

A portrait of Benjamin Franklin, an elderly man with long, wavy, grey hair, wearing a white, high-collared coat. He is looking slightly to the right of the viewer with a serious expression. The background is dark and indistinct.

**THE WORKS OF
BENJAMIN
FRANKLIN**

VOLUME 6: 1772 - 1775

The Works of Benjamin
Franklin

Volume 6

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

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**CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEOUS
WRITINGS
1772 - 1775**

**CCCCLXX: SETTLEMENT ON THE OHIO RIVER
DR. FRANKLIN'S ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING
REPORT (*Continued.*)**

From the foregoing detail of facts it is obvious—

1. That the country southward of the Great Kenhawa, at least as far as the Cherokee River, originally belonged to the Shawanese.

2. That the Six Nations, in virtue of their conquest of the Shawanese, became the lawful proprietors of that country.

3. That the king, in consequence of the grant from the Six Nations, made to his Majesty at Fort Stanwix in 1768, is now vested with the undoubted right and property thereof.

4. That the Cherokees never resided nor hunted in that country, and have not any kind of right to it.

5. That the House of Burgesses of the colony of Virginia have, upon good grounds, asserted (such as properly arise from the nature of their stations and proximity to the Cherokee country) that the Cherokees had not any just pretensions to the territory southward of the Great Kenhawa.

And, lastly, that neither the Six Nations, the Shawanese, nor Delawares do now reside or hunt in that country.

From these considerations it is evident no possible injury can arise to his Majesty's service, to the Six Nations and their confederacy, or to the Cherokees, by permitting us to settle the whole of the lands comprehended within our contract with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. If, however, there has been any treaty held with the Six Nations, since the cession made to his Majesty at Fort Stanwix, whereby the faith of the crown is pledged both to the Six Nations and the Cherokees, that no settlements should be made beyond the line marked on their Lordships' report; we say, if such an agreement has been made by the orders of government with these tribes (notwithstanding, as the Lords Commissioners have acknowledged, "the Six Nations had ceded the property in the lands to his Majesty"), we flatter ourselves that the objection of their Lordships in the second paragraph of their report will be entirely obviated, by a specific clause being inserted in the king's grant to us, expressly prohibiting us from settling any part of the same, until such time as we shall have first obtained his Majesty's allowance, and full consent of the Cherokees, and the Six Nations and their confederates for that purpose.

III. In regard to the third paragraph of their Lordships' report, that it was the principle of the Board of Trade, after the treaty of Paris, "to confine the western extent of settlements to such a distance from the sea-coast, as that these settlements should lie within the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom," etc., we shall not presume to controvert it; but it may be observed that the settlement of the country over the Alleghany Mountains, and on the Ohio, was not understood, either before the treaty of Paris, nor intended to be so considered by his Majesty's proclamation of October, 1763, "as without the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom," etc.; for, in the year 1748, Mr. John Hanbury, and a number of other gentlemen, petitioned the king for a grant of five hundred thousand

acres of land over the Alleghany Mountains, and on the river Ohio and its branches; and the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations were then pleased to report to the Lords committee of his Majesty's most honorable Privy Council, "That the settlement of the country lying to the westward of the great mountains, as it was the centre of the British dominions, would be for his Majesty's interest and the advantage and security of Virginia and the neighboring colonies."

And on the 23d of February, 1748-9, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations again reported to the Lords of the committee of the Privy Council, that they had "fully set forth the great utility and advantage of extending our settlements beyond the great mountains ('which report has been approved of by your Lordships'); and as, by these new proposals, there is a great probability of having a much larger tract of the said country settled than under the former, we are of opinion that it will be greatly for his Majesty's service, and the welfare and security of Virginia, to comply with the prayer of the petition."

And on the 16th of March, 1748-9, an instruction was sent to the governor of Virginia to grant five hundred thousand acres of land over the Alleghany Mountains to the aforesaid Mr. Hanbury and his partners (who are now part of the company of Mr. Walpole and his associates); and that instruction sets forth that "such settlements will be for our interest, and the advantage and security of our said colony, as well as the advantage of the neighboring ones; inasmuch as our loving subjects will be thereby enabled to cultivate a friendship, and carry on a more extensive commerce, with the nations of Indians inhabiting those parts; and such examples may likewise induce the neighboring colonies to turn their thoughts towards designs of the same nature." Hence, we apprehend, it is evident that a former Board of Trade, at which the late Lord Halifax presided, was of

opinion that settlements over the Alleghany Mountains were not against the king's interest, nor at such a distance from the sea-coast, as to be without "the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom," nor where its authority or jurisdiction could not be exercised. But the report under consideration suggests that two capital objects of the proclamation of 1763 were, to confine future settlements to the "sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest" (or, in other words, to the eastern side of the Alleghany Mountains), and to the three new governments of Canada, East Florida, and West Florida; and to establish this fact, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations recite a part of that proclamation.

But if the whole of this proclamation is considered, it will be found to contain the nine following heads, viz.: ^{Ref. 002}

1. To declare to his Majesty's subjects that he had erected four distinct and separate governments in America, viz., Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Granada.

2. To ascertain the respective boundaries of these four new governments.

3. To testify the royal sense and approbation of the conduct and bravery, both of the officers and soldiers of the king's army, and of the reduced officers of the navy, who had served in North America, and to reward them by grants of land in Quebec, and in East and West Florida, without fee or reward.

4. To hinder the governors of Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida from granting warrants of survey, or passing patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments.

5. To forbid the governors of any other colonies or plantations in America from granting warrants or passing patents for lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or

northwest, or upon any lands whatever “which, not having been ceded to or purchased by the king, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.”

6. To reserve, “for the present,” under the king’s sovereignty, protection, and dominion, “for the use of the said Indians,” all the lands not included within the limits of the said three new governments, or within the limits of the Hudson’s Bay Company; as also all the lands lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest, and forbidding the king’s subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of the lands so reserved, without his Majesty’s leave and license first obtained.

7. To require all persons who had made settlements on land not purchased by the king from the Indians, to remove from such settlements.

8. To regulate the future purchases of lands from the Indians, within such parts as his Majesty, by that proclamation, permitted settlements to be made upon.

9. To declare that the trade with the Indians should be free and open to all his Majesty’s subjects, and to prescribe the manner how it shall be carried on.

And, lastly, to require all military officers, and the superintendent of Indian affairs, to seize and apprehend all persons who stood charged with treasons, murders, etc., and who had fled from justice and taken refuge in the reserved lands of the Indians, to send such persons to the colony where they stood accused.

From this proclamation, therefore, it is obvious that the sole design of it, independent of the establishment of the three new governments, ascertaining their respective boundaries, rewarding the officers and soldiers, regulating the Indian trade, and apprehending felons, was to convince the Indians “of his Majesty’s justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent,” by interdicting all settlements on land not ceded to, or

purchased by, his Majesty; and declaring it to be, as we have already mentioned, his royal will and pleasure, “for the present, to reserve, under his sovereignty, protection and dominion, for the use of the Indians, all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest.” Can any words express more decisively the royal intention? Do they not explicitly mention that the territory is, at present, reserved, under his Majesty’s protection, for the use of the Indians? And as the Indians had no use for those lands which are bounded westerly by the southeast side of the river Ohio, either for residence or hunting, they were willing to sell them; and accordingly did sell them to the king in November, 1768, the occasion of which sale will be fully explained in our observations on the succeeding paragraphs of the report. Of course, the proclamation, so far as it regarded the settlement of the lands included within that purchase, has absolutely and undoubtedly ceased. The late Mr. Grenville, who was, at the time of issuing this proclamation, the minister of this kingdom, always admitted that the design of it was totally accomplished, so soon as the country was purchased from the natives.

IV. In this paragraph the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations mention two reasons for his Majesty’s entering into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a more precise and determinate boundary line than was settled by the proclamation of October, 1763, viz.:

First—Partly for want of precision in the one intended to be marked by the proclamation of 1763.

Secondly—And partly from a consideration of justice in regard to legal titles to lands.

We have, we presume, fully proved, in our observations on the third paragraph, that the design of the proclamation, so far as related to lands westward of the Alleghany Mountains, was for no other purpose than to reserve them,

under his Majesty's protection, for the present, for the use of the Indians; to which we shall only add that the line established by the proclamation, so far as it concerned the lands in question, could not possibly be fixed and described with more *precision* than the proclamation itself describes it; for it declares that "all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest," should be reserved under his Majesty's protection.

Neither, in our opinion, was his Majesty induced to enter into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a more precise and determinate boundary, "partly from a consideration of justice, in regard to legal titles to lands," for there were none such (as we shall prove) comprehended within the tract now under consideration.

But for a full comprehension of all the reasons for his Majesty's "entering into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a more precise and determinate boundary line" than was settled by the royal proclamation of October, 1763, we shall take the liberty of stating the following facts. In the year 1764, the king's ministers had it then in contemplation to obtain an act of Parliament for the proper regulation of the Indian commerce, and providing a fund, by laying a duty on the trade, for the support of superintendents, commissaries, interpreters, etc., at particular forts in the Indian country, where the trade was to be carried on; and as a part of this system it was thought proper, in order to avoid future complaints from the Indians, on account of encroachments on their hunting-grounds, to purchase a large tract of territory from them, and establish, with their consent, a respectable boundary line, beyond which his Majesty's subjects should not be permitted to settle.

In consequence of this system, orders were transmitted to Sir William Johnson, in the year 1764, to call together the Six Nations, lay this proposition of the boundary before them, and take their opinion upon it. This, we apprehend,

will appear evident from the following speech, made by Sir William to the Six Nations, at a conference which he held with them at Johnson Hall, May the 2d, 1765.

“Brethren:

The last, but the most important affair I have at this time to mention is, with regard to the settling a boundary between you and the English. I sent a message to some of your nation some time ago, to acquaint you that I should confer with you at this meeting upon it. The king, whose generosity and forgiveness you have already experienced, being very desirous to put a final end to disputes between his people and you concerning lands, and to do you strict justice, has fallen upon the plan of a boundary between our provinces and the Indians, which no white man shall dare to invade, as the best and surest method of ending such like disputes, and securing your property to you beyond a possibility of disturbance. This will, I hope, appear to you so reasonable, so just on the part of the king, and so advantageous to you and your posterity, that I can have no doubt of your cheerfully joining with me in settling such a division line, as will be best for the advantage of both white men and Indians, and as shall best agree with the extent and increase of each province, and the governors, whom I shall consult upon that occasion, so soon as I am fully empowered; but in the meantime I am desirous to know in what manner you would choose to extend it, and what you will agree heartily to, and abide by, in general terms. At the same time I am to acquaint you that whenever the whole is settled, and that it shall appear you have so far consulted the increasing state of our people as to make any convenient cessions of ground where it is most wanted, then you will receive a considerable present in return for your friendship.”

To this speech the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, after conferring some time among themselves, gave an answer to Sir William Johnson, and agreed to the

proposition of the boundary line; which answer, and the other transactions of this conference, Sir William transmitted to the office of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

From a change of the administration, which formed the above system of obtaining an act of Parliament for regulating the Indian trade and establishing the boundary line, or from some other public cause, unknown to us, no measures were adopted, until the latter end of the year 1767, for completing the negotiations about this boundary line. But in the meantime, viz., between the years 1765 and 1768, the king's subjects removed in great numbers from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and settled over the mountains; upon which account the Six Nations became so irritated that in the year 1766 they killed several persons, and denounced a general war against the middle colonies; and to appease them, and to avoid such a public calamity, a detachment from the forty-second regiment of foot was that year sent from the garrison of Fort Pitt, to remove such settlers as were seated at Red-Stone Creek, etc.; but the endeavors and threats of this detachment proved ineffectual, and they returned to the garrison without being able to execute their orders. The complaints of the Six Nations, however, continuing and increasing, on account of the settling of their lands over the mountains, General Gage wrote to the governor of Pennsylvania on the 7th of December, 1767, and after mentioning these complaints, he observed:

“You are a witness how little attention has been paid to the several proclamations that have been published, and that even the removing those people from the lands in question, which was attempted this summer by the garrison at Fort Pitt, has been only a temporary expedient. We learn they are returned again to the same encroachments, on Red-Stone Creek and Cheat River, in greater numbers than ever.”

On the 5th of January, 1768, the governor of Pennsylvania sent a message to the General Assembly of the province, with the foregoing letter from General Gage; and on the 13th the Assembly, in the conclusion of a message to the governor on the subject of Indian complaints, observed:

“To obviate which cause of their discontent, and effectually to establish between them and his Majesty’s subjects a durable peace, we are of opinion that a speedy confirmation of the boundary, and a just satisfaction made to them for their lands on this side of it, are absolutely necessary. By this means all their present complaints of encroachments will be removed, and the people on our frontiers will have a sufficient country to settle or hunt in, without interfering with them.”

On the 19th of January, 1768, Mr. Galloway, the Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and the committee of correspondence, wrote on the subject of the Indians’ disquietude, by order of the House, to their agents, Richard Jackson and Benjamin Franklin in London, and therein they said:

“That the delay of the confirmation of the boundary the natives have warmly complained of, and that, although they have received no consideration for the lands agreed to be ceded to the crown on our side of the boundary, yet that its subjects are daily settling and occupying those very lands.”

In April, 1768, the legislature of Pennsylvania finding that the expectations of an Indian war were hourly increasing, occasioned by the settlement of the lands over the mountains, not sold by the natives, and flattering themselves that orders would soon arrive from England for the perfection of the boundary line, they voted the sum of one thousand pounds, to be given as a present, in blankets, strouds, etc., to the Indians upon the Ohio, with a view of moderating their resentment until these orders should arrive. And the governor of Pennsylvania being informed that a treaty was soon to be held at Fort Pitt by George

Croghan, deputy agent of Indian affairs, by order of General Gage and Sir William Johnson, he sent his secretary and another gentleman, as commissioners from the province, to deliver the above present to the Indians at Fort Pitt.

On the 2d of May, 1768, the Six Nations made the following speech at that conference:

“Brother:

It is not without grief that we see our country settled by you, without our knowledge or consent and it is a long time since we complained to you of this grievance, which we find has not as yet been redressed; but settlements are still extending farther into our country; some of them are made directly on our war-path, leading into our enemies’ country, and we do not like it. Brother, you have laws among you to govern your people by; and it will be the strongest proof of the sincerity of your friendship, to let us see that you remove the people from our lands; as we look upon it, they will have time enough to settle them, when you have purchased them, and the country becomes yours.”

The Pennsylvania commissioners, in answer to this speech, informed the Six Nations that the governor of that province had sent four gentlemen with his proclamation and the act of assembly (making it felony of death without benefit of clergy, to continue on Indian lands) to such settlers over the mountains as were seated within the limits of Pennsylvania, requiring them to vacate their settlements, but all to no avail; that the governor of Virginia had likewise, to as little purpose, issued his proclamations and orders; and that General Gage had twice ineffectually sent parties of soldiers to remove the settlers from Red-Stone Creek and Monongahela.

As soon as Mr. Jackson and Dr. Franklin received the foregoing instructions from the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, they waited upon the American minister, and urged the expediency and necessity of the boundary line

being speedily concluded; and, in consequences thereof, additional orders were immediately transmitted to Sir William Johnson for that purpose.

It is plain, therefore, that the proclamation of October, 1763, was not designed, as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have suggested, to signify the policy of this kingdom against settlements over the Alleghany Mountains, after the king had actually purchased the territory; and that the true reasons for purchasing the lands comprised within that boundary were to avoid an Indian rupture, and give an opportunity to the king's subjects quietly and lawfully to settle thereon.

V. Whether the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations are well founded in their declarations, that the lands under consideration "are out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom," shall be fully considered in our observations on the sixth paragraph; and, as to "the various propositions for erecting new colonies in the interior parts," which, their Lordships say, "have been, in consequence of the extension of the boundary line, submitted to the consideration of government, particularly in that part of the country wherein are situated the lands now prayed for, and the dangers of complying with such proposals have been so obvious as to defeat every attempt for carrying them into execution," we shall only observe on this paragraph, that, as we do not know what these propositions were, or upon what principle the proposers have been defeated, it is impossible for us to judge whether they are any ways applicable to our case. Consistent, however, with our knowledge, no more than one proposition for the settlement of a part of the lands in question has been presented to government, and that was from Dr. Lee, thirty-two other Americans, and two Londoners, in the year 1768, praying that his Majesty would grant to them, without any purchase money two millions five hundred thousand acres of land, in one or

more surveys, to be located between the thirty-eighth and forty-second degrees of latitude, over the Alleghany Mountains, and on condition of their possessing these lands twelve years without the payment of any quit-rent, (the same not to begin until the whole two millions five hundred thousand acres were surveyed,) and that they should be obliged to settle two hundred families in twelve years. Surely, the Lords Commissioners did not mean this proposition as one that was similar and would apply to the case now reported upon; and especially as Dr. Lee and his associates did not propose, as we do, either to purchase the lands, or pay the quit-rents to his Majesty, neat and clear of all deductions, or be at the whole expense of establishing and maintaining the civil government of the country.

VI. In the sixth paragraph the Lords Commissioners observe that “every argument on the subject, respecting the settlement of the lands in that part of the country now prayed for, is collected together with great force and precision in a representation made to his Majesty by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in March, 1768.”

That it may be clearly understood, what was the occasion of this representation, we shall take the liberty of mentioning that, on the 1st of October, 1767, and during the time that the Earl of Shelburne was Secretary of State for the southern department, an idea was entertained of forming, “at the expense of the crown,” three new governments in North America, viz.: one at Detroit, on the waters between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, one in the Illinois country, and one on the lower part of the river Ohio; and, in consequence of such idea, a reference was made by his Lordship to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, for their opinion upon these proposed new governments.

Having explained the cause of the representation, which is so very strongly and earnestly insisted upon by the Lords

Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, as containing “every argument on the subject of the lands which is at present before your Lordships,” we shall now give our reasons for apprehending that it is so far from applying against our case, that it actually declares a permission would be given to settle the very lands in question.

Three principal reasons are assigned in the representation, as conducive to “the great object of colonizing upon the continent of North America,” viz.:

First—Promoting the advantageous fishery carried on upon the northern coast.

Secondly—Encouraging the growth and culture of naval stores, and of raw materials, to be transported hither, in exchange for perfect manufactures and other merchandise.

Thirdly—Securing a supply of lumber, provisions, and other necessaries, for the support of our establishments in the American islands.

On the first of these reasons, we apprehend, it is not necessary for us to make many observations; as the provinces of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and the colonies southward of them, have not, and from the nature of their situation and commerce will not, promote the fishery more, it is conceived, than the proposed Ohio colony. These provinces are, however, beneficial to this kingdom in culture and exportation of different articles; as it is humbly presumed the Ohio colony will likewise be, if the production of staple commodities is allowed to be within that description.

On the second and third general reasons of the representation, we shall observe that no part of his Majesty’s dominions in North America will require less encouragement “for the growth and culture of naval stores and raw materials, and for the supplying the islands with lumber, provisions,” etc., than the solicited colony on the Ohio; and for the following reasons:

First. The lands in question are excellent, the climate temperate; the native grapes, silk-worms, and mulberry-trees are everywhere; hemp grows spontaneously in the valleys and low lands; iron ore is plenty in the hills; and no soil is better adapted for the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

Secondly. The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; and by which, and a short land carriage of only forty miles, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now, be sent cheaper to the seaport town of Alexandria, on the river Potomac (where General Braddock's transports landed his troops), than any kind of merchandise is at this time sent from Northampton to London.

Thirdly. The river Ohio is, at all seasons of the year, navigable for large boats, like the west country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and, from January to the month of April, large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, to this kingdom.

Fourthly. Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other necessaries can be sent down the stream of Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia.

Fifthly. Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles can also be sent down the stream of the Ohio to the sea, at least fifty per centum cheaper than these articles were ever carried by land carriage, of only sixty miles, in Pennsylvania; where wagonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

Sixthly. The expense of transporting British manufactures from the sea to the Ohio colony will not be so much as is now paid, and must ever be paid, to a great part of the counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland.

From this state of facts, we apprehend, it is clear that the lands in question are altogether capable, and will advantageously admit, from their fertility, situation, and

the small expense attending the exporting the produce of them to this kingdom, of conducing to “the great object of colonizing upon the continent of North America”; but, that we may more particularly elucidate this important point, we shall take the freedom of observing that it is not disputed, but even acknowledged by the very report now under consideration, that the climate and the soil of the Ohio are as favorable as we have described them; and, as to the native silk-worms, it is a truth that above ten thousand weight of cocoons was, in August, 1771, sold at the public filature in Philadelphia; and that the silk produced from the native worm is of a good quality, and has been much approved of in this city.

As to hemp, we are ready to make it appear that it grows as we have represented, spontaneously, and of a good texture, on the Ohio. When, therefore, the increasing dependence of this kingdom upon Russia for this very article is considered, and that none has been exported from the sea-coast American colonies, as their soil will not easily produce it, this dependence must surely be admitted as a subject of great national consequence, and worthy of the serious attention of government. Nature has pointed out to us, where any quantity of hemp can be soon and easily raised; and by that means, not only a large amount of specie may be retained yearly in this kingdom, but our own subjects can be employed most advantageously, and paid in the manufactures of this kingdom. The state of the Russian trade is briefly thus:

From the year 1722 to 1731, two hundred and fifty ships were, on a medium, sent each year to St. Petersburg, Narva, Riga, and Archangel, for ships hemp	250
And from the year 1762 to 1771, five hundred ships were also sent for that purpose	500
Increase in ten years	250 ships

Here, then, it is obvious that in the last ten years there was, on a medium, an increase of two hundred and fifty ships in the Russian trade. Can it be consistent with the wisdom and policy of the greatest naval and commercial nation in the world, to depend wholly on foreigners for the supply of an article, in which is included the very existence of her navy and commerce? Surely not; and especially when God has blessed us with a country yielding naturally the very commodity which draws our money from us, and renders us dependent on Russia for it. ^{Ref. 003}

As we have only hitherto generally stated the small expense of carriage between the waters of the Potomac and those of the Ohio, we shall now endeavor to show how very ill-founded the Lords of Trade and Plantations are, in the fifth paragraph of their report, viz., that the lands in question “are out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom.” In order, however, that a proper opinion may be formed on this important article, we shall take the liberty of stating the particular expense of carriage, even during the last French war, when there was no back carriage from Ohio to Alexandria; as it will be found, it was even then only about a halfpenny per pound, as will appear from the following account, the truth of which we shall fully ascertain, viz.:

From Alexandria to Fort Cumberland, by water, per hundred weight	1s. 7d.
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From Fort Cumberland to Red— Stone Creek, at fourteen dollars per wagon—load, each wagon carrying fifteen hundred weight	4 2
	5s. 9d.

Note.—The distance was then seventy miles, but by a new wagon road, lately made, it is now but forty miles; a saving of course of above one half the 5s. 9d. is at present experienced.

If it is considered that this rate of carriage was in time of war, and when there were no inhabitants on the Ohio, we cannot doubt but every intelligent mind will be satisfied that it is now much less than is daily paid in London for the carriage of coarse woollens, cutlery, iron-ware, etc., from several counties in England.

The following is the cost of carriage from Birmingham, etc., viz.:

From Birmingham	to	4s.	per
London, is			cwt.
From Walsall	in	5	per
Staffordshire			cwt.
From Sheffield		8	per
			cwt.
From Warrington		7	per
			cwt.

If the lands which are at present under consideration are, as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations say, “out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom,” we are at a loss to conceive by what standard that board calculates the rate of “advantageous intercourse.” If the king’s subjects, settled over the Alleghany Mountains, and on the Ohio, within the new-erected county of Bedford, in the province of Pennsylvania, are altogether clothed with British manufactures, as is the case, is that county “out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom?” If merchants in London are now actually shipping British manufactures for the use of the very settlers on the lands in question, does that exportation come within the Lords

Commissioners' description of what is "out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom?" In short, the Lords Commissioners admit, upon their own principles, that it is a political and advantageous intercourse with this kingdom, when the settlements and settlers are confined to the eastern side of the Alleghany Mountains. Shall, then, the expense of carriage, even of the very coarsest and heaviest cloths, or other articles, from the mountains to the Ohio, only about seventy miles, and which will not at most increase the price of carriage above a halfpenny a yard, convert the trade and connection with the settlers on the Ohio into a predicament "that shall be," as the Lords Commissioners have said, "out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom"?

On the whole, "if the poor Indians in the remote parts of North America, are now able to pay for the linens, woollens, and iron-ware they are furnished with by English traders, though Indians have nothing but what they get by hunting, and the goods are loaded with all the impositions fraud and knavery can contrive to enhance their value, will not industrious English farmers," employed in the culture of hemp, flax, silk, etc., "be able to pay for what shall be brought to them in the fair way of commerce"; and especially when it is remembered that there is no other allowable market for the sale of these articles, than in this kingdom? And if "the growths of the country find their way out of it, will not the manufactures of this kingdom, where the hemp, etc., must be sent to, find their way into it?"

Whether Nova Scotia, and East and West Florida have yielded advantages and returns equal to the enormous sums expended in founding and supporting them, or even advantages such as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in their representation of 1768, seemed to expect, it is not our business to investigate; it is, we presume, sufficient for us to mention that those "many principal persons in Pennsylvania," as is observed in the

representation “whose names and association lie before your Majesty in Council, for the purpose of making settlements in Nova Scotia,” have, several years since, been convinced of the impracticability of exciting settlers to move from the middle colonies and settle in that province; and even of those who were prevailed on to go to Nova Scotia, the greater part of them returned with great complaints against the severity and length of the winters.

As to East and West Florida, it is, we are persuaded, morally impossible to force the people of the middle provinces, between thirty-seven and forty degrees north latitude, (where there is plenty of vacant land in their own temperate climate,) to remove to the scorching, unwholesome heats of those provinces. ^{Ref. 004} The inhabitants of Montpellier might as soon and easily be persuaded to remove to the northern parts of Russia, or to Senegal.

In short, it is contending with nature, and the experience of all ages, to attempt to compel a people born and living in a temperate climate, and in the neighborhood of a rich, healthful, and uncultivated country, to travel several hundred miles to a seaport in order to make a voyage to sea, and settle either in extreme hot or cold latitudes. If the county of York was vacant and uncultivated, and the more southern inhabitants of this island were in want of land, would they suffer themselves to be driven to the north of Scotland? Would they not, in spite of all opposition, first possess themselves of that fertile county? Thus much we have thought necessary to remark, in respect to the general principles laid down in the representation of 1768; and we hope we have shown that the arguments therein made use of do not in any degree militate against the subject in question, but that they were intended and do solely apply to “new colonies proposed to be established,” as the representation says, “at an expense to this kingdom,

at the distance of above fifteen hundred miles from the sea, which, from their inability to find returns wherewith to pay for the manufactures of Great Britain, will be probably led to manufacture for themselves, as they would," continues the representation, "be separated from the old colonies by immense tracts of unpeopled desert."

It now only remains for us to inquire whether it was the intention of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in 1768, that the territory which would be included within the boundary line then negotiating with the Indians (and which was the one that was that year perfected) should continue a useless wilderness, or be settled and occupied by his Majesty's subjects.

The very representation itself, which, the present Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations say, contains "every argument on the subject," furnishes us an ample and satisfactory solution to this important question. The Lords Commissioners in 1768, after pronouncing their opinion against the proposed three new governments, as above stated, declare "they ought to be carefully guarded against, by encouraging the settlement of that extensive tract of sea-coast hitherto unoccupied; which," say their Lordships, "together with the liberty the inhabitants of the middle colonies will have (in consequence of the proposed boundary line with the Indians) of gradually extending themselves backwards, will more effectually and beneficially answer the object of encouraging population and consumption, than the erection of new governments; such gradual extension might, through the medium of a continual population, upon even the same extent of territory, preserve a communication of mutual commercial benefits between its extremest parts and Great Britain, impossible to exist in colonies separated by immense tracts of unpeopled desert.

Can any opinion be more clear and conclusive in favor of the proposition which we have humbly submitted to his

Majesty? For their Lordships positively say that the inhabitants of the middle colonies *will have* liberty of gradually extending themselves *backwards*. But is it not very extraordinary that after near two years' deliberation the present Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations should make a report to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, and therein expressly refer to that opinion of 1768, in which they say "every argument on the subject is collected together with great force and precision," and yet that almost in the same breath their Lordships should contravene that very opinion, and advise his Majesty "to check the progress of these settlements," and that "settlements in that distant part of the country ought to be discouraged as much as possible, and another proclamation should be issued declaratory of his Majesty's resolution, not to allow for the present any new settlement beyond the line," to wit, beyond the Alleghany Mountains? How strange and contradictory is this conduct! But we forbear any strictures upon it, and shall conclude our remarks on this head by stating the opinion at different times of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations on this subject.

In 1748 their Lordships expressed the strongest desire to promote settlements over the mountains and on the Ohio.

In 1768 the then Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations declared (in consequence of the boundary line at that time negotiating) that the inhabitants of the middle colonies would have liberty of gradually extending themselves backwards.

In 1770 the Earl of Hillsborough actually recommended the purchase of a tract of land over the mountains sufficient for a new colony, and then went down to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to know whether their Lordships would treat with Mr. Walpole and his associates for such purchase.

In 1772 the Earl of Hillsborough and the other Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations made a report on the petition of Mr. Walpole and his associates, and referred to the representation of the Board of Trade in 1768 "as containing every argument on the subject, collected together with force and precision," which representation declared, as we have shown, "that the inhabitants of the middle colonies will have liberty to extend backwards" on the identical lands in question, and yet, notwithstanding such reference, so strongly made from the present Board of Trade to the opinion of that board, the Earl of Hillsborough and the other Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have now, in direct terms, reported against the absolute engagement and opinion of the board in 1768.

It may be asked, what was intended by the expressions in the representation of 1768 "of gradually extending themselves backwards"? It is answered, they were only in contradistinction to the proposal of erecting at that time three new governments at Detroit, etc., and "thereby exciting," as the representation says, "the stream of population to various distant places." In short, it was, we think, beyond all doubt, the "precise" opinion of the Lords Commissioners in 1768, that the territory within the boundary line then negotiating and since completed, would be sufficient at that time to answer the object of population and consumption, and that until that territory was fully occupied, it was not necessary to erect the proposed three new governments "at an expense to this kingdom," in places, as their Lordships observed, "separated by immense tracts of unpeopled desert."

To conclude our observations on the sixth paragraph, we would just remark that we presume we have demonstrated that the inhabitants of the middle colonies cannot be compelled to exchange the soil and climate of these colonies, either for the severe colds of Nova Scotia and Canada, or the unwholesome heats of East and West

Florida. Let us next inquire what would be the effect of confining these inhabitants, it if was practicable, within narrow bounds, and thereby preventing them from exercising their natural inclination of cultivating lands; and whether such restriction would not force them into manufactures, to rival the mother country. To these questions, the Lords Commissioners have with much candor replied, in their representation of 1768. "We admit," said their Lordships, "as an undeniable principle of true policy, that, with a view to prevent manufactures, it is necessary and proper to open an extent of territory for colonization, proportioned to an increase of people, as a large number of inhabitants, cooped up in narrow limits, without a sufficiency of land for produce, would be compelled to convert their attention and industry to manufactures." But their Lordships at the same time observe: "That the encouragement given to the settlement of the colonies upon the sea-coast, and the effect which such encouragement has had, has already effectually provided for this object."

In what parts of North America this encouragement has thus provided for population, their Lordships have not mentioned. If the establishment of the government of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and the island of St. John's, or East and West Florida, was intended by their Lordships as that effectual provision, we shall presume to deny the proposition, by asserting, as an undoubted truth, that, although there is at least a million of subjects in the middle colonies, none have emigrated from thence, and settled in these new provinces; and for that reason, and from the very nature of colonization itself, we affirm that none will ever be induced to exchange the healthy, temperate climate of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, for the extreme colds or heats of Canada and Nova Scotia, or East and West Florida.

In short, it is not in the power of government to give any encouragement, that can compensate for a desertion of friends and neighbors, dissolution of family connection, and abandoning a soil and climate infinitely superior to those of Canada, Nova Scotia, or the Floridas. Will not therefore the inhabitants of the middle provinces, whose population is great beyond example, ^{Ref. 005} and who have already made some advances in manufactures, “by confining them to their present narrow limits,” be necessarily compelled to convert their whole attention to that object? How then shall this, in the nature of things, be prevented, except, as the Lords Commissioners have justly remarked, “by opening an extent of territory proportioned to their increase?” But where shall a territory be found proper for “the colonization of the inhabitants of the middle colonies”? We answer, in the very country which the Lords Commissioners have said that the inhabitants of these colonies would have liberty to settle in; a country which his Majesty has purchased from the Six Nations; one where several thousands of his subjects are already settled; and one where, the Lords Commissioners have acknowledged, “a gradual extension might, through the medium of a continued population, upon even the same extent of territory, preserve a communication of mutual commercial benefits between its extremest parts and Great Britain.” ^{Ref. 006}

VII. This paragraph is introduced by referring to the extract of a letter from the commander-in-chief of his Majesty’s forces in North America, laid by the Earl of Hillsborough before the Lords Commissioners for Trades and Plantations. But, as their Lordships have not mentioned either the general’s name, or the time when the letter was written, or what occasioned his delivering his opinion upon the subject of colonization in general, in the “remote countries,” we can only conjecture that General

Gage was the writer of the letter, and that it was written about the year 1768, when the plan of the three new governments was under the consideration of the then Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and before the lands on the Ohio were bought from, and the boundary line established with, the Six Nations.

Indeed, we think it clear that the general had no other lands, at that time, under his consideration, than what he calls "remote countries," such as the Detroit, Illinois, and the lower parts of the Ohio; for he speaks of "foreign countries," from which it "would be *too* far to transport some kind of naval stores," and for the same reason could not, he says, supply the sugar islands "with lumber and provisions." He mentions, also, "planting colonies at so vast a distance that the very long transportation (of silk, wine, etc.) must probably make them too dear for any market," and where "the inhabitants could not have any commodities to barter for manufactures, except skins and furs." And what, in our opinion, fully evinces that the general was giving his sentiments upon settlements at Detroit, etc., and not on the territory in question, is, that he says, "It will be a question, likewise, whether colonization of this kind could be effected without an Indian war, and fighting for every inch of the ground."

Why the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations should encumber their report with the opinion of General Gage on what he calls the settlement of a "foreign country," that could not be effected without "fighting for every inch of ground," and how their Lordships could apply that case to the settlement of a territory purchased by his Majesty near four years ago, and now inhabited by several thousand British subjects, whom the Indians themselves living on the northern side of the Ohio (as shall be fully shown in the course of these observations) have earnestly requested may be immediately governed, we confess we are wholly at a loss to comprehend.