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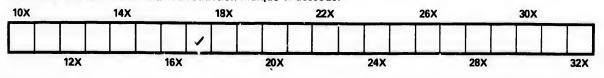
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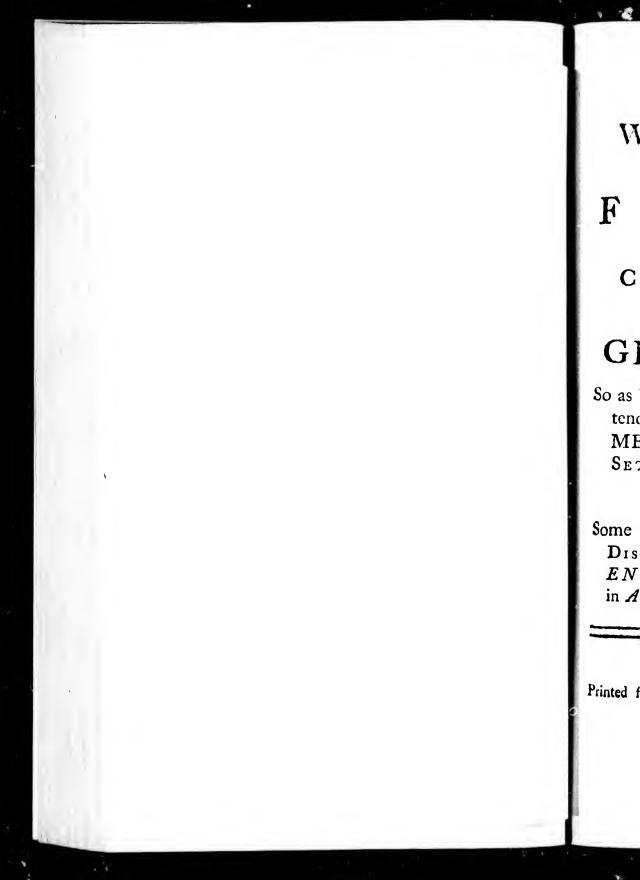
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WISDOM and POLICY

#### OF THE

# FRENCH

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# GREAT OFFICES,

So as beft to anfwer the Purpofes of extending their TRADE and COM-MERCE, and enlarging their Foreign SETTLEMENTS.

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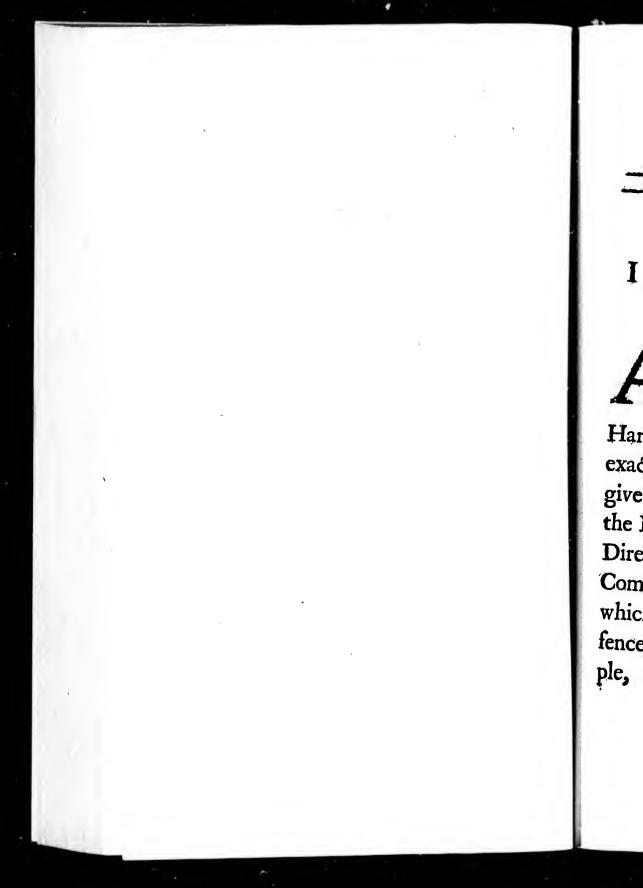
Some OBSERVATIONS in relation to the DISPUTES now fubfifting between the ENGLISH and FRENCH COLONIES in AMERICA.

LONDON:

Printed for R. BALDWIN, at the Rose, in Paternoster-Row. MDCCLV.

( Price Eighteen Pence. )

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# INTRODUCTION.

A LTHOUGH a Government may, by its original Conftitution, have all the Harmony of Parts which the moft exact Frame and Composition can give it; yet, if those possified of the Executive Power, having the Direction of the Force of the Commonwealth, apply that Power, which was intended for the Defence and Prefervation of the People, to other Ends and Purposes B than than those intended, great Disorders will be introduced into the Body Politic, which will operate in very different Shapes; either as they arise from the Ambition of Princes to govern with an unlimited Sway, or from ministerial and subordinate Powers forming distinct and separate Interests from that of the Prince and the Subjects; in which Case, they must assume a dispensing Power, and in many Respects act contrary to the Trust reposed in them.

Acts of Power in Princes are generally open, and when they are hurried on by Ambition, or irregular Pursuits, they, like *Jupiter*, disperse or ful and Of the fee of obl pre orthe rate r as of unlierial ming from Submuft and in o the

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disperse their Thunderbolts, which often carry more of Terror than Danger along with them; for when the Storm is over, and they are made sensible of their Error, all the other Parts of the Government may refume their usual Functions.

But when, thro' the Ambition or Party-views of ministerial and subordinate Powers, the Harmony and mutual Relation of the great Offices are broke in upon, it puts those employed therein into a perfect Indisposition and Incapacity of ferving the Publick, and it also obliges those, who may afterwards preside in the faid Offices, to act B 2 by by incidental Events, which are often various, and for the most part irregular; fo that Facts are difguifed, and Objects reprefented as thro' the wrong End of a Perfpective; which quickly leads Men in Power into Errors and Mistakes, and then they are bound to defend them; and when in Confequence thereof private Interest is preferred to the publick Good, and Strata-, gems are employed to deceive the People, it deftroys Society, and renders Multitudes of Men like Herds of Beafts, without proper Inftruments, without Faith, and without Propriety of Action. Under which Circumstances, a Nation may not be appriled of their Weakness

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Now

Now as it is conceived to be Unity of Defign, or the uniform Profecution of one End or Point of View, which conflitutes Strength and Vigour in the Body Politic, it may be of great Use to be informed of the political Movements of other Kingdoms or States, and of the Genius of their Government, that we may thereby know what to hope or fear from them, either in the Quality of Friends or Enemies. And therefore, as we have at prefent many Concerns of a very interesting Nature depending with France, it may be of Service to take a short View of the System of their Government, and I

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T Gove their refpe be p Nego Com I to ini in rela and the Construction of their great Offices, and in part. 'r of their Council or Board of Commerce, that we may be the better enabled to judge of their Strength, Defigns and Connections in America.

The Policy and Genius of all Governments are beft difcerned by their Course of Proceedings in their respective Offices, which ought to be principally attended to in all Negotiations relative to Trade and Commerce.

I have therefore endeavoured to inform myfelf on this Subject in relation to *France*; and as my only View in publishing the following

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lowing Treatife is to ferve the Public, I humbly hope they will accept of my Endeavours, and that the Reader will be pleafed to pardon any Faults or Inadvertencies I may thro' Mistake be led into in the Course of this Effay.

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### SECT. I.

Observations on the French Politics and Government, with respect to their Course of proceeding in their great Offices.

I F Men were a Law unto themfelves, there would not be any Want of either Laws or Magistrates to keep them in Tranquillity: but, Nature being corrupted, Self-love, Necessity, fometimes Hatred, Avarice, or one Passion or other, blinds them, and induces them to violate the Laws of Reason, fo as to use Fraud and Force to fatisfy their unjust and irregular Defires; whereupon Legislatures have form-C ed

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ed a new Reason, which is termed Laws; but becaufe Laws must be armed with Correction, and have fome Soul or living Principle, therefore Magistrates are appointed to pronounce the Oracles which the Law infpires, to put the Laws in Execution, and to maintain the Authority of them : however, the Magistrates, in all well regulated Governments, have no manner of Authority beyond what is by pofitive Grant and Commission delegated to them, and are all of them accountable to fome other Power in the Commonwealth.

The French Monarchy, which I intend briefly to treat of in this Dif-

Discourse, is compesed of a King, and the three Eftates of the Kingdom, namely, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the third Effate out of the Merchants, Artificers, and Husbandmen; and out of those three Estates the Parliament was formed; but in the Reign of Philip the Fair Parliaments became fedentary, and now have, or claim, a Power to deliberate upon the Pleafure and Edicts of the King, even fo as to fuspend any Act of the Crown, which may by them be deemed contrary to the fundamental and established Rules of Government.

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The Parliament likewife takes Cognizance of all Appeals brought to them, and have in many Refpects a Superintendency over the whole Affairs of the Kingdom.

The King hath not only Parliaments and other Officers and Judicatures to determine Differences amongft his Subjects, but alfo a Council of State, which is generally composed of Gentlemen of the Long Robe, by whofe Advice he may correct all Abuses in the Administration of public Affairs, and reverse all Sentences or Directions given by those in Trust and Power against the Mind and Intention of the

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Indi-Judiences lfo a heralf the ce he e Adand ctions Power lon of the the Crown : fo that the faid Council, as conftituted, may be juftly styled the Eyes, the Ears, and the Hands of the King, as there is not any Act done, contrary to the King's Intention, but what may, and often is redreffed by applying to the King in the faid Council of State; and if, on Examination, it be found that the Officers of the Crown are aggrieved by any Act of Power in their Superiors, they may, and often do, meet with Redrefs on that Head. Which Regulation hath a wonderful Operation and Effect in the foreign Concerns of the French Nation. For if the Officers of a lower Class were barred all Access to the Crown, how could they refift

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fift the Will of their Superiors, even in Matters which may be contrary to their Duty to their Sovereign, to the Public, and to the Oath of Office they have taken? Befides, when the Channels of Information are obftructed, the Crown cannot either punifh the Guilty, nor reward the Virtuous, nor in any refpect exercise those Powers which are lodged in it for the Safety and Benefit of the Subject.

The Royal Privy Council, in which fecret Affairs ought only to be debated, is composed of the great Officers of State; but it depends on the Pleafure of the Crown whewho cula affif Part ken

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whether the Whole, or any particular Number, shall be called to affift with their Advice; and in this Particular different Kings have taken different Courses.

All public Acts, fuch as Peace, and War, raifing of Money, &c. &c. are fuppofed to take their Rife from the Crown; but there have been Debates on this Head, Whether the King ought to be guided by the Advice of the Royal Council, or of the Council of State. However, be that as it will, all the different Modes of governing by Laws are united in the French Monarchy, as no Edict of the Crown ought to have its full Force Force and Effect until registered in Parliament; and all Grants and other Acts, which relate to the Execution of the King's Will and Pleafure, are to be brought into the Council of State: fo that by those Cheques and Restraints, the mutual Relation and Subordination of all the Parts of the Government would be fo preferved, as to make them concur and act for the Good of the Whole, provided the Monarch or his Ministers of State would act uniformly, and not filence the other Parts of the Syftem. But there is fomething in the Nature of Man, when armed with Power, that hates Restraint, and when they follow their 3

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their own Wills and Paffions, they follow blind Guides, that will not allow them to be perfect Mafters of their own Reafon; from which Root have fprung many Acts of Power and Oppreffion. But when Princes act agreeable to their own Syftem, then Order and Regularity in Bufinefs give Motion and Conduct, Spirit and Vigour to all public Concerns.

In Government there must be fome Power which, compared with the reft, doth bear the Signatures of Authority, and claim the Right of Direction; for otherwife these Delegates of Power would be at Liberty to gratify every Ap-D petite petite and Passion in its Turn, or indulge every Defire which happened to be uppermoft; but this is not thought confiftent with the Dignity of the French Monarchy, and indeed their Offices feem to be fo contrived, as to make the King the fole Mafter and Arbiter of all Rewards, and to confer them himfelf, fo that they who receive any Beneficence of his may be convinced, they owe it to his Bounty; which is an infallible Means to attract to the Crown the Hope of the Subject, and together with it his Refpect, as, in fuch Cafe, every one will strive to do his Duty, and no one promife himfelf any Grace or Advantage but

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but by his Merit and Services: therefore, in order to keep all the Channels of Information open to the View of the Crown, all the Great Boards in France do, every Year, report to the King in his Council of State the Course of the Officers belonging to the refpective Boards; in which Light the King is to be confidered as the Center to which all Perfons, employed in the Administration of public Affairs, and all Matters relative to the Offices, ultimately refort; and from this there refults a Spirit of Liberty in the Administration of public Affairs.

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What hath principally contributed to the breaking in upon the original System or Plan of Government, and alfo to introduce many arbitrary Acts of Power and Violence against the Subject in France, is the Attempts of the Clergy to render themselves Masters of a great Part of the temporal Jurifdiction, which they have, in a manner, forced fome of the French Monarchs to yield to them. They have also obtained the Rights of Mortmain and Indemnity for the Lands they poffess; whereby the State is much weakened; and not only fo, but it creates a foreign Monarchy in the Bofom of France. An-

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Another great and effectual Caufe of breaking in upon the faid Syftem of Government is, the Power conferred on the Nobility by Fiefs, and by intrusting them with the Charge of doing Justice, and of commissioning Officers for that End, which hath been an Inlet to many Acts of Power and Oppreffion on the Subjects.

The Manner likewife of regulating and collecting the public Taxes hath been extremely oppreffive to the poorer fort of the People, as the greateft Weight lies upon them. Not but if the Farms were properly regulated, and not granted ed in Reversion, and also brought within the View of the Treasury Chamber, and the Farmers thereby properly checked, they might in many Respects be confidered as beneficial to the Subject.

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In *France* the Conftitution of the Nobility is wholly Military, and therefore they think it inconfiftent, with their Rank, Quality, or Profession to be subject to the Reftraints which might be laid on them by a Parliament.

These and many other Considerations are strong Inducements to the Sovereign to act according to his own arbitrary Will and Plea-

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Pleasure, and to force all the other Parts of the Government to concur with his Views in any Deviation he may think proper to make from the legal System of Government. Yet the Conftitution hath many natural Strengths; as for example, the King cannot with Safety undertake any War of Importance without allowing the Parliament the free Use and Exercife of their Powers; for if this was denied them, the King could not borrow Money fufficient to answer the Expences of the Government. And, with regard to the great Council of State (which, as above obferved, is generally composed of Gentlemen of the Long Robe)

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Robe) the Dignity and Safety of the Crown, the due Courfe of Bufinefs in the Offices, and the Unity of Action through all the conftituent Parts of the Government, principally depend on it, as it is a Check upon the whole Administration, and makes the Crown the Center to which all Matters relative to the Offices ultimately refort.

In this Regulation there is much Safety: For Informations in any other Shape could not be wholly relied upon, as Ministers are in many Respects liable to be deceived, as well as the Crown. But when Unity of Action is preferved, and all Matters left open to the View

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View of the Crown, both the Monarch and his Ministers of State will be freed from many Mistakes and Inadvertencies in their Conduct; and the Government will be preferved in perfect Health, and not ficken under the Preffure of crude and undigested Schemes of Policy.

It is the greateft Happinels to a Minister, and what will afford the highest Pleasure to an ingenuous and benevolent Disposition of Temper, to be under proper Restraints in the Exercise of Power; it frees him from many irregular Solicitations, it preferves him from condescending to many Acts contrary to his Judgment, and often E ununworthy of his Character; it will allow him to difplay his Talents, and make Virtue appear, what it really is, a lovely Form; and it will keep him from fervile Fears and Condefcenfions unequal to his Character; which will prevent him from knowing any Mafter but his Sovereign.

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When the great *Sully* undertook to reform the Abufes which had crept into the Administration of public Affairs in *France*, divers Things had been engaged by the *French* Kings to the Use of private Perfons, who had paid Sums thereupon; but as the faid Kings had fold or engaged their Rights at an under Value, *Sully* thought it just 2 and ill nd lly ep deer; W4 gn. :ook had n of ivers the vate

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and fit to refume fome of the faid Rights, and to recover the Demenne of the Crown from others by a Rent-charge, which fecured the Payment of the Money they had advanced : but that the King might reap further Advantage from this Change, it was necessary to fettle a Fund for the Raifing of these new Rents, and for that End a new Imposition was laid upon the Clergy, Counties of State, Companies, Colleges, and other Members of the Kingdom. But as the Advantage of an Exchequer doth not only confift in the bare Getting in of Money, but also in a frugal Manner of Expending it, it was likewife neceffary to reform the E 2

the great Offices, the Ministers of State having, for many Years before that Period of Time, confidered themfelves to be at Liberty to difpenfe with the Rules of their refpective Offices; or, it may more properly be faid, they had not any determinate or unvariable Rule of Action. The Orders and Regulations made by the Crown in former Times not being ufually renewed on the Acceffion of their Kings, nor confidered as having still the fame Force and Efficacy as the Ordinances of the Crown in other Cafes; he wifely and prudently confidered that this gave an Opening to many Incroachments by Men in Power; and that if they, from

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from particular Motives, or private Views, deviated from the just Principles of Action, those who were dependent on, and acted fubfervient to, them would ever take Advantage of fuch Proceedings, and, in their respective Spheres of Action, improve it to their own Service, in delaying the Bufiness of the Public, and in throwing infinite Difficulties in the Way of all fuch as had any public Concerns with the Crown; and that this Evil would in Time be communicated from the Highest to the Lowest, even in fuch a Degree as to make the lower Clerks prey upon the Neceffities of the Soldiers and Sailors.

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In examining into the faid Motives and Springs of Action, it infpired him with a patriot Zeal for the Service of his King and Country; and in order to lay a folid and proper Foundation for the Structure afterwards to be raifed, he began with a Matter that nearly concerned himfelf, namely, to use all his Credit and Power with the Sovereign, to make every Rule of Office equally binding or obligatory with the Edicts of the Crown in other Cafes; and to free the Officers of a lower Class from a fervile Dependance on their Superiors. It was likewife directed by an Arret of the King in Council

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cil (which is in Force until this Day) that every Officer fhould have a Right, by Petition, to lay his Grievances before the King in his great Council of State; and to demand any Papers, Entries, or other Records, in any of the Offices wherefoever placed, which might by him be thought neceffary to fupport the feveral Matters contained in his Petition.

Such a wife Regulation could not fail of producing happy Effects, by freeing those employed in the Service of the Crown from a fervile Dependance on their Superiors, and directing the Method of Appeal to the Crown, by freeing

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ing those in the Administration of Affairs of State from irregular and unjustifiable Solicitations, and by preventing the Revenues of the Crown from being embezzled or misapplied, which must always be the Cafe when there are particular and private Interefts to fupport, foreign to, and independent of, that of the Crown; as it is conceived to be an undoubted Truth, That it will require more than twice as much to fupport the private Views of an Administration, as would be neceffary to expedite the Business of the Public.

It may be proper to observe further, that by the System of the French

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French Government, the faid Council of State is the high Watch-Tower, from which the King may furvey all his Dominions, and fometimes all the Dominions of the World, in order to confult the Honour, Defence, Profit and Peace of his Subjects, and also their Protection from Violence or Injury, either at Home or Abroad. But this cannot be done, if the leading Principle is not in a Condition to act its Part well, and to proper Purposes. For if the other great Boards do not retain their proper Functions, but are at liberty to vary from their Rule of Action, fuch Deviations break in upon the mutual Agreement and friendly

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Operation of the Parts ; by which the Government must fuffer a fenfible Difturbance: and in Proportion as this prevails, the Security and Happiness of the People must be diminished; for if the faid Council of State was to concur with any of the other great Boards, in any Incroachments upon the Crown, or the Subject, under those Circumstances the King might, in a great meafure, be excluded from having any Share or Direction in the Administration of State Affairs, altho' at the fame Time Ministers of State made an arbitrary Use of his Name and Authority. However, the French are too wife to admit of fuch Innovations,

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novations, and the Parliament of Paris have always guarded against it, as the greatest Misfortune which could poffibly attend the Kingdom; because, by that Means, they would be rendered incapable either to defend themfelves, or to undertake any Enterprize of Moment; for in fuch a Situation, a Government may be justly refembled to a disjointed Body, whofe Members are diflocated, and unable to act their proper Parts. Therefore at the Accession of every King, the Arrets of former Kings in Council are renewed, and confidered as a ftanding Rule to act by; and in like manner, all the other great Boards regulate F 2 themthemselves in the Execution of the King's Will and Intention. So that, on the whole, the King may be properly faid to be in his Kingdom, what the Soul is in the natural Body, which, according to the proper Direction of its Powers, brings either Happiness or Misery; and in this Refpect France may be justly faid to be happy in the Management of their American Colonics, and in the Conduct of War and Negotiations, altho' at the fame Time they are in many Refpects miferable, by the wrong Direction of their interior Concerns.

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### SECT. II.

The Motives which induced Lewis the XIVth to conflitute a Board of Commerce, and the Plan upon which the faid Board is conflituted; and alfo the Checks and Restraints the Governors and other Officers are liable to, in the Discharge of their respective Duties; with a general View of their Commerce.

I T is not much above half a Century, fince *France* was not a Soil wherein one could expect to find Trade flourish; the Maxims of their Government being, in many

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many Refpects, contrary to that Freedom and Security, which are abfolutely neceffary for the Improvement or Enlargement of Trade. However the French King, Lewis the XIVth, in a great meafure removed those Obstacles, by the Rules or Ordinances which he made on conftituting a Council of Commerce in 1700. For whatever the Exigencies of State might require him to do at particular Junctures, yet he took effectual Care to provide for the Security and Safety of his Subjects in America, fo as not to leave them a Prey to the Governors and other Officers in the Plantations. Hence it appears evident, that protecting the

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the Subject by a regular Plan, or Syftem of Acting in the Offices, hath as great an Effect and Operation in the encouraging and promoting of Trade, as the Sun hath by fending out his benign and gentle Influence on the Seeds of Plants, in inviting forth their active and plaftic Powers.

Lewis the XIVth, in the Profecution of the War he had enter'd into with the Maritime Powers, was made fenfible of the great Advantages refulting from Trade and Navigation; that it was impoffible for any Country, however advantageoufly fituated, to bear the Expences and Load of heavy Taxes,

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Taxes, without a proportionable Supply arifing from its Commerce; and that without enlarging or extending the Trade of his Colonies, which would prove a confiderable Nurfery for Sailors, he could not carry on his extenfive Views, or promote the Grandeur and Dignity of his Crown: And being likewife fenfible how neceffary it was to give all manner of Encouragement and Security to fuch as were inclinable to embark in new Undertakings, his Majefty took effectual Care to eftablish an orderly Course of Proceeding, and to ordain a regular Plan to take place, fo as to prevent those in Trust and Office in the

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the faid Colonies, from having it in their Power to render any thing done by them fallacious or uncertain, and if possible to prevent all Causes of Injury to the Subjects abroad, and not to let the Property of the *French* Planters rest in the Hands of their Governors without any regular Check or certain Controul which could be depended upon.

The French King was under no Reftraint in appointing what Form of Government he thought fit, or in directing that all the Lands in America Ihould be confidered as a Demefne of the Crown: but as the Order and Subferviency of G all

ble )mirghis re a lors, tenranown: how man-Secuble to s, his re to f Proegular b prefice in the all leffer Syftems, and their Concurrence to the Good of the general Syftem, depend upon the Subordination of the Parts, the Conftitution of the French Council or Board of Commerce, and the Form of Government inftituted in the Colonies, evidently fhew, that the Crown referved to itfelf only a kind of parental Property in the American Colonies.

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And in many other Refpects the political Views and Forefight of the *French* King and his Minifters of State cannot be fufficiently admired, in making the Crown the Center to which all Matters relating to the Colonies muft ongethe the ounand cuted hew, itfelf

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must ultimately refort, by one Conveyance or through one Channel only, and in keeping the Offices, in all their feveral Branches or Departments, uniform, entire, and open, under fevere Penalties to be inflicted on the Aggreffors, and recoverable by the Subject when injured by those in Trust and Power under the Crown.

But in order the more clearly and effectually to illustrate the faid Matters, it will be neceffary to take a Survey of the Institutions, Regulations and Ordinances, which are in Use in the French Council of Commerce; to point out the wonderful Operation and  $G_2$  Effect

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Effect they have had in promoting their Trade and Navigation, and afterwards to demonstrate that the Plan or System of all Offices is to be confidered as a Piece of Clockwork which, by its Springs, directs the Wheels in their Motion.

The French King by his Arret to eftablifh a Council of Commerce, declares, "That he was more "difpofed than ever to g rant a par-"ticular Protection to Commerce, "to fhew his Efteem of the good "Merchants and Traders of his "Kingdom, and to facilitate to "them the Means of making Com-"merce flourifh and extending it : "he

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"he judges, that nothing can be " more capable of producing this "Effect, than the forming a " Council of Commerce, which " fhall be wholly attentive to the " examining and promoting what-" ever may be most advantageous " to Commerce, and to the Ma-"nufactures of the Kingdom. " Which he being defirous to fettle, " the Report of Mr. Chamillart, " Counfellor in Ordinary to the " Royal Council, Comptroller Ge-"neral of the Finances, being "heard, he the faid King, being " in his Council, has ordained, "and ordains, That for the fu-"ture a Council of Commerce " fhall be held, at leaft, once every

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"every Week, which shall be " composed of Mr. Daguffeau, " Counfellor in Ordinary of State, " and of the Royal Council of the " Finances; of Mr. Chamillart, "Counfellor of the faid Royal " Council, and Comptroller Ge-" neral of the Finances; of the " Count De Pontchartain, Coun-" fellor to the faid King in all " his Councils, Secretary of State, " and of his Majefty's Orders; of " Mr. Amelot, Counfellor of State; " of M. De Hornothon and Bayyn "D'Angervilliers, Counfellors to " the faid King in his Councils, " Masters of Requests in Ordi-" nary of his Houfhold; and of " Twelve of the principal trading " Mer1 be ſſeau, State, of the illart, Royal er Geof the Counin all State, ers; of f State; Bayyn lors to puncils, Ordiand of trading « Mer-

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" Merchants in the Kingdom, or " fuch as have been a long Time "engaged in Commerce : That " of this Number of trading Mer-" chants, two shall always be of " the Town of Paris, and that "the other ten shall be taken "out of the Towns of Rouen, " Bourdeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, " Rochelle, Nantes, St. Malo, " Lisle, Bayonne, and Dunkirk. "That in the faid Council of " Commerce shall be discussed " and examined all the Propofi-"tions and Memorials which " fhall be fent to it; together " with the Affairs and Difficul-" ties which may arife concern-" ing COMMERCE as well by Land as

" as by Sea, within the Kingdom " and out of it, concerning Works " and Manufactures; to the End " that upon the Report that shall " be made to the faid King of the "Refolutions which shall have " been taken thereupon in the faid " Council of Commerce, the faid "King may order what is most " adviseable. His, the faid King's "Will and Intention is, that the " Choice and Nomination of the " faid trading Merchants, who " are to be of the faid Council of " Commerce, shall be made freely " and without clandeftine cabal-" ling, by the Corporation Ma-"gistrates of the Town, and by " the trading Merchants in each s of I

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" of the faid Towns. That those, " who shall be chosen to be of " the Council of Commerce, be "Men of known Probity, and "Capacity and Experience in " Matters of Commerce ; and that " for this Purpole the Town Ma-" gistrates and the trading Mer-"chants of the Towns above-"mentioned shall assemble in " the Month of July next, in "each respective Town-House, " to proceed to the faid Election, " fo that the trading Merchants, " thus elected and named, may be " able to arrive at Paris, or where-" ever the Court shall refide, by " the End of September following, " to begin their Functions the 1st " Day H

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" Day of October. That the faid " Elections shall be for one Year " only, and fhall be renewed an-" nually in the Manner above " mentioned, with a Provifo, that " the Time of Service in the faid " Council may be prolonged, if " it shall be judged proper fo to "do. He, the faid King, or-" dains, that the forenamed Com-" ptroller-General of the Finances " shall nominate two Perfons in-" terested in his Majesty's Farms, " to be called to the faid Coun-" cil when the Nature of Affairs " shall require. And for Secre-" tary of the faid Council of Com-" merce, he, the faid King, hath " nominated Mr. Cruaw de la " Boulaye,

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: faid Year d anabove , that e faid ed, if r fo to g, or-Comnances ons in-Farms, Coun-Affairs Secre-Com-, hath de la Boulaye,

" Boulaye, Counfellor to him the " faid King, Corrector in Ordi-" nary of the Chambers of Ac-" compts ; who shall take care to "keep an exact Register of all " the Propositions, Memorials and " Affairs, which shall be laid be-" fore the faid Council, as alfo of " the Refolutions which shall be " taken therein; Copies whereof " he hall deliver according as he " fhall be ordered by the faid " Council. Done in the faid "King's Council of State, he "being prefent. At Versailles, " the 29th Day of June, 1700.

The King's Intention in conftituting the faid Council or Board H 2 of

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of Commerce, was to make them the only Conveyance to him in his Council of State; and therefore he wifely ordained, that all the great Officers of State should be conftituted Members of the faid Board, that in cafe any Matter came under the Confideration of the Board, which had Reference to the Conduct of any of the Officers who were appointed by, or under the Direction of, any of the faid Officers of State, fuch Matters might neverthelefs be cognizable by the faid Board of Commerce, as all the faid Officers of State are deemed to be prefent at the faid Board, although they do not give their Attendance.

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This Part of the Constitution of the French Board of Commerce feems to be taken from the original Conftitution of our Council of Trade in 1696; however there is this great Difference between the two Boards, that the French have steadily adhered to the Rules and Inftitutions of their Board; but the Englifb have not had it equally in their Power fo to do, which has been the Root or Caufe of many Evils, both as it relates his Majesty's Subjects in America, and to the Trade and Commerce of the English Nation.

The

The Regulations of greatest Moment and Efficacy made by the faid Arret are, that in the faid Council of Commerce fhould be difcuffed and examined, all the Propositions and Memorials which fhould be fent to it, together with the Affairs and Difficulties which might arife concerning Commerce; and likewife that the Secretary of the faid Council of Commerce fhould take care to keep an exact Register of all the Propositions, Memorials and Affairs which should be brought before the faid Council, as also of the Resolutions which should be taken thereon.

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Now the Arret of the French King having the Force and Virtue of a Law, the Council of Commerce are under an abfolute Neceffity, and even fubject to great Penalties, as is provided in other Cafes of Contempt, if they do not examine and difcuss all the Properitions and Memorials fent to them, together with the Difficulties which might arife concerning them; fo that the Crown is to be apprifed of the Reafons for approving or rejecting the fame. Neither is it in the Power of the King's Council of State to filence or alter any of the Reports of the faid Council of Commerce, until

( 56 ) until the King's Pleafure is known therea

There is much Safety in that Method of proceeding, for thereby all Matters transacted in the faid Council of Commerce will be kept open to the View of the Crown, it being much easier to reject any Proposition or Memorial, than to affign a good Reafon for doing it. But what is still of much greater Moment is, that the faid Council of Commerce being obliged to report their Opinion in the manner above directed, on every Matter laid before them, preferve a kind of Independency in their own Sphere of Action, 2

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Action: And in this Particular they have acted with great Steadinefs, fo as not to difpenfe with the Rules of their Office in compliment to Men in Power; nay, they have even gone fo far, in Obedience to the King's Will and Intention in conftituting the faid Board, as to find Fault with fome Orders and Regulations of his Majefty, in his royal Council of State, viz.

In a Memorial prefented to his Majefty, relative to the propereft Means of procuring the Importation of Gold and Silver Bullion into the Kingdom, and for the Hindring the Exportation of the I Coin,

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hat erethe will the r to emo-Reas still that merce Opilirectbefore Indeere of ction, Coin, they address themselves to his Majesty in the following Terms, namely,

That it is neceffary to fix the current Price of our Coin, and never to alter it again; as the Uncertainty it is now in makes Foreigners draw out of the Kingdom what Effects they have in our Hands, to fecure it from Lofs. And they afterwards conclude with offering their Opinion, that it would be proper for his Majefty to give the Public an authentic Affurance, that the Rate of Bullion, and of the current Coin, fhall for the future be unalterable.

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It is also very observable, that they have frequently reported against the Conduct of those who are concerned in Farming the Revenues of the Crown; and in many other Respects shew, that they act strictly in Obedience to the Crown, and confequently with a kind of Independency on the other-great Boards; for how would it be poffible for twelve Merchants chofen annually, and who are often very little known at Court, to take Cognizance of the Actions of the Governors abroad, who being generally Men of great Interest and Weight, have Connections with Men in the highest Employments I 2 in

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dered as acting both in a civil and military Capacity; but every Thing done by the Governor in a civil Capacity is checked and reftrained by the Intendant and Council; and as a Check upon the Governor, Intendant, and Council, every Thing done by them is to be entered in Journals kept for that Purpofe only, and to be perufed and examined by the Governor, and counterfigned by the Surintendant; and in cafe of any falfe Entry, Omiffion, or Neglect in transmitting the faid Journals, at the stated Times directed by the Crown, the Governors and Surintendants are liable to the Penalties preferibed by the King's Arrets; and

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and if any of the French King's Subjects, either at home or abroad, are injured either in their Perfons or Properties by the faid Governors, Intendants, Ge. acting contrary to the King's Pleafure, fignified by the faid Arrets, the Subjects injured, on Proof made thereof before the faid Council of Commerce, are, on Application to the King in his Council of State, intitled to Relief. So that by the regular Return of the Records, the French Subjects in America are intitled to appeal to the Crown for Juffice; and as all Abufes contrary to the King's Intention are confidered as an Offence of the highest Nature against the Crown,

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Crown, the Complainants, if juftly intitled thereto, feldom or never fail to meet with Redrefs, without being put to any extraordinary Charge on that Account.

As is above obferved, the Governors in the French Colonies act in two Capacities; but as a military Officer, they have difcretionary Orders, and proceed according to the military Law, and from this Latitude they fometimes commit great Acts of Power; but in a civil Capacity they are wholly reftrained by the Regulations and Arrets of the King; and to guard againft all Inconvenience which might arife from having improper Perfons P in ha G

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Perfons to fucceed the Governors, in cafe of their Death, the King hath always appointed Lieutenant-Governors, both civil and military:

The Excellency of those Ordinances and Arrets of the French King is, that they preferve one regular, uniform, and entire Rule of Action; fo that the French Subjects abroad may, in all Cafes of Oppression, and Acts of Violence committed by the faid Governors, Intendants, &c. meet with Redrefs at a fmall Expence; as the Matters complained of, if they relate to Matters of Property, must be upon Record, and duly tranfmitted to the French Council or Board K

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Board of Commerce; or elfe, as before observed, from the faid Omission, the Governors, Intendants, &c. are liable to the Pcnalties directed by the King's faid Arrets. Which Penalties have, in fome Inftances, been given to the Complainants, in order to repay their Damages or Expences during the Delay thereby occafioned. Altho' it is very observable, that the Records are fo regularly formed, kept, and transmitted, that the French Council of Commerce depend principally upon the Records in Matters of Information, as they do not admit of any Solicitors, or even Advocates to plead before them; they keep a Clerk in

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in their Office, whofe fole Bufinefs is to draw up Memorials, Reprefentations, and Petitions, for fuch Perfons as have any Occafion to prefer them, or apply for Redrefs to the faid Council or Board of Commerce.

In relation to which it is further proper to obferve, that the principal End and Defign of conflituting a Board of Commerce was to guard against all Incroachments on the Rights of the Crown, or the Property of the Subject; and in order thereto to take effectual Care, that the Ordinances or Arrets of the Crown should be K 2 duly

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duly observed, which can only be done by preferving Harmony and Order in all their Proceedings in the Colonies.

Now in refpect to this, the Board cannot admit of any Deviations in the Governors or Intendants, or admit them to offer any colourable Pleas or Pretences in excufe for their Conduct; for if this was once allowed of, it would break in upon the whole Syftem of the Board; and inftead of reprefenting Matters in a proper Light to the Crown, they might be made ufe of to very different Ends and Purpofes, by concealing many m th of

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the Deor Inoffer tences ; for of, it whole inftead proper might ifferent cealing many many Acts of Oppression, and throwing a Veil over the Conduct of Men in Power.

The faid Council of Commerce likewife takes fpecial Care to preferve the Officers of a lower Clafs from any fervile Dependance on the Governors or Surintendants; which keeps those Offices in the Discharge of their respective Duties under the Protection of the Crown; for if they could not meet with Relief, or be defended from arbitrary Acts of Power, how would it be poffible for them to refift the Will of their Superiors, even in Matters which might be contrary

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contrary to the Orders of the Crown?

And as the Hopes of due Reward is a very ftrong Incitement to animate or push Men forwards in their Duty, fo by the Inftitution of the Council of Commerce, they are to give a particular Account to the French King, of the Conduct of all the Officers who are employed in America; and there are few, if any, Instances, wherein those who have behaved well have not been properly rewarded and promoted, and those who deviated from, or acted contrary to their Duty, been accordingly punished and difmified. All

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All the Revenues arifing in the French Colonies are accounted for in the Chamber of Accompts, and all Officers employed therein give Security to the faid Chamber for the due Performance of their Duty; fo that upon any Neglect or Omiffion in returning their Accompts, agreeable to the Rules prefcribed to them, their Sureties are liable to be profecuted; and by this Means, there is a constant Fund or Supply for the Use of the Colonies, which for the most Part is applied to the Use of the Colonies, in fuch manner as is advifed by the Council of Trade.

The

The Credit and Influence of the faid Council hath great Weight with the French King, in all Matters relating to Trade and Commerce; fo that it very feldom happens that they recommend any Thing to the Crown, but what is carried into Execution. And if there be any foreign Interest to oppose fuch Measures as are recommended by them, the French King hath, for the most part, judged it to be for the Service of the Crown, to carry the faid Meafures into Execution, and then to hear and debate the Point in Queftion, with any other Nation which may oppose it.

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The faid Regulations speak fufficiently for themfelves; but what adds more Strength and Vigour to the whole, and what hath made the faid Council of Commerce act with fuch Force and Energy in protecting the French Subjects abroad, and also in protecting and encouraging their Trade, and Navigation, and Manufactures at home, arifes principally from their not having any Power, either in themfelves, or at the Inftigation of others, to dispense with the established Rules of their Office; and that the faid Governors or Intendants abroad cannot any more difpenfe with the Ordinances and

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Arre's of the Crown, than our Judges in Westminster-Hall can with the Rules and Forms established in our Courts of Law.

The good Effects and Operation which those Regulations and Arrets in *France* have produced, may be better known by taking a curfory View of the Trade and Navigation of the *French* Colonies at the Time when their faid Council of Commerce was first instituted; and so compare it with the present State thereof, and the furprifing Increase of Trade and Navigation in that Kingdom.

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In 1701 the French did not employ above one hundred Ships in the West-India Trade, and those Ships were not near the Size, Dimenfions, or Burthen of their Ships at prefent employed therein, neither were their Commodities of equal Goodness or Value of those which they now produce; but by a Calculation made of the Amount of the Produce of their West-India Colonies from the Year 1737 to 1744, the French Islands have in Sugar, Rum, Molaffes, Indigo, Pimento, Cotton, Pepper, Ginger, Coffee, &c. &c. produced to the Value or Amount of two Millions, four hundred thousand Pounds Ster-

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Sterling per Annum, and upwards, independent of an extensive and profitable private Trade carried on from St. Domingo with the Spaniards in America. And moreover it appears, that in the faid West-India Trade or Commerce, one hundred and twenty thousand Tons of French Shipping, with eleven thousand Sailors, are annually employed; the Freight of which (as computed) amounts to four hundred and cighty thousand Pounds Sterling per Annum, and upwards.

That by a Calculation at the fame Time made, of the Produce of the French Settlements on the Continent of America, and alfo of their the fou of and ling of dre Ste clu em

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their Fishery on the Coast of Newfoundland, &c. the Amount thereof is computed at eight hundred and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling per Annum, and upwards.

That the faid Freight in Time of Peace amounted to two hundred and twenty thoufand Pounds Sterling, and upwards, which, inclufive of their Fishery, annually employed nine thousand Seamen.

The Regulations made in the faid Board of Commerce have alfo had a furprifing Effect on their Manufactures, and other Branches of Trade, as they have been thereby enabled to carry on a great Trade to

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to India, Turkey, Africa, and even to fupply Spain with a great Part of the Commodities fuited to the Spanish American Trade, which brings a continual Source of Treafure and Riches to the French Nation; and in Conjunction with the Advantages gained by their own American Trade, enables them to borrow great Sums of Money to answer the Exigencies of the State, and likewife to repay the fame, without laying themfelves under the Necessity of mortgaging their Funds in perpetuity.

I fhall only pray Leave to obferve further, that from the whole Conduct of *France* they evidently 2 appear ap Do Str try the Col valu wan the

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appear to be of Opinion, that the Dominion of the Seas, and the Strength and Riches of their Country, in a great meafure depend upon the Improvement of their *American* Colonies; to gain which great and valuable End, they will not be wanting either in Industry, or in the Application of Money.

This being the Object of fc great and powerful a Rival, how juftly doth it claim our Attention in fecuring our Intereft in *America*, and in adopting every Scheme of theirs, which may fuit our prefent Interefts and Defigns.

SECT.

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#### SECT. III.

The Defigns of the French in forming Connections with the Indians, and in extending their Territories in America; with fome further Obfervations in relation to the general Plan of Power, which they are endeavouring to establish.

I N the foregoing Sections I have endeavoured to fhew, that wherever Order, Coherence, and Union are obferved, the established Connections, and orderly Conduct of public Affairs, lead ultimately to the Good of the Society; and on the contrary, the acting by intern tl ci no M ino Go

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intermediate Events, which are often varied by ten thoufand irregular Caufes, leads to Unhappinefs and Mifery. And that where there is no Determinations to affociated Forms, neither Patriotifm nor Heroifm can fenfibly affect Men in Truft and Office, fo as to incite them to act for the public Good.

I have likewife obferved that all leffer Syftems ought to concur to the Good of the general Syftem or Plan of Government, and that when this is wanting, there cannot be Unity of Defign; but on the contrary an eter-M nal

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nal Clashing and Jarring of Interest.

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I have also endeavoured to shew that the Wildom of the French Politics arifes principally from the mutual Relation and Subferviency of their public Offices, as the freeing the Officers of a lower Class from a fervile Dependance on the Governors and Intendants in America, is a great and effectual Means of bringing every Matter of Importance to the View of the Council of Trade, and confequently to the View of the Crown; and that the Hope of Reward gives an additional Spring and Energy to those employed

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hew ench the ency the ower ance lants effec-Matew of conthe Hope ional emoyed ployed in the Difcharge of their refpective Duties: for if the contrary Practice was to take place, it might be more dangerous to expose Faults than to commit them, and under fuch Circumstances an Officer is obliged, in regard to his own Safety, to submit to every thing his Superiors may direct, without any Respect had either to the Orders of the Crown or the Good of the Public.

Whilft our Colonies remained undifturbed by the *French*, there were many Caufes of a mixt Nature, which contributed greatly to the Settlement of them; but now that the Affairs of *America* M 2 are

### (84)

are one of the principal Objects of the French Nation, the Protection of our Colonies becomes a Matter of public Concern, and claims the Attention of the Government. Therefore, as is conceived, it may not be improper to take a general View of the Conduct of the French, in relation to their Incroachments, and to the Settlement of their Colonies.

In the first Settlement of Canada, the French had many and great Difficulties to contend with, neither the Country nor the Climate being inviting. And the Obstructions they met with from the Indians would have deterred most m ter the an ke inf or En ma wh cor

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Caand with, Clithe from erred moft most other Nations from any Attempts of this Nature. However, the Glory of the *French* Monarch, and also the Hopes of being taken notice of, do at all Times influence the *French* to undertake or attempt the most hazardous Enterprifes.

In 1612, the *French* fent out many Perfons to fettle in *Canada*, who would otherwife have been confined in the Galleys, and alfo Numbers of fturdy Beggars and loofe Women; and to defend the Settlement from the *Indians*, there were fome Companies of regular Troops tranfported thither. But there does 1 not

## (86)

not appear to have been any confiderable Number of Forces tranfported to *Canada*, until Monf. *De Trafi*, appointed Viceroy of *America*, arrived at *Quebec* in 1665, after which *Cangnon*'s Regiment was broke, and both Officers and Men had confiderable Quantities of Land allowed them to fettle on.

After the Reform of the faid Troops feveral Ships were fent thither from *France*, who carried a great Number of Women along with them, under the Direction of fome old Nuns; and when they arrived there, the Men, that wanted to be married, made their Ad-

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Addreffes to the above-mentioned Governeffes, and after the Choice was determined, the Marriage was concluded in the Prefence of a Prieft and a public Notary. And the next Day the Governor, by the King's Order, beftowed upon fuch married Perfons a Bull, a Cow, a Hog, a Sow, a Cock and Hen, two Barrels of Salt-meat, and eleven Crowns in Money.

The French King likewife gave the Clergy confiderable Grants of Lands in Canada; and, in particular, to the Directors of the Seminary of St. Sulpitius at Paris he gave the Ifland of Monreal, with the Privilege of nominating a a Bailiff and feveral other Magiftrates; and at first they had the Liberty of nominating a Governor, but afterwards the King deprived them of it, as he found it necessary to fortify the Town of *Monreal*.

The faid Seminary of St. Sulpitius fent thither a great Number of Miffionaries, and there are likewife great Numbers of Jefuits who go to Quebec, and are from thence difperfed into all Parts of the Country, and mix with the Indians in their Townschips; and as they temporife with the Indians in their Customs and Drefs, it is chiefly by means of the Jefuits that the French have extended

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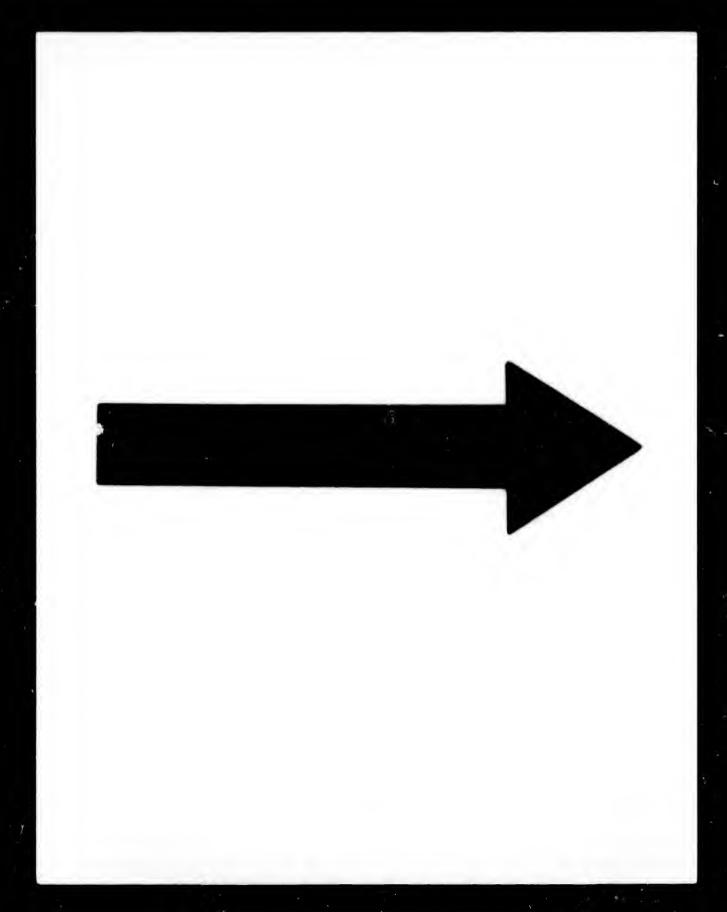
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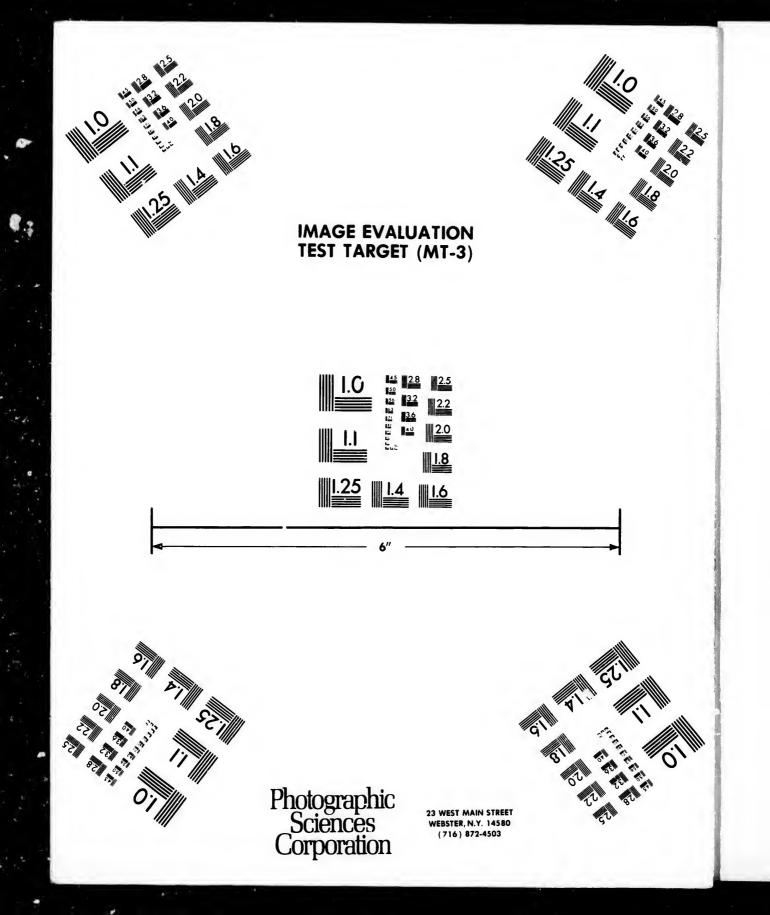
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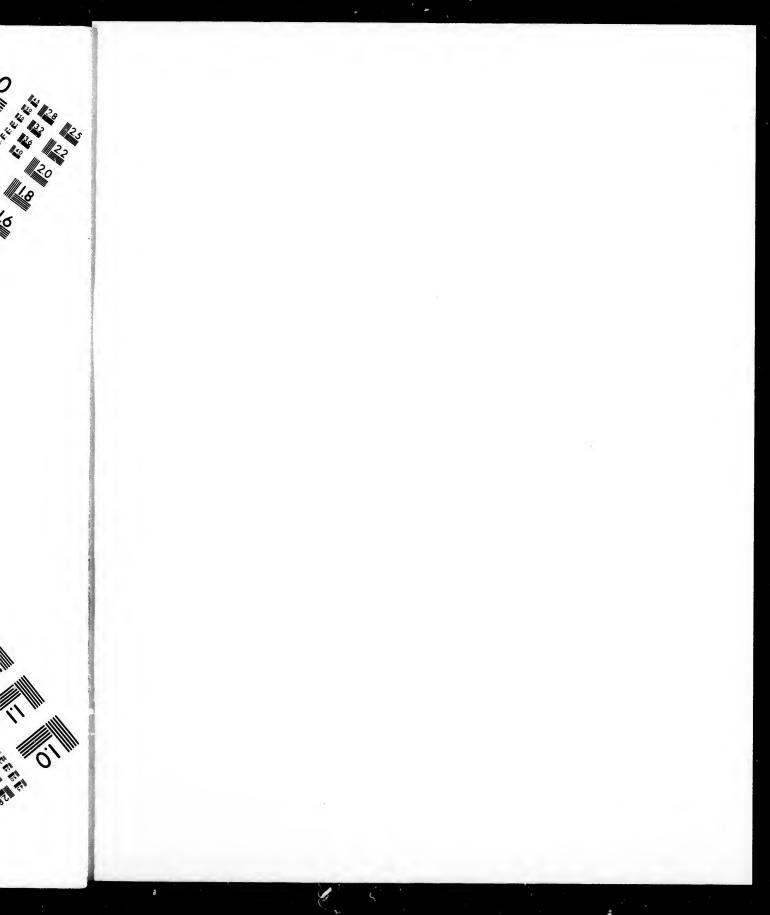
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tended their Trade and Influence among the Indians.

Those who carry on the Fur-Trade in Canada, do it by Licence; but then they employ vaft Numbers of Indian Traders whom they call Coureurs de Bois, who are expert in that Trade, and go in Canoes, and trade with most of the Savage Nations round the Government of Canada. Thefe Coureurs de Bois are, at present, become very numerous, being computed, at least, at 1500 Men, who are often employed as a kind of flying Corps, and joined with the Indians, either to attack the English, or fuch Indians as are in Friend-N







## ( 90 )

Friendship with them : but altho' their Numbers strengthen the Hands of the French, yet the exorbitant Prices that those who have the Licenses exact from the *Coureurs de Bois* have been one great Means of bringing many of the Indian Tribes to trade with the *English*, as they are supplied with their Goods at least 100 per. *Cent.* cheaper from the *English* Traders.

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But what at first principally obftructed the *French* in their extenfive Views, was the Obstructions given them by the Five Nations, as they were thereby for many Years prevented from discovering the

the Lakes, carrying on a Trade, and forming Alliances with the Savages who lived to the Southward and Weftward of them; therefore, in order to remove that Difficulty, they applied to King Charles II. to give Orders to his Governor at New-York, to forward a Peace between the French and the Five Nations, and to reprefent the French Power to them in fuch a manner, as to perfuade them that their own Safety required their coming into Terms with France. However, the faid Governor did not comply with the King's Orders on that Head ; yet as he was not at Liberty to act openly against the French, they improved  $N_2$ this

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this Opportunity in extending their Lines, and in building Forts to the Southward, by which means the Five Nations have been much galled ever fince the Building of Fort *Frentenac* and *Niagara*. It is true, the Five Nations demolifhed the faid Forts; but the *French* foon rebuilt them, and added feveral other Forts to them, as a Retreat to their friendly *Indians*, when they attacked the Five Nations.

The French have likewife cut off or deftroyed many of them by Treachery, and fometimes by open Force, when the English neglected to fupport them; fo that those brave and warlike People are greatly ly to ha ga Fr wh fib fen tha up the war

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cut n by open lecthofe reatly ly reduced, and at prefent unable to withftand the *French*; which hath been much owing to our engaging them in Wars with the *French*, and then leaving the whole Burthen of the War on them. This they feem to be fenfible of, as they have often reprefented to the People of *New-York*, that when they made them take up the Hatchet againft the *French*, they did not fupport them afterwards as they ought to have done.

I have above observed the Views of the French in crecting the Forts Frontenac and Niagara, Sc. which may be further explained by a Propofal which was laid before

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fore Count Frontenac, the fecond Time he was Governor of Canada, viz. " Since we (meaning the " French) cannot deftroy the Iro-" quese or Five Nations, with our "own fingle Forces, we are ne-" ceffarily obliged to have Re-" courfe to the Savages who are " our Allies; and it is certain, as " they themselves foresee, that if " thefe Barbarians could compafs " the Deftruction of our Colonies, " our friendly Indians would be " fubdued by them fooner or la-" ter, as it has happened to many " other Indians; now, fince they " are well affected to this Defign, " we must endeavour to facilitate " to them the Means of putting it "in

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" in Execution; for you may ea-" fily believe that these People, " however favage they may be, " are not fo void of Senfe, as to " travel two or three hundred " Leagues from their own Coun-" try to fight against their Ene-" mies, without being fure of a " Place of Retreat where they may " repose themselves and find Pro-" vifions. There is no Question " therefore but we should build " Forts upon the Lands of the Iro-" quefe, and maintain them in fpite " of their Teeth. And therefore " it is proposed to build and main-" tain three Forts upon the Courfe " of the Lake; one at the Mouth " of the Lake Erie, another near to " the " the Waterfall called Saut St. " Marie, and a third at the Mouth " of the Bay of Toronto."

The faid Propofals were tranfmitted to France; but they were then too much engaged in other Affairs to take notice of them; however, about the Year 1725 or 1726, they, in part, complied with the faid Propofals in building a fmall Fort near to the Waterfall called Saut St. Marie, and in erecting a Fort of confiderable Strength at Crown Point, which is on the Lands of the Five Nations, and in many Respects of more Service to the French, and confequently more hurtful to the English, than any

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any of the Forts the French have built from Quebec to the River By this Fort they keep the Obio. Iroquese, or Five Nations, under constant Alarms, and distress them and their Allies in their Huntings; and by Grown-Point, Fort Frontenac, Niagara, &c. they keep open a Communication with the Western Indians. They likewife prevent the English from making a proper Use of the Five Nations against the Eastern Indians, who live in (what the French call) the Province of Gaspeffie, which is properly part of, and belongs to Nova-Scotia; and by this means, the Indians to the Eastward of New-England are left at liberty to make continual Inroads O

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roads upon the English Settlements of Nova-Scotia; altho' it might be eafily prevented, if the Five Nations were at liberty, with Safety to themfelves, to attack the faid Eastern Nations in the Province of Gaspessient, or more properly speaking, in the back Parts of the Province of Nova-Scotia.

Crown-Point is near to the Branches of Hud/on's River, which runs by Albany to New-York; and therefore, from the Situation of the faid Fort, the Province of New-York may be brought into imminent Danger; and indeed in Time it may endanger the Safety of the whole Continent of America: for if ever the

the French can take us at an unguarded Hour, and could make themfelves Masters of New-York, they would be enabled thereby to cut off the Communication between the Northern and Southern Colonies, and by the Aid of the Indians, they might have it in their Power totally to deftroy the English Settlements; nay it is to be feared, that the French have had this in View for fome Time paft; and altho' the English have above ten times the Number of Settlers which the French have in their Colonies on the Continent of America, yet the English Frontiers being very extensive, making near 1 500 Miles in length, and the French having Q 2 moft

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most of the Indians in their Intereft, it is not easy to guard against the Indians in their fudden Attacks; for before the English can collect any Number of People together to oppose them, the Indians may, in the mean time, retire and fhelter themfelves behind the French Forts, and in fuch an extended Forest 'tis scarce possible, through Swamps and Thickets, to purfue. them with any Prospect of Advantage, or even to fupply an Army with Necessaries in fuch an Enterprize.

The Views of the *French* began to be public and open about the Year 1726, even fo as to make it imim pre lea of. Fre wa Fu Bu aw to of . Ea dia out of Te to wh is

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impossible to mistake their Defigns, provided the Engli?" had given the least Attention to the Concerns of America. The Defigns of the French in taking in the Great Lakes, was to fecure the Indians, and the Fur-Trade to themfelves. The Building of Crown-Point was to awe the Five Nations, or otherwife to bring them into the Meafures of France. The Treaties with the Eastern Nations, or Tribes of Indians, and the Erecting a Province out of Nova-Scotia, by the Name of Gaspessie, was to enlarge their Territories on the Sea Coaft, and to extend their Fishery; fo that what they have now done at Obio is little in comparison of the Incroachments

#### ( 102 )

croachments they have formerly made on us; nor in this Particular have they deviated from their former Scheme; as the Forts they have lately built are almost in a direct Line with Niagara: However, it is probable, they would not have acted to haftily in this Matter, only that they were alarmed at the Settlement begun to be carried on by the Ohio Company. It is further observable, that if the French furrendered to us the Forts which they have lately taken at Obio, and yet continue to extend their South Line, they would thereby take in a great Part of Virginia, and of North and South Carolina, and leave us who'ly exposed to the Ex-

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## ( 103 )

Excursions of the Indians, in all our frontier Settlements; and therefore, whenever we have regulated our Affairs fo as to be in a Condition to recover fuch Part of our Colonies, as the French have, by their Art and Address, taken Poffession of, we ought not only to demolish the Forts which they have lately built on the Branches of the River Ohio, but to take Crown-Point and Niagara from them, and alfo to build Forts for the Protection of the Five Nations, and for enlarging our Trade and Commerce with the Indians.

In the Treaty which was made between the Five Nations and the Gover-

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Governor of New-York in 1746; the Governor expresses himself to the following Effect, viz.

The King your Father having " been informed of the unmanly " Murders committed on the Fron-"tiers of New-England, and of " this Province, is refolved to fub-" due the Country of Canada, and " thereby put an End to all the " mischievous Designs of the French " in these Parts; and for this Pur-" pose he has ordered his Gover-" nors of Virginia, Maryland, Pen-" fylvania, and New-Jerfey, to join " their Forces to the Forces of this " Province, to attack Canada by " Land : They are all now upon " their T

## (105)

" their March, and you will foon " fee them here.

"At the fame Time the Forces of Maffachufets Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Ifland, and New-Hampfbire, are to go in Ships to Cape Breton, and there join with his Majefty's Ships of War, and a great Army of experienced Soldiers from Great Britain.

" Many Ships of War are already
" arrived there, and fome thou" fands of Soldiers, and many more
" Ships and Soldiers are following,
" and I expect every Hour to hear
" of their Arrival; after which the
" the Attack upon *Canada* will be
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" made upon all Sides, both by " Sea and Land. "

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"You may perceive the King " has ordered a Force fufficient to " fubdue Canada; but at the fame " Time, the King your Father ex-" pects and orders you his Chil-" dren to join with your whole "Force in this Enterprize; and " thereby gives the Six Nations a " glorious Opportunity of efta-" blifhing their Fame and Renown " over all the Indian Nations in " America, and in the Conquest " of your inveterate Enemies the " French; who, however they may " diffemble and profess Friendship, " can never forget the Slaughter " which

#### ( 107 )

"which your Fathers made of "them, and for that Purpofe ca-"refs thofe Nations who have al-"ways been your inveterate Ene-"mies, and who defire nothing fo "much as to fee the Name of the "Five Nations become obliterate "and forgot for ever."

In answer to which the Indians reply, viz.

"Brother of New-York, according to your Exhortation in your Speech to us, we are firmly united from this Time to act as having one Heart; the Meffafagues are in the fame Manner joined and united to us, likewife P 2 "the

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#### ( 108 )

" the Southern Nations bordering " upon us; and we hope that you, " and the other Governors of the " Continent, will be in the fame " Manner joined and united to-" gether."

When the faid Governor renewed the Treaty with the Mahakanders, or Indians living near to Hudson's River, the Governor ordered Mr. Colden to speak to them much to the same Effect as to the Six Nations; to which they replied.

" Father, you have told us what " Mifchief the *French* have done, " and what Murders upon the " Chriftians they have committed; " there-

### (109)

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s what done, n the nitted; there" therefore we declare from our " Hearts, and not from our Lips " only, that as you have ordered " us to fhed the Enemies Blood, " in return for what they have " done, we are refolved to live and " die with you in the common " Caufe.

"When you Chriftians are at War you make Peace with one another, but it is not fo with us, therefore we depend upon you to take Care of us; in Confidence of which we now take up the Hatchet, and will make Ufe of it against the *French* and their *Indians*."

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### ( 110 )

By the above Speeches it appears, that the Indians entertained a Doubt of the English not joining them, and that in cafe of a Peace with France, we would not include our friendly Indians therein ; from which Caufe the Burthen of the War would lie upon them, and leave them still exposed to the French Indians. Which accordingly happened, as they did not meet with any confiderable Affiftance from us, altho' we had then two or three Regiments in the King's Pay at New-England, that were not then any Way employed in the Service of the Crown.

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If on declining the Expedition to Quebec, those Troops had joined the Quota's which were to be fupplied by the other Colonies, the English would in all Probability have taken Crown-Point, and have been thereby enabled by the Aid of the Six Nations to have engroffed the most Part of the Fur-Trade, and alfo to have drawn off from the French Interest the Southern and Western Indians. And it would have had this further good Effect, that the Indians to the Eaftward of New-England might have been kept in fuch Subjection by the Six Nations, as to have wholly prevented their annoying our frontier Set-

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Settlements in Nova-Scotia. However, I would not be understood in the leaft to reflect upon any Perfon then in the Administration, as I am fenfible, that, by the prefent Course of Business in the Offices, many Things are not reprefented in a proper Light to their View; and the Mifunderstanding which then fubfifted in New-York and Maffachufets Bay, was a great Caufe of losing fo favourable an Opportunity for humbling the French, and also for disconcerting all the Meafures which they had taken for upwards of fifty Years before that Time.

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The Attention of the French King was not wholly confined to Canada, but he alfo extended his Views to Miffifippi; and accordingly in 1685, fent four Ship with Monf. De la Salle, to discover the Mouth of the faid River, and to make further Discoveries he sent out other Ships afterwards; and in 1689 feveral Perfons were orto go from Canada to furvey the Branches of the faid River; in Confequence of which, there has been a confiderable Settlement made there, and a Governor appointed by the Stile of Governor General of Louisiana, or Missippi, whole Refidence is at New Orleans,

#### (114)

leans, and the Lieutenant Governor refides at Mobille.

After treating of the Settlements of the *French* on the Continent, it may be proper to make fome brief Obfervations in relation to their other Settlements, and their furprifing Increase or Improvement fince 1701.

In a Memorial of the Board of Commerce, at that time prefented to the King in his Council of State, the faid Board reprefents as follows:

"That the Coast of Cayenne is about 60 Leagues in Extent, and not

## (115)

not above ten or twelve of it are inhabited. That its Soil is very good, and that the Sugars it produces do near equal in Goodnefs the white Sugars of *Brazil*; that it affords Rocou, which is a Drug for dying Red; and that there are not above 600 Whites, including Men, Women and Children, and 2000 Blacks of both Sexes.

That the Island of *Grenade* is, in Circuit, about 25 Leagues; the number of Whites, including all Ages and Sexes, 200; and of Blacks of both Sexes, about 600; and that the faid Island produces Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, and Caffet.

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That *Martinico* is about 60 Leagues in Circuit, the Soil good, and very fertile in Sugars, Cocoa, Indigo, and Cotton: that there were formerly 3500 white Men, and about 16000 Blacks of both Sexes on it.

That *Guardaloupe*, and the Land belonging to it, make about 50 Leagues in Circuit, contain about 1500 white Men, and about 8000 Blacks of both Sexes.

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Marie Galante is in Circuit about 16 Leagues, produces Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, and Ginger; it was

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was taken by the English, who afterwards abandoned it.

St. Cruce is about 25 Leagues round; during the War with the English, it was abandoned, and the Inhabitants transported to St. Domingo.

Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, is about 500 Leagues in Circuit. The French poffess one half of it from Cape François to the Vaches, and the Spaniards have the other half. At Cape François there is a good Port and about 900 white Men, and 2000 Blacks of both Sexes. To the Southward of that is Port du Paix, which the English plundered and the

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## ( 118 )

the Inhabitants deferted it. In the Diftrict of *Leogani* the Governor refides, in which there are about 2000 white Men, and 15000 Blacks of both Sexes.

Petit Guave has a good Port, and about 600 Whites and 2000 Blacks,

There are fome other Islands, as La Dominique, Les Xaintes, St. Martin, and St. Bartholemy, which were then almost uninhabited."

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It is proper to remark here, that the *French* Board of Commerce do not make any mention of the Iflands of *St. Vincent*, *St.* 2 *Lucia*, (119)

Lucia, or Tobago; and although they mention La Dominique, it is amongft the Iflands which they fay are not fettled, yet there were then feveral English Families refiding in Dominique.

The Board of Commerce further report, that the laft War, and the Sicknefs known by the Name of *Siam*, which a Ship brought from that Place, have much diminished the *French* Colonies; and that this, and the Neighbourhood of the Islands which the *English* possible, are very pressing Motives for studying feriously the Safety of those Islands and Colonies.

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By the above Calculation the French had then 8850 white Men, and 45600 Blacks in the faid Islands or Colonies; but by a Calculation made in 1751; the French had then, in the faid Colonies, upwards of 51 500 white Men fit to bear Arms, independent of many thousands of Sailors employed in the Trade of the Colonies, and 364800 Slaves of both Sexes; and fince the Increase of their Colonies, they have incroached upon the English in fettling the Islands of St. Lucia, Tobago, Dominique, &c.

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The Treaty that was on Foot for evacuating the faid Ifland was much for the Service of the Englifb Nation, and indeed there were great Hopes of its fucceeding; but when the French found themfelves prefs'd on that Head, they artfully contrived' a Treaty by Commiffioners to be fent to Paris; which gave the French an Opportunity of mixing the Concerns of the Iflands with those of the Continent, fo that they had it thereby in their Power to delay the Evacuation of St. Lucia, Tobago, &c.

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The French likewife intended, if they came to a Division with R the

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#### (122)

the English on the Continent of America, to include our friendly Indians within their Bounds or Limits, and fo turn our own Weapons against ourfelves.

Many of the Indians to the Weft of the Apalacian or Blue Mountains have acknowledged themfelves fubject to the Crown of Great Britain; and were we to determine their Territories to be within the French Limits, it would be throwing them into the Arms of France, deftructive of all our frontier Settlements, and would put an entire Stop to the Trade and Commerce which hath been hitherto carried on with them; and it we to bu wh the

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it is also much to be feared, that the *French* would in fuch case erect divers Forts within their Territories, and in a manner compel them to make War on us.

These are the Effects which would naturally arise from coming to a Division with the French; but it is very difficult to judge what Good it could produce to the English.

For if fuch Limits were determined, those who settle on our Frontiers would not be more fecure in respect of their Lives or Possessien and will be the Policy R 2 of

## (124)

of France, to ftir up their friendly Indians to annoy our Frontier Settlements, and afterwards difavow every Act done by them.

The Defign of mentioning thefe Matters is with a View to fhew that the *French* have always had a great Advantage over the *Englifh* in treating with them; as they purfue one fleady uniform Method of Proceeding, and keep all the Channels of Information fo open and entire, that at the *French* Court they are apprifed of every thing that has the leaft Relation to their immediate Intereft.

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The French are also extremely fenfible of the Benefit of Navigation, and that the Happiness and Glory of their Kingdom depends upon it; and they are not ignorant, that the Navigation of France owes all its Increase and Splendor to the Commerce of its Colonies: But now they have extended their Views further, and endeavour to obstruct the English Commerce in all Parts of the World, as by that means they will not only increase their own Power and Influence, but in Proportion weaken ours; which will give them a double Advantage over us, and, if not properly checked, it may, in

#### (126)

in time, enable them to extend their Influence and Power all over *Europe*. And although we have exerted ourfelves in Defence of the Balance of Power in *Europe*; yet it is to be feared that we must act fingle, and without any Support from our Allies, in the Defence of our Trade and Settlements.

The Ambition of the French in extending their Empire is without any Bounds or Limits, and therefore they countenance every Scheme, or Propofal, that has the least Prospect of forwarding their grand Defign. In relation to which it may not be improper to mention the Scheme of an Officer

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ficer of fome Note in the French Service in America, viz. That they ought to use their utmost endeavours to make themfelves Mafters of the English Islands in the West-Indies, and to encourage the English Colonies on the Continent of America to unite and form a Republican Government; and, that in order to induce them thereto, it would be for the Service of France to open all their Ports to them, both in Europe and America. Such Schemes appear at prefent to be wild and extravagant, yet there are many things in the Womb of Time, which may favour the ambitious Views of France in fuch Enterprifes.

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But to refume the Subject: Whenever a Government has Confiftency and a proper Management of their Affairs in time of Peace, we may expect the fame in War; and without them even fortunate Events will not turn to the Advantage of any Nation. Now if England was to commence a a War against France, in support of her Trade and Colonies, what could be hoped from it, unlefs we first correct the Abuses, which have through time crept into the Offices? Which ought to be our first and principal Care, before we make any Efforts to extend or protect our Trade and Settlements, left

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left by wrong Information we apply improper Remedies, which in the End may prove destructive to this Nation ; we may likewife lay the Foundation of a kind of Independency in the Colonies on the Continent of America, and by permitting them to iffue Paper-Bills of Credit, which are often calculated to enrich particular Perfons altho' at the fame time they deftroy public Credit, we may alter the Course of their Trade and Commerce. The Succefs the French have had, and now have, in enlarging their Trade, and extending their Settlements, doth not arife from the fuperior Abilities of those at the Helm, nor from S

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from a warmer Zeal, or greater Application to the Service of their Country; for, without Compliment, we have the Advantage of them in these Respects: but their Advantages over us arise from the mutual Relation and Subordination of their Boards; which is absolutely necessary to the uniform Prosecution of Business in all Designs of Importance.

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The Affairs of *America* are at prefent very ferious and inrefting, and juftly claim the utmost Attention; and therefore, as is humbly conceived, it may be fit and proper (in those who have the Power to redrefs) to confider 2 the

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the present State of our Colonies the Offices relative thereto : And as France could not have acted with equal Success, provided they had not had a Fund appropriated to the Use of the Colonies, which hath been always applied according to the Exigencies of their Affairs; it may be likewife proper to establish a Fund for the Use of our Colonies; but previous thereto, it will be expedient to enquire into the Manner of accounting for the Revenues of the Crown in America; for if it should be thought agreeable to the Wifdom of the Legislature to create any new Funds in America for the Use of the Colonies, either by a S 2 Stamp-

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Stamp-Duty on Vellum and Paper, or any other Way, to be appropriated to their Ufe, the Money collected must pass through the Hands of the Officers who are appointed to receive his Majefty's Revenues in America; and therefore it will be previously necessary to know, whether the manner of accounting for his Majesty's Revenues in America is fo regulated, as to give any just or reasonable Hopes of having the Money collected applied folely to the Ufes for which it is intended.

The Concerns of America, and alfo the Proceedings of our Council or Board of Commerce, are under the

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the View and Infpection of the Hon. the Houfe of Commons; for as is humbly conceived, it appears evident from the Steps which were taken, previous to the Eftablifhment of a Council or Board of Trade in 1696, from the Syftem of the faid Board, and from their Courfe of Proceedings for the first twelve Years, that the faid Board was intended as a kind of Appendage to the Hon. the Houfe of Commons.

There i re many other Things in relation to our Colonies worthy of Confideration, which will be more properly the Subject of another Difcourfe.

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