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THE
WISDOM and POLICY
OF THE
FRENCH
IN THE
CONSTRUCTION
OF THEIR
GREAT OFFICES,

So as best to answer the Purposes of extending their TRADE and COMMERCE, and enlarging their FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS.

WITH

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

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THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

As amended by the

Constitution of 1787

and the

amendments thereto

as they stand

(I)

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH a Govern-
ment may, by its original
Constitution, have all the
Harmony of Parts which the most
exact Frame and Composition can
give it; yet, if those possessed of
the Executive Power, having the
Direction of the Force of the
Commonwealth, apply that Power,
which was intended for the De-
fence and Preservation of the Peo-
ple, to other Ends and Purposes

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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*,
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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 resume 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 serving the Publick, and it also obliges those, who may afterwards preside in the said Offices, to act

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by incidental Events, which are often various, and for the most part irregular; so that Facts are disguised, and Objects represented as thro' the wrong End of a Perspective; which quickly leads Men in Power into Errors and Mistakes, and then they are bound to defend them; and when in Consequence thereof private Interest is preferred to the publick Good, and Stratagems are employed to deceive the People, it destroys Society, and renders Multitudes of Men like Herds of Beasts, without proper Instruments, without Faith, and without Propriety of Action. Under which Circumstances, a Nation may not be apprised of their Weakness

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ness and Danger, until, as in the sudden Approaches of a Palsy, they find themselves utterly unable to exert their Strength. For when the Harmony and Order of the great Offices are broke in upon, the Changing of Hands seldom produces any good Effect, as they generally improve on the Corruption of the former; so that in such Circumstances, the only Remedy is to correct the Abuses which thro' Time have crept into the Offices, and to free the Officers of the Crown from a servile Dependance in the Discharge of their respective Duties.

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Now as it is conceived to be Unity of Design, or the uniform Prosecution of one End or Point of View, which constitutes 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 present 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,

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and the Construction of their great Offices, and in particular of their Council or Board of Commerce, that we may be the better enabled to judge of their Strength, Designs and Connections in *America*.

The Policy and Genius of all Governments are best discerned 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 myself on this Subject in relation to *France*; and as my only View in publishing the following

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

S E C T.

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S E C T. I.

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

IF Men were a Law unto themselves, there would not be any Want of either Laws or Magistrates to keep them in Tranquillity : but, Nature being corrupted, Self-love, Necessity, sometimes Hatred, Avarice, or one Passion or other, blinds them, and induces them to violate the Laws of Reason, so as to use Fraud and Force to satisfy their unjust and irregular Desires ; whereupon Legislatures have form-

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ed a new Reason, which is termed Laws ; but because Laws must be armed with Correction, and have some Soul or living Principle, therefore Magistrates are appointed to pronounce the Oracles which the Law inspires, 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 positive Grant and Commission delegated to them, and are all of them accountable to some other Power in the Commonwealth.

The *French* Monarchy, which I intend briefly to treat of in this
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Discourse, is composed of a King, and the three Estates of the Kingdom, namely, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the third Estate 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 sedentary, and now have, or claim, a Power to deliberate upon the Pleasure and Edicts of the King, even so as to suspend 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 likewise takes Cognizance of all Appeals brought to them, and have in many Respects a Superintendency over the whole Affairs of the Kingdom.

The King hath not only Parliaments and other Officers and Judicatures to determine Differences amongst his Subjects, but also a Council of State, which is generally composed of Gentlemen of the Long Robe, by whose 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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the Crown : so that the said Council, as constituted, may be justly 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 redressed by applying to the King in the said 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 Redress 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 resist
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fit 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? Besides, when the Channels of Information are obstructed, the Crown cannot either punish the Guilty, nor reward the Virtuous, nor in any respect exercise those Powers which are lodged in it for the Safety and Benefit of the Subject.

The Royal Privy Council, in which secret Affairs ought only to be debated, is composed of the great Officers of State; but it depends on the Pleasure of the Crown
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whether the Whole, or any particular Number, shall be called to assist with their Advice; and in this Particular different Kings have taken different Courses.

All public Acts, such as Peace, and War, raising of Money, &c. &c. are supposed to take their Rise 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

petite and Passion in its Turn, or indulge every Desire which happened to be uppermost; but this is not thought consistent with the Dignity of the *French* Monarchy, and indeed their Offices seem to be so contrived, as to make the King the sole Master and Arbitrator of all Rewards, and to confer them himself, so 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 Respect, as, in such Case, every one will strive to do his Duty, and no one promise himself any Grace or Advantage but

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 respective Boards; in which Light the King is to be considered as the Center to which all Persons, employed in the Administration of public Affairs, and all Matters relative to the Offices, ultimately resort; and from this there results 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 also 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 Jurisdiction, which they have, in a manner, forced some of the *French* Monarchs to yield to them. They have also obtained the Rights of Mortmain and Indemnity for the Lands they possess; whereby the State is much weakened; and not only so, but it creates a foreign Monarchy in the Bosom of *France*.

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Another great and effectual Cause of breaking in upon the said System 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 Oppression on the Subjects.

The Manner likewise of regulating and collecting the public Taxes hath been extremely oppressive to the poorer sort of the People, as the greatest Weight lies upon them. Not but if the Farms were properly regulated, and not grant-

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ed in Reversion, and also brought within the View of the Treafury Chamber, and the Farmers thereby properly checked, they might in many Respects be confidered as beneficial to the Subject.

In *France* the Constitution of the Nobility is wholly Military, and therefore they think it inconsistent, with their Rank, Quality, or Profession to be subject to the Restraints 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

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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 Constitution 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 Exercise of their Powers; for if this was denied them, the King could not borrow Money sufficient to answer the Expences of the Government. And, with regard to the great Council of State (which, as above observed, is generally composed of Gentlemen of the Long Robe)

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Robe) the Dignity and Safety of the Crown, the due Course of Business in the Offices; and the Unity of Action through all the constituent 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 resort.

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 preserved, and all Matters left open to the
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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 preserved in perfect Health, and not sicken under the Pressure of crude and undigested Schemes of Policy.

It is the greatest Happiness to a Minister, and what will afford the highest Pleasure to an ingenious and benevolent Disposition of Temper, to be under proper Restraints in the Exercise of Power; it frees him from many irregular Solicitations, it preserves him from condescending to many Acts contrary to his Judgment, and often

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unworthy of his Character; it will allow him to display his Talents, and make Virtue appear, what it really is, a lovely Form; and it will keep him from servile Fears and Condescensions unequal to his Character; which will prevent him from knowing any Master but his Sovereign.

When the great *Sully* undertook to reform the Abuses 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 Persons, who had paid Sums thereupon; but as the said Kings had sold or engaged their Rights at an under Value, *Sully* thought it just
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and fit to resume some of the said Rights, and to recover the Demefne of the Crown from others by a Rent-charge, which secured the Payment of the Money they had advanced: but that the King might reap further Advantage from this Change, it was necessary to settle 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 consist in the bare Getting in of Money, but also in a frugal Manner of Expending it, it was likewise necessary to reform

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the great Offices, the Ministers of State having, for many Years before that Period of Time, considered themselves to be at Liberty to dispense with the Rules of their respective Offices; or, it may more properly be said, they had not any determinate or unvariable Rule of Action. The Orders and Regulations made by the Crown in former Times not being usually renewed on the Accession of their Kings, nor considered as having still the same Force and Efficacy as the Ordinances of the Crown in other Cases; he wisely and prudently considered that this gave an Opening to many Incroachments by Men in Power; and that if they,

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from particular Motives, or private Views, deviated from the just Principles of Action, those who were dependent on, and acted subservient to, them would ever take Advantage of such Proceedings, and, in their respective Spheres of Action, improve it to their own Service, in delaying the Business of the Public, and in throwing infinite Difficulties in the Way of all such 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 such a Degree as to make the lower Clerks prey upon the Necessities of the Soldiers and Sailors.

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In examining into the said Motives and Springs of Action, it inspired him with a patriot Zeal for the Service of his King and Country; and in order to lay a solid and proper Foundation for the Structure afterwards to be raised, he began with a Matter that nearly concerned himself, 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 Cases; and to free the Officers of a lower Class from a servile Dependance on their Superiors. It was likewise directed by an Arret of the King in Council

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cil (which is in Force until this Day) that every Officer should 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 wheresoever placed, which might by him be thought necessary to support the several Matters contained in his Petition.

Such a wise Regulation could not fail of producing happy Effects, by freeing those employed in the Service of the Crown from a servile Dependance on their Superiors, and directing the Method of Appeal to the Crown, by free-
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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 Case when there are particular and private Interests to support, 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 support the private Views of an Administration, as would be necessary to expedite the Business of the Public.

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

French Government, the said Council of State is the high Watch-Tower, from which the King may survey all his Dominions, and sometimes all the Dominions of the World, in order to consult 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, such Deviations break in upon the mutual Agreement and friendly

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Operation of the Parts ; by which the Government must suffer a sensible Disturbance : and in Proportion as this prevails, the Security and Happiness of the People must be diminished ; for if the said Council of State was to concur with any of the other great Boards, in any Inroachments upon the Crown, or the Subject, under those Circumstances the King might, in a great measure, be excluded from having any Share or Direction in the Administration of State Affairs, altho' at the same Time Ministers of State made an arbitrary Use of his Name and Authority. However, the *French* are too wise to admit of such Innovations,

novations, and the Parliament of *Paris* have always guarded against it, as the greatest Misfortune which could possibly attend the Kingdom ; because, by that Means, they would be rendered incapable either to defend themselves, or to undertake any Enterprize of Moment ; for in such a Situation, a Government may be justly resembled to a disjointed Body, whose Members are dislocated, and unable to act their proper Parts. Therefore at the Accession of every King, the Arrets of former Kings in Council are renewed, and considered as a standing Rule to act by ; and in like manner, all the other great Boards regulate

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themselves in the Execution of the King's Will and Intention. So that, on the whole, the King may be properly said 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 Respect *France* may be justly said to be happy in the Management of their *American Colonies*, and in the Conduct of War and Negotiations, altho' at the same Time they are in many Respects miserable, by the wrong Direction of their interior Concerns.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

The Motives which induced Lewis the XIVth to constitute a Board of Commerce, and the Plan upon which the said Board is constituted ; and also 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.

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

many Respects, contrary to that Freedom and Security, which are absolutely necessary for the Improvement or Enlargement of Trade. However the *French King, Lewis the XIVth*, in a great measure removed those Obstacles, by the Rules or Ordinances which he made on constituting 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*, so as not to leave them a Prey to the Governors and other Officers in the Plantations. Hence it appears evident, that protecting
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the Subject by a regular Plan, or System of Acting in the Offices, hath as great an Effect and Operation in the encouraging and promoting of Trade, as the Sun hath by sending out his benign and gentle Influence on the Seeds of Plants, in inviting forth their active and plastic Powers.

Lewis the XIVth, in the Prosecution of the War he had enter'd into with the Maritime Powers, was made sensible of the great Advantages resulting from Trade and Navigation; that it was impossible for any Country, however advantageously situated, to bear the Expences and Load of heavy
Taxes,

Taxes, without a proportionable Supply arising from its Commerce; and that without enlarging or extending the Trade of his Colonies, which would prove a considerable Nursery for Sailors, he could not carry on his extensive Views, or promote the Grandeur and Dignity of his Crown: And being likewise sensible how necessary it was to give all manner of Encouragement and Security to such as were inclinable to embark in new Undertakings, his Majesty took effectual Care to establish an orderly Course of Proceeding, and to ordain a regular Plan to take place, so as to prevent those in Trust and Office in

the said 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 Restraint in appointing what Form of Government he thought fit, or in directing that all the Lands in *America* should be considered as a Demesne of the Crown: but as the Order and Subserviency of

all lesser Systems, and their Concurrence to the Good of the general System, depend upon the Subordination of the Parts, the Constitution of the *French* Council or Board of Commerce, and the Form of Government instituted in the Colonies, evidently shew, that the Crown reserved to itself only a kind of parental Property in the *American* Colonies.

And in many other Respects the political Views and Foresight of the *French* King and his Ministers of State cannot be sufficiently admired, in making the Crown the Center to which all Matters relating to the Colonies must

must ultimately resort, by one Conveyance or through one Channel only, and in keeping the Offices, in all their several Branches or Departments, uniform, entire, and open, under severe Penalties to be inflicted on the Aggressors, 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 said Matters, it will be necessary 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

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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 considered as a Piece of Clock-work which, by its Springs, directs the Wheels in their Motion.

The *French* King by his Arret to establish a Council of Commerce, declares, “ That he was more
 “ disposed than ever to grant a particular Protection to Commerce,
 “ to shew his Esteem of the good Merchants and Traders of his
 “ Kingdom, and to facilitate to them the Means of making Commerce flourish 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
 “ shall be wholly attentive to the
 “ examining and promoting what-
 “ ever may be most advantageous
 “ to Commerce, and to the Manu-
 “ factures of the Kingdom.
 “ Which he being desirous to settle,
 “ the Report of Mr. *Chamillart*,
 “ Counsellor in Ordinary to the
 “ Royal Council, Comptroller General of the Finances, being
 “ heard, he the said King, being
 “ in his Council, has ordained,
 “ and ordains, That for the future a Council of Commerce
 “ shall be held, at least, once
 every

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“ every Week, which shall be
 “ composed of Mr. *Dagousseau*,
 “ Counsellor in Ordinary of State,
 “ and of the Royal Council of the
 “ Finances; of Mr. *Chamillart*,
 “ Counsellor of the said Royal
 “ Council, and Comptroller Ge-
 “ neral of the Finances; of the
 “ Count *De Pontchartain*, Coun-
 “ sellor to the said King in all
 “ his Councils, Secretary of State,
 “ and of his Majesty's Orders; of
 “ Mr. *Amelot*, Counsellor of State;
 “ of M. *De Hornothon* and *Bayyn*
 “ *D'Angervilliers*, Counsellors to
 “ the said King in his Councils,
 “ Masters of Requests inordi-
 “ nary of his Household; and of
 “ Twelve of the principal trading
 “ Mer-

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“ Merchants in the Kingdom, or
 “ such 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 said Council of
 “ Commerce shall be discussed
 “ and examined all the Proposi-
 “ tions and Memorials which
 “ shall be sent to it; together
 “ with the Affairs and Difficul-
 “ ties which may arise 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 said King of the
 " Resolutions which shall have
 " been taken thereupon in the said
 " Council of Commerce, the said
 " King may order what is most
 " adviseable. His, the said King's
 " Will and Intention is, that the
 " Choice and Nomination of the
 " said trading Merchants, who
 " are to be of the said Council of
 " Commerce, shall be made freely
 " and without clandestine cabal-
 " ling, by the Corporation Ma-
 " gistrates of the Town, and by
 " the trading Merchants in each

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" of

" of the said 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 Purpose 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 said Election,
 " so that the trading Merchants,
 " thus elected and named, may be
 " able to arrive at *Paris*, or where-
 " ever the Court shall reside, by
 " the End of *September* following,
 " to begin their Functions the 1st

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" Day

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

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" *Boulaye,* Counsellor to him the
 " said 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 said Council, as also of
 " the Resolutions which shall be
 " taken therein ; Copies whereof
 " he shall deliver according as he
 " shall be ordered by the said
 " Council. Done in the said
 " King's Council of State, he
 " being present. At *Versailles,*
 " the 29th Day of *June, 1700.*

The King's Intention in consti-
 tuting the said Council or Board
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of Commerce, was to make them the only Conveyance to him in his Council of State ; and therefore he wisely ordained, that all the great Officers of State should be constituted Members of the said Board, that in case any Matter came under the Consideration 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 said Officers of State, such Matters might nevertheless be cognizable by the said Board of Commerce, as all the said Officers of State are deemed to be present at the said Board, although they do not give their Attendance.

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This Part of the Constitution of the *French* Board of Commerce seems to be taken from the original Constitution 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 Institutions of their Board; but the *English* have not had it equally in their Power so to do, which has been the Root or Cause of many Evils, both as it relates his Majesty's Subjects in *America*, and to the Trade and Commerce of the *English* Nation.

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The Regulations of greatest Moment and Efficacy made by the said Arret are, that in the said Council of Commerce should be discussed and examined, all the Propositions and Memorials which should be sent to it, together with the Affairs and Difficulties which might arise concerning Commerce; and likewise that the Secretary of the said Council of Commerce should take care to keep an exact Register of all the Propositions, Memorials and Affairs which should be brought before the said 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 absolute Necessity, and even subject to great Penalties, as is provided in other Cases of Contempt, if they do not examine and discuss all the Propositions and Memorials sent to them, together with the Difficulties which might arise concerning them; so that the Crown is to be apprised of the Reasons for approving or rejecting the same. Neither is it in the Power of the King's Council of State to silence or alter any of the Reports of the said Council of Commerce, until

until the King's Pleasure is known thereon.

There is much Safety in that Method of proceeding, for there by all Matters transacted in the said 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 assign a good Reason for doing it. But what is still of much greater Moment is, that the said Council of Commerce being obliged to report their Opinion in the manner above directed, on every Matter laid before them, preserve a kind of Independency in their own Sphere of

Action: And in this Particular they have acted with great Steadiness; so as not to dispense with the Rules of their Office in compliment to Men in Power; nay, they have even gone so far, in Obedience to the King's Will and Intention in constituting the said Board, as to find Fault with some Orders and Regulations of his Majesty, in his royal Council of State, viz.

In a Memorial presented to his Majesty, relative to the properest Means of procuring the Importation of Gold and Silver Bullion into the Kingdom, and for the Hindring the Exportation of the
I Coin,

Coin, they address themselves to his Majesty in the following Terms, namely,

That it is necessary 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 secure it from Loss. And they afterwards conclude with offering their Opinion, that it would be proper for his Majesty to give the Public an authentic Assurance, that the Rate of Bullion, and of the current Coin, shall for the future be unalterable.

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 consequently with a kind of Independency on the other great Boards; for how would it be possible for twelve Merchants chosen 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

in the Kingdom, if they were not under a Necessity of proceeding according to the System or Plan of Action directed by the Crown?

The *French* King, after establishing the said Council of Commerce, issued several Orders, Edicts and Declarations, for the better regulating the Conduct of the Governors, Surintendants, &c. and also appointed what they call a Sovereign Council in each of the Colonies, which consists of twelve Counsellors, and the Intendant, who claims a Right of being President of the said Council; which Council is the supreme Judicature, and

and decides all Causes without being liable to any other Appeal in the Colonies: At this Court every one pleads his own Cause, or else does it by Memorial, as Solicitors or Barristers are never to appear there; by which Means it comes to pass, that Law-suits are quickly brought to a Period. There is in each of the Colonies besides a Governor, Intendant, and Council,—a Lieutenant-General, both civil and military, an Attorney-General, the Great-Provost, and a Chief-Justice in Eyre.

In relation to which it may be proper to observe, that the Governors-General are to be considered

dered as acting both in a civil and military Capacity; but every Thing done by the Governor in a civil Capacity is checked and restrained 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 Purpose only, and to be perused and examined by the Governor, and countersigned by the Surintendant; and in case of any false Entry, Omission, or Neglect in transmitting the said Journals, at the stated Times directed by the Crown, the Governors and Surintendants are liable to the Penalties prescribed by the King's Arrets; and

and if any of the *French* King's Subjects, either at home or abroad, are injured either in their Persons or Properties by the said Governors, Intendants, &c. acting contrary to the King's Pleasure, signified by the said Arrets, the Subjects injured, on Proof made thereof before the said 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 Justice; and as all Abuses contrary to the King's Intention are considered as an Offence of the highest Nature against the Crown,

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Crown, the Complainants, if justly intitled thereto, seldom or never fail to meet with Redress, without being put to any extraordinary Charge on that Account.

As is above observed, the Governors in the *French Colonies* act in two Capacities; but as a military Officer, they have discretionary Orders, and proceed according to the military Law, and from this Latitude they sometimes commit great Acts of Power; but in a civil Capacity they are wholly restrained by the Regulations and Arrets of the King; and to guard against all Inconvenience which might arise from having improper Persons

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Persons to succeed the Governors, in case 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 preserve one regular, uniform, and entire Rule of Action; so that the *French Subjects* abroad may, in all Cases of Oppression, and Acts of Violence committed by the said Governors, Intendants, &c. meet with Redress at a small Expence; as the Matters complained of, if they relate to Matters of Property, must be upon Record, and duly transmitted to the *French Council* or Board

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Board of Commerce ; or else, as before observed, from the said Omission, the Governors, Intendants, &c. are liable to the Penalties directed by the King's said Arrets. Which Penalties have, in some Instances, been given to the Complainants, in order to repay their Damages or Expences during the Delay thereby occasioned. Altho' it is very observable, that the Records are so 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

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in their Office, whose sole Business is to draw up Memorials, Representations, and Petitions, for such Persons as have any Occasion to prefer them, or apply for Redress to the said Council or Board of Commerce.

In relation to which it is further proper to observe, that the principal End and Design of constituting 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

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

Now in respect 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 excuse for their Conduct; for if this was once allowed of, it would break in upon the whole System of the Board; and instead of representing Matters in a proper Light to the Crown, they might be made use of to very different Ends and Purposes, by concealing
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many Acts of Oppression, and throwing a Veil over the Conduct of Men in Power.

The said Council of Commerce likewise takes special Care to preserve the Officers of a lower Class from any servile 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 possible for them to resist the Will of their Superiors, even in Matters which might be
contrary

contrary to the Orders of the Crown ?

And as the Hopes of due Reward is a very strong Incitement to animate or push Men forwards in their Duty, so by the Institution 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 dismissed. All

All the Revenues arising in the *French* Colonies are accounted for in the Chamber of Accompts, and all Officers employed therein give Security to the said Chamber for the due Performance of their Duty ; so that upon any Neglect or Omision in returning their Accompts, agreeable to the Rules prescribed to them, their Sureties are liable to be prosecuted ; 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 such manner as is advised by the Council of Trade.

The

The Credit and Influence of the said Council hath great Weight with the *French* King, in all Matters relating to Trade and Commerce; so that it very seldom happens that they recommend any Thing to the Crown, but what is carried into Execution. And if there be any foreign Interest to oppose such 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 said Measures into Execution, and then to hear and debate the Point in Question, with any other Nation which may oppose it.

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

Arrets 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 cursory View of the Trade and Navigation of the *French Colonies* at the Time when their said Council of Commerce was first instituted; and so compare it with the present State thereof, and the surprising Increase of Trade and Navigation in that Kingdom.

In

In 1701 the *French* did not employ above one hundred Ships in the *West-India* Trade, and those Ships were not near the Size, Dimensions, or Burthen of their Ships at present 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, Molasses, Indigo, Pimento, Cotton, Pepper, Ginger, Coffee, &c. &c. produced to the Value or Amount of two Millions, four hundred thousand Pounds

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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 said *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 eighty thousand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*, and upwards.

That by a Calculation at the same Time made, of the Produce of the *French* Settlements on the Continent of *America*, and also of
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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 said Freight in Time of Peace amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling, and upwards, which, inclusive of their Fishery, annually employed nine thousand Seamen.

The Regulations made in the said Board of Commerce have also had a surprising Effect on their Manufactures, and other Branches of Trade, as they have been thereby enabled to carry on a great Trade
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to *India, Turkey, Africa*, and even to supply *Spain* with a great Part of the Commodities suited to the *Spanish American* Trade, which brings a continual Source of Treasure 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 likewise to repay the same, without laying themselves under the Necessity of mortgaging their Funds in perpetuity.

I shall only pray Leave to observe further, that from the whole Conduct of *France* they evidently

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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 measure 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 so great and powerful a Rival, how justly doth it claim our Attention in securing our Interest in *America*, and in adopting every Scheme of theirs, which may suit our present Interests and Designs.

S E C T.

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nal Clashing and Jarring of Interests.

I have also endeavoured to shew that the Wisdom of the *French* Politics arises principally from the mutual Relation and Subserviency of their public Offices, as the freeing the Officers of a lower Class from a servile 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 consequently 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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ployed in the Discharge of their respective Duties: for if the contrary Practice was to take place, it might be more dangerous to expose Faults than to commit them, and under such 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.

Whilst our Colonies remained undisturbed by the *French*, there were many Causes of a mixt Nature, which contributed greatly to the Settlement of them; but now that the Affairs of *America*

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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

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 Enterprises.

In 1612, the *French* sent out many Persons to settle in *Canada*, who would otherwise have been confined in the Gallies, and also Numbers of sturdy Beggars and loose Women; and to defend the Settlement from the *Indians*, there were some Companies of regular Troops transported thither. But there does
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not appear to have been any considerable Number of Forces transported 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 considerable Quantities of Land allowed them to settle on.

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

Addrees to the above-mentioned Governesses, and after the Choice was determined, the Marriage was concluded in the Presence of a Priest and a public Notary. And the next Day the Governor, by the King's Order, bestowed upon such married Persons 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 likewise gave the Clergy considerable Grants of Lands in *Canada*; and, in particular, to the Directors of the Seminary of *St. Sulpitius* at *Paris* he gave the Island of *Monreal*, with the Privilege of nominating a

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a Bailiff and several other Magistrates; 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 said Seminary of *St. Sulpitius* sent thither a great Number of Missionaries, and there are likewise great Numbers of Jesuits who go to *Quebec*, and are from thence dispersed into all Parts of the Country, and mix with the *Indians* in their Townships; and as they temporise with the *Indians* in their Customs and Dress, it is chiefly by means of the Jesuits that the *French* have extended

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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 vast Numbers of *Indian* Traders whom they call *Coueurs 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*. These *Coueurs 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 such *Indians* as are in

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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 *Coueurs 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.

But what at first principally obstructed the *French* in their extensive 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 Westward 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 represent the *French* Power to them in such a manner, as to persuade them that their own Safety required their coming into Terms with *France*. However, the said 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

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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 since the Building of Fort *Frontenac* and *Niagara*. It is true, the Five Nations demolished the said Forts; but the *French* soon rebuilt them, and added several other Forts to them, as a Retreat to their friendly *Indians*, when they attacked the Five Nations.

The *French* have likewise cut off or destroyed many of them by Treachery, and sometimes by open Force, when the *English* neglected to support them; so that those brave and warlike People are greatly

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ly reduced, and at present unable to withstand 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 seem to be sensible of, as they have often represented to the People of *New-York*, that when they made them take up the Hatchet against the *French*, they did not support them afterwards as they ought to have done.

I have above observed the Views of the *French* in erecting the Forts *Frontenac* and *Niagara*, &c. which may be further explained by a Proposal which was laid before

fore Count *Frontenac*, the second
 Time he was Governor of *Canada*,
viz. “ Since we (meaning the
 “ *French*) cannot destroy the *Iro-*
 “ *quese* or Five Nations, with our
 “ own single Forces, we are ne-
 “ cessarily obliged to have Re-
 “ course to the Savages who are
 “ our Allies; and it is certain, as
 “ they themselves foresee, that if
 “ these Barbarians could compass
 “ the Destruction of our Colonies,
 “ our friendly *Indians* would be
 “ subdued by them sooner or la-
 “ ter, as it has happened to many
 “ other *Indians*; now, since they
 “ are well affected to this Design,
 “ we must endeavour to facilitate
 “ to them the Means of putting it
 “ in

“ in Execution; for you may ea-
 “ sily believe that these People,
 “ however savage they may be,
 “ are not so void of Sense, as to
 “ travel two or three hundred
 “ Leagues from their own Coun-
 “ try to fight against their Ene-
 “ mies, without being sure of a
 “ Place of Retreat where they may
 “ repose themselves and find Pro-
 “ visions. There is no Question
 “ therefore but we should build
 “ Forts upon the Lands of the *Iro-*
 “ *quese*, and maintain them in spite
 “ of their Teeth. And therefore
 “ it is proposed to build and main-
 “ tain three Forts upon the Course
 “ of the Lake; one at the Mouth
 “ of the Lake *Erie*, another near to
 “ the

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“ the Waterfall called *Saut St. Marie*, and a third at the Mouth of the Bay of *Toronto*.”

The said Proposals were transmitted 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 said Proposals in building a small Fort near to the Waterfall called *Saut St. Marie*, and in erecting a Fort of considerable Strength at *Crown Point*, which is on the Lands of the Five Nations, and in many Respects of more Service to the *French*, and consequently more hurtful to the *English*, than any

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any of the Forts the *French* have built from *Quebec* to the River *Ohio*. By this Fort they keep the *Iroquese*, or Five Nations, under constant Alarms, and distress them and their Allies in their Huntings; and by *Crown-Point*, Fort *Frontenac*, *Niagara*, &c. they keep open a Communication with the *Western Indians*. They likewise 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 *Gaspessie*, 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

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

Crown-Point is near to the Branches of *Hudson's* River, which runs by *Albany* to *New-York*; and therefore, from the Situation of the said 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 themselves 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 destroy the *English* Settlements; nay it is to be feared, that the *French* have had this in View for some Time past; 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 1500 Miles in length, and the *French* having

most of the *Indians* in their Interest, it is not easy to guard against the *Indians* in their sudden Attacks; for before the *English* can collect any Number of People together to oppose them, the *Indians* may, in the mean time, retire and shelter themselves behind the *French* Forts, and in such an extended Forest 'tis scarce possible, through Swamps and Thickets, to pursue them with any Prospect of Advantage, or even to supply an Army with Necessaries in such an Enterprize.

The Views of the *French* began to be public and open about the Year 1726, even so as to make it im-

impossible to mistake their Designs, provided the *English* had given the least Attention to the Concerns of *America*. The Designs of the *French* in taking in the *Great Lakes*, was to secure the *Indians*, and the Fur-Trade to themselves. The Building of *Crown-Point* was to awe the Five Nations, or otherwise to bring them into the Measures 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 Coast, and to extend their Fishery; so that what they have now done at *Ohio* is little in comparison of the Incroachments

encroachments 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 so hastily 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* surrendered to us the Forts which they have lately taken at *Ohio*, 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 wholly exposed to the

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Excursions of the *Indians*, in all our frontier Settlements; and therefore, whenever we have regulated our Affairs so as to be in a Condition to recover such Part of our Colonies, as the *French* have, by their Art and Address, taken Possession 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 also 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-

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 resolved to sub-
“ 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-*
“ *sylvania, and New-Jersey*, to join
“ their Forces to the Forces of this
“ Province, to attack *Canada* by
“ Land : They are all now upon
“ their

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“ their March, and you will soon
“ see them here.

“ At the same Time the Forces
“ of *Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut,*
“ *Rhode Island, and New-Hamp-*
“ *shire*, are to go in Ships to *Cape*
“ *Breton*, and there join with his
“ Majesty's Ships of War, and a
“ great Army of experienced Sol-
“ diers from *Great Britain*.

“ Many Ships of War are already
“ arrived there, and some thou-
“ sands 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
“ made

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“ made upon all Sides, both by
“ Sea and Land.

“ You may perceive the King
“ has ordered a Force sufficient to
“ subdue *Canada*; but at the same
“ 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 esta-
“ blishing 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
“ dissemble and profess Friendship,
“ can never forget the Slaughter
“ which

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“ which your Fathers made of
“ them, and for that Purpose ca-
“ refs those Nations who have al-
“ ways been your inveterate Ene-
“ mies, and who desire nothing so
“ much as to see the Name of the
“ Five Nations become obliterate
“ and forgot for ever.”

In answer to which the *Indians*
reply, *viz.*

“ Brother of *New-York*, ac-
“ cording to your Exhortation in
“ your Speech to us, we are firmly
“ united from this Time to act as
“ having one Heart; the *Messasa-*
“ *gues* are in the same Manner
“ joined and united to us, likewise

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“ the

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

When the said Governor re-
newed the Treaty with the *Maba-*
kanders, or *Indians* living near to
Hudson's River, the Governor or-
dered 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
“ Mischief the *French* have done,
“ and what Murders upon the
“ Christians they have committed;
“ there-

“ therefore we declare from our
“ Hearts, and not from our Lips
“ only, that as you have ordered
“ us to shed the Enemies Blood,
“ in return for what they have
“ done, we are resolved to live and
“ die with you in the common
“ Cause.

“ When you Christians are at
“ War you make Peace with one
“ another, but it is not so with us,
“ therefore we depend upon you
“ to take Care of us; in Confi-
“ dence of which we now take up
“ the Hatchet, and will make Use
“ of it against the *French* and their
“ *Indians.*”

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By the above Speeches it appears, that the *Indians* entertained a Doubt of the *English* not joining them, and that in case of a Peace with *France*, we would not include our friendly *Indians* therein ; from which Cause 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 considerable Assistance 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 supplied 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 engrossed the most Part of the Fur-Trade, and also 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 Eastward of *New-England* might have been kept in such Subjection by the Six Nations, as to have wholly prevented their annoying our frontier

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Settlements in *Nova-Scotia*. However, I would not be understood in the least to reflect upon any Person then in the Administration, as I am sensible, that, by the present Course of Business in the Offices, many Things are not represented in a proper Light to their View; and the Misunderstanding which then subsisted in *New-York* and *Massachusetts Bay*, was a great Cause of losing so favourable an Opportunity for humbling the *French*, and also for disconcerting all the Measures 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 also extended his Views to *Mississippi*; and accordingly in 1685, sent four Ship with *Monf. De la Salle*, to discover the Mouth of the said River, and to make further Discoveries he sent out other Ships afterwards; and in 1689 several Persons were ordered to go from *Canada* to survey the Branches of the said River; in Consequence of which, there has been a considerable Settlement made there, and a Governor appointed by the Stile of Governor General of *Louisiana*, or *Mississippi*, whose Residence is at *New Orleans*,

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leans, and the Lieutenant Governor resides at *Mobile*.

After treating of the Settlements of the *French* on the Continent, it may be proper to make some brief Observations in relation to their other Settlements, and their surprizing Increase or Improvement since 1701.

In a Memorial of the Board of Commerce, at that time presented to the King in his Council of State, the said Board represents as follows:

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

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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 Goodness 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 said 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.

Marie Galante is in Circuit about 16 Leagues, produces Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, and Ginger; it
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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* possess 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
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the Inhabitants deserted it. In the District of *Leogani* the Governor resides, 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 some other Islands, as *La Dominique*, *Les Xaintes*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Bartbolemy*, which were then almost uninhabited."

It is proper to remark here, that the *French* Board of Commerce do not make any mention of the Islands of *St. Vincent*, *St.*

Lucia, or *Tobago*; and although they mention *La Dominique*, it is amongst the Islands which they say are not settled, yet there were then several *English* Families residing in *Dominique*.

The Board of Commerce further report, that the last War, and the Sicknes 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* possess, are very pressing Motives for studying seriously 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 said Islands or Colonies; but by a Calculation made in 1751, the *French* had then, in the said Colonies, upwards of 51500 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 since the Increase of their Colonies, they have incroached upon the *English* in settling the Islands of *St. Lucia, Tobago, Dominique, &c.*

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The Treaty that was on Foot for evacuating the said Island was much for the Service of the *English* Nation, and indeed there were great Hopes of its succeeding; but when the *French* found themselves press'd on that Head, they artfully contrived a Treaty by Commissioners to be sent to *Paris*; which gave the *French* an Opportunity of mixing the Concerns of the Islands with those of the Continent, so that they had it thereby in their Power to delay the Evacuation of *St. Lucia, Tobago, &c.*

The *French* likewise intended, if they came to a Division with
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the *English* on the Continent of *America*, to include our friendly *Indians* within their Bounds or Limits, and so turn our own Weapons against ourselves.

Many of the *Indians* to the West of the *Apalacian* or *Blue Mountains* have acknowledged themselves subject 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*, destructive 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

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it is also much to be feared, that the *French* would in such 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 such Limits were determined, those who settle on our Frontiers would not be more secure in respect of their Lives or Possessions; as it has always been and will be the Policy

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

The Design of mentioning these Matters is with a View to shew that the *French* have always had a great Advantage over the *English* in treating with them; as they pursue one steady uniform Method of Proceeding, and keep all the Channels of Information so open and entire, that at the *French* Court they are apprised of every thing that has the least Relation to their immediate Interest.

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The *French* are also extremely sensible 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,

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in time, enable them to extend their Influence and Power all over *Europe*. And although we have exerted ourselves in Defence of the Balance of Power in *Europe*; yet it is to be feared that we must act single, 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 Proposal, that has the least Prospect of forwarding their grand Design. In relation to which it may not be improper to mention the Scheme of an Officer

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of some Note in the *French* Service in *America*, viz. That they ought to use their utmost endeavours to make themselves Masters 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 present to be wild and extravagant, yet there are many things in the Womb of Time, which may favour the ambitious Views of *France* in such Enterprises.

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But to resume the Subject: Whenever a Government has Consistency and a proper Management of their Affairs in time of Peace, we may expect the same in War; and without them even fortunate Events will not turn to the Advantage of any Nation. Now if *England* was to commence a War against *France*, in support of her Trade and Colonies, what could be hoped from it, unless 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,

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left by wrong Information we apply improper Remedies, which in the End may prove destructive to this Nation; we may likewise lay the Foundation of a kind of Independency in the Colonies on the Continent of *America*, and by permitting them to issue Paper-Bills of Credit, which are often calculated to enrich particular Persons altho' at the same time they destroy public Credit, we may alter the Course of their Trade and Commerce. The Success the *French* have had, and now have, in enlarging their Trade, and extending their Settlements, doth not arise from the superior Abilities of those at the Helm, nor

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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.

The Affairs of *America* are at present very serious and interesting, and justly claim the utmost Attention ; and therefore, as is humbly conceived, it may be fit and proper (in those who have the Power to redress) to consider
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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 likewise 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 Wisdom of the Legislature to create any new Funds in *America* for the Use of the Colonies, either by a
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Stamp-Duty on Vellum and Paper, or any other Way, to be appropriated to their Use, the Money collected must pass through the Hands of the Officers who are appointed to receive his Majesty'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 so regulated, as to give any just or reasonable Hopes of having the Money collected applied solely to the Uses for which it is intended.

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

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the View and Inspection of the Hon. the House of Commons; for as is humbly conceived, it appears evident from the Steps which were taken, previous to the Establishment of a Council or Board of Trade in 1696, from the System of the said Board, and from their Course of Proceedings for the first twelve Years, that the said Board was intended as a kind of Appendage to the Hon. the House of Commons.

There are many other Things in relation to our Colonies worthy of Consideration, which will be more properly the Subject of another Discourse.

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 the View and Satisfaction of the
 from the House of Commons; for
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 evidence from the Ships which were
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 Trade in 1709, from the System
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 and the House of Commons, that the said Board
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 peal to the House of Commons
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R. I. V. I. R.