A QUAKER IMPERIALIST'S VIEW OF THE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA: 1732

In the late summer of the year 1731 James Logan, scholar and statesman of provincial Pennsylvania, became exceedingly alarmed at the progress of events in Europe and America. Unwilling to remain silent in the face of danger, he composed during the following winter an essay entitled "Of the State of the British Plantations in America: A Memorial." This he sent off to a member of Parliament, probably Micajah Perry, by whom it was laid before the prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole. The only known copy of this document, located in the Franklin Papers at the University of Pennsylvania,1 is in the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin.

The Memorial has been all but unknown to scholars. Two nineteenth century historians, one an obscure editor, the other the indefatigable Justin Winsor, found some trace of it, and two students examined Franklin's copy in the first decade of this century. So far as can be learned, it has not been printed. Mere obscurity is no guarantee of importance: yet Logan's essay deserves a larger fame. Other colonials, to be sure, and many of them, were at about the same time expressing many of the ideas advanced by Logan, and some individuals had spoken on the general subject years before. Not because it was an original or isolated phenomenon is Logan's memorial judged

1 Vol. XII, p. 34. It is here reproduced through the courtesy of the Librarian of the University of Pennsylvania, C. Seymour Thompson.
worthy of publication, but because it was the more or less typical contribution of an intelligent British subject to ill-known colonial thought patterns of the early eighteenth century. Possibly it will also interest the enthusiasts of Revolutionary history for its discussion of the possibilities of revolt. And it may serve to triangulate more accurately the place of Pennsylvania on the map of Franco-British rivalry.

In the absence of any conclusive evidence in the manuscript itself, the assertions as to authorship, date, use, and handwriting require a substantiation which fortunately is not lacking.

The ascription of the handwriting of the document to Benjamin Franklin may be verified by a comparison of the accompanying reproduction of the first page of the manuscript with other undoubted specimens of Franklin’s flowing hand. It is supported by Dr. I. Minis Hays, the noted cataloguer of the Franklin manuscripts at the American Philosophical Society and at the University of Pennsylvania, who states unequivocally that the present paper is “a copy by Benjamin Franklin.” Mr. A. H. Smyth, the latest editor of the works of Franklin, also mentions “an early ‘memorial’ in Franklin’s handwriting (1731),” obvious reference to Logan’s paper.2

A variety of evidence, direct and indirect, is available to support the ascription of the Memorial to James Logan. Exhibit number one is the style. The editor, through reading hundreds of pages of Mr. Logan’s letters, has become well acquainted with that gentleman’s involved and infelicitous phraseology, and can state unhesitatingly that the Memorial is an excellent specimen of it. More direct proof, not resting on the editor’s word, is offered by a manuscript in the Logan Papers at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.3 It is a holograph draft by Logan of a letter written in the autumn of 1731 and intended for Ferdinand J. Paris, the Pennsylvania colonial agent in London, containing many of the statements of the Memorial, some of them in identical language; it was obviously the sketch on which the longer paper was based. The claim of authorship is supported by Dr. Hays, and the fact that Logan wrote some paper of the kind at about this


3 Vol. II, p. 16. The name of the intended recipient and the date of this letter are shown by a letter to Paris of December 29, 1731. Logan Papers, Logan Letter Books, MSS., H. S. P., vol. III, p. 369. (All references to manuscripts are to papers in the H. S. P.)
Of the State of the British Plantations in America

A Memorial

It is well known that the Power of which Britain has the most reason to be apprehensive is France. That the 2 Principal Amity of Britain consists in its naval force and that this is supported by its trade is evident.

We contend that there are very many advantages to the means of the British Dominions in America: the improvement of which is the honour of the natural inhabitants to the Monarch of this is most manifest. The French trade is the support of many of these Dominions and therefore when the Senate of all the French States TAGUE Sud, Tade, Timmon and Naval Affairs, they would soon be an Opponent in Naval Strength to the rest of Europe, and can be in a Situation to procure Peace to the whole. To remove the vast Block of those Dominions, in not very easy to Republicans in Great Britain, such as make Voyages rather fewer little more, than the Ports they Refers to. The Ports Account of them are most specious Collections, being generally the undertaking only of Book-stores who, trade them with a regard only to their own profit, often a ready sale of their Ports.

The Board of Trade and Plantations is made up of gentlemen who knowing nothing of America themselves are obliged, when any Account is demanded of them by the Ministry or Parliament to deal over Circular Letters to the respective Governors with a set of Directions from the Senators to which they govern their Expectations. But as these Governors come abroad with a view chiefly to mend their own Fortune, it seldom happens that they consider any thing farther than how to sit easy, upon the whole it will evidently appear, if we may judge from the American Conduct and Management of American Affairs—what they have been very little interested otherwise it is scarce possible to imagine they could be subject to such as their present Condition of which the following Account may give some knowledge.
time is attested by the editor of *The Olden Time*, a periodical devoted to early Ohio valley history, and by Justin Winsor.\(^4\)

As for the date which has been assigned to the document, that is substantiated by several letters of Logan himself. In one he informed Conrad Weiser that about December 5, 1731, he first heard of the Shawnees raising a French flag at Allegheny, and in others he spoke of sending on February 14, 1731/2, his "account of our neighbours &c behind us."\(^5\)

Logan is authority also for the positive identification of those for whom his call to action was intended. In December, 1733, he wrote to his brother in England: "I drew up a pretty large Representation of the state of the colonies . . . and sent it about two years Since to a Member of Parliament who laid it before the Minister, but he good man was too busily employ'd another way to mind Such Trifles."\(^6\) The minister was obviously Sir Robert Walpole, as Craig who evidently saw this passage confirms, although Hays thought the prime minister's brother, Horace Walpole, was the person referred to.\(^7\) The surmise that the *Memorial* was addressed to Micajah Perry is based on tenuous testimony. For one thing, some unknown reader noted on a nineteenth century copy of the previously mentioned letter to Paris that it was to "—— Perry, Esq." This extremely unreliable authority does not lack reasonable confirmation. A great London merchant with many interests in the American trade, especially in the tobacco of Maryland and Virginia, Perry was a frequent witness before the Board of Trade and Plantations and a diligent advocate at the Board and in the Commons of the interests of the continental colonies. He had recently been Pennsylvanias's colonial agent and was at the moment energetically opposing the efforts of the British sugar islands to prevent trade between their French, Spanish, and Dutch rivals and the British plantations in North America. When to these facts about Perry is added the knowledge that Logan had met him and had held a high opinion of him, it seems safe, in the absence of conflicting information, to believe that Perry was the Member of Parliament whom Logan

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employed to sound his cry of alarm among the ministers and in the halls of Parliament.\(^8\)

II

The writer believes that James Logan exerted a greater influence on Benjamin Franklin than has been ordinarily recognized. As soon, therefore, as he had established that the *Memorial* was Franklin's copy of Logan's work, he felicitated himself on the discovery of positive support for his theory. He thought he might be able to show that the older man furnished his famous junior with the germ of the idea of colonial union and with other fertile seed. But illusions vanished in the harsh light of reality. There is not a scintilla of proof that Logan's lucubrations of 1731/2 had even a remote bearing on anything Franklin wrote or did between 1754 and 1776. The suggestion in the *Memorial* of the need for colonial unity in the face of French aggression was too nebulous to be significant, and it was neither new nor unique. There is no kinship whatever between it and the Albany Plan of Union. Nor can any connection be traced between Logan's provocative passage on colonial independence and the *Rules for reducing a great empire to a small one*. So plain in the 1770's were the effects of a stupid British policy on the filial devotion of the colonies that no man, least of all the astute Franklin, needed the corroboration of an ancient document. On one other point, the desirability of keeping or surrendering Canada, one might wish to prove affiliation. But the author of *The interest of Great Britain considered* was answering a live opponent; he had no cause to spar with a shadow out of the past.

Even though analysis and investigation demolish effectively all belief that Logan's *Memorial* fathered any reflections of Franklin, there still remains a question: Why did the latter trouble to transcribe the *Memorial*? Since the date of the transcription is uncertain one may do no more than hazard a surmise. During the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) Franklin began to ponder imperial affairs, and in 1747, when he was vigorously providing defenses for the city of Philadelphia, he was in intimate association with the septuagenarian

Logan, whose hearty support he received. Is it not possible that, as they discussed the problems of the day, the old man, long a keen follower of the international drama, showed his enthusiastic young friend the most careful of his own essays on the subject, and that the latter, whose previous exertions had not led him to give much thought to these larger matters, requested and received permission to copy it for his files?

Though this guess may be erroneous, there exists, in the fact that Franklin indubitably did make and keep a replica of Logan's representation, justification for affirming that it contributed towards the education of Pennsylvania's most famous statesman.

III

A few paragraphs about James Logan are necessary to sketch in a background for the proper understanding of the Memorial. For other data on the life of this colonial statesman the curious reader is referred to the Dictionary of American Biography.

Undoubtedly one of the first things about the document which will strike the historian is the use of the historical method, complete with footnotes. It reveals a scholarly training and a fair acquaintance with historical literature. These Logan did indeed possess in a remarkable degree for a colonial. As a youth he had received a classical and mathematical education at least equal to that offered by the English universities of the day, and he preserved throughout a busy life and in adverse surroundings distinct scholarly tastes and a lively intellectual curiosity. While his greatest learned interests lay in mathematics and "natural philosophy," his own times and his adopted land inevitably drew his attention. He kept in as close touch with inter-colonial, imperial and international developments as remoteness and poor communication would allow, and to familiarize himself with American history he built up and read a very good collection of books on the subject. His study led him to apply the analytical and inductive methods to the problems which confronted him, and he demonstrated that his method of approach was not accidental but deliberate, when he boasted of the Memorial that he had "made closer Inquiries into the

CARTE DE LA LOUISIANE ET DU COURS DU MISSISSIPPI

FACSIMILE OF THE DELISLE MAP, AMSTERDAM EDITION [1729], FR
chusetts, Spotswood of Virginia, and Keith of Pennsylvania. Keith, relatively new to his position and not yet at odds with Logan, sought the latter's help in drafting his reply. After consulting Michael Bezaillon, a Pennsylvania trader who had doubtless been a Canadian coureur de bois, Logan wrote in December, 1718, a complete and accurate report of the routes from Montreal to the Mississippi and of the Indian tribes along them. He also added certain specific recommendations, notably that the safety of the empire required vigorous cultivation of the Five Nations regardless of Virginian and Carolinian distrust of them, that Spotswood should be encouraged in his projects for western settlements and for the establishment of forts on Lake Erie, that the Carolina Indian trade ought to be heartily fostered for the better defense of the southwest, and that all governors should be instructed to keep the Indians loyal by promoting the skin and fur trade while at the same time endeavoring to prevent intercolonial rivalries in the trade. Keith incorporated in his own “notable report” of February, 1717/8, the substantive part of Logan’s “striking” narrative almost verbatim and quite without acknowledgment. He expanded the suggestions considerably, making more specific proposals. One of these, that each colony should be required to contribute funds to the common defense, met with objections from Logan whom logic had not yet driven to the point of abandoning a particularist attitude.

Opportunity did not offer for Logan to exert further pressure in the imperialist movement which culminated in September, 1721, in an inclusive and trenchant report of the Board of Trade to the Privy

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13 Calendar of state papers, colonial, America and West Indies, 1717–1718, pp. 119–120; Journal of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, 1714–1718, pp. 311, 335.
Then the agitation subsided while at the same time acute dissensions in Pennsylvania diverted Logan's attention.

Further developments, however, were bound to attract his notice once again, and in 1731 he throbbed with renewed zeal. Many matters, personal, provincial, and international, came to a head in that year to raise the gloomy Mr. Logan to a feverish state of despairing activity. In the first category were, on the one hand, disquieting realization that the injuries sustained in a trivial fall three years before had crippled him for life, and on the other, a fear that acute business depression combined with French interference in the skin trade would probably cause him great financial loss.

Many provincial concerns contributed to his despond. Less directly affecting the imperial problem was a well-justified apprehension that the young Penns were neglecting their own interests and their responsibilities, notably in the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary controversy and in the extremely complicated affairs of land and land sales. Much more immediate were difficulties with the Indians, to which the neglect of the Penns also contributed in a salient manner. The Shawnees, homeless wanderers, truculent and of uncertain quality, were drifting to the upper Ohio and there giving friendly heed to the siren calls of French agents. At the same time aggressive pioneers were thrusting across the Susquehanna to squat on lands claimed by the Iroquois. Logan's solutions for these problems were the removal of the settlers by force if necessary and the bending of every effort towards inducing the Shawnees to return to a large reservation which he caused to be laid out for them on the west bank of the Susquehanna. To enforce the latter endeavor he sent the Six Nations word of the Shawnee behavior and hinted that the Iroquois use their power to hasten the return. Of even more vital moment was the

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17 Printed in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the colonial history of the State of New York* (Albany, 1853–61), vol. V, pp. 591–630. The Board acknowledged that they were deeply indebted to Keith's report (and hence of course to Logan) for the best account of the French performances.
State of these Northern Colonies, both English and others, than perhaps any other British subject in them..."

Logan, of all Pennsylvanians if not as he thought of all Americans, was uniquely qualified to write on the state of the plantations. Coming to the province with William Penn in 1699, at the age of twenty-five, he had continuously from that time occupied positions of high importance in its government. It is no exaggeration to say that from the departure of the Founder in 1701, until about 1740, Logan had more knowledge of provincial affairs than any other man and more influence over events except in the comparatively short periods when he was at odds with one governor or another. It is impossible to describe his position by analogy to modern politics but if the reader thinks of him as a sort of permanent under-secretary for all affairs he will not be wide of the truth. Chief of the proprietary representatives of the Penns, James Logan had two special functions which threw him into contact with the frontier. On the one part he had charge of Indian relations from 1701 until Thomas Penn came over in 1732 and to some extent thereafter; and on the other he was the agent for all land sales.

One more fact about the author helps to an understanding of the Memorial. He gained his living and amassed a modest fortune as the chief Philadelphia merchant in the Indian trade. Finding that the way to wealth did not lie in the public service in Pennsylvania, Logan relinquished, in 1714, his paying offices and turned in earnest to business which had already engaged part of his time. Soon specializing in the skin trade he pursued it vigorously until his nominal retirement in 1730, and even then continued heavily interested in it. Small wonder he should exhibit concern over French encroachments.

This concern was not new in 1731. In 1717 and 1718, after Richard Beresford, Carolina agent, had called the attention of the Board of Trade to the activities of the French in Louisiana and to their efforts to encircle the British colonies, the Board requested reports on the subject from Governors Hunter of New York, Shute of Massa-

unrest of Pennsylvania's own Indians, the Delawares. Many members of this tribe were imbued with an ever-deepening resentment and distrust caused by Sir William Keith's having, in 1722 and 1723, planted a colony of innocent Palatines at Tulpehocken. Not only was this land as yet unpurchased from the Indians, but the cattle of the settlers had destroyed the unfenced cornfields of the redskins. As soon as Logan became satisfied that the Delawares had been wronged, he exerted himself to repair the damage, for he was convinced that Indian grievances would inevitably end in the horrors of frontier massacres. The only satisfactory settlement being a treaty at which one of William Penn's sons should be present, Logan pleaded with these young men for haste. In the meantime he diligently cultivated the old chief Sassoonan and his nephews, and when Thomas Penn failed to come over in 1731 he made a provisional agreement with the old man in the fall of that year.21

Logan's apprehensions, in so far as they were based on imperial and international occurrences, were not so well justified as the others, but they were very real for all that. He felt with almost pitiful sincerity that the tide of British power and prestige had been ebbing fast ever since the fall of the Whig ministry in 1710. He disapproved the Tory Treaty of Utrecht, feared the Jacobites because they were Papists, and violently distrusted the policies of Walpole; he even went so far as to write that since 1713 "the utmost care has been taken to leave these Colonies in the most defenceless condition that could be contriv'd."22

This neglect of the empire was now made still more serious by two new factors. One was the renewed enterprise of the French, signalized by their attentions to the Shawnees and by the establishment of a fort at Crown Point on Lake Champlain. The other was the friendly ear that home authorities were lending to requests from Barbados and the other sugar islands for a restriction on the trade of the northern colonies. At the same time an imminent European war in which France and Britain were sure to be enemies made it certain (in Mr. Logan's opinion) that England would lose all her colonies. He could not foresee that the clash of empires was to be postponed for nearly a quarter-century, nor that Pitt the imperialist was to be in Walpole's

22 Ibid., vol. IV, p. 370; Dickinson-Logan Letter Book, p. 73.
place. Nevertheless he deserves credit for a sure grasp of the issues and warrants even more than Professor Crane knew his place in "the little group of Anglo-American imperialists."²⁸

Two further points need to be elucidated. A minor one is that Logan's strictures on the British government require some modification. Generally inattentive to the colonies officialdom may have been, but at three separate times events demonstrated that lethargy was not moribundity. The year 1715 saw the introduction into Parliament of a bill to vacate, as a measure of imperial defense, all colonial charters; in 1721 the Board of Trade presented the report previously mentioned; and the needs of frontier protection gave potent impulsion to the founding of Georgia in 1732.²⁴

More important is it to remember that Logan's call to action was but one of many. As early as 1695 Peter de la Noy of New York wrote to William Penn that, "The French assume a boldness purely from divisions into separate bodyes and the piques that are common amongst the several governrs. of which the French don't want a constant intelligence."²⁵ Another New Yorker insisted twenty years later that French policy aimed to conquer the disjoint colonies one by one, while Virginia's Governor Spotswood was pressing the necessity of defense from 1710 to 1719, and a host of energetic Carolinian hornets buzzed unceasingly around the Board of Trade. In 1722 the younger Daniel Coxe detailed a fairly elaborate plan of intercolonial union.²⁶ Many more instances might be cited to void any claim for Logan's originality.

IV

Historians of the colonial era are guilty of a remarkable obtuseness on the subject of Pennsylvania and the West, except to acknowledge that the Quaker colony was the spring from which a mighty river of settlers flowed into the Appalachian valleys. With the single notable

exception of C. A. Hanna,\textsuperscript{27} they disregard the explorations of the Pennsylvania skin traders, they even seem ignorant of the trade's existence, and they fail to understand the position of Pennsylvania on the Franco-British frontier even though they have had access to the necessary data. These are sweeping statements, but the editor believes them to be justified.

That Philadelphians were engaged in the Indian trade in the seventeen-forties and fifties is quite commonly known, to be sure: Logstown, Pickawillany, George Croghan, Shippen and Lawrence, Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, are familiar names. But students seem unaware that the trade had been in existence for some time. As recently as 1929, for example, Professor V. W. Crane could add, after describing the picturesque traders with their pack-trains and Indians in their colorful robes who frequented Charles Town in Carolina, that "elsewhere in the English colonies only Albany could show such scenes."\textsuperscript{28} In reality, although the skin trade of Philadelphia was neither relatively nor absolutely as great as at Albany and Charles Town, that quiet Quaker city frequently witnessed the orgies of half-wild traders liquidating in a night the profits of a season; it too had its numerous delegations of redskins who quite literally camped in James Logan's dooryard.\textsuperscript{29} The Shippen of Shippen and Lawrence learned the business as Logan's apprentice and later became his partner and successor, while Thomas Lawrence's transition from general merchant to skin merchant was made under Logan's wing.\textsuperscript{30} Logan was not even the first, for William Trent, father to the Captain Trent who was Croghan's partner, was a fur merchant in the first decade of the century.\textsuperscript{31}

In 1707 traders identified with Pennsylvania made some kind of a settlement near the junction of the Shenandoah with the Potomac, nine years before Spotswood's famous ride through Swift Run Gap,\textsuperscript{32} and in 1721 the Cartledge brothers had gone up the Potomac at least


32 \textit{Virginia magazine of history and biography}, vol. XXIX (1921), pp. 1-17.
as far as the site of Hancock, Maryland. Three years later some of the Delawares went to the Allegheny in search of more abundant game, to be swiftly followed by traders. It is impossible as yet to detail the extent of the explorations made by these men, but the Memorial does tell of one trip down the Ohio to the Mississippi which appears authentic. The adventurous soul cannot be positively identified, but it is not unlikely that he was James Le Tort, one of Logan’s men, for several features along the Ohio bear the name Letort or Letart. Interesting speculation centers around the date, which was most probably after 1724 and of course not later than 1731. But was it before 1729? For that was the year in which a Frenchman, de Léry, accomplished the earliest accredited voyage from the Allegheny to the lower Ohio. If Le Tort or some other Pennsylvanian preceded him, the expedition would extend nearly to the Wabash the now academic claims to British rights based on exploration in the upper Ohio valley.

It has already been shown that Keith’s report of 1719 is well known, that Logan’s paper of 1718 has been seen by a modern historian, and that the existence of the present Memorial has not gone unperceived. Yet no one has asked why and how they came to be written. If Pennsylvania was sheltered like Maryland and New Jersey from the French, why did anyone in the province bother about defense? The answer is clear: It was not sheltered. Logan knew this and the Indian massacres which began in 1755 demonstrate it.

Nevertheless Professor Root, perhaps the ablest of Pennsylvania historians, expressed the common opinion when he wrote that “in the long run it was the geographical position of the province which permitted the continuance of [the] policy” of refusing to undertake vigorous measures of defense. Presumably he meant that the Appalachian Mountains and the Six Nations protected the province. But they did not. Mountains are a useful bulwark against organized armies with clumsy impedimenta, but they raised no effective barrier to unencumbered Indian war parties. The redskins could, and did in

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Ibid., p. 186.
the French and Indian War, traverse ridges at will; indeed, like Stonewall Jackson, they turned defensive barrier into offensive screen. Not much more helpful than the mountains were the Iroquois. The Senecas, around the Niagara and the head of the Allegheny, were the only one of the Nations who could effectively safeguard Pennsylvania. Interest did not bind them to New York so firmly as it did their brothers, for their strategic situation assured them profit whether western furs went to Albany or to Montreal; their principal tie was the bond of the long house, and that was not terribly strong. In fact they were notoriously fickle in their affections. They permitted a French fort at Niagara, they hearkened to the blandishments of Joncaire, and they offered slight hindrance to French transit at any time.\(^8^8\)

Once the French reached Niagara Pennsylvania's geographical position afforded her no security at all. Her true bulwark was her own Indians, the Delawares. When she lost their friendship she lay as exposed as any British colony in North America.

OF THE STATE OF THE BRITISH PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA
A MEMORIAL

It is well known that the Power of which Britain has the most reason to be apprehensive, is France, that the Principal Security of Britain consists in its Naval force, and that this is Supported by its Trade and Navigation. [It is no] less certain that these are very much advanced by means of the British Dominions in America: the Preservation of which is therefore of the utmost importance to the Kingdom it Self, for it is manifest that if France could possess itself of those Dominions and thereby become Masters of all their Trade, their Sugars, Tobacco, Rice, Timber and Naval Stores, they would soon be in an Overmatch in Naval Strength to the rest of Europe, and then be in a Condition to prescribe Laws to the whole. To know the true State of those Dominions, is not very easy to Residents in Great Britain; such as make Voyages thither know little more than the Ports they Resort to; the Printed Accounts of them are most injudicious Collections, being generally the undertakings only of Booksellers, who Publish them with a regard Solely to their own profit, from a ready Sale of their Books. The Board of Trade and Plantations is made up of Gentlemen who, knowing nothing of America themselves, are obliged, when any Account is demanded of them by the Board of Trade and Plantations

2. Two aims have led the editor, in preparing the manuscript for publication, to make some slight changes in it. The first of these was to follow what he believes would have been the author's rule had he intended to print his memorial. This has led to the elimination of all abbreviations except "&" and "viz." The second goal was to avoid ambiguity and to smooth the reader's path through a very involved style. To this end a small number of punctuation marks have been added or subtracted. Otherwise, unless it be the transposition of notes from margins to the bottom of the page, no alteration has been made: capital letters, variant and even wrong spellings,—all are as Franklin left them, even though the editor believes the famous printer has not always been a faithful copyist. The author's footnotes are marked by conventional symbols, the editor's are numbered.

3. This argument was part of the stock in trade of the mercantilists. Cf. Joshua Gee, The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered (London, 1729), and [F. Hall], The importance of the British plantations in America to the kingdom (London, 1731).

4. The guarded tone of this passage, which might chance to fall under the eye of some member of the august Board itself, is in strong contrast to a sentence in a letter Logan wrote at about the same time, intended only for the view of F. J. Paris, Pennsylvania's London agent: "The Board of Trade & Plantations ought indeed to be able to furnish exact accounts of all these Affairs but when the Truth is known it will be found that that Board has been more injurious than beneficial to the British Interest in America." [Logan Papers, MSS. in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. II, p. 16.]
Ministry or Parliament, to send over Circular Letters to the respective
Governours with a Set of Questions from the Answers to which they
frame their Representations. But as those Governours come abroad
with a view chiefly to mend their own Fortunes, it seldom happens
that they consider any Thing further than how to sit easy. Upon the
whole it will evidently appear, if we may Judge from the Conduct
and Management of American Affairs, that they have been very little
understood, otherwise it is Scarce possible to imagine, they could be
Suffered to run into their Present Condition of which the following
Account may give some knowledge.

Henry the seventh of England having unhappily rejected Colum-
bus’s proposals, on seeing his Success in behalf of Spain thought fit
very soon after to Encourage Sebastian Cabot to Sail on the like view
to the Northward, who with English Shipping before the year 1500
discovered the Northern Continent on the Ocean and Sailing along
the Shore took possession of it in the Name of that King and the
English Nation. But Francis the first of France in the like View in
the year 1524 sent Versana a Florentine to the Same Coasts. In 1534,
40 & 42, under the same King’s reign, other Ships Sail’d from France
to Canada where they Established a Trade for Furrs, which they car-
ried on to considerable Advantage, and about the End of that or be-
gining of next Century founded Quebec and that Colony, but this has

4 The author unfairly ignores the colonial agents, of whose valuable services he was well
1933).

5 Bartholomew Columbus went to London in 1488 to urge his brother’s cause upon
Henry VII. [J. B. Thacher, Christopher Columbus, vol. II (New York, 1903), p. 344.] Logan
doubtless read of this and other incidents of early exploration in Richard Hakluyn’s
Principal navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation, of which he owned
the 1598 edition.

6 The erroneous ascription of the discovery of North America to Sebastian Cabot instead
of to his father John Cabot was common in the eighteenth century; cf. for example,
II, p. 133. John Cabot’s first voyage was in 1497. In the next year, coasting southward
from the vicinity of Newfoundland, he probably reached the Chesapeake, but most cer-
tainly did not see Florida. For an excellent discussion of the very complicated question of
the Cabots, see J. A. Williamson, The voyages of the Cabots and the English discovery of

7 Verrazano.
always been Accounted by the English an †Intrusion and Encroachment on their Rights. Accordingly the Virginians in 1624 are Seized the French Settlements there (as Sir William Monson then living tells us†); But it is certain that in 1628, Sir David Kirk§ attacked their Capital Quebec and the following year he Actually took it, driving the French entirely out and keeping Possession of it 'till 1632, when the Forts there and in Accadie were on a Treaty of Peace between Charles the First and Lewis 13th Surrendred to the French again. Cromwell in 1656 by his Fleet Retook the Forts and on his Peace with France refused to deliver them but Charles the Second caused them to be Yielded;¹⁰ and his Brother King James by his Orders to Sir Edmund Andros his Gouvernour in New England and New York Seam'd rather inclinable to give up the Countrys to the French than to preserve them.¹¹

† Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts in [obliterated], Page 447, Id. ibid. & pag. 384. [The work whose name is obliterated is [Awnsham and John Churchill], A collection of voyages and travels (4 vols., London, 1704). Monson's Naval Tracts are in vol. III, pp. 154-560, and the author's page references check with this volume. In the Dictionary of national biography, vol. XXXVIII, p. 202, it is wrongly stated that the first edition of Churchill's Voyages appeared in 1732, and that the Naval Tracts were only then published. Ed.]

‡ Ibid., pag. 447.

§ Hennepin part. 2nd. ch. 36 from the French Accounts and Kirks Memorials in K. Charles 2nd. in Gibbies Americae. [The first work cited is Louis Hennepin, A new discovery of a vast country in America, of which there were two London editions of 1698 and one of 1699. Logan seems to have used the last. The editor can find no trace in either Sabin or Winsor of "Gibbies Americae," but the memorial or petition referred to is in Calendar of State Papers, colonial, America and West Indies, 1661-1668, pp. 66-7. Ed.]

* Jacques Cartier's three voyages were in 1534, 1535, and 1541-1542. Quebec was founded by Samuel de Champlain in 1608.

¹ The reference is doubtless to Sir Samuel Argall's expedition of 1613.

¹⁰ Major Robert Sedgwick, acting on secret instructions from Cromwell, conquered Acadia in 1654. By the Protector's treaty with France in 1655, England retained the province, but, as the author says, Charles II returned it at Breda in 1667. For this little-known episode in the imperial struggle, see Justin Winsor, ed., Narrative and critical history of America (Boston, 1884), vol. IV, pp. 145-6; and Cambridge history of the British empire, vol. I (New York, 1929), pp. 231-2.

¹¹ In the margin of the Ms, opposite this passage, are the words: "Hist. of New England." The only works published before 1731 which covered the period in question, and bore such a title were Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana: or the ecclesiastical history of New-England (London, 1702), and Daniel Neal's The History of New-England (London, 1720; 2nd ed. London, 1747), which is little but a plagiarism of the Magnalia.
In the year 1690 Sir William Phipps Governour of New England, after he had taken Port Royal and Accadie, went from Boston with a Fleet against Canada, but going too late in the year failed of Success. In 1709 Colonel Veach\(^{12}\) and Colonel Nicholson were sent from Court to Boston and New York to form an Expedition against it, by the help of a Squadron that was soon to follow; but from the Treaty of Peace then Negotiating at the Hague, Britain had hopes of being made easy by France and fully to repair all wrong Steps made by Charles the 1st., Charles 2nd., and James 2nd. on that Head, with less Expence and trouble; and therefore the Design Dropt, as [did] the Treaty it self the next year at Gertruydenberg. In 1711 a Fleet was Actually Sent against it from Britain with Forces from thence and the British Colonies, but with an Intention—as it afterwards appeared—that it should miscarry.\(^{13}\) At the Treaty of Utretcht no notice was taken of Canada; but Newfoundland, Accadie and Hudson's Bay, being Surrendred by the French, the Boundaries between the last of these and Canada were in Some manner adjusted, and those of the other Dominions were to be referred to Commissioners, which France on their part ('tis Supposed) have never appointed. At that Treaty when France gave up Accadie, all the Land Southward and Westward of it (as they truly and of Right belong to Britain for Canada lies properly on the Northside of Saint Lawrence and so their Towns are Built) ought in express Terms to have been obtained as far as the West end of Lake Erie which would have very well secured these British Col-

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\(^{12}\) Samuel Vetch.

\(^{13}\) Logan fails to mention the campaign of 1710, on which Vetch and Nicholson finally conquered Acadia. Incompetently led and tragically unsuccessful the naval expedition of 1711 certainly was, but the evidence does not support Logan's slur on its sponsor or its officers. [G. M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne*, vol. III, *The peace and the Protestant succession* (London, 1934), pp. 143–6.] Being in London in 1711, Logan may have heard and remembered coffee-house gossip about court intrigues.
onies but it was fatally neglected tho' by the Tenour of the 12 & 15 Articles it seems in a great measure to have been so intended or understood.\textsuperscript{14}

Tho' Canada as an Encroachment has always given uneasiness to the English Colonies, yet as it is generally a very Cold and not very fruitful Countrey, there never appeared any great Probability of its being very considerable, 'till the Sieur la Salle about the year 1680 discovered the great River Mississippi to which the English notwithstanding had a Prior pretence.\textsuperscript{1} In this the French made no progress 'till since the peace of Utrecht, but now they Surround all the British Dominions on the Main. They pretend a right to all the Lands watered by any Streams of the last Mouths or Entries of which into the Sea they are possesst. From Florida there runs a ridge of very High Hills called the Appalachian Mountains,\textsuperscript{18} almost as far North as the Settlement of those Five Nations of Indians under New York Government called by the French the Iroquois: from these Hills rise most of the Rivers on the Eastern side of the Continent South of Saint Lawrence. But as that Ridge is Scarce any where above 300 Miles distant from the Ocean on the Eastern Shore of America the Rivers flowing through the British Dominions are of a length only proportionable to that Distance. But of those rising from the same Mountains and Running to the Westward some flow above a Thousand Miles before they Empty themselves into Messisippi, particularly Ohio (which in the Language of the Five Nations is called [blank in MS.])

\textsuperscript{1} Vide D Coxe's late Account of the River Messisipi. [Daniel Coxe, A description of the English province of Carolana (London, 1722, and later editions). For a critical discussion of early English travelers in the Mississippi valley and of Coxe, see C. W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, The first explorations of the trans-Allegheny region by the Virginians, 1650-1674 (Cleveland, 1912); a paper of Coxe's father on this subject is printed on pp. 231–49 from the MS. La Salle's famous voyage was in 1682. Ed.]

\textsuperscript{14} By Article XII of the treaty Louis XIV ceded, besides the island of St. Christopher, Acadia "avec ses anciennes limites. . . ." Article XV explicitly recognized that the Five Nations were subjects of Queen Anne. M. de Lamberty, Mimoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIIIe siècle, vol. VIII (The Hague, 1730), pp. 75–6, gives the text of these articles. It is exceedingly doubtful that either the British or the French negotiators knew what the "former limits" of Acadia were, or what the sovereignty of the Iroquois meant, and still more so that they "intended or understood" that Britain was to have the right bank of the St. Lawrence system from Detroit to the Gaspé.

\textsuperscript{18} Delisle's map \textit{(post, note 17)} shows a chain of hills running southward through modern Georgia towards the Florida peninsula, but makes it very apparent that the main range of the Appalachians curves off in a westerly direction. It is difficult to reconcile Logan's knowledge of this map with the statement above, unless he included in Florida most of the present-day Georgia and Alabama.
and by the French, La belle Riviere) flows in a smooth uninterrupted
course not less than 1400 miles before it meets Mississippi; for a
Trader with some Indians entering it with a Canoe, where its broader
than the Thames at London, was 45 Days in Sailing down to its
Mouth with the Stream and 92 in their return. On the West side of
Mississippi the Rivers running into it are [at] least equally long, as
may be seen in that Accurate Map of Louisa Published by De Lisle
in 1718: from whence it appears that by means of that River and
[Waters and Lakes of Saint Lawrence] they [the French] Claim
a Country nearly Equal to all Europe in Extent, while the English
bounded by those Appalachian Hills have comparatively only a Skirt
along the Shoar.

But to all this Vast Tract, the French have no other Inlet from the
Sea, than by the Mouths of those two great Rivers Saint Lawrence and
Mississippi both of which are Tedium and Dangerous, the one by
Rocks and the other by Shoals. They cannot therefore but be very
Sensible that a nearer Access to some parts of it by the Ocean is
requisite and would Extreamly well Suit them. In order to which by
that Map of De Lisle’s Published as its Thought by Authority of their
East and West India Company, they already extend their Claims
very far upon those of the British Dominions: From New York
Province notwithstanding their making the Course of Waters a rule in
their own Case, They cut off almost one Half of Hudson’s River and
the whole Settlements of the Five Nations. Pennsylvania, which by
the King’s Letters Patent extends five degrees of Longitude West-
ward from the River Delaware, that is in the Latitude of 40° about

For this voyage, and its importance, see the introduction. Anglo-Americans of the
early eighteenth century did not distinguish between the Ohio and the Allegheny, but
gave the name of the former to the whole stream, attaching the latter title to the Indian
settlements along its upper course. For a discussion of the various Indian names for the
river, see G. P. Donehoo, A history of Indian place names in Pennsylvania (Harrisburg,
1928), pp. 4, 152. Logan’s estimate of the stream’s length, which is actually 1598 miles,
was very accurate. The trader doubtless entered the main current from Mahoning Creek,
about ten miles upstream from the modern town of Kittanning.

Guillaume Delisle, Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississippi . . . (Paris,
[1718]). It is reproduced in C. O. Paullin and J. K. Wright, Atlas of the historical geog-
raphy of the United States (Washington, 1932), plate 24; the accompanying facsimile is
from an Amsterdam reprint of 1729 in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Logan’s
surmise about the inspired publication is authoritatively supported in Winsor, ed., Op. cit.,
vol. V, p. 80. The accuracy with which Logan credits Delisle, while borne out by his de-
piction of the South and West, is conspicuously absent where the Ohio and its headwaters
are concerned, as any one of Logan’s traders could have told him.
260 English Miles, they bound by the River Susquehanna and further Cut off from it the most considerable Branches even of that river, and thus they would not only narrow up that Province to the Bredth of 70 Miles but would bring down their own Claims within a few Miles of the Head of the Great Bay of Chesopeck, which runs up thro' Virginia and Maryland and is Navigable for the Largest Shipping. Virginia They bound by the Appallachian Hills. And from Carolina they Cut off above 200 Miles in Length on the Shore to the Southward, bounding it by Ashly River on pretence of a Settlement made in those parts from France in the year 1562, 64 & 65, by some of the Reformed, encouraged by the Grand Admiral Coligny; tho' these poor People in the last of these Years were most barbariously destroyed as Hereticks by the Spaniards on the Advisement (as Thuanus owns) from the Court of France to that of Spain, since which Time they have never had any footing there. And here a Testimony of that Great Author their own Historian (Thuanus) in favour of the English is worth Notice (where) in the words below he plainly gives us the Priority in the discovery of Florida and the adjoining Main.

† Thuan. Hist. Lib. 41. prope finem sed plenus Calveton ad finem Novae, Novi Orbis Historiae ex., Benzone Genoa 1578. 8vo. pag. [Iac. Aug. Thuani [J. A. de Thou], Historiarum sui temporis opera (Offenbach, 1609), p. 873. The second reference is to Nova novi orbis historia.... Libri tres Urbani Calvetonis opera.... ex Italics Hieronymi Benzonis.... (Geneva, 1578); the story of the Florida colony is on pp. 427-77. Ed.]

‡ Floridam quis primus invenerit, inter Scriptores ambigitur, nam Hispani qui omnes Indie Provincias a se inventas Omnibus persuasum volunt, exceptis quas Columbus primus Observavit, Gloriam Joanni Pontio Legionensi deferunt qui eam Floride nomine insigniverit quod in ipso Palmarum die, qui Veraculam linguam Hispaniam, Sicuti & nostris Pascha Floridum dicitur, huc appulisset verum, quod & certius est Plurique affirmant jam ante Sebastianum Gabotum Naucterum venenum Astronomicarum rerum non imperitum Henrici VII. Anglorum Regis Auspiciaam emulatione Columbi Cujus sum fane percrebrescebat inflammatum, Anno post Christum in terris natum MCCCCXCVI. primum in eam Indiarum Provinciam Venisse.

Thuan Hist. Lib. 41.
[These lines appear on p. 868 of the edition previously cited. They have been collated, and a few misspellings, obviously copyist's errors, have been corrected without indication. The gist of the passage is: "Historians differ as to the first discoverer of Florida. The Spanish give the credit to Ponce de Leon, who gave the land its name because he reached it on Palm Sunday (Pascha Floridum). But many writers believe Sebastian Cabot first saw the land in 1496." For the Cabot voyages, see the editor's note 6, above.]

18 Here Logan read his map carelessly. Delisle left to South Carolina the coast as far as the Edisto.

19 Francis Parkman, Pioneers of France in the new world (Boston, 1865), p. 89, possibly also relying on de Thou, confirms the statement that the Catholic party at the French court gave information to Spain of the Huguenot settlement in Florida.
Now as it is evidently of Great importance to the French to extend their Claims on the English, it cannot but at least equally concern the British Government to consider the strength and Condition of both Nations in those parts that may be Contested, and its certain that notwithstanding the French are vastly increased in their numbers in America Since the last peace, yet on the Continent (tho' its otherwise in the Island[s]) they are still much Inferior to those of the British Subjects. But on the other Hand it is equally true that they as far exceed in other Advantages on the part of Canada. The whole business of that Country is almost their Trade with the Indians and it is Accounted there a Qualification as necessary to recommend a Young Man that he has made a Tour upon the Lakes among the Indians as it is used in France for Young Gentlemen to make a Campaign or more in the Army. By these means they are generally acquainted with the Woods, inured to Travel and Hardships, become Adventurous & brave, are as good at bush fighting as the Indians themselves; & at home they are very duly mustered and Exercised: so many Men as they have (Excepting Ecclesiasticks & some others) they may account on so many Soldiers as good for the Service of that Countrey as their best Veteran Troops.

In the year 1718 Some of their People who came from Thence Affirmed they had 2000 regular Troops in their Towns and Garrisons in pay from France and they had constantly between 1500 & 2000 Rangers or Traders called by them Coureurs de bois; who are better at an Enterprise than so many Indians. The whole Countrey is further under one general Command which the People obey with such Alacrity that in case of any Attack they all fly on the first Notice to the place of Danger as readily as in a Garrison on beating and Sounding a Call. They Fortify also wherever they come. But above all they are now Masters of almost all the Indians on the Eastern part of the main. They constantly keep priests or other Emissarys amongst them and so naturally and easily conform themselves to their ways that while amongst them they are scarce to be distinguished, and they very frequently inter-marry tho' its not true that their Government encourages such Marriages, as has been frequently reported, but the parity of their Dispositions Sufficiently unites them. Thus the Indians are endeared and are very true to them, tho' were proper means

This is an early appearance of that supercilious envy with which Anglo-Saxons regard French relations with natives.
used, it would not be very difficult to gain them by the Force of Interest, to which, tho' these People have no Estates, they are very much Attach'd. This is the present Condition of the French, while that of the British Colonies is too much the reverse. Each of them is a distinct Government wholly independant of each other, pursuing its own Interest and Subject to no General Command. Port Royal in Accadie has a Garrison but the Inhabitants being few and Remote from other Settlements, they could make no great defence. New England is strong and indifferently well Fortifyed tho' now they complain much that their Castles and Forts are out of Repair; but at present they have scarce any Indians at all except their usual Enemies who have often distressed them. New York the Principal Frontier, has a weak Fort built long since by the Dutch from whom it was taken by the English with a small Force in the year 1664, and retaken by them in 1673, but soon Surrendred again by Treaty; and could make but a Slender Defence against an Enemy either by Land or Sea. At 150 Miles distance (as they Account it) up Hudson's River there is another weak Fort at Albany. In each of these, Viz'. the Forts of New York and Albany, there are Two regular Companies in British pay which are all to the Southward of Port Royal that are on the British Main. To that Colony belong those 5 Nations of Indians, as the English generally call them, tho' now by the Addition of the Tuscaroroes they are Six, and these having formerly been at Emnity with the French were the greatest Security of that Colony, both while it was in the Hands of the Dutch and [since] the English have Possesst it.

In the first War with France called King William's which was also at Times warmly carried on by that Province those Natives were firm to the English, but were so warmly Attacked by the French with their numerous Indians from the West and North that their Numbers were exceedingly reduced and they themselves in a Speech to that brave Governour in New York Colonel Fletcher own'd they were brought on their knees, and that without more help they fear'd they should be destroyed.  

In October, 1696, a Mohawk sachem told Fletcher: "We are now down upon one knee, but we are not quite down upon the ground. . . ." E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 240.

22 [L. A. de L. d'A de Lahontan], *Nouveaux voyages de Mr. le baron de Lahontan dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (The Hague, 1703), vol. I, letter 5. This gives the number of warriors as 2,000, but the English edition, *New voyages to North America* (London, 1703), vol. I, p. 25, makes this figure 1,500, and hence is doubtless the one Logan used. It is
La Barre Governor of Canada in the year 1684, each Canton consisted of 1400 Souls, of which 1500 were fighting Men, but now the whole of those Five Nations we are Assured do not exceed that number for from Certain Accounts they are at most as follows, the Isanantouans or Sinnakaes who are nearest to Fort Frontenac and the Lakes 700, next to these Eastward the Cayoogoes 300, then the Owendagoes 100, next the Oneyootes 200, lastly the Ganiegues Maquaes or Mohocks next to Albany 100 to which are now to be added the Tuscaroroes reputed to be 300 Men, but of these they expect some more to join them. Of these five Nations, but especially the Maquaes or Mohocks, the French since the year 1700 when the Governour of Canada made a firm Peace with them all, have drawn betwixt 3 and 400 Men over to themselves whom they have Seated on the North side of Saint Lawrence, and with the rest they have so good an Interest, that they need not for the Future apprehend any Hostilities from them and indeed they dare not offer them, for they are Sensible that the French with their Indian Allies are too Strong for them. In the last Warr these Natives being at Peace with the French and the Affairs of that Nation in Europe running low, there were no Hostilities in those parts. But on the Advices of May last, when by the Spaniards refusing at first to Accede to the late Treaty of Vienna a Rupture was expected, The French in September began a Fortification on Crown Point within about 170 Miles of the Town of Albany by which they may easily intercept all Trade from thence up the Branch of Hudson’s to be noted that 1,400 in the text should read 14,000. Lahontan woefully misled his readers, for the figures he gives for each nation applied in fact to all five together. F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico* (Washington, 1907), vol. I, p. 619, counts the Iroquois warriors at 2,250 in 1689 and 1,230 eleven years later. Logan’s estimate of nearly 1,700 fighting men in 1731 is supported in A. C. Flick, ed., *History of the state of New York*, vol. II, *Under Duke and King* (New York, 1933), p. 142, where an estimate of 1,500 in 1737 is cited. From these figures it will be seen that the Iroquois had not suffered nearly so much as Logan feared.

23 The modern spelling of the names in the order given is: Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, Tuscarora.

24 The treaty was in 1701, not 1700. Most of the Caughnawaga or “French Praying Indians” moved to the St. Lawrence in the seventeenth century, not after this treaty.

25 In the margin of the MS. is the date “1731,” obviously a later addition. It is not certain that the failure of the Spanish to sign the Treaty of Vienna of March, 1731, would have led to war between France and Britain; it is true, however, that the Anglo-French alliance of 1717 broke down in 1731. *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. VI (New York, 1909), pp. 60–1. The construction of the fort at Crown Point had been decided on before February, 1731. O’Callaghan, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. IX, pp. 1021ff.
river to the 5 or 6 Nations, for between that point and Hudsons there is but a small Portage; and they have further projected to send a Sufficient Force this Spring effectually to Stop the Passage and by destroying the Commerce of those Nations with the Province of New York to Oblige them wholly to depend on Canada. In what Condition that Government is at present to Assert their rights and defend themselves, they have very probably represented. But when their Present State with the Power of those Neighbours is understood and duly considered it will too Evidently appear they will on a Rupture be under unhappy Circumstances and with them the other Colonies must be deeply involved in the same danger; for if Albany which is the most Exposed be Attack’d New York cannot in a considerable Time give any Succours there being no good Road by Land for the Passage is generally by water against the Stream which depending much on the Winds, is uncertain, nor is New York itself in any Condition in such a Case (as they probably at the same time might be Attacked by Sea) to Spare any of their People, and the Lands between these on both sides of Hudson’s River by an abuse that ought to be remedied, viz. The old Exorbitant Grants, are but very Thinly Inhabited, tho’ Lands for settlements in that Colony are Extreamly wanted and those Tracts would soon be purchased, if they could be had at any tolerable rates.

To the Southward of New York along a Coast of near 600 Miles mostly inhabited, there is not the least Appearance of any Fortification, that of Charlestown in Carolina excepted, either on the Sea, in the Bays or Rivers or in the Back or any other part of the Countrey excepting one small Fort called Christiana built some years since in the Upper parts of Virginia for Securing an Indian Trade then Established there, and some others of the same kind in South Carolina. In some Colonies there is not so much as the Appearance of a Militia, and in some others none that could be of any considerable Service; the Sound of Warr or an Enemy, but especially of the Indians, is

Cf. the letter of President Rip van Dam to the Board of Trade, Nov. 2, 1731. Ibid., vol. V, p. 919.

This pertinent comment gains added meaning when it is remembered that its author had had charge of land sales in Pennsylvania for the past thirty years.

terrible to [?] most.] And one great disadvantage that these British Colonys lie under are their large Rivers and Waters over which there is no Passage from one part of the Country to another but by small Ferry Boats; yet they are Generally accessible from the Sea, and from the Back parts by Land any Force may March down and Attack the Inhabitants Situate between Two Rivers, while no others of the same Colony would come in time to Assist them. These last inconveniencys however by proper Methods taken in the back parts might in a great measure be remedied. 29

In New Jersey the next Province to New York they have very few Indians and none that could be of any service. In Pennsylvania there are about 6 to 700 Men but half of these are Shawanoes a Nation from the Southward formerly dwelling on a large River called in De Lisle's Map the Chouannons. 30 About the year 1698 these People being made uneasy by their Enemies, about Three or Four Score families of them removed to the Northward and put themselves under the Protection of the Susquehannah Indians, near whom they Sate down with the Consent of the Government and more follow'd afterwards 'till they at last Trebled their Number. But as they were a bold and active People the 5 Nations who claim Susquehannah and Account themselves Masters of all the Indians of Pennsylvania kept a Jealous Eye over them. In the year 1728 a few of these Shawanoes then Seated up the River Delaware, going Arm'd among the Inhabitants, were unruly and committed disorders on which some Mischief ensued: 31 the 5 Nations provoked at this threaten'd that Nation on which they removed with their Families back to the River Ohio where many of the Delaware Indians had gone before for the benefit of Hunting, and there a French Man sent as a Spy but on pretence of Trade, falling in with those Shawannaes invited some of their Chiefs to go Visit the French Governor at Montreal. They accordingly went with him in 1730 and more of them again last Summer on which it now appears, they have put themselves wholly under the Protection of the French having at their return Hoisted a white Flag in their Town, and its

29 At this very time Logan was urging upon the Penns the advisability of a militia composed of Palatines and Scotch-Irish, to be employed in frontier defense. [Dickinson-Logan Letter Book, MS., in H. S. P., p. 9.]
30 In the margin, in a different hand, is written "Chouanons." The tribe, of course, was the Shawnees, and the river was the Cumberland.
said the French are now Building Strong Houses for them, but of this the particulars are not fully known. In Maryland there are a few Indians on the Eastern Shore called Nanticokes, but on the other side they have Scarcely any at all. In Virginia they have none near the Inhabitants, but backwards they had not long since a considerable number, when a Company to Trade with them was Established by Law, which is now made Void and the Indians are again dispersed.

In Carolina where they were exceeding numerous the English made it their Policy for their own Security to play off one Nation against another 'till they all became exceedingly reduced; yet considerable numbers still remain, tho' they are generally there an unsteady and faithless People, and it is but too just an Observation of the generality of all the Indians, that they never forget [an] ill turn nor remember a good one; yet they may be Govern'd by their Interest, are useful while they can be kept Friends, but by their Barbarity, insidious Attacks and Swiftness in the Woods are terrible Enemies, especially to all Europeans who are not duly provided against them. The French fully understand their Importance and accordingly Manage them, for in any Enterprizes they may undertake, they will have a very great Dependence on their Assistance.

The Ingenious La Honton says, he proposed a Scheme to Lewis the 14th for Building Forts on the Lakes of Canada which would force the Iroquese or 5 Nations to abandon their Countrey or Submit to the French, who would then with their other Indian Allies be able to beat the English out of all their Plantations: but note[s] that the English by building such Forts might with the Assistance of the Iroquese drive the French out of Canada: But those Nations as has been Observed were then Vastly Stronger than they are at present. Colonel Spottswood when Governor of Virginia about 16 years since got a Law pass'd there for Errecting the Company before mentioned to carry on a Trade with the Indians which was Established on Terms that gave those people such content that considerable numbers repair'd from the Back parts to Christiana Fort which the Company built for that purpose and he laid an excellent Scheme for extending

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84 This plan of Lahontan's is in vol. I, pp. 180–3, of the English edition (Cf. ante, note 22).
that Trade & raising Fortifications even on Lake Erie. But because it was Managed by a Company (tho' without one unless it had been made the business of the whole Government the design was impracticable) it was opposed in England and a Repeal of [the] Law procured, to the inexpressible Loss of all these Colonies in the Consequence; for Colonel Spotswood having had experience in the Wars abroad, however he might otherwise have been blamed, none in these parts have been better qualified to Execute such a Scheme which, if Effected, would have exceedingly contributed to the Security of all these Dominions, and this is said here by a Person\footnote{Logan himself, whose own trade must in time have suffered as that of the Virginia Company developed. For Spotswood's activities, \textit{vide} Dodson, \textit{Op. cit.}, chaps. v, x, xi.} who never had any manner of Interest in that Company or their Trade or was ever under any Obligation to that Gentleman, and therefore it is mentioned only as it is proper to the Subject and in regard to Truth, and [to the] General Interest of Britain in the Colonies without the least Biass or Partiality.

Tis said Endeavours have been used this last year to obtain of the Crown a Grant of another Province or large Tract of Land to the West of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and Proposals made to Transport large Numbers of Palatines to Settle it. The Inducement to this Application has probably been an Opinion that those Excellent Lands on Ohio before mentioned lie without the bounds of the Royal Grant of Pennsylvania, but those who have a more certain knowledge of that part of the Country are well Assured that so much of Ohio River as flows between the Latitude of 43 and 40 lie[s] a good way within the Limits of the Said Province. It was truly to be wished that such a project were Practicable for such a Frontier on that part would be highly useful, but as ('tis presumed) They must first ask leave of those who will never Grant it, Viz'. The French, who are extremely Jealous of extended Settlements, it would under the present State of Affairs be altogether in Vain to Attempt it.\footnote{The reference is to an application of Jacob Stauffer, or Stover, one Ochs, and others, who interested Sir William Keith, lately governor of Pennsylvania, in their project. The colonists were to be Swiss, not Palatines. For the pertinent documents see \textit{Virginia Magazine of History and Biography}, vol. XXIX, pp. 180-90, 287-91. Despite an intense distrust of Keith, Logan would have favored the project, could he have been sure (1) that the Ohio lands were outside Pennsylvania's bounds, and (2) that they would be occupied in sufficient force to defend the frontier from the French. [Logan Papers, MSS. in H. S. P., Logan Letter Books, vol. III, p. 344.] The events of 1749-1754 were proof that Logan well understood the French attitude.}
This being the present State of the Northern Continent of America towards the Atlantick in respect to their strength and Security, the writer will not Presume to hint at the Remedies proper to be Applied on the part of Britain further than to Observe they will naturally Occur from the Defects that have been Noted. It has indeed been thought by some a Natural Policy to keep the several Colonies under distinct and independant Commands, the more effectually to Secure them from a Revolt from the Crown, and it's very true that as States Governments and Powers have perpetually Shifted and we know not now one in the world except China that was in being fifteen hundred years ago, America in the Succession of Ages may also put on another Face. But those who Apprehend any probability of this for Several Ages to come, or while the Mother Countrys in Europe Maintain their Power at Home, indulge their Political Speculations without any just foundation. For as America now is and for a long time will be Circumstanced if due Care be taken, there will be no Danger of any Revolution of that kind, while the Colonies are treated with Tenderness and Humanity and not Considered only as Slavishly Subservient to the Interest of the Countrye they came from. The People of New England by their Education and Institution[s] are naturally and peculiarly Stiff, but to Abridge them from falling Timber any where but on their own Improvements as an Act of Parliament enjoins is a restraint that none who know that Country could think reasonable or practicable. Yet New England as it is Circumstanced [?] can't fall out with] Britain, or Set up for themselves unless they should be so heavily Oppressed as to be rendered incapable of Supporting themselves; for in such Cases, 'tis very Certain that a present great uneasiness (which in most Affairs determines human Choice) will outweigh all the Precepts of Prudence and the most Momentous considerations. But while there are no noble or Great and Ancient

"The following discussion is of significance when read in the light of the momentous occurrences of 1763-1776. Even the leadership of New England is foreshadowed. The contemplation of a colonial revolt was by no means unique with Logan at this time. The first sentence of his argument demonstrates this, and it is confirmed by a remark of Lord Baltimore in 1731: "The islands and plantations on the Continent are in a miserable condition, and in a few years will sett up for themselves purely from the hardships put upon them." [Quoted in Wolff, Op. cit., p. 43, from the Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Earl of Egmont Manuscripts, vol. I, p. 151.]

Families, no large revenues in those parts, and while Canada is so near, they cannot Rebel. And on this head it may not be Forreign to the purpose to note that in Time it will Probably be the true Interest of both Britain and France to have each other's Colonies on the Continent Supported as the most Effective Check that could be thought of, to retain them on both sides in a sight of their Duty.  But since Ambition, Resentment, and other passions, with present private views, are often known to have a greater influence on the Grand Affairs of the World, than cool and deliberate Counsels, nothing of that kind under the present Scitation can be depended on. 'Tis the present Interest of France to make themselves Strong at Home, and its plain that nothing but a Conjunction with Spain could more effectually Contribute to that than the Accession of the Trade & Navigation of America and its very certain that ever since the Peace of Utrecht they have constantly Studied and been Silently making Advances to this while the British Interest there appears to have been as much neglected.

For if leaving the Continent we take a View of the Islands the Subject will appear almost too melancholly to Treat of and the Condition those belonging to Britain are is so obvious, that it appears impossible it should not be known. The English in the beginning of King William's War invaded Martinico, and soon after that of Queen Anne began they did the same by Guadaloupe, and both to no other purpose than to provoke by their Devastations. But now the French in all those parts are become Vastly more powerful. By their encroachments on and Posession of the better parts of Hispaniola and their greater number of Islands, they have much more Ground in the West Indies than Britain, They are much better Fortifyed, more populous more frugal industrious and regular, and which is no Trifle in their Case, much more mildly Treat their Slaves. Some who have been this last Summer in Martinico aff[irm] they then Mustered there Eleven thousand Effective Men and that their Fort is as regularly

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39 This suggestion the copyist of this paper, B. Franklin, combated very persuasively in his famous Interest of Great Britain considered (London, 1760).

40 This mild censure of the British government conceals Logan’s real views. Actually he thought their incompetence and errors so egregious that they could be explained only by: “Quos perdere vult Jupiter...” [Dickinson-Logan Letter Book, p. 52.]

41 The editor has been unable to find any reference to either of these expeditions, although he learned of one unsuccessful attack on both islands in King William’s War. [Camb. Mod. Hist., vol. V, p. 60.]
and carefully kept as if it were on the most exposed Frontier. While Barbadoes the Chief of the British Carribbees is as much Sunk in its Strength as the other is grown. In that Island as Ligon says,† who was there in the year 1648 and wrote a History of it, there were then about Fifty thousand Souls besides Slaves, but more Credibly De Rochefert, a good Author, in his Histoire des Antilles says‡ there were counted about the same time Twenty thousand. They were however afterwards very Populous, for we find when De Ruyter came against it in 1675 they had Ten thousand Men in Arms besides Sufficient numbers to take care of their Plantations. Since that time, by sickness and their practice of Employing as few Whites as possible they can, their Militia has been reduced to about 6000 foot and 2000 Horse which was for many Years accounted their Complement, but now they scarce exceed half that Number, yet they still continue very Opulent and Tempting to an Enemy. For from that Island alone, on a Conquest of it, might be had a Booty in Negroes that if Transported would yield among the Spaniards a Million Sterling besides all their other riches. But not only they but the other British Isles have seemed to Languish not thro' poverty, but the Effects of its contrary, Viz: that fatal Canker Luxury and a Careless Administration which have too generally proved the Forerunners of destruction. To relieve themselves from the Disorders they feel, while they Sell their Commodities at almost double the Price their Neighbours afford the same, instead of applying the only proper remedies,—Industry and Frugality,—they Solicit what would still add to their disease, that is to prohibit all Trade between those of the Continent and the Foreign Plantations§ which would [?] prove hurtful] not only to themselves, but to all the King's Dominions: It would be hurtful to Britain, because they must then purchase all West India Commodities much dearer. To the British Continent of America by Abridging them of a Trade that is of real service to Britain, and in Effect of more disservice to the French than a benefit, because they can furnish themselves with more Advantage

† Hist: of Bbados by N. Ligon Fol 1657 pag. 43. [Richard Ligon, A true & exact history of the island of Barbados (London, 1657).]
to the General Interest of France with the same necessarys from their own Colonies. And to those British Islands themselves by rendering them Still more Luxurious and therefore still weaker and more Ener-vate, and at the same time more exposed to the Attacks of an Enemy. But waving that Contest it is undoubtedly true, [that if they] are to be preserved, it must without Remarkable Providences in their favour, be by measures very different from those that of late years have been taken and it is not without Just reason those of the Carribbees complain, that while they Yearly raise vast Sums for their Governors and the Publick, their Forts and Magazines are not only neglected but Suffered to run to ruin while their Neighbours constantly make the same Provision and keep themselves prepared as if they were im mediately to expect a War. Thus the French Islands appear now in a Condition in case of a Rupture, to spare Men Enough of their own without any other Assistance, than Perhaps some Shipping, to make themselves Masters of any one and, in Course, of all the Carribbees, nor could Jamaica (humanely Speaking) withstand the Force they could bring against it. But if Spain should join with France in such Attacks it would be impossible otherwise than by large Fleets from Britain to defend them. Could the Court of Spain be brought to consider their true interest it would probably be theirs to keep the Power of France and Britain in the West Indies on a Ballance the better to preserve their own Possessions, but this is at present only speculation.

To conclude, tho' the American Plantations are of such Importance to Britain, that the Loss of them to any other Power especially to France might be its own ruin, from the hints given in this Paper, on further Proper Inquiries it will appear in what Condition they are at present to defend themselves and how growing the Danger is of their being Lost without different Measures. In case of a War the Allies of Britain may think themselves less [obliged?] to yield [her] any Assistance there, and yet there it is manifestly the Interest of France to begin it.