lake Iroquois or Champlain, and Iroquois River to its Mouth, which is opposite to St. Peter's-Bay. This being the earliest Account any Europeans have of them, we may fairly conclude this to be their hereditary or native Country.

The fame Authority acquaints us, that they The conquer'd found the Iroquois engaged in a just and Country of the necessary War with the Adirondacs or Algon-Five Nations. kins, a powerful Nation of Indians, who then

lived where the *Utawawas* are now fituated, and forced the *Isoquois* to leave their own Country and fly to the Banks of the Lakes *Ontario* and *Erie*; which, with the Country lying between those Lakes and *Hudson's* River, as low as *Albany*, and the Forks of the Rivers

Delaware,

Delaware, Sulquehanah and Ohio, they have ever fince made their chief Residence, and do now continue in the Possession of; except those Parts they have fold to the English and made particular Grants of, especially upon Mohawks River, upon Lake Cntario, where the English Fort Oswego was built in 1727, and those Parts about the Forks of the Rivers Delaware, Susquibanah and Ohio in the Province of Pennlylvania that they have fold to the Proprietors of that Province. Upon their Removal to this Part of the Country the Satanas, or Shaouonons, who then lived round the Lakes Ontario and Erie, warred against them; but the Iraquois foon drove them out of the Country, and they fled as far to the Westward as the Banks of the Missippi. By this Breach with the Satanas the Iroquois improved so much in the Art of War, and so far recovered their Spirits, which were before depressed by the Algonkins, that now they thought: themselves a Match for them: and as Indians never forget an Injury, nor rest till their Revenge is satiated, they immediately after their Victory over the Satanas renewed the War with the Algonkins, in which they had fuch Success as not only to recover their hereditary Dominions, but also to drive the Algonkins from their own Country to that where Quebcck now stands, and never rested till they had destroyed the whole Nation, except a few who put themselves under the Protection of the French at Quebeck; and those that have descended from them that escaped the Fury of the Iroquois are still in the Neighbourhood of Quebeck; but the Algonkins have never been confidered as of any Confequence in either Peace or War, fince their Wars with the Iroquois.

Fire Arms and Tools of Iron and Steel having never been feen in this Part of the World till the French introduced them, the Novelty and Usefulness of them, together with their alluring Toys and Tinsels, and the French Demand for the Indians Furs and Skins, brought all the Indians between Quebeck and the Lakes, except the Iroquois, to the French to trade: but as the French had protected the Algonkins and actually affished them against the Iroquois, they could not be prevailed upon to have any Commerce with the

French, who thereupon commenced the Allies of all the Indians that came to Quebeck, and prevailed on them to join in a War against the Irequois, whom they were now determined to extirpate, never dreaming of much Difficulty to accomplish it, as they had the Advantage of Fire Arms and

a vast Superiority in Numbers of Indians.

The first Action after this Coalition happened upon the Banks of Lake Iroquois, and proved to the Difadvantage of the Irequois; for the French kept themselves undiscovered till the Moment they begun to join battle, and their Fire Arms furprized the Iroquois so much that they were put into Confusion. This Victory and the Fire Arms giving the French Indians new Confidence, they became fierce and infolent, despising the Commands of their Captains, and on all Occasions rashly attacked the Enemy, who were obliged to keep themselves upon the defensive, and to make up what they wanted in Force by Stratagem and a skilful Management of the War, in which they succeeded so well that they destroyed great Numbers of the Enemy, and lost but very few of their own People. One Stratagem they made use of in this critical Conjuncture, was an Acceptance of an Offer made them by the Governor of Canada to fend fome French Priests among them; but as soon as they got them in their Possession, they made no other Use of them than as Hostages to oblige the French to stand neuter. And being now furnished with Fire Arms from the Dutch, they gave full scope to their Revenge against their Enemy Indians. The first they met with were the Quatogbies or Hurons, as the French call them, and the Remains of the Algonkins, whom they defeated in a dreadful Battle fought within a few Miles of Quebeck. The French own if the Iroquois had known their Weakness at that Time, they might have easily destroyed their whole Colony.

This Defeat in Sight of the French Settlements struck Terror into all their *Indian* Allies, who at that Time were very numerous, because of the Trade which supplied them with many useful Conveniences. The *Nipiceriniens* who then lived on the North Banks of St. Lawrence River, sted upon

this to the Northward as far as Lake Abitibis. The Remainder of the Quatoghies or Hurons, with the Utawawas and several other Nations, scampered off South-Westward. But soon after they began to be in want of the European Commodities from the French, and in order to supply themselves they returned to Quebeck; and by this Means the Places of their Retreat was discovered to the Iroquois, whose Revenge not being yet fatisfied, they immediately after attacked them in their new Settlements, and by the Year 1650 entirely extirpated or adopted all the Nations of Indians that relided on both Sides the River St. Lawrence above Quebeck, and on both Sides the Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron: which they never could have accomplished had they not strictly followed one Maxim formerly in use among the Romans, viz. the encouraging the People of other Nations to incorporate with them. Like them also when they have subdued any People and fatiated their Revenge, by fome cruel Examples, they adopt the rest, who if they behave well enjoy the same Rank and Privileges with their own People, so that some of their Captives have afterwards become their greatest Sachems and Captains. In 1672 they conquered and incorporated the Illinois Indians refiding upon the River Illinois, which rifes near Lake Michigan, and disembogues into the Mississi. And they also then incorporated the Satanas that they formerly drove from the Lakes Ontario and Erie. And the Rivers Illinois and Mississipi make the Western Bounds of their Conquests, and of their Deed of Sale to the Crown of Great They also conquered the New-York or Britain in 1701. Hudson's-River Indians, the Delaware, Susquehanah, Ohio, and other Indians in the Provinces of New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia by 1673. The Twightwees, or Miamis, residing on the River Oubache or St. Ferom, they conquer'd in 1685.

In short the nearest Indians, as they were attacked, sed to those that were further off, where they sollowed them, and not only entirely subdued the vanquished, but them that received them. And they carried their Arms and Conquests as far as New-England and the Utawawas River to the

the Eastward, to Hudson's-Bay Company's Territories to the Northward, to the Illinois and Missisipi Rivers Westward, and to Georgia Southward, adopting those whom they did not destroy, and making them their Vassals and Tributaries. The Tuscaroras, that formerly lived in Carolina, upon their Expulsion from thence by the People of Carolina in 1711, sled to the Iroquois, and were incorporated with, and to this Day reside among them. And since that they are generally called the Six Nations. The Cowetas or Creek Indians that reside in Georgia are in the same Friendship with them.

These Conquests of the Five Nations have not proved temporary, or merely nominal, for all the Nations round them have for many Years entirely submitted to them, and pay a yearly Tribute to them in Wampum, or Indian Money; they dare neither make War nor Peace without their Consent, except those who quit their Nations, and get under the immediate Protection and Support of the French. Two old Men commonly go about every Year or two to receive this Tribute; and their Sachems are often seen issuing their Orders with as arbitrary an Authority as a Roman Dictator.

For further Proof of their Right to the Country they have conquered, they have in all their Treaties with his Majesty's Governments respecting it, reserved to themselves a Right to demand a further Consideration for all unsettled Lands that they, nor their Ancestors, have not made particular Grants of to diffinct Governments and received a valuable Confideration for; and they always do demand a Confideration and have it, as our Settlements do extend further into their Country, before they will execute a Deed of Conveyance, infifting that the Country belongs to them in Right of Conquest, having bought it with their Blood, and taken it from their Enemies in fair War. Thus the Proprietors of Pennsylvania in 1736 bought of them all the Land on both Sides the Forks of the Susquehanah River as far South as the Province extends, and to the Northward to those called the Endless Mountains or Kittechtinny Hills as far as the Province extends that Way. This Purchase Includes all that Part of the River and Country of the Ohio that lays in this Province, which which gives us a further Right to fuch Part. The Government of Maryland also purchased the Remainder of all their Claims in that Province in 1744. And the Government of Virginia paid them in 1744, two hundred Pounds in Goods at Market Price, and two hundred Pounds in Gold, for a Deed of Sale for the Remainder of all the Lands that are, or may be, by the King's Appointment in Virginia; which is another Proof of the rest of the River and Country of the Ohio, which is in this Province, belonging to his Majesty. But they defired a further Confideration when the Settlements increased much further back, which the Commissioners were at last obliged to give them Encouragement to hope for. The Particulars of which Grants, and the Indian Manner of nogociating about Lands, with a full Account of their Treaties, may be feen in Colden's judicious History of the Five Nations.

From this Detail of historical Facts, it is plain that the Five Nations have a fair and indubitable Title to their hereditary and conquered Country, and they have on all Occa-fions availed themselves of the Advantages resulting from it.

The Extent of their Right by Inheritance and Conquest is to the Eastward, on the South Side of St. Lawrence, the Western Bounds of New-England, and on the North Side of that River, the Utawawas River and Lake Abitibis. South Western Boundary is from Lake Abitibis to the North East End of Lake Michigan, and from thence thro' that Lake to the River Illinois, and from thence down that River to the Miffifipi. And its Western Boundary is from the Confluence of the Rivers Illinois and Mississipi, as the latter runs South to Georgia. This' is a vast Country, extending about twelve hundred Miles in Length from North to South, and from feven to eight hundred Miles in Breadth, where the Five Nations destroyed many Nations, of whom there are now no Accounts among the English. But the French Geographers, D'Liste, Du Fur, &c. have in their late Maps limited their Rights Northward, to a South West Line they have drawn from Montreal to Lake Toronto, where they also bound them to the Westward, and allow them them only the Country between this Line and our Settlements, However, to point out the Mistakes, or rather designed Encroachments, of the Maps of America published in France, of late Years, by Authority, would be almost to copy the whole of them. Therefore it must give every Briton great Pleasure to see our Countryman Dr. Mitchel, F. R. S. detecting their Mistakes and designed Encroachments, and almost wholly restoring us to our just Rights and Possessions, as far as Paper will admit of it, in his most elaborate and excellent Map of North-America just published; which deserves the warmest Thanks and Countenance from every good Subject in his Majesty's Dominions.

The Five Nations never alienated any Part of their hereditary or conquered Country to any but his Majesty and his Subjects. But in 1672 the French, when at Peace with the Five Nations, persuaded them to allow a House to be built on the North Side of the East Entrance into Lake Ontario, under the Pretence of a Store for Merchandize. Under the fame Pretence they built feveral other Houses the next Year about the Lakes; but they foon converted these trading Houses into such Forts as the Five Nations could not reduce without Cannon and knowing how to use them. they complained to the Governor of Canada of this Usurpation, and told him, "They could place no Confidence in " the French, for under the Pretence of building Houses that " might be a Rendezvous for Merchants, and that only " Beavers and Merchandize should enter them, they had " made them Places of Retreat for Soldiers, and for Arms and Ammunition of War; whereby they had stopped the "Growth of the Tree of Peace that had been planted, and " prevented its Branches from covering their Countries." And the Governor of New-York protested also against these Forts as Encroachments upon the King of Great-Britain's Territories. But notwithstanding this, in 1684, the Year a Rupture broke out again with the French and Five Nations. they built another Fort, with four Bastions, at Naigara Falls in the Streight between Lakes Ontario and Erie; which was also protested against by the Governor of New-York as P. Charlevoix.

Charlevoix, &c. do confess. In 1725 they built Crown-Point or St. FREDERICK's Fort on Lake Iroquois or Champlain. And fince the Peace of Utrecht and that of Aix La Chapelle they have built feveral other Forts, fo that now they have twenty Forts, befides Block-Houses, or Stockade Trading Houses, and one Fort they lately took from us on the Ohio River, in the Country of the Five Nations which France ceded to the Crown of Great-Britain at the Treaty of Utrecht, and confirmed by that of Aix La Chapelle. Which finishes what I have to remark on his Majesty's Rights and Posfessions to the Northward of Latitude 34 D; and now for our Rights to the Southward of that Latitude.

We not only first explored the Eastern Coast from Cape FLORIDA to the North Polar Cir- Right from cle, but from Sir Walter Raleigh's Grant in 1584, the Coast to the Southward of Chefapeak-Bay has been constantly visited, and most

His Majestys 29 D. to 34 D. N. Lat.

of our first Settlements in North-America were to the Southward of that Bay, and in that Part now called North-Carolina; the Particulars and Success of which may be seen at large in most Collections of Voyages to, and Histories of, North-America. From these Settlements the People spread to the Southward of N. Lat. 34 D. and established themselves without any Grant from the Crown, but what had been forfeited or refumed, till 1630, when King Charles I. granted all the Country and the Islands on the Sea Coast of the Atlantic Ocean lying between 31 D. and 36 D. N. Lat. and from thence due West to the South Seas, to Sir Robert Heath by the Name of Carolina.

In 1665 King Charles II. granted to several Noblemen and Gentlemen all the Country lying on the Atlantic Ocean between 29 D. and 36 D. 30 M. N. Lat. and from thence due West to the Pacific Ocean, no Christian Prince or People intervening, by the Name of Carolina. This Grant comprehends the prefent Provinces of North and South Carolina and Georgia, and all the Province of Louisiana, since usurped by the French. In 1698 Col. Welch travelled from Charles-Town, South Carolina, to the Mississi River just below Old Kappa

Kappa, where Ferdinand Soto, a Spaniard from Florida, first discovered the Mississipi in 1541. In 1698 also, Sir Daniel Cox intended to revive a dormant Title to the Country granted as above to Sir Robert Heath, but finding the Eastern Coast already planted, he sent two Ships into the Gulph of Mexico, under the Command of Capt. William Bond, to explore the South Coast of Carolina, and to make a Settlement One of the Ships entered the Miffiffipi River, and ascended it above one hundred Miles, taking Possession of the Country in the King's Name, leaving in feveral Places the Arms of England for a Memorial thereof. And Capt. Eond took several Draughts of the Coast and River as far as he And it was not till the Year following, when Sir Daniel Cox was foliciting a new Patent in England, that M. D' Iberville on the Part of France hit upon the Mouths of the Mississipi, and built a Fort at one of the Entrances, as would have been done the Year before by the English if one of their Ships had not deferted them. From these Particulars relating to the South Coast we derive a further Right to the Country lying between the 29 and 36 D. 30 M. N. Lat. And on the Western Side of it that is bounded by the Pacific Ocean, we still have a further Right, founded on the Difcoveries of Sir Francis Drake in 1578, who explored the whole Sea Coast, took formal Possession for England, and called the Country New-Albion.

To great Part of this Country both the French and Spaniards have not only laid claim, but have availed themselves of; therefore I shall now consider the Merits of their Claim.

The Spaniards
Right to Florida.

During the Inattention of England to North-America, from Cabot's Discovery of it in 1496 to Sir Walter Raleigh's Patent in 1584, the Spaniards got sooting in this Territory on the Eastern Coast, and in

1565 utterly extirpated the French out of it, who had been endeavouring to establish a Colony there from 1555. And the Spaniards were in Possession of a large Part of Carolina under the Name of FLORIDA when the Treaties of 1667 and 1670 were concluded between England and Spain. By those

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those Treaties both Nations were to hold whatever each then possessed in America, whereby Spain has a Right to part of Carolina, still called Florida*. In 1702 and 1703 the Spanisrds, and Indians of this Country in Alliance with them, were defeated in two memorable Battles, drove to the Southward of St. John's River in South-Carolina, which is just to the Southward of the South Boundary of Georgia, by his Majesty's Subjects of Carolina, and would have been utterly extirpated out of FLORIDA, if Governor Moore had not precipitately raifed the Siege of Augustine at the Appearance of two Spanish Frigates which could have done him no Injury. And in 1714 the Creek *Indians* compleated their Extirpation out of FLORIDA; the Town of Augustine only excepted. Therefore in 1738, when the Court of Spain claimed a vast Tract of Country to the Northward of this River to prevent our fettling it, as the Colony of Georgia was forming, it was stipulated between the two Crowns that Great-Britain should not extend her Settlements to the Southward of the South Branch of St. John's River. But the Charter for Georgia granted to the late Truftees, and the Commission and Instructions lately given to the Governor of Georgia, does not extend the South Bounds of this Province beyond the South Branch of the River Altamaha; so all the Country to the Southward of the Altamaha to the South Branch of St. Fohn's River continues part of South-Carolina Province.

In the late War with Spain the Spaniards erected feveral Forts and Settlements to the Northward of St. John's River, which General Oglethorpe demolished. But I have advice from Georgia that since the Peace of Aix La

Spanish Encroachments in Georgia since the Peace at Aix La Chapelle.

^{*}A propos, by the same Authority, we have an undoubted Right to the Bays of Compeache and Honduras; for at the Conclusion of those Treaties we had Colonies actually planted by the Government of Jamaica at both those Bays. Upon which his Majeky's Claims to both of them, and his Subjects Right to cut Logwood, &c. there, is as justly founded as the Spanish Claim is to any part of Florida. But notwithstanding the Spaniards have drove us from both, and are effectually preventing us from recovering our sooting there by fortifying and planting Colonies.

Chapelle

again built feveral Forts to the Chapelle they have Northward of St. John's River, and last Summer a confiderable Number of Families came from the Havanah to fettle upon the Appulation Fields, the finest Country in the World perhaps, which are absolutely to the Northward of the Stipulation in 1738, and confequently within his Majesty's This Usurpation, with their unwarrantable Ex-Territories. pulsion of us from the Bay of Honduras, and the searching and seizing many of our Ships upon the High Seas, pursuing no other Traffic but from one part of his Majesty's Dominions to another, fince the Peace of Aix La Chapelle, feems to portend the same Evils to us that we now experience from French Encroachments and Depredations, if we are not speedily restored to our just Rights and Possessions, and effectually fecured against future Insults and Encroachments of the like fort. But if on the contrary we tamely submit to them, what are we not to expect next? Does not pocketing one Affront or Injury always give an Invitation to another? Has not fatal Experience convinced this Nation of the Truth of this? P. Charlevoix fays, in 1555 the French The Claims of turned their Thoughts to planting of Colonies in the South part of North-America, and in France to Ca-1562 Admiral Colinie undertook a Settlement rolina, &c. in Florida, but did not succeed. In 1562 alfo, M. Rebeaut went to Florida, and built a Fort at Port-

allo, M. Rebeaut went to Florida, and built a Fort at Port-Royal, and called it Charles-Fort, established a Colony there which he afterwards destroyed, and returned to France in 1563. In 1563 M. Laudinea went to Florida and built a Fort which he called Carolini, and went on settling till 1565 when Don Mencendez destroyed the whole Establishment, since which the French have not had the least Footing on the Eastern Coast of Florida, or more properly speaking the Provinces of North and South Carolina and Georgia, nor do they lay any Claim to any part of this Coast that I know of. Now let us follow them to the South Coast of Carolina, where they have usurped a vast Territory belonging to the Crown of Great-Britain, and planted a powerful Colony, to which they have given the name of Louisiani.

By M. Joliet's Journal of the French Enterprizes to discover and get sooting on the great River Mississippi, it appears that he in 1673 travelled from Canada over Land, and discovered some part of the River Mississippi, upon which he returned. The next French Adventurer was the Sieur De La Salle, who in the Years 1679, 1680, 1682, and 1683, went from Lake Ontario, through the Lakes

The Origin and Progress of the French Discovery and Settlement of the Mississipi, or Louisiani.

Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and the River Illinois, to the Mississipi, and returned to Canada. In 1684 he went from Rochelle in Old France, with two hundred Soldiers, in hopes of finding out an Entrance into the Mississipi in the Gulf of Mexico, but he missed it, and fell in with the Bay of St. Bernard, or St. Louis, between 28 D. and 29 D. N. Lat. just to the Southward of the South Line of Carolina Charter granted by Charles II. in 1665. Here he built a Fort, and in travelling by Land in pursuit of the Mouth of the Miffiffipi, he was murdered by his own People, who afterwards abandoned the Fort at St. Bernard, and went to Canada, without discovering the Entrance into the Mississipi. fell that bold, enterprifing, and valuable Gentleman the Sieur De La Salle, who was an Honour to his Country, after which the Mississipi was neglected by the French till the latter End of 1698, when M. D' Iberville made an attempt to difcover its Mouth in the Gulf of Mexico, and in 1699 he did discover an Entrance, and built a Fort near the Mouths. 1701 the next Establishment was made at the Mibile River. In 1702 Isle Dauphin begun to be settled. But all these Settlements took no Form till 1708. In 1712 Louis XIV. granted the Sieur Crozat a Patent for all Lands bounded by New-Mexico, and by the Lands of the English of Carolina, all the Settlements, Ports, Havens, Rivers, and principally the Port and Haven of the Isle Dauthin, heretofore called Massacre; the River of St. Louis, heretofore called Mississipi, from the Edge of the Sea as far as the Illinois; together with the River of St. Philip, heretofore called the Miffourys; and of St. Ferom, heretofore called the Oubache. With all

the Countries, Territories, Lakes within Land, and the Rivers which fall directly or indirectly into the above part of St. Louis. In the Preamble to this vague, loofe, and indeterminate Grant, the King fets forth no other Title to it than the Sieur De La Salle's Voyage in 1683, as the first Discovery of the Miffiffipi, acknowledging also that the King did not give Orders for the establishing a Colony till after the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. And the King also expresly declares the principle Object of this Grant to be, that a Communication may be made between Canada and Louisiani by help of the Lakes and Rivers, which of all things we ought to prevent the Continuance of, or adieu to the Peace and Profperity of our Colonies. When this Patent is dated we were at War with both France and Spain, and that we took no Notice of it at the Treaty of Utrecht is not to be wondered at, when we call to mind the Characters and Abilities of the Negociators on our Part of that Treaty. In 1714 they built a Fort, which now mounts fourteen Cannon, at Alibamous in the Heart of our Subjects the Upper Creek Indians, and in the Center of that part, to the Eastward of the Mississipi, of the Province we now call Georgia, which Spot we actually possessed thirty Years before by trading Houses for the Indians. In 1717 the Capital of Louisiani, called New-Orleans, was founded. And that Year the Patentee, finding his Enterprise very unprofitable, relinquished his Patent to the Regent of France, upon which the famous, or rather infamous Miffiffipi Company, or Bubble, was formed. This failing, to the Ruin of Thousands, the King took it into his own Hands where it has continued ever fince, and is now vastly increased in Inhabitants and Fortifications. This is the Account of the Origin and Progress of the French Usurpation of the Misfiffipi that they have been fo obliging as to publish to the World themselves. And certainly if there be any such thing as Law or Justice upon this earthly Ball between Nation and Nation, the French have just as much Right to that Part of Louisiani to the Northward of twenty-nine Degrees of North Latitude, as a Frenchman would have to one of the King's Forests in this Island upon coming from France, walking thro' it, finding only a Notice stuck up at each End that no Person must enter there without a Ticket from the Ranger, and then returning to the Middle and impudently setting himself down.

As to the Sieur De La Salle's Discovery of St. Bernard, or St. Louis, Bay, to the Southward of the South Bounds of Carolina, and the French claiming it in Consequence of that Discovery, it behoves the Spaniards to attend to that especially as it is within three hundred Miles of some of the richest Mines of New-Mexico, which perhaps they will experience, before long, the French have as keen an Appetite for as any Spaniard whatever. And no Man I believe can treat this as a chimerical Suspicion, when he recollects the constant Encroachments the French have made upon the

The French Settlements in NewMexico a Usur pation on the Spaniards, and replete with the worst Consequences to the Grown of Spain.

Spaniards in the Island of Hispaniola or St. Domingo ever since they got footing there, and upon all their Neighbours in all Parts of the Globe at all Times. But if they should not further encroach on the Spaniards in New-Mexico, if they fettle St. Bernard's-Bay, there cannot be any Doubt but they will avail themselves of the greatest Part of the Trade of New-Mexico; for by their Settlements at the Mississipi, they are come into a pretty handsome Share of it already, as fully appeared by the Capture of the Golden Lion from the Mississipi in the late War, which Ship had an immense Sum of Money on Board that she took in at the Mississipi. And this could not come from thence if the French had not exchanged their European Manufactures for it with the New-Therefore it is of the utmost Importance to Spain Mexicans. to deprive them of that Part of New-Mexico which they claim; and why they did not oblige France to annihilate this Claim at the Treaty of Utretcht is very easily accounted for, when we recollect Louis XIV. had just put his Grandfon on the Throne of Spain.

From the Account I have thus collected of the Discoveries, Rights and Possessions of the Crown of Great Britain in North-America

North-America, it is clear that France cannot have any just Pretensions to any Part thereof from the North Pole to the twenty-ninth Degree of North Latitude on the Atlantic Ocean, and from thence due West to the South-Seas; except to fish and cure Fish at Newfoundland, to the Isles in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and to Canada or New-France. And these they could never have had any Pretensions to it North-America had from the original Discovery of the Cabots been pro-

perly attended to by England.

By the above State of his Majesty's Rights, The, Limits Canada is pared down to very narrow Limits, compared with what the French Historians and of Canada or NewFrance Map-makers (under the Authority of Governruhich the ment) delineate it to be. But there is no Foundation for any Pretence to extend this French a-Province to the Northward beyond the South vailed them-Bounds of Hudson's-Bay Company's Territories selves of by and New-Britain or Labradore; to the Westward the Neglects of England. beyond Lake Abitibis and the Course of the Utawawas River that disembogues directly op-

posite to Montreal; to the Southward beyond the North Side of the River of St. Lawrence; and to the Eastward beyond the Limits of New-Britain or Labradore. I fay this is Canada or New-France, and no Authority can be produced for its Extention any way. And this is the only Footing the French are entitled to upon the Continent of North-America. And I do repeat that they never would have had even this if the Court of *England* had but attended to its Interests in *North-*America. For the Cabots first explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and two English Ships went up the River in 1527. Secretary Walfingham being informed of an Opening South of Newfoundland, fitted out Sir Humphry Gilbert, who failed up St. Lawrence River and took Possession for the Crown of England in 1583. And it was 1603 before the French begun to fettle any where within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, according to their own Historians. In 1629 Canada was taken from the French by Sir David Kirk, but it was given them by the Treaty of St. Germain in 1632 without any Specification

Specification of Limits, which gives them all the Right they have to any Part of it. And Queen Anne in 1711, when the purposed the Reduction of it, dispersed a Manifesto in the Country, setting forth, "That Canada belonged to the English" by Priority of Discovery, and what the French possessed there was by Grants from the English, and consequently held it only as a Fief, therefore where the Possesses turn "Enemy, it reverts." I am not Lawyer enough to determine the Validity of such a Claim, but we may be assured nothing but the longest Sword will ever settle the Limits of this Province.

Thus the Crown of Great-Britain's Rights and Possession North-America stand in Opposition to those of France; and by the Law of Nations our Claims are certainly valid with Europeans against Europeans that encroach upon American Claims thus founded.

But methinks I hear the fober and thinking His Majesty's Part of Mankind fay, "Though our Claims Colonies accus-" may be valid against France, how came we ed of Frauds, " by those Rights and Possessions? They did Abuses, " not come to us by Inheritance? Prior Dif-Cruelties to the " covery and Pre-occupancy gives only a Indians, and "Right to derelict Lands, which those of the Crown of " North-America were not, being full of Inhaving no Ti-" habitants, who undoubtedly had as good tle to America " a Title to their own Country as the Eurofrom them. " peans have to theirs. Nor could our Right " arise from Conquest, if we did conquer the Natives; as it " is hard to conceive how a Conquest, where there was no " preceding Injury or Provocation, could create a Right. "Therefore all a European Power could give, was an ex-" clusive Grant to particular Subjects for negociating and " purchasing from the natural Lords and Proprietors, and "thereupon a Power of Jurisdiction. We fear the first Set-"tlers of our Provinces never treated the Savages well, but " encroached upon their Lands by Degrees till they fraudu-66 lently or forcibly turned them out of all, using the barba-" rous Methods, in some measure, practised by the Spaniards

on the Southern Continent of America, which have made

" them detestable to the whole Christian World."

These and such like Enquiries, Doubts and Fears, I have often met with since I came to Europe. Nay, this very Week a Pamphlet has been published, called the State of the British and French Colonies, &c.: which accuses his Majesty's Colonies with committing Frauds, Abuses, Encroachments, Murders, and every Species of Villainy, against the poor Indians of North-America, by which they have been alienated from, and induced to take up Arms with the French against Us; and all the Evils America labours under have been thus produced. All these Accusations are authorised by some of, what are called, the Histories of New-England and other Parts of North-America, wrote by Subjects of his Majesty.

Every Person that knows any thing of Most Histories of North-America in general, or of any one Province in particular, must be sensible that the Histories or Works of Mather, Oldmixon, Neal, Salmon, &c. who have chiefly copied each other, and of all that have copied after

jects exploded: each other, and of all that have copied after them, relative to North-America, might almost as properly have called their Works Histories of Prester

John's, or the Hottentots Country, and their Manners and Conduct, as Histories of North-America, or any other Title they bear. Even Mather himself, said Oldmixon in his British Empire in America, had eighty-seven Falshoods in fiftyfix Pages. In short, there is not one Work yet published to the World in our Language that in any Degree deserves the Title of a History of North-America, but Smith's History of Virginia, and Douglas's Summary, Historical and Political, of the first Planting, progressive Improvements, and present State of the British Settlements in North-America, &c. published a few Years ago at Boston in New-England. And this last is valuable for being the best Collection of Facts in general, for a future Historian, that was ever made or published. -as to Histories of the *Indians*, there is not one published in our Language that deserves the Title, nor any Accounts of them, that I have feen, are worth reading, but that (31)

of Colden, which is justly called a History of the Five Nations, and is a Masterly Performance. Therefore I am very glad the Author of the State of the British and French Colonies, has no other Authority to found his Accusation against the Colonies in general than the exploded Historians, or rather Anti-Historians, of North-America, * and some particular Instances,

* Most, if not all, our Maps also, preceding that by Dr. Mitch. ell, are very erroneous and injurious to his Majesty's just Rights. Such erroneous Books and Maps, upon such important Subjects, are of worse Consequence than People generally imagine; for, befides misleading ourselves, the French quote them against us, even Therefore I am forry to in National Discussions, as Authorities. see the Author of the State of the British and French Colonies, &c. who, I am confident, wrote with a View to inform and serve his Country, attempting to prove the Independency of the Five Nations of Indians, who in almost every Treaty they ever made with his Majesty's Governments have acknowledged themselves the Subjects of Great Britain, and have yielded their Dominions to the Sovereignty of this Crown; tho' it is true some of their Great Men, when they have been exasperated on particular Occasions, have infifted in Debate that they were born free, and would be And this is the only Authority, with a few of them having gone over to the French, that can be produced for their denying their Subjection, fince it took place in 1664, or of their disputing his Majesty's Right to their Territories fince their Deed of Sale for them in 1701, except when the Conditions of their Deed has not been complied with, which sometimes has happened till a Congress could be held by the Provinces with them. This Author has also proposed a Plan for settling the Limits of North America with the French, whereby he gives the French Two Thirds of the Whole, for the Sake of enjoying the other Third in Peace and Quiet. Now can any Man, upon cool Reflection, imagine, that if the French are suffered to avail themselves of, and settle, Two-Thirds of North America, we shall enjoy the other Third in Peace? No; if we submit to this, and may judge of the future by what is past, they will soon have the other Third also. And by making fuch Proposals, does it not look as if we doubted the Validity of our Right to the Whole of our Claim? Good God! why should 146 [32]

Instances, from other Authorities, of Cruelty and Injustice between private Persons and the *Indians*, from which we

ought not to form an Opinion of any People.

I thought myself obliged to make this Preface, before I came to wipe off the unworthy Aspersions that have been cast on the first Settlers of *North-America* in direct Terms, supported by Evidence.

His Majesty's Subjects in North-America acquitted of the Charge of Frauds; Abuses and Cruelties to the Natives. and his Majesty's Title to North-America acquired from the Indians proved to be just and fair.

Our first Settlers, fat from Spanish Injustice and Cruelty, fought to gain the Natives by strict Justice in their Dealings with them, as well as by all the Endearments of Kindness and Humanity. To lay an early Foundation for a firm and lasting Friendship, they affured the Americans that they did not come among them as Invaders but Purchasers, and therefore called an Affembly of them together to enquire who had the Right to dispose of their Lands: and being told it was their Sachems or Princes, they thereupon agreed with them for what Districts they bought, publickly and in open Market. If they did not pay a great Price for their Purchases, yet they paid as much as they were worth. it must be considered that Lands were of little Use to the Natives, and therefore but of little Value. They lived chiefly on Fish and Fowl

and Hunting, because they would not be at the Pains to clear and break up the Ground. And as for their Meadows and Marshes, they were of no Use at all, for want of Neat Cattle

we give up an Inch of that Territory which is our just Right, when we are not only able to secure it to ourselves, but to make the French hold what properly belongs to them by no other Tenure than that of the Mercy of the Crown of Great Britain? Therefore may Perdition seize every Proposal that gives them an Acre of his Majesty's just Rights and Possessions.

to feed them, of which there were none in those Parts of the The English had no sooner made some necessary Provision for themselves, than they applied their Cares for the Benefit of the Indians, by endeavouring to bring them from their wild Manner of Life to the civil and polite Customs of Europe. For this Purpose they marked out Land to build Indian Towns, supplied them with all proper Utenfils for Building, prescribed to them Forms of Government, and above all omitted no Pains to bring them acquainted with the Gospel; for whatever the first Adventurers to North-America might be, the first real Settlers were industrious, peaceable, conscientious Persons, dissenting from the Discipline of the established Church, though agreeing with it in Doctrine, who removed into those remote Regions, upon no other View than to enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences without Hazard to themselves, or Offence to others; they were not Criminals, nor were they necessitous; nor had they, with their Brethren, made any Attempt to overthrow the Church and State at Home, and being disappointed therein went to America to secure a Retreat for their Brethren, as the high-flying Mr. Sal non vainly imagines, and most falsely and injuriously afferts they did. And what I say of them, their uniform proper Conduct, and meek Principles of Obedience, on all Occafions, fully prove. After they were arrived some time, and it was found necessary, they made Laws to forbid any Person purchasing Lands without the Approbation of the Legislature, to prevent the Natives being over-reached, or ill used in their private Bargains: And those Lands, lying most convenient for them, have in most of our Colonies been made unalienable, and never to be purchased out of their Hands, than which nothing could more demonstrate the Colonies Care and Concern for the Natives. And this their Conduct to them is fully and conclusively proved by the Laws of almost every one of our North-American Colonies. could oblige the Indians to Peace and Friendship in some of our Provinces. They were alarmed with strong Jealousies of the growing Power of the English, therefore began a War with a Refolution to extirpate them, before they had too well established

established themselves, which forced our People to pursue them through all their Recesses, till they obliged them to enter into a solemn Treaty of Peace. Such however was the persidious Nature of some of the American Savages, that they soon renewed their Hostilities, though to their own fatal Cost. And ever since the Settlement of the French at Canada, many Tribes of Indians have almost constantly, both in Peace and War with the Two Crowns, been animated and assisted by them to war against some one or other of our Colonies, and have given them but sew Intervals of Peace, and those

very short ones, to this Day.

But notwithstanding all the wife, just, and humane Conduct of our Colonies, in a legislative Character, which has also been extended to all Dealings and Intercourse with the Natives, I am sensible great Frauds and Abuses have been imposed upon the Indians by private People, in Defiance of the severest Laws, and the most punctual Execution of them on Offenders when detected. But Experience daily convinces us that in the wifelt and best regulated Societies, Laws framed with the greatest Care, and the nicest Judgment, are eluded and violated; and therefore no wonder if Infant Colonies should find the same Disregard to Laws, which is to be feen uncorrected under Governments of the longest Duration and most improved Policy. Consequently there would be just as much Propriety in charging the People of Great Britain with being Sharpers, Thieves, Robbers, and Murderers, because every Month a Dozen or two of Persons in this Kingdom are convicted of, and punished for, these Crimes, and many more escape both; as it is to charge the Colonies with Frauds, Abuses, Encroachments, and Murders upon the poor Indians of America, because a few among them have been so hardy and diabolical as to perpetrate fuch Villainies, some of whom have been punished, and some have escaped.

Upon the whole, his Majesty's Claims in North-America are not only valid in Opposition to those of France, but he also derives a Right from the native Proprietors of the Soil, his Subjects there having purchased part with their Money, and the rest has been yielded to them by the true Owners, who

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have put themselves and their Lands under the Superintendency and Protection of the Crown of Great-Britain, that they might be secured against the Encroachments and Depredations of the French. And the Right resulting from the Purchases and Cessions of the Natives, as much as it is decried and undervalued by some People, is in fact the only just and equitable one. Therefore I am extremely forry to fee any of his Majesty's Subjects, at this critical Conjuncture especially, endeavouring to prove that we derive no Title from the Natives, and that they are not the Subjects of the Crown of Great-Britain; for it not only gives France a handle against us, but it makes many of his Majesty's sober and thinking Subjects doubt the Justice of our Cause, and when this is the Case they do not assist in the common Cause with that Spirit and Ability they otherwise would do, and which was never wanted to be exerted to the utmost, more than at this present Time.

CHAP. II.

The Discoveries, Rights, and Possessins of France.

according to their own Historians, were some Fishermann of Newfoundland in 1504. In 1506 the Sieur Denis discovered the Entrance into St. Lawrence River. In

The first Discoveries of the French, and their Right to Canada, or New France

The first Discoveries of the Lawrence, and brought some Savages from thence to France. In 1523 Verazani, a Florentine in the French King's Service, coasted along the East Side of North-America, going assorbed in several Places, and taking Possession for France, according to the Forms used in those Times, from 37 D. to 50 D. N. Lat.

He also sailed up the River St. Lawrence, and then returned to France without making any Settlement. In 1534 Cartier discovered Newfoundland, Baye Chaleur in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, cruized along the Coast of Acadie, and went up the River St. Lawrence as high as Montreal, taking Possession for France, but made no Settlement. In 1540 Roberval built a Fort at Cape-Breton, but soon abandoned it. He made no new Discoveries, and returned to France. In 1598 the Marquis De La Roche disembarked at the Isle of Sable in Acadie, but made no Establishment any where. In 1602 Chawvin sailed up the River St. Lawrence as high as Trois Rivieres. In 1603 Monts entered Port-Mutton in Acadie, visited the sle of Sc. Croix, sailed as far as Kennebec River in New-England,

England, then went to Port-Royal in Acadic; and returned to France in 1606 with all his People. In 1603 the French first began to settle on the River St. Lawrence, on the North Side near Trois Rivieres, and in 1608 at Quebeck. went on fettling on the North Side of the River only, between Quebeck and Montreal, till 1629, when Sir David Kirk reduced Quebeck and its Dependencies, called Canada or New-France, to the Obedience of the Grown of Great-Britain, which was restored to France by Treaty in 1632, and they have remained in Possession of it ever since. But certainly they derive no Right by this Cession to any further Extent of Territory than what was taken from them, which was only the District and Settlements between Quebeck and Montreal on the North Side of the River. This is the Way France acquired Canada, the Limits of which I have stated in Page 28.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, so far confirmed by that of Aix La Chapell, the Islands of Cape-Breton, St. John's, Anticosta, and all other Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, were ceded to France; notwithstanding they were again ours by the Conquest of Acadie or Nova-Scotia in 1710, which was furrendered to her Britannic Mejesty with all its Depences expressed in the Governor's Commission. and all the Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence were actually specified in his Commisfion, and the Limits of Acadie or Nova-Scotia were therein delineated to be what I have stated them in Page 7. But yet our iniquitous Managers of the Treaty of Utrecht had so far thrown the Power of stipulating the Terms of Peace into the Hands of the French, that when the Queen of Great-Britain condescended to share,

what she had a Right to the whole of, Cape-Breton with them, and infifted neither Side should fortify, but the whole

The Right of the French to the Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, founded on the Treaty of Utrecht. The Limits of Acadie or N.-Scotia, specified by the French in M. Subercass's Commis-

remain open for the Conveniency of each Nation's Fishery,

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the French had so far got the Ascendancy as to exclude her from any part of this Island, and to obtain the pernicious Liberty to fortify it. Mr. Moore, one of the Lords for Trade and Plantations, was so barefacedly corrupt upon the Discussion of this Point as to say, to those who urged the Neceffity and Utility of excluding the French from this Island, " Must the French then have nothing?"

The French Right to fish within thirty Leagues of Nova Scotia, founded on the Treaty of Utrecht.

By the Treaty of Utrecht also the French have Liberty to fish within thirty Leagues of Nova-Scotia to the Eastward, beginning at the Ille of Sables. And;

By the same Treaty also, our corrupt Administration granted to the French Liberty to catch and cure Fish in the most advantageous Places on that Part of Newfoundland, from Cape Bonavista running down by the Western Side to Point Riche.

Their Right to catch and cure Fish at Newfoundland de-Treaty of Utrecht.

But, thank God, these are all the Rights they have any Foundation for in North-America. And by this Deduction of Facts it is plain, that we are indebted to the conrived from the stantly Frenchified Royal Stuarts, (among innumerable other of the feverest Curses) for the French Footing on the Continent of North-America, and to our corrupt Frenchified

Managers of the Treaty of Utrecht for their Right to the Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and to catch and cure Fish at Newfoundland; which, I say, is all the Rights they have in North-America. But what they have obtained by Encroachments will fully appear in the next Chapter.

EN STERE SERVICE SERVI

CHAP. III.

The Encreachments and Depredations of the French upon his Majesty's Territories in North-America in Times when Peace subsisted in Europe between the Two Crowns, &c. &c.

SHALL state the French Encroachments and Depredations in each of his Mojesty's Provinces of North-America, as the Continent is now divided by the Authority of the Crown, beginning to the Northward; whereby we shall have a clearer idea of their Situation and Importance, and of the Propriety of the Measures hereafter to be humbly proposed for extirpating the French and their Indians out of his Majesty's Territories:

Since the Peace of Aix La Chapelle they have erected in Nova-Scotia one Fort at Beau bassin in the Cod of the Bay of Fundy, and on the South Side of the Isthmus of the South Lastern Peninsula. And another Fort at Baye Verte on the North Side of this Isthmus, which is not more than twelve Miles wide between these two Forts. From hence they have sur-

French Encroachments and Depredations in his Majesty's Province of Nova-Scotia

nished the Cape Sable, or Mickmac, and the Island of St. John's Indians, who make about three hundred fighting Men, with Arms, Ammunition, Provisions and Cloathing. Upon our Attempt to colonize this Province immediately after the late War with France, they spirited up these Indians to war against us, by their ample Supplies; by their giving them a large Bounty for every English Prisoner they brought to them, and a much larger for every English Scalp they could produce;

by their promising to protect them in their Forts; and by difguiting themselves and occasionally joining the Indians in their Enterprizes against our Settlements. With these three hundred Indians they have constantly harrassed our infant Colony of Nova-Scotia, so that we have made no Settlements but what have been fortified and picketed all round, which has been attended with vast Expence. Indeed it is hard to conceive what Diffress this handful of Indians have reduced this Colony to. They cannot clear and break up the Ground, nor plant nor fow without their Pickets, nor go from one Village to another for Relief without imminent Danger, from skulking Indians, of being killed and having their Scalps carried away for the French Bounty, or of being taken and either put to Death in the most cruel Torments that savage Brutality can invent, or of being carried away Captive to the French, who have afterwards infifted on a Price for their Redemption, equal to the Price black Slaves are fold for in our Colonies, under the specious Pretence of their having paid it to the Indians to fave from being put to Death. Thus the French have made us pay the very Bounty they gave the Indians for captivating our People. The Indians surprized the Village of Dartmouth one Night, and altho' it had a Guard of Soldiers and was picketed in, they burnt the Houses, and put both Men, Women and Children to death. from our first Attempt to settle it since the late War with Franse, the Indians have been killing or captivating our People whenever Opportunity presented.

The French also, as soon as they had built those two Forts, threatened to destroy all the French Subjects of his Majesty and burn their Settlements without their Forts on the Peninsula, if they did not retreat into the Country within their Forts; therefore they, who have always inclined to the French on account of their Religion, &c. tho' ever indulged in the free Exercise of that and every thing esse, burnt their Houses, destroyed their Plantations, and went under the Prorection of the French, who assured them of ample Amends for their Losses and Sufferings. Here they are protected and nourished in an Antipathy to his Majesty, his Government, and his People.

People, and prove as good Subjects to the French King as any he has in America. These People became the Subjects of the Crown of Great-Britain when Nova-Scotia was reduced in 1710, upon Condition they did not take up Arms for, nor against us. But, contrary to their Oaths of Allegiance, many of them have been detected in joining the French and Indians both in Peace and War against his Majesty's Subjects. There may be in this Province about ten thousand of these French Neutrals, as they are called, though some make them amount to fifteen thousand, and others but to seven thousand. Thus the French have a powerful Colony

in the Heart of this his Majesty's Province.

The French have also re-built a Fort in this Province since the Peace of Aix La Chappelle, at the Entrance into the River of St. John's, on the Western Side of the Bay of Fundy opposite to, and distant ten Leagues from Annapolis-Royal; by which they have the Command of the River St. John's Indians, being about an hundred and fifty fighting Men, whom they occasionally issue upon the People of the North-East Parts of New-England. At the Entrance into this River there is a capacious Road for Ships of any Burthen, and on the North-Side of the Road is a Streight, not Pistol Shot over, through which there is no passing but at the Top of the Tide when the Water is upon a Level, for at other times the Fall is so considerable, especially at low Water, as to make a Descent of thirty Feet. This Entrance on which the French Fort stands, is lined on both Sides by a folid Rock, and has more than forty Fathom of Water in its Middle. When you have passed this Streight the River spreads itself half a Mile in Width, and with a gentle Current towards its Outlet admits a delightful Navigation for large Ships, fixty Miles into the Country, and much further for smaller Vessels; taking its Source from three parts of St. Lawrence River, one of which is directly opposite to Quebeck. The French have often conveyed Succours and Merchandize from Old France to Quebeck, both in Peace and War, up this River, to avoid the Difficulty and Risque of the Navigation of St. Lawrence River. By this River also they, as Occasion requires, convey Troops

Troops and Stores from Quebeck to the Neutral French, the Indians, and their other Forces in Nova-Scotia. And if they are suffered to remain in Possession of this River they may always have a Communication between France and Canada in Winter, which they cannot have only from May to October by St. Lawrence River, and they will at all times have a much more fafe and eafy Conveyance to and from Canada than by St. Lawrence. But what is more material they will be furnished with a Harbour, more commodiously situated for annoying the British Colonies, by Men of War and Privateers in Time of War, than that American Dunkirk Louisbourg itfelf; and at all times a convenient Port near the Ocean for furnishing Naval Stores to Old France, and their Sugar Colonics with Lumber of all forts for the Construction of Dwelling Houses, Sugar Mills, and Cask to contain their Islands produce, which is what they have long aimed at, but never could fecure before. In short there is not one Advantage we derive from the four Provinces of New-England, that they will not reap from this River when the Country comes to be fully fettled by them. And they are bent upon fecuring a Footing upon or near the Atlantic Ocean, as they have not one Port, or any Territory in their own North-American Colonies near it, but the Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which yield them nothing but a Security for their Fishery, and a Situation to diffress and annoy our Colonies, and their Trade and Navigation, in Time of War. The French also deny our Right to navigate or visit any Part of Nova-Scotia in the Gut of Canso and Gulf of St. Lawrence, or to visit and settle Canfo, which we fettled foon after the Peace of Utrecht as part of Nova-Scotia, and carried on our principal Fishery at, till the late War when they took it from us; but Sir William Pepperell recovered it in his way to the Siege of Louisbourg. And every Year fince the Peace of Aix La Chapelle the Governor of Louisbourg, and the Commanders in Chief of the Men of War that have been flationed there, have given public Notice that they will feize and confiscate all English Vessels they find at Canfo, the Gut of Canfo, or in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

By those three Forts they have availed themselves of all the Province of Newa-Scotia, except the South-Eastern Peninfula. And although they do not dispute our Right to this, except Canso and the Harbours in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, they have not suffered us to enjoy it since the Peace of Air La Chapelle, but by their Encroachments and Depredations have so annoyed and distressed us, that we have not been able to do any more towards settling, even the Peninsula, than to establish four small Towns, and build four small Forts, which has been accomplished with vast Expence of Blood and Treasure. I think the Parliament of Great-Eritain have granted since the late War 450,000 l, for settling and securing Nova-Scotia, and all we have to show for this immense Sum is the above four Towns or Villages, and sour Forts.

Since the Peace of Utrecht the French have settled seven Villages in the Province of the Massackusets-Bay on the South Banks of St. Lawrence River between the Isle of Orleans and the Mouth of Iroqueis, or Sorrel River. Some of these Villages are pickeed in, but none of them have any Forts, or other Desence.

The French have Missionaries among the Penebscot or Pantagoit Indians, who do not

French Encreachments
and Depredations in his
Majefly's
Province of
the Maffachusets-Bay

exceed one hundred and fifty fighting Men, and generally refide near the Bay of Penchscot. They have also Missionaries among the Norridgwaeg Indians, who are about one hundred and fifty fighting Men, and do refide upon Kennebec River about one hundred and twenty Miles from its Mouth. . These Indians have, both in Peace and War with the French, been provoked by them to annoy and diffress our young Settlements on the Eastern Frontier of this Province, and they have killed, scalped, and captivated many of our People, even since the Peace of Aix La Chapelle; but the Government of the Maffachusets, by building two Forts last Year on Kennebec River, and posting one hundred Men in each, keep them in great Awe, and they dare not act against us at present. Indians have often acknowledged themselves Subjects of the Crown of Great-Britain, and the Government of the Province they

they reside in has taken the greatest Care to accommodate them with every thing they require, and to prevent Frauds and Abuses being imposed upon them by private Persons; for no one is allowed either trade with them or to purchase Lands, but by the Government's Appointment. For the Management of Trade with them, a Commissary General is appointed by the Legislature, and convenient Store Houses have been many Years built, where they may at all times be accommodated with every thing they require at no more than Five per Cent, advance upon the original Cost at Beston by wholefale for ready Money, and they are allowed the full Price their Furs and Skins will yield at the Boston Market, which is vastly more profitable to them than the French can possibly submit to. But notwithstanding all these wise and just Regulations, and frequent Subsidies, the Address, Ingenuity, and unwearied Pains of the French Priests, who live among them, and conform to their Manner of Life in every respect, by which they are so disguised as frequently to be taken for Indians, has proved superior to all our Efforts, and they will do nothing without their Advice and Confent, but when awed by Force; therefore the Governor of the Massachusets carried one Thousand Soldiers with him last Year to force them to renew Treaties, and permit the two Forts to be built, and nothing but a superior Force will ever be able to rival French Priestcrast and Usetulness, for most of these Priests are good Mechanics, and prove vastly serviceable to the Indians in the common Concerns of Life.

French Encroachments & **Depredations** in his Majestys Province of New-Hampfhire.

Since the Peace of Aix La Chapelle the French have built a Fort at Cowass or Cohasser on Connecticut River in the Province of New-Hampshire, which is one hundred and forty Miles South of St. Lawrence River, and as many Miles deep in his Majesty's Territories.

There are no friendly nor enemical Indians in this Province, except a few Straglers, but the French have harraffed his Majesty's Subjects in the Frontier Settlements almost every Year since the Peace of Aix La Chapelle with the Incursions of the Indians that reside about Lake Iroquois or Champlain, belonging to the Province of New-York, who do not exceed sixty sighting Men, and who have killed, scalped, and captivated many of our People in this Province.

As to the Province of New-York and the

Five Nations hereditary and conquered Country, the French have got Possession of all that Part of it that lays to the Northward of St. Lawrence River and the Five great Lakes, and all that Part of it to the Eastward that lays between our Fort of Oswego on the Lake Ontario, and the Mouth of the Iroquois or

French Encroachments & Depredations inhis Majestys Province of New-York.

Sorrel River upon the South Side of the River St. Lawrence, and as far South from the Banks of this River, as River Iroquois and Lakes Iroquois, or Champlain, and Sacrement. They usurped all this vast Extent of Territory,

By one Fort built on the North Side of the East Entrance

of Lake Ontario in 1672.

By one Fort situated at Missilimakinac near the Lakes Huron, Michigan and Superior in 1673.

By one Fort built on the Streight between Lakes Erie and

Huron in 1683.

By one Fort erected at Naigara Fall on the Streight of Lakes Erie and Ontario in 1684, and another Fort on the

same Streight in 1720.

By one Fort on the West Side, and another on the River St. Foseph on the East Side, of Lake Michigan, another on the West Side of Lake Toronto, and three more Forts and a regular fortissed Town, with a Citadel, called St. Frederic or Crown Point, at the Lake and River of Iroquois, or Champlain Lake, and Richlieu, or Sorrel River, all of which Forts, &c. were built between the Peace of Utrecht and the Commencement of the late War.

The French have in this Province also, several other Towns and Villages between the Mouth of Irequois River and Montreal on the South Side of St. Lewrence River; in which, with

with the seven Villages they have in the Mossachuser's Province, there are twenty-eight Parish Churches. And they have besides the Forts already mentioned, many Stockade Forts, or Block-houses, for Trading Lodges, in this Province.

Two hundred French Indians, accompanied by some Canadeans disguised like Indians, made an Irruption into this Province last Year, surprized the Town of Housack, sacked and burnt it, and massacred and captivated both Men, Women and Children, except a very sew that ran away.

The French have since the Peace of Aix La Chapelle seized several of our Traders in the Country of the Five Nations, confiscated their Effects, and made them pay the Price of

Slaves for their Redemption.

They have been continually, fince the Peace of Aix La Chapelle, using every Artifice, and frequently Force, to draw off the Indians, in this Province as well as in all the rest from. the British Interest. Last Year they persuaded one half of the Onondago Indians, one of the Five Nations, with several from the other Nations, to remove from the Place of their usual Residence to a Place called Ostveegachic on the River Cudaragui, where they have built them a Church and Fort. Many of the Senekas, the most numerous Nation of the Five, appear to be wavering and rather inclined to the French. In short, a great Defection manifests itself among all the Five Nations, for not more than a hundred and fifty of the feveral Nations attended the Congress held at Albany last Year, though they had notice that all his Majesty's Governments would have Commissioners there with Presents from most Provinces as well as from the King, and on all preceding like Occasions there were never less than fix or seven hundred. The utmost that could be obtained of them at this Meeting, was an Agreement to stand neuter in our Disputes with the French, for they unanimously declared, that so far from acting against the French they should be obliged to make the best Terms they could with them, in order to preserve themselves and their Country from being destroyed by their powerful Arms. The English, they observed, would not fight for themselves, and as for them they could not defend their own Country

Country and that of the English too. But if they faw the English act powerfully, and that their own Country, Wives, and Children were safe while they went forth to War, they then should be glad to meet the Governor of New-York and the Commissioners again, for it was against their Inclination to treat with the French, but Necessity compelled them. Therefore if some bold Stroke is not soon made to retrieve our lost Reputation and the wonted Confidence and Friendship of this brave and faithful People, who upon all other Occasions have been our best Friends and have it in their Power to be our worst Enemies, so as to act in our Favour and to influence their Allies and Tributaries, who, together with the Five Nations, make seventeen thousand Men, to do the same, we shall not only lose the Assistance of the whole Indian Interest of North-America, but have it turned against us. Indians, like more refined and politer Nations, will not join the Weakest, especially when their own Country is in danger from the Strongest in the Field; and it is impossible for their Sachems to restrain their young Men, who delight in War more than any thing else, when all their Neighbours are engaged, and the Sound of War echoes from Hill to Hill all around them.

The French have fince the Peace of Aix La Chapelle built two Forts on Beef River, which issues from the South Side of Lake Erie in his Majesty's Province of Pennsylvania; and last Year they forcibly attacked and took a Fort built by his Majesty's express Command at the Confluence of the Rivers Mohongala and Ohio in this Province, which they

French Encroachments & Depredations in his Majestys Province of Pennsylvania.

remained in Possession of when the last Advices came away. They also have seized several of the Traders among the *Indians* in this Province, and made them pay for their Redemption, and confiscated all their Effects to a very great Value, for one of these Confiscations amounted to upwards of 18,000 l.

In

In 1750 the French built a Fort in his Maiesty's Province of Virginia on the River Ou-French Enbache or St. Ferom, in the Heart of the Coun**c**roachments try of the Twightwees, or Miamis, Indians, in and Deprestrict Friendship with his Majesty; and last dations in his Year they fent three hundred French Families Majesty's to fettle about this Fort. In 1751 they built Province of another Fort at Sandoski on the South Side of Virginia. Lake Erie in this Province. They have also

one Fort upon the River Illinois, one at the Confluence of the Rivers Oubache and Obio, one at the Junction of the Rivers Missouri and Missifipi, one higher up the River Missouri, and one at the Confluence of the Rivers Kaskakins and Missifipi, all built in Times of Peace lince the Treaty of Utrecht, and within this his Majesty's Province.

Last Year they marched a Body of regular Troops, Militia and Indians into this Province, and attacked and defeated four hundred of his MAJESTY'S Forces at the Great Meadows. They compelled our Commander in Chief of those four hundred Men to enter into Articles of Capitulation and give Hostages, in as formal a Manner as if War had actually been proclaimed between the two Crowns. But the very Night they were signed the French broke them, which we have great Reason to rejoice at, for they were the most infamous a British Subject ever put his Hand to.

The French have for these two or three Years past set their Indians loose upon the Inhabitants of this Province also, and killed, scalped, and captivated many of them, seized some of their Effects, and forced those that were settled without the Mountains, together with some of our friendly Indians, to break up their Settlements and retire within the Mountains.

They continued to have, by the last Advices, two thousand two hundred regular Troops and Militia, and fix hundred Indian Warriors at their Forts in this Province and Pennsylvania that are near the Ohio, and threatened a further Irruption, for which they were preparing.

And,

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vinces of

The Northern Boundary of Georgia extending to the Northernmost Branch of the River Savanah, and from thence due West indefinitely, the inland Frontier of the Carolinas is very narrow, but as narrow as it is the French have mounted two Forts in it on the Mississippi River in Times of Peace, and since the Treaty of Utrecht.

In his MAJESTY'S Province of Georgia the rolina. French have one Fort built at the Mouths of the Missipi in 1699; another Fort and Settle-French Enment as the Bay of Mobile begun in 1701; croachments another Fort and Settlement at the Isle Dauphin and Deprebegun in 1702; another Fort, with a Settlement dations in round it, at Airbamous, at the Confluence of the his Ma-Rivers Mobile and Locusachee in the Heart of our jesty's Profellow Subjects the Upper Creek Indians Country, which was begun in 1714 under the old Pretence of a Trading Lodge; the City of New-Orleans well fortified on the Miffifipi River founded in 1717; another Fort and Settlement at Pansacola on the Gulf of Mexico; two more Forts on the Mississipi River, besides many Stockade Forts, or Block-houses, for Trading Lodges among the innumerable Indians in this Country; and they have feveral other finall Towns or Villages, besides those I have mentioned, on and near the Mississipi River, built in Times of Peace fince the Treaty of Utrecht.

In 1730 they utterly extirpated the whole Tribe (except a few that escaped to the Chickasaws) of Indians called Nautchce, that resided about the Forks of the River Yasou which rises in this Province not very far from, and empties itself into, the Mississipi. The French did this when they were in prosound Peace with these Indians under the Sanction of a formal Treaty; but finding they continued an Intercourse and Trade with the English, they sell upon them in the Night, and massacred Men, Women, and Children, not sparing even those they took alive, but put them to death in the most inhuman and cruel Torments. This Persidy and Cruelty

Cruelty of the French being communicated to the Chickafaw Indians who reside a little to the Northward of the Nautchees Country, and they fearing the like Fate, as they were in the strictest Friendship and constantly traded with the English, they declared War against the French, and it has not been in the Power of all their own Force and Policy to prevail on them to make Peace to this Day, nor could they ever prevail on any other Indians to join against them, as they are remarkable for Faith and Bravery, as their War is effeemed just and necessary, and as they are highly revered for their Military Atchievements. These Chickasaws have been as severe a Scourge to the French Colony of Louisiani, as any of their Indians have been to any of our Colonies; but their long and constant Hostilities against the French have reduced them to four hundred fighting Men only, who continue the War with as much Spirit and Intrepidity as ever.

The French of Louisiani have entirely alienated the Chaustas from our Interest, who reside in their Neighbourhood between the Mobile and Mississippi, and amount to five thousand fight-

ing Men.

And by their Fort at Alibamous they have obtained such Influence among the Upper Creek Indians, amounting to one thousand two hundred Men, that they would have broke out against Carolina and Georgia several times, if it had not been for the Interposition of the Lower Creeks, who amount to one thousand three hundred Men, and are our fast Friends.

The French
have furrounded his
Majesty's
Colonies with
Forts, &c.

From this Deduction of French Encroachments it appears that they have drawn a Line, and have a Chain of Forts and Settlements, all along the Back of our Settlements from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Mouths of the Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico, whereby they have accomplished their ancient Design of surrounding the British Northern Colonies Settle-

ments, of fortifying themselves on the Back thereof, of taking Possessing Pos

iffued from their Forts on our Frontier Settlements, some of which they have destroyed, others they have impeded the Progress of, and in most of our Provinces prevented the projecting or making new Establishments. For there is nothing more terrible than Indian Wars, and whenever they happen the Inhabitants eat their Bread in continual Fear and Trembling; no Man is sure when out of his House of ever returning to it again; while they labour in the Fields they are under terrible Apprehensions of being killed and scalped, or of being seized and carried to the Indian Country, there to end their Days in cruel Torments, or be turned over to the French to be redeemed at the Price of Black Slaves. They are many times obliged to neglect both their Seed Time and Harvest. Landlord often sees all his Land plundered, his Houses burnt, and the whole Country ruined, while they can't think their Persons safe in their Fortifications. In short, all Trade, Business, and Commerce is at an entire Stand, while Fear, Despair, and Misery appears in the Faces of the poor Inhabitants.

I fay, this Conduct of the French is in Confequence of an ancient Defign or System, and it certainly is so, for all their Governors and Writers of the Northern Colonies have constantly recommended it to the Court of France, who, we are now fatally convinced, have carried it systematically into Execution. And our Colonies have as constantly remonstrated to the Court of Great-Britain these Encroachments and Depredations, and the further terrible Consequences they had the utmost Reason to expect from them. But it is now too late in a great measure, and therefore to little Purpose, to enquire further why we neglected to exert the Power God and Nature put into our Hands to prevent these Evils, or to remove them whenever and wherever they appeared. Therefore I shall enter into this Enquiry in the Course

of these Sheets no further than by pointing out some of the Causes, which if removed, the Effects will cease, and to acquit his MAJESTY'S COLONIES of the cruel Accusation, from Persons of all Ranks almost in this Country,

His Majestys Colonies injuriously charged with Neglects, &c.

of having neglected their own Defence, and, by other criminal Conduct, having invited the Calamities they fuffer. This has been very industriously propagated by some People. who have found it necessary to blame the Colonies, the better to excuse themselves; and by others who have had support in their Clamours from a late Pamphlet called, a Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania, which I shall fay no more of at present than that it is calculated for private Purposes, at the Expence of a very respectable Body of People called Quakers, to whom this Country is more obliged than most People at present know or can imagine, and who will very foon be acquited, with Honour, of the exceptionable Conduct laid to their Charge. Some People would do well in never losing fight of this, being, of all others, the most improper time to inflame the Passions and alienate the Hearts of even the most remote and infignificant of his Majesty's Sutjects, and of its being the most proper and necessary Measure at this critical Conjuncture to reconcile all jarring Interests, and to please and oblige every Class of his Majesty's Subjects in every part of his Dominions, that they may act with their Heads, Hearts, Hands, and Purses unanimously for the Recovery of his just Rights, and for permanently securing him in the Possession of them.

It is certain not any one of the Colonies are to blame, as will appear when I come to speak of their Conduct, Temper,

and Disposition, so it must lay elsewhere.

The Affairs of North-America are become of the last Importance to his MAJESTY'S North-America at thern Colonies in particular, and the British Empire in general, by the French Enterprizes, and the Success of them I have stated; by their having gradually increased their Troops in Canada and Louisiani since the Peace of Aix La Chapelle down to 1753, transporting them in

their Ships of War, which returned to France with a bare Complement of Men, leaving the rest in their Colonies, and by this Means they have been less observed by the Powers of Europe than if they had been sent in Transport Ships; by sending

fending two thousand five hundred regular Troops to Canada, and three thousand five hundred to the Mississippi in 1753; * and by the vast Armament that has been so long preparing at Bress, and perhaps now sailed, confessedly for Canada.

Let any Man reflect on these things, taking into his View at the same time the Conduct of the French in respect to the Neutral Islands in the West-Indies; § in respect to the Bahama Islands, which they have trumped up a Claim to since the Peace of Aix La Chapelle; and did two Years ago set up Crosses upon some of them; with Copper Plates, containing the French King's Arms, and a Declaration that they were to preserve the Rights of Louis XIV, which Rights we never heard of before; in respect to our East-India Company in

In 1754. By the best Account a Gentleman could obtain at Barbados, of the Settlement of the sour Neutral Islands; there was at St. Lucia, Whites 5,000, Negro's 30,000, and 4,000 Indians. On Dominico 4,000 Whites, 25,000 Negro's, and 5,000 Indians. On St. Vincent 3,000 Whites, 18,000 Negro's, and 40,000 Indians. On Tobago 17 French Men, 10 Negro's, and 120 Indians. The Whites on St. Lucia, Dominico, and St. Vincent, mostly French.

^{*} This I know to be true from Authority.

[§] In 1749 the Courts of Great Britain and France entered into a new Convention respecting these Islands, which the French were very buly in fettling contrary to Treaty. And for the Sake of Peace Great Britain still condescended to let, what she has a sole and just Right to, remain Neuter; that is, neither We nor France should attempt the Settlement of either of them, and that France should immediately break up what Settlements were made there, and her Subjects should immediately evacuate the Islands. Orders were fent accordingly to the Governor of Martinico, but he dying before they reached Martinico, his Successor said the Orders were not directed to him, and he would not execute them. Upon this new Orders went, and some of our Men of War saw them ex-Since this they have again leized upon, and are lettling them with a high Hand. They have already got four thouland Souls on St. Lucia, near two thousand Souls on Dominico, and near one thousand Souls on St. Vincent, and they have fortified each of these Settlements, and have lately begun to settle Tobago, another of these Islands.

Asia; and in respect to the Coast of Africa; and it is impossible for him to doubt the Justice of our Cause, or the Necessity of our going to War, if the French will not immediately relinquish the whole of their Encroachments upon

The Satisfaction, the Honour and Juftice of the Nation requires from the French his Majesty's Territories, and make Individuals in particular, and the Nation in general, ample Satisfaction for the Losses they have suffained, and the vast Expence we have been at in Asia and America, and for the Expence of our present Armaments both by Land and Sea; which amounts to infinitely more than it will require to drive them out of the New-World. Can the Honour and Justice of the Nation

put up wi b less? If we do except of less, may not the Nation expect, and won't it deserve, to be used by other Nations, as a noted Coward is, bullied and male-treated by every little Fellow?

His Majesty's Declaration uponthe present State of Affairs in America. But notwithstanding the bad Condition of our Assairs we ought not to Despair; On the contrary, thank God, we may now chear up, for behold his *Majesty* gloriously declaring in his late Speech to *Parliament*, that I never could entertain a Thought of purchasing the *Name* of Peace, at the Expence

of suffering Encroachments upon, or of yielding up, what is justly belonging to *Great-Britain*, either by ancient Possession, or by solemn Treaties. Your Vigour and Firmness, on this important Occasion, have enabled me to be prepared for such Contingences as may happen. If reasonable and honourable Terms of Accommodation can be agreed upon, I shall be satisfied."

No Satisfaction can be expetted from the French. It cannot be imagined that the French will give up their Encroachments, by any Man that knows their infinite Importance to them; and all that they have hitherto done, or can be expected they will do, is to make Propofal after Propofal, taking care the last is more

favourable than the preceding, knowing you can't except the

most favourable they will make, till they have gained further footing; and time to be prepared for all Events, and then you may feek Redress in the Uncertainties of a War that they are prepared for. For Experience teaches us, that the French always employ Times of Negotiation, not in endeavouring to efface the Remembrance of past Outrages, but in concerting the Operations for new ones. However, Great-Britain has been fo long a Sufferer by French Perfidy, and fo often deluded by the treacherous Negotiations of that faithless Nation, that it cannot be supposed that she will any longer listen to their infidious Proposals, than till we are ready at Home and Abroad to give them a decifive Blow; therefore continuing to negotiate with them, while we are preparing for War, can do us no Injury, but may be very political. Nor can it be supposed that Great-Britain will suffer herself to be again deceived by entering into a Treaty of Accommodation with that perfidious Power, but what fettles every Point in the Treaty, and does not refer the least Particular to Commissaries, that can possibly be disputed, in Europe, Asia, Af-

rica, and America; and not even this till his Majesty is restored to his just Rights and Possessions, and has accumulated so much additional Power into his own Hands, as can at all times compel them to an exact Execution, and punctual Observation, of the Treaty. For to come to an Accommodation with them on any other Terms is only purchasing the Name of Peace, and giving Being and Support to new Encroachments and a new War. But this the haughty

No Accommodation with the French till we've Satiffaction, & Security, against future Encroachments & Depredations.

and infolent Gallic will never submit to till heartily drubbed into it. And certainly there never was a greater Necessity, nor we cannot expect a more proper Conjuncture for this Nation's entering upon the Work than the present, whether we consider the Nature and Greatness of the Object we are to contend for, or our Ability, compared with theirs, to carry on a War however remote and discontiguous.

This Nation has often entered into War to revenge the Infults and Injures affecting its Merchants and Seamen; and H

(56)

The Necessity
of going to
War with
France.

often only to defend Foreign Princes, and to support the Ballance of Power in Europe, in Consequence of Treaties, when neither its Trade, Navigation, Territories, nor Subjects were affected. But the War that is now just

and necessary we should engage in against France, is of such a Nature as to demand all our Resentment, arouse all our Courage. Your Provinces are invaded, your Towns are burnt, many of your Plantations destroyed or deserted, your ancient and faithful Indian Allies and Subjects cut off from all Communication with you; others of your Fellow Subjects murdered, scalped, captivated, and sold at the Price of Black Slaves, and many of the rest in imminent Danger of the like melancholy Catastrophe; your fairest and best Revenues endanger'd. And all these Insults, Injuries, and Barbarities committed by the very People we have the Name of Peace with. Your Fathers resented every Instringment upon British Liberty, and shall the Blood of British Subjects, shed in an unjust and cruel Manner, cry for no Vengeance from you?

The Nature and Greatnels of the Object we are to contend for. Besides these Commands to War, if we have not reasonable and honourable Terms of Accommodation secured to us by the French forthwith, which is as vain to expect as that they will yield us up Cape-Breton & Canada voluntarily, we have the vast Importance of the Northern Colonies, upon which also depends the very Being of your

Sugar Colonies, that calls for our closest Attention and the most vigorous Efforts of the combined Nerves of the whole Empire. It is from the American Colonies our Royal Navy is supplied in a great Measure with Masts of all Sizes and other Naval Stores, as well as our Merchant Ships; it is from them we have our vast Fleets of Merchant Ships, and consequently an increase of Seamen; it is from them our Men of War in the American World are on any Occasion man'd, and our Troops there augmented and recruited; it is from them we have most of our Silver and Gold either by their Trade with Foreigners in America, or by the Way of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, in Payment for their immense Quantities of Fish, Rice, &c.

it is from them we have all our Tobacco, Rice, Rum, and most of our Sugars, Dying and other valuable Woods, Cotton-Wool, Pimento, Ginger, Indico, Whale and Liver Oil and Whale-Bone, Beaver and other Furs, Deer Skins, and innumerable. other Articles, and many of them in fuch Abundance as not only to be fufficient for our own Confumption. which otherwife must have been bought of Foreigners at excessive Prices in hard Money as formerly, but a great Excess to export to Foreigners, which increases the Ballance in our Favour with fome Countries, and lessens the Ballance against us in others; it is from them our whole African Trade receives its Support, which Trade requires vast Quantities of the Produce and Manufactures of this Country, and East-India Commodities in return for Gold-Duft, Ivory, Gums, and several Sorts of Dying Woods imported into Great-Britain; but were it not for the Colonies this could not be done, as the Trade could not be supported was it not for the vast Assistant Profit of Black Slaves for America; it is from them we shall receive, as has been proved by Experiments, all the Silk, Hemp, Flax, Iron, Pot-Ashes, Wine, Fruit, Olive Oil, Drugs, and in short all the Commodities we are now dependent upon, and have from, Foreigners in the fame Parallels of Latitude in Europe, Barbary, and Persia; it is from them great Part of the Revenue of these Kingdoms is derived; and it is from them great Part of the Wealth we see, that Credit which circulates, and those Payments that are made at the Bank and the Bankers in London refults; and they are so linked in with, and dependent upon, the American Revenues and Remittances, that if they are ruined and flopt, the whole System of Public Credit in this Country will receive a fatal Shock. But what will your Landholders, Manufacturers, Artificers, Merchants, &c. say of the Importance of your Colonies, and the Necessity of going to War to regain and preserve them entire, if it cannot be done by other Means, when they reflect that if they are loft, they will lose one Third of their Property and Business in general; for it is certain, that full one Third of our whole Export of the Produce and Manufactures of this Country is to our Colonies, and in proportion as this diminishes or increases, their Estates

Estates and Business must increase or diminish; for as in the Body Natural a Finger can't ach but the whole feels it, for in the Body Politic the remotest and most insignificant of your Colonies can't decay, but the Nation must suffer with it. Therefore the Mother Country must needs rejoice in the Security and Prosperity of every one of her Colonies, because it is her own Security and Prosperity; and the Colonies are to her as the Feet are to the Natural Body, the Support of the whole Political Frame. And they have enabled us to make the Figure we do at present, and have done for upwards of a Century past, in the Commercial World, from whence we have derived Wealth, Power and Glory, and the greatest Blesfings given Man to know. Confider then, if you ought not to direct the whole of your Counfels and Arms to support a War, wherein, with the Being of your State, you affert the Dignity of your Reputation, the Safety of your Friends, the best Branches of your Revenue, and the Properties of your Fellow Subjects.

Our Ability to War, carry on a War Object against France. our Ab

Thus much for the Necessity of going to War, and the Nature and Greatness of the Object we are to contend for: And now for our Ability to support a War vigorously and effectually.

It is certain that the Excess of the Sinking Fund, arising from the Reduction of the Interest of the National Debt, amounts to 1,300,000l. per Annum at prefent, which with the Land Tax raifed to four Shillings in the Pound will yield 2,300,000l. per Annum over and above the ordinary Services of Government. The Proprietors of the National Debt defire no Part of their Capital, but only the Interest; therefore this Sum may be applied to carry on a War, and whatever it falls deficient for the Purpose to 1757, may undoubtedly be borrowed at Three per Cent. per Annum. For such a facred Regard has been paid to public Faith and private Property, on all Occasions, fince the Revolution, that Public Credit has gradually extended from that glorious Epocha to the present Time, and we were convinced the other Day that it never was fo extensive as at present. But in 1757 the Excess of the Sink-

ing Fund will be, from the Reduction of Interest, the Salt Duty which will then be redeemed, and the Land Tax at Four Shillings in the Pound, 3,200,000/. over and above the ordinary Exigences of Government, which is sufficient to carry on such a War as this Country ought, if possible, to carry on, I mean a Naval War in all Parts of the Globe without borrowing a Shilling. But if it should be found necessary, as it always has been, to divert the Power of France in Europe from being wholly bent against this Island, which if it was you would be obliged to keep great Part of your Naval Force at home for your own Defence, and confequently annoy and diftress the Enemy the less abroad, by attacking them in Europe on the Continent, and you should want to borrow a Million or two per Annum: Such is the flourishing State of Public Credit, and must continue to be, from a Sense that the extraordinary Expence can be but temporary, and that the Revenue of 2,200,000 l. per Annum to pay off in Times of Peace is perpetual, that you can never want it. So that, however great a Paradox it may appear at first Sight, this Country never was, in point of Finances, so capable to go to War when it did not owe a Shilling, as at this Instant when it owes 72,000,000 L. For when was it that we had a standing Revenue of 2,200,000 l. besides the occasional Million from the Land Tax raised to four Shillings in the Pound, and the ordinary Services of Government? Or when was Public Credit so extensive for new Loans as at this present Time, tho' to all Appearance we are at the Eve of a War with the most formidable Nation in Europe? And has it not often happened in former Times, when the Nation owed little or nothing, and Government was in the greatest Distress for Supplies, that the People could not, or would not, either pay or lend them?

But what a great Aid will this Ability receive if the Oeconomy of our American Colonies is put upon a wife and folid Foundation for the mutual Interest of Great-Britain and her Colonies? Then they will require neither Troops nor Money from this Country for their own Desence, or to drive the French out of the New World, or any other Assistance, but that of Men of War and the Maintenance of the regular Troops

Troops that have been ordered there from hence, let the War be ever so long or discontiguous, which will be not only preventing a vast suture Expence, but the saving of the whole of the present for all America, except the regular Troops and Men of War.

A Fund more than equal to these great and necessary Services in *America* may be raised in his *Majesty's* Colonies in such a Manner,

As will free their Trade and Commerce from injudicious

and destructive Imposts and Restrictions;

As will put a compleat and final End to all illicit Trade in all our Colonies, whereby Foreign Produce and Manufactures, clandestinely introduced, shall be utterly excluded, and British Produce and Manufactures substituted in lieu of them;

As will highly please and oblige the landed and trading Interests of America in several considerable Branches, and be no more offensive to them in others than any moderate Tax for Self-defence, &c. is to the bravest and most loyal People?

As will be so apportioned as to demand no more of each Colony, or each Person, than a just and equal Share, according to their respective Abilities, compared with the whole;

As will steer clear of all the Difficulties, to the Satisfaction of King and People, in appropriating and issuing public Money complained of by the Crown, which has created the greatest Uneasiness in the Colonies;

As will not oppress, plague, and harrass them in the Col-

lection, or be mostly funk by the Collectors; And,

As will enable Government to apply it in any Part of America, so that the Strongest shall support the Weakest, and the unexposed the exposed, Colony; and all of them shall act in Concert against the Common Enemy, without any of the Risques and Disadvantages of the Albany Plan of a Union.

Upon these Principles and with these Views, I shall humbly propose a Plan in my last Chapter that appears to me to be adequate to these important Objects; and if it is carried into Execution, or some other that will produce the like Effects, we need not fear driving the French out of the New-

World, for in our Northern Colonies we have upwards of 300,000 effective Men, and the French have not 30,000 in

all New-France and Louisiani.

Now let us turn the Tables and look into the Finances of France; and here we find from Authority that they have anticipated, or funk, their whole Revenue till 1761, so that the King has

The State of the French Finances.

not a fingle Branch but what is mortgaged down to that Year at fix or seven per Cent. Interest, and which even he cannot resume without destroying the whole System of public Credit in his Kingdom. But by renewing some Taxes he took off foon after the late War, and levying the twentieth Penny upon the Clergy, he will be enabled to borrow, at exorbitant Interest, immense Sums till his other Revenues are redeemed. However this must make his People, with the other peculiar Diffresses accompanying a War with us, very uneasy; and his Power must be greatly enervated to what it would be if his usual Revenues were unincumbered. as to his North-American Colonies, he can't raise a Shilling in them for their Defence, which with his paying upwards of 1,000,000 l. Sterling per Annum in Subsidies to foreign Princes, gives the best Opportunity we can ever expect, from his Finances, to attack and reduce his dangerous Power.

Our Fleet confifts of more than double the Number of Ships and Guns that the French Fleet does. But if the French go on upon the Plain for restoring their Navy, that they have pursued ever fince the Peace of Aix La Chapelle, their Fleet will in 1761 confift of a hundred and twenty Ships of the Line, and it does not exceed fixty-four of that Size now in the Water and building. Therefore nothing but a War can prevent this Branch of their Power from becoming

too great for our Controul, and whenever this shall be the

The British and French Fleets com-

Ca'e, adieu to all that is dear and valuable in this Country. Notwithstanding the Dutch are sunk lower in the Political World, than ever their Country was in the Watery, we have a new and more powerful Ally of our own creating than ever they were by Land, in the Empress Queen; to her

British and French Alliances compared.

we are to add the Empress of Russia, the King of Poland, who is a Subsidiary Ally of ours, the King Elector of Hanover, the Prince of Hesse, the Elector of Bavaria, who is a Subfidiary Ally of ours also, and the King of Sardinia. In opposition to these, France has the Kings of Sweden, Denmark, and Pruffia, to whom the pays annually in Subfidies 725,0001. Sterling; and the Elector of Cologne, who has also a Subsidy from her, who it is more than possible are all the Allies she can depend upon in case of a War with us; for Spain, it is almost impossible to imagine will interfere as she can have no Interest in the Quarrel, and it is more effential to her to preferve Peace with Great-Britain than all the other Powers of Europe; and if the does not meddle, it is highly probable neither Parma nor Naples will, as those two Courts are greatly supported and influenced by Spain. But to admit Spain does join France and declare against us, her Navy added to that of France will then be no more than equal to that of ours in Ships and Guns, and the Spaniards cannot man their Fleet, nor the French victual theirs, in time of War, so as to act with full and combined Force at once. Therefore if this should be the Case, we shall have nothing to fear but upon the Continent. of Europe, where there can be no other Authority at present than mereConjecture for what part ourAllies, or those of France, will act, or how far either Side shall make it the Interest of fome of the Powers in alliance to maintain a Neutrality, and others to take the Field. But I believe no Person that knows the Interest and Abilities of the several Allies mentioned, will deny, but that we are now not only more able to divert the Force of France from this Island, than in the late War, but that we shall be capable of acting offensively, and perhaps so effectually, as to give us an Opportunity to employ the whole of our Fleet in annoying and diffreshing the Enemy at Sea in all Parts, and to be able to retain whatever we recover or conquer in the New-World. But to suppose we and our Allies should be beat and distressed upon the Continent of Europe, it is only giving up some one or other of ourConquests in America, and we may whenever we please, or the general State of Europe requires it, reconcile jarring Interests and purchase Repose.

Repose. This was experienced in the late War by the Redition of Cape-Breton. And as this was the case by the single Conquest of Cape-Breton, when France was in Possession of Madrass and the Netherlands, and Holland lay at their Mercy, with an infinitely superior Army in the Field to that of the Allies, slushed with a long Course of uninterrupted Victories, what Terms cannot you command for yourselves and your Allies, when you have all their American Colonies in your Possession; which, with proper Conduct, and the Blessing of God, that we are the more intitled to expect from the Justice of our Cause, must be the Case in a few Years after War commences?

To these Considerations it may not be mala'propos to add, that his *Majesty* having ever made the Laws of the Land the Rule of his Actions, and exercised the Prerogatives of the Crown with that Mildness, Justice, and Propriety as on all Occasions to make them, what they were by our excellent Constitution of Government intended for, a Blessing to the People; and his having employed for a Number of Years that upright, moderate, impartial, prudent and

The Zeal and Unanimity of his Majesty's Subjects, a further Encouragement for us to go to War.

wife Minister, who was lately too suddenly snatched to Glorv. the Minds of Men have been reconciled, and his Majesty, his Family, and his Government are established in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects unanimously, which is the strongest and best Basis a Throne can be founded upon. Therefore France, nor any other Enemy of his Majesty, his Government, and these Kingdoms, cannot have the least Encouragement to hope for a Rebellion in this Country, or the least Countenance and affistance in invading it from amongst ourselves. And a War with France must appear so just and necessary to every Man, and our Ability to carry it on so superior to whatever it was at any other time, that it is impossible but the whole People should be unanimous for it, and their whole Thoughts bent upon no other public Enterprize, but revenging the Wrongs and Indignities imposed upon

upon us by France. And this they have given an Earnest of, by the unparallelled Spirit and vigorous Assistance all Ranks, in all Parts, have exhibited on the Prospect of a War.

Upon the whole, such is the State of our Affairs in every part of his Majesty's Dominions, the State of France, and the general State of Europe, that we never can expect such another favourable Coincidence of such a Variety of Considerations for entering into a War with France, to maintain our Honour and Instruct, our Colonies, our Commerce and Riches, indeed our Lives and Liberties. And it is absurd to suppose we shall ever be stronger for a War, in Proportion to the growing Power of France, than we are now.

The End of the THIRD CHAPTER.

The Author of the foregoing gives Notice, that the rest of this Work will be published with all possible Dispatch in London; and as we may expect the other Copy by the first Vessel from thence, it will be published here for the great Benefit to the Plantations in general.



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