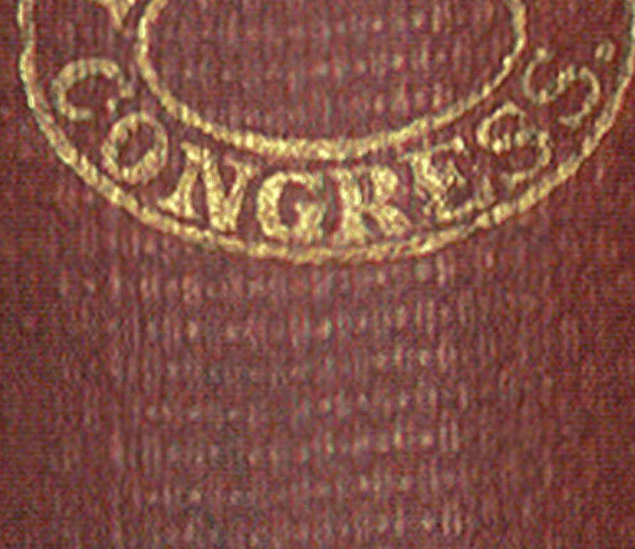


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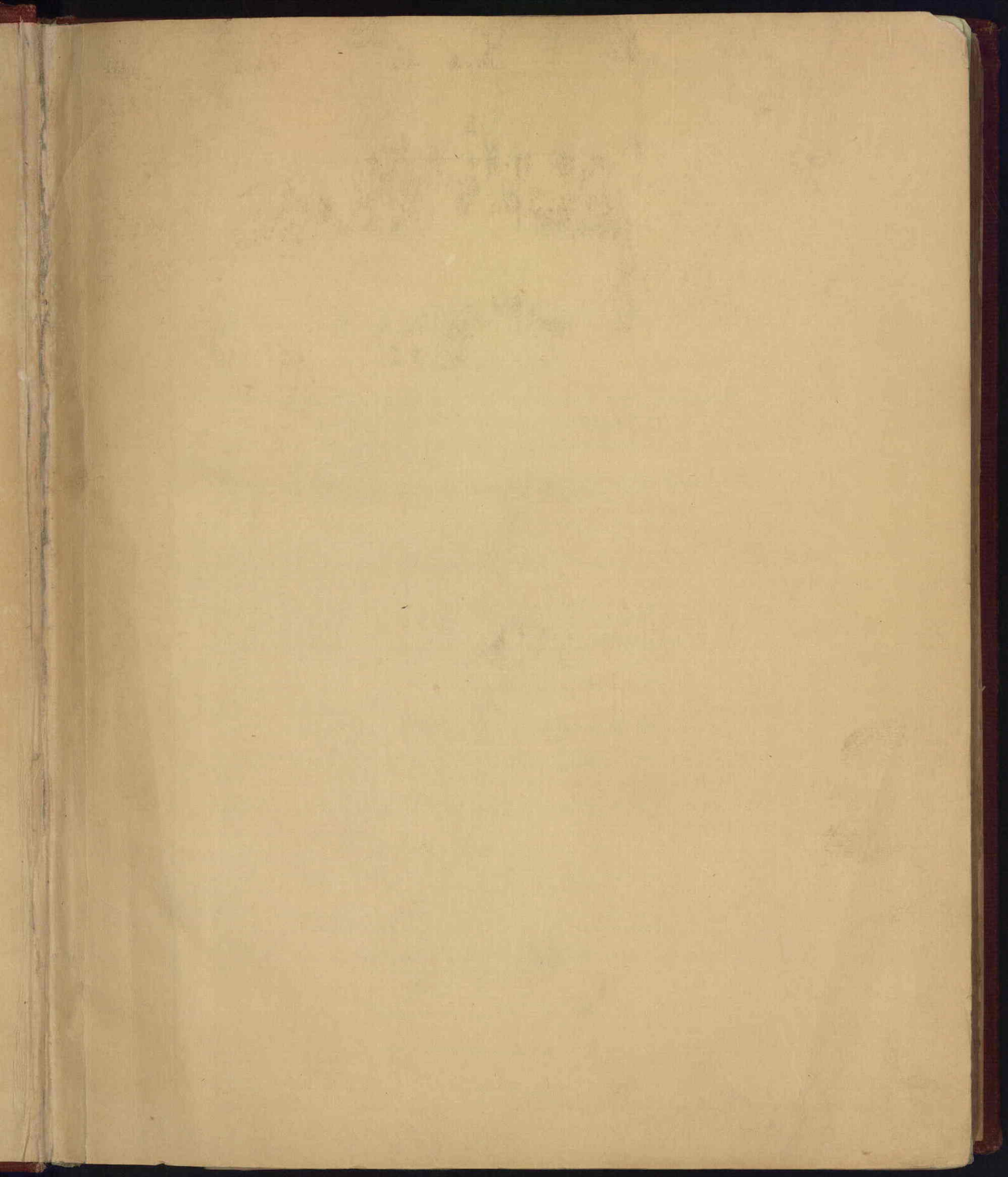
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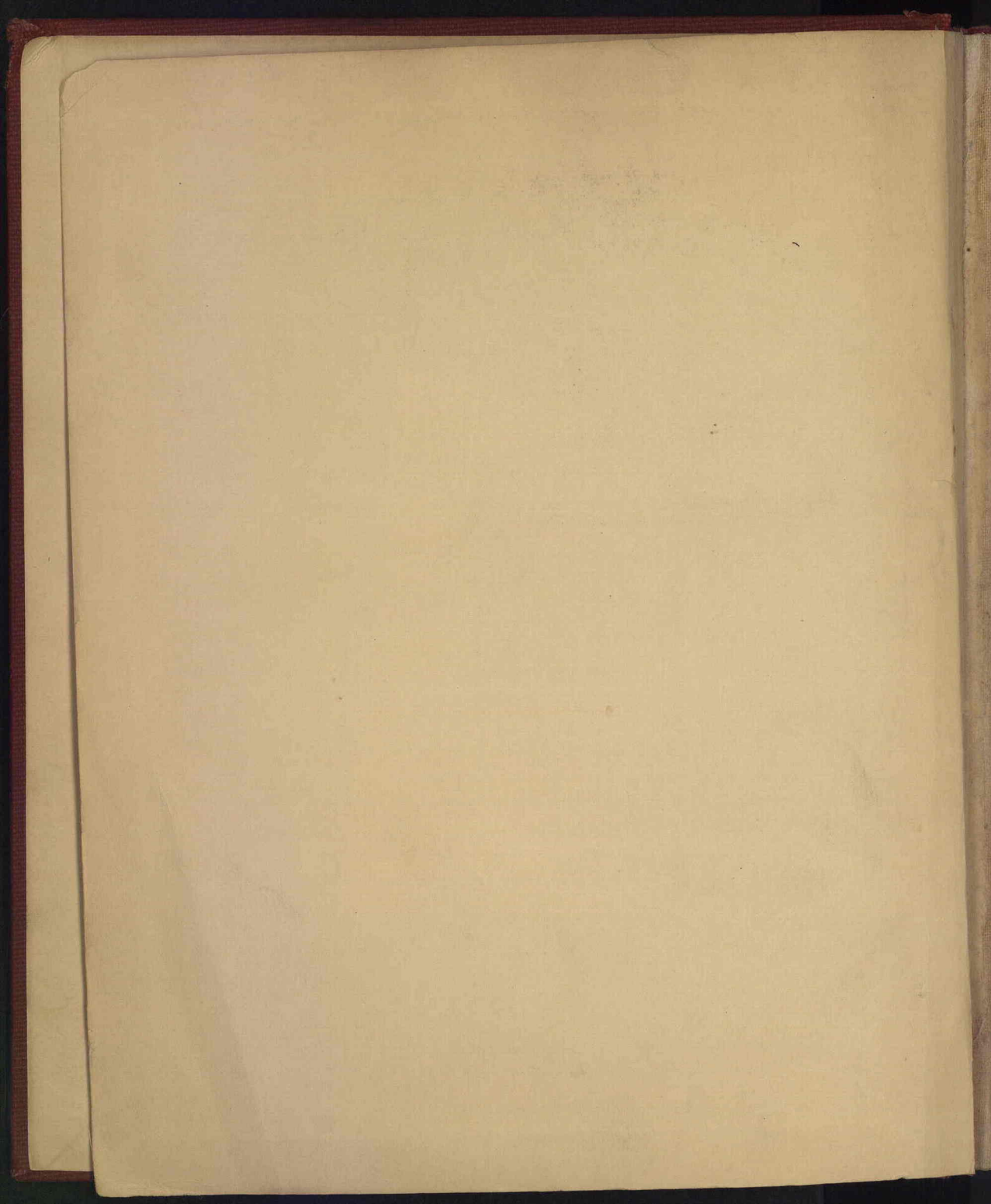


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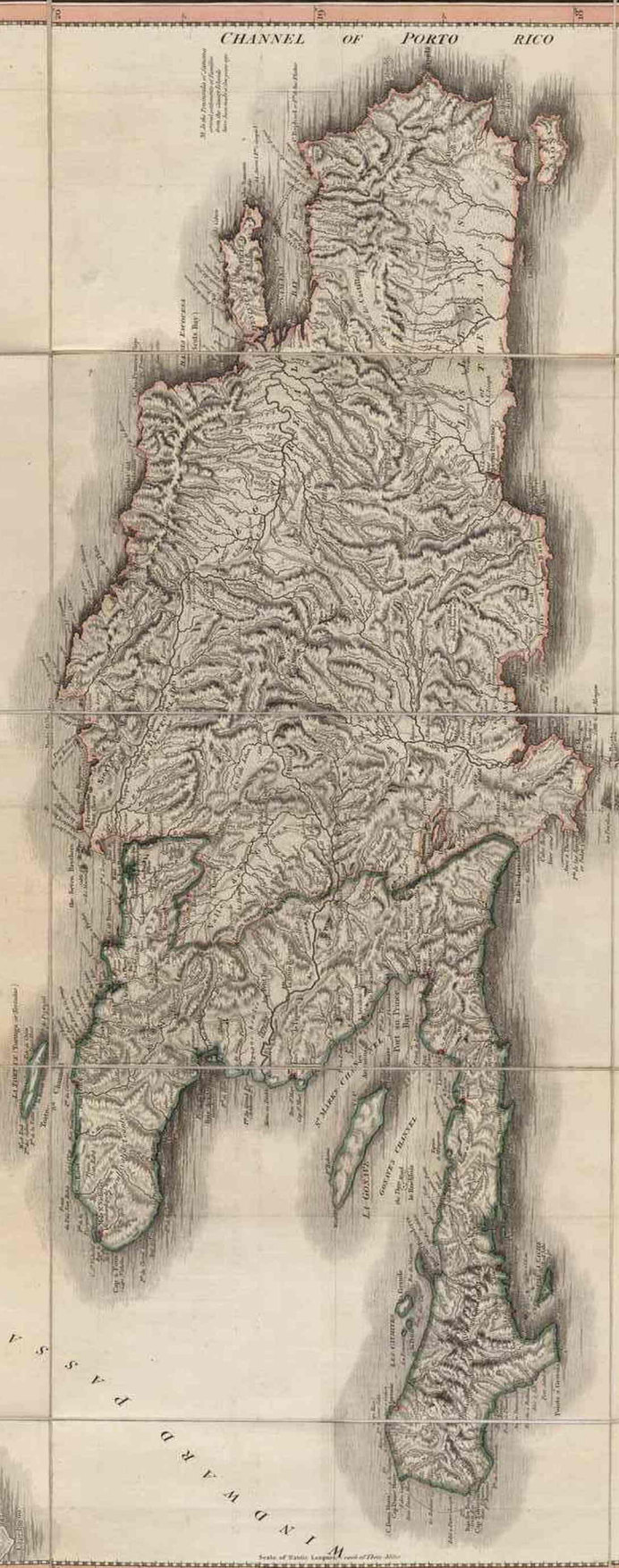


ISLE OF S^T DOMINGO OR HISPANIOLA

British Miles of 2 Miles.
 30. The absolute Bar of the Island is still above generally water level
 in 1778 40 Days through Bahama.



CHANNEL OF PORTO RICO



LOWSONS:
 Published by J. G. C. G. G. G.
 Geographical to the West and is great for beauty or water.
 Chasing Coast, Jan. 1778.

Scale of Statute Lengths, each of Three Miles

AN
HISTORICAL SURVEY
OF THE
FRENCH COLONY
IN THE
ISLAND OF ST. DOMINGO:

COMPREHENDING
A SHORT ACCOUNT OF ITS ANCIENT GOVERNMENT,
POLITICAL STATE, POPULATION,
PRODUCTIONS, AND EXPORTS;
A NARRATIVE OF THE CALAMITIES WHICH HAVE DESOLATED
THE COUNTRY EVER SINCE THE YEAR 1789,
WITH SOME REFLECTIONS ON THEIR CAUSES AND
PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES;

AND
A DETAIL OF THE MILITARY TRANSACTIONS
OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN THAT ISLAND TO THE END OF 1794.

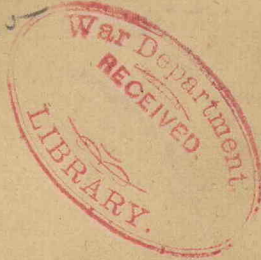
By BRYAN EDWARDS, Esq. M.P. F.R.S. &c.
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES IN THE WEST INDIES.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1797.

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11



HISTORICAL SURVEY
OF THE
FRENCH COLONY

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ISLAND ST. DOMINGO

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A SHORT ACCOUNT OF ITS ANCIENT GOVERNMENT,
POLITICAL STATE, POPULATION,
PRODUCTIONS AND EXPORTS;
A NARRATIVE OF THE REVOLUTION WHICH HAS DEGRADED
THE COUNTRY SINCE THE YEAR 1789;
WITH SOME REFLECTIONS ON THEIR DEEPL AND
POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES.

By transfer
OCT 8 1915

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, Esq. M.P. F.R.S. &c.
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES IN THE WEST INDIES.

LONDON:

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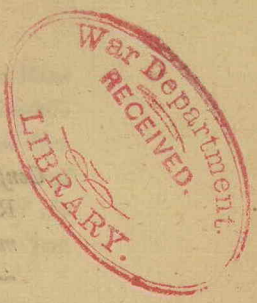
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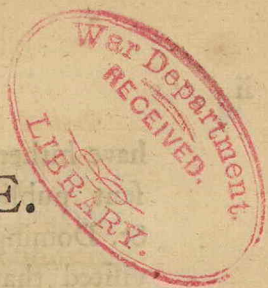
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P R E F A C E.

SOON after I had published the History of the British Colonies in the West Indies, I conceived the design of compiling a general account of the settlements made by all the nations of Europe in that part of the New Hemisphere, but more particularly the French, whose possessions were undoubtedly the most valuable and productive of the whole Archipelago. This idea suggested itself to my mind, on surveying the materials I had collected with regard to their principal colony in St. Domingo; not doubting, as the fortune of war had placed under the British dominion all or most of the other French islands, that I should easily procure such particulars of the condition, population, and culture of each, as would enable me to complete my design, with credit to myself, and satisfaction to the Publick. I am sorry to observe, that in this expectation I

b have



have hitherto found myself disappointed. The present publication therefore, is confined wholly to St. Domingo; concerning which, having personally visited that unhappy country soon after the revolt of the negroes in 1791, and formed connexions there, which have supplied me with regular communications ever since, I possess a mass of evidence, and important documents. My motives for going thither, are of little consequence to the Publick; but the circumstances which occasioned the voyage, the reception I met with, and the situation in which I found the wretched Inhabitants, cannot fail of being interesting to the reader; and I flatter myself that a short account of those particulars, while it confers some degree of authenticity on my labours, will not be thought an improper Introduction to my book.

In the month of September 1791, when I was at Spanish Town in Jamaica, two French Gentlemen were introduced to me, who were just arrived from St. Domingo, with information that the negro slaves belonging to the French part of that island, to the number, as was believed, of 100,000 and upwards, had

P R E F A C E.

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had revolted, and were spreading death and desolation over the whole of the northern province. They reported that the governor-general, considering the situation of the colony as a common cause among the white inhabitants of all nations in the West Indies, had dispatched commissioners to the neighbouring islands, as well as to the States of North America, to request immediate assistance of troops, arms, ammunition, and provisions; and that themselves were deputed on the same errand to the Government at Jamaica: I was accordingly desired to present them to the Earl of Effingham, the commander in chief. Although the dispatches with which these gentlemen were furnished, were certainly a very sufficient introduction to his lordship, I did not hesitate to comply with their request; and it is scarcely necessary to observe, that the liberal and enlarged mind which animated every part of Lord Effingham's conduct, needed no sollicitation, in a case of beneficence and humanity. Superior to national prejudice, he felt, as a man and a christian ought to feel, for the calamities of *fellow men*; and he saw, in its full extent, the danger to which every island in the West Indies would be exposed from such an

b 2

example,

example, if the triumph of savage anarchy over all order and government should be complete. He therefore, without hesitation, assured the commissioners that they might depend on receiving from the government of Jamaica, every assistance and succour which it was in his power to give. Troops he could not offer, for he had them not; but he said he would furnish arms, ammunition, and provisions, and he promised to consult with the distinguished Officer commanding in the naval department, concerning the propriety of sending up one or more of his Majesty's ships; the commissioners having suggested that the appearance in their harbours of a few vessels of war might serve to intimidate the insurgents, and keep them at a distance, while the necessary defences and intrenchments were making, to preserve the city of Cape François from an attack.

ADMIRAL AFFLECK (as from his known worth, and general character might have been expected) very cheerfully co-operated on this occasion with Lord Effingham; and immediately issued orders to the captains of the Blonde and Daphne frigates to proceed,

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ceed, in company with a sloop of war, forthwith to Cape François. The Centurion was soon afterwards ordered to Port au Prince. The Blonde being commanded by my amiable and lamented friend Captain William Affleck, who kindly undertook to convey the French commissioners back to St. Domingo, I was easily persuaded to accompany them thither; and some other gentlemen of Jamaica joined the party.

WE arrived in the harbour of Cape François in the evening of the 26th of September, and the first object which arrested our attention as we approached, was a dreadful scene of devastation by fire. The noble plain adjoining the Cape was covered with ashes, and the surrounding hills, as far as the eye could reach, every where presented to us ruins still smoking, and houses and plantations at that moment in flames. It was a sight more terrible than the mind of any man, unaccustomed to such a scene, can easily conceive.—The inhabitants of the town being assembled on the beach, directed all their attention towards us, and we landed amidst a crowd of spectators who, with uplifted hands and streaming eyes, gave welcome to their deliverers (for such they considered us) and acclamations of *vivent les Anglois* resounded from every quarter.

THE

THE governor of St. Domingo, at that time, was the unfortunate General Blanchelande; a *marechal de camp* in the French service, who has since perished on the scaffold. He did us the honour to receive us on the quay. A committee of the colonial assembly, accompanied by the governor's only son, an amiable and accomplished youth *, had before attended us on board the Blonde, and we were immediately conducted to the place of their meeting. The scene was striking and solemn. The hall was splendidly illuminated, and all the members appeared in mourning. Chairs were placed for us within the bar, and the Governor having taken his seat on the right hand of the President, the latter addressed us in an eloquent and affecting oration, of which the following is as literal a translation as the idiom of the two languages will admit :

“ WE were not mistaken, Gentlemen, when we placed our confidence in your generosity; but we could hardly entertain the hope, that, besides sending us

* This young gentleman likewise perished by the guillotine under the tyranny of Roberfpierre. He was massacred at Paris, on the 20th July 1794, in the twentieth year of his age.

P R E F A C E.

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succours, you would come in person to give us consolation. You have quitted, without reluctance, the peaceful enjoyment of happiness at home, to come and participate in the misfortunes of strangers, and blend your tears with our's. Scenes of misery (the contemplation of which, to those who are unaccustomed to misfortune, is commonly disgusting) have not suppressed *your* feelings. You have been willing to ascertain the full extent of our distresses, and to pour into our wounds the salutary balm of your sensibility and compassion.

“ THE picture which has been drawn of our calamities, you will find has fallen short of the reality. That verdure with which our fields were lately arrayed, is no longer visible; discoloured by the flames, and laid waste by the devastations of war, our coasts exhibit no prospect but that of desolation. The emblems which we wear on our persons, are the tokens of our grief for the loss of our brethren, who were

were surpris'd, and cruelly assassinated,
by the revolvers.

“ IT is by the glare of the conflagra-
tions that every way furround us, that we
now deliberate; we are compelled to sit
armed and watchful through the night,
to keep the enemy from our sanctuary.
For a long time past our bosoms have
been depressed by sorrow; they experience
this day, for the first time, the sweet
emotions of pleasure, in beholding you
amongst us.

“ GENEROUS islanders! humanity has
operated powerfully on your hearts;—you
have yielded to the first emotion of your
generosity, in the hopes of snatching us
from death; for it is already too late to
save us from misery. What a contrast
between *your* conduct, and that of other
nations! We will avail ourselves of your
benevolence; but the days you preserve
to us, will not be sufficient to manifest
our

our gratitude: our children shall keep it in remembrance.

“REGENERATED France, unapprized that such calamities might befall us, has taken no measures to protect us against their effects: with what admiration will she learn, that, without your assistance, we should no longer exist as a dependency to any nation.

“THE Commissioners deputed by us to the island of Jamaica, have informed us of your exertions to serve us.—Receive the assurance of our attachment and sensibility.

“THE Governor-general of this island, whose sentiments perfectly accord with our own, participates equally in the joy we feel at your presence, and in our gratitude for the assistance you have brought us.”

AT this juncture, the French colonists in St. Domingo, however they might have been divided in

political sentiments on former occasions, seemed to be softened, by the sense of common suffering, into perfect unanimity. All descriptions of persons joined in one general outcry against the National Assembly, to whose proceedings were imputed all their disasters. This opinion was indeed so widely disseminated, and so deeply rooted, as to create a very strong disposition in all classes of the whites, to renounce their allegiance to the mother country. The black cockade was universally substituted in place of the tri-coloured one, and very earnest wishes were avowed in all companies, without scruple or restraint, that the British administration would send an armament to conquer the island, or rather to receive its voluntary surrender from the inhabitants. What they wished might happen, they persuaded themselves to believe was actually in contemplation; and this idea soon became so prevalent, as to place the author of this work in an awkward situation. The sanguine disposition observable in the French character, has been noticed by all who have visited them; but in this case their credulity grew to a height that was extravagant and even ridiculous. By the kindness of the Earl of Effingham,

Effingham, I was favoured with a letter of introduction to the Governor-general; and my reception, both by M. Blanchelande and the colonial assembly, was such as not only to excite the publick attention, but also to induce a very general belief that no common motive had brought me thither. The suggestions of individuals to this purpose, became perplexing and troublesome. Assurances on my part, that I had no views beyond the gratification of curiosity, had no other effect than to call forth commendations on my prudence. It was settled, that I was an agent of the English ministry, sent purposely to sound the inclinations of the Colonists towards the government of Great Britain, preparatory to an invasion of the country by a British armament; and their wishes and inclinations co-operating with this idea, gave rise to many strange applications which were made to me; some of them of so ludicrous a nature, as no powers of face could easily withstand.

This circumstance is not recorded from the vain ambition of shewing my own importance. The reader of the following pages will discover its application; and, perhaps, it may induce him to make some

allowance for that confident expectation of sure and speedy success, which afterwards led to attempts, by the British arms, against this ill-fated country, with means that must otherwise have been thought at the time,—as in the sequel they have unhappily proved,—altogether inadequate to the object in view.

THE ravages of the rebellion, during the time that I remained at Cape François, extended in all directions. The whole of the plain of the Cape, with the exception of one plantation which adjoined the town, was in ruins; as were likewise the Parish of Limonade, and most of the settlements in the mountains adjacent. The Parish of Limbé was every where on fire; and before my departure, the rebels had obtained possession of the bay and forts at l'Acul, as well as the districts of Fort Dauphin, Dondon, and La Grande Riviere.

DESTRUCTION every where marked their progress, and resistance seemed to be considered by the whites not only as unavailing in the present conjuncture, but as hopeless in future. To fill up the measure

of

of their calamities, their Spanish neighbours in the same island, with a spirit of bigotry and hatred which is, I believe, without an example in the world, refused to lend any assistance towards suppressing a revolt, in the issue of which common reason should have informed them, that their own preservation was implicated equally with that of the French. They were even accused not only of supplying the rebels with arms and provisions; but also of delivering up to them to be murdered, many unhappy French planters who had fled for refuge to the Spanish territories, and receiving money from the rebels as the price of their blood. Of these latter charges, however, no proof was, I believe, ever produced; and, for the honour of human nature, I am unwilling to believe that they are true.

To myself, the case appeared altogether desperate from the beginning; and many of the most respectable and best informed persons in Cape François (some of them in high stations) assured me, in confidence, that they concurred in this opinion. The merchants and importers of European manufactures, apprehending every hour the destruction of the town,

as much from incendiaries within, as from the rebels without, offered their goods for ready money at half the usual prices; and applications were made to Captain Affleck, by persons of all descriptions, for permission to embark in the Blonde for Jamaica. The interposition of the colonial government obliged him to reject their solicitations; but means were contrived to send on board consignments of money to a great amount; and I know that other conveyances were found, by which effects to a considerable value were exported both to Jamaica, and the states of North America.

UNDER these circumstances, it very naturally occurred to me to direct my enquiries towards the state of the colony previous to the revolt, and collect authentick information on the spot, concerning the primary cause, and subsequent progress, of the widely extended ruin before me. Strongly impressed with the gloomy idea, that the only memorial of this once flourishing colony would soon be found in the records of history, I was desirous that my own country and fellow-colonists, in lamenting its catastrophe, might at the same time profit by so terrible an example.

example. My means of information were too valuable to be neglected, and I determined to avail myself of them. The Governor-general furnished me with copies of all the papers and details of office that I solicited, with a politeness that augmented the favour. The fate of this unhappy gentleman, two years afterwards, gave me infinite concern. Like his royal master, he was unfortunately called to a station to which his abilities were not competent; and in times when perhaps no abilities would have availed him.

The President of the colonial assembly, at the time of my arrival, was M. de Caducsh, who some time afterwards took up his residence, and held an important office, in Jamaica. He was a man of very distinguished talents, and withal strongly and sincerely attached to the British government, of which, if it were proper, I could furnish unquestionable proof*. This gentleman drew up, at my request, a short account of the origin and progress of the re-

* He afterwards accompanied General Williamson back to St. Domingo, and was killed (or, as I have heard, basely murdered) in a duel at Port au Prince, by one of his countrymen.

bellion;

bellion; and after my return to England, favoured me with his correspondence. Many important facts, which are given in this work, are given on his authority.

To M. Delaire, a merchant of consideration in the town of the Cape, who has since removed, I believe, to the state of South Carolina, I was indebted for a similar narrative, drawn up by himself in the English language, of which he is a very competent master. It is brief, but much to the purpose; displays an intimate knowledge of the concerns of the colony, and traces, with great acuteness, its disasters to their source.

But the friend from whose superior knowledge I have derived my chief information in all respects, is the gentleman alluded to in the marginal note to p. 112 of the following sheets; and I sincerely regret, that ill-fortune has so pursued him as to render it improper in this work to express to him, *by name*, the obligations I owe to his kindness. After a narrow escape from the vengeance of those merciless men, Santhonax and Polverel, he was induced to re-
turn

turn to St. Domingo, to look after his property ; and, I grieve to say, that he is again fallen into the hands of his enemies. He found means, however, previous to his present confinement, to convey to me many valuable papers ; and, among others, a copy of that most curious and important document, the dying deposition or testament of Ogè, mentioned in the fourth chapter, and printed at large among the additional notes and illustrations at the end of my work. Of this paper (the communication of which, in proper time, would have prevented the dreadful scenes that followed) although I had frequently heard, I had long doubted the existence. Its suppression by the persons to whom it was delivered by the wretched sufferer, appeared to be an act of such monstrous and unexampled wickedness, that, until I saw the paper itself, I could not credit the charge. Whether M. Blanchelande was a party concerned in this atrocious proceeding, as my friend asserts, I know not. If he was guilty, he has justly paid the forfeit of his crime ; and although, believing him innocent, I mourned over his untimely fate, I scruple not to avow my opinion, that if he had possessed a thousand lives, the loss of them all had not been a sufficient atonement,

d

atonement, in so enormous a case, to violated justice!

SUCH were the motives that induced me to undertake this Historical Survey of the French part of St. Domingo, and such are the authorities from whence I have derived my information concerning those calamitous events which have brought it to ruin. Yet I will frankly confess, that, if I have any credit with the publick as an author, I am not sure this work will add to my reputation. Every writer must rise or sink, in some degree, with the nature of his subject; and on this occasion, the picture which I shall exhibit, has nothing in it to delight the fancy, or to gladden the heart. The prospects before us are all dark and dismal. Here is no room for tracing the beauties of unfulfilled nature. Those groves of perennial verdure; those magnificent and romantick landscapes, which, in tropical regions, every where invite the eye, and oftentimes detain it, until wonder is exalted to devotion, must now give place to the miseries of war, and the horrors of pestilence; to scenes of anarchy, desolation, and carnage. We have to contemplate the human mind in its utmost

deformity: to behold savage man, let loose from restraint, exercising cruelties, of which the bare recital makes the heart recoil, and committing crimes which are hitherto unheard of in history; teeming

—— all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd!

MILTON.

ALL therefore that I can hope and expect is, that my narrative, if it cannot delight, may at least *instruct*. On the sober and considerate, on those who are open to conviction, this assemblage of horrors will have its effect. It will expose the lamentable ignorance of some, and the monstrous wickedness of others, among the reformers of the present day, who, urging onwards schemes of perfection, and projects of amendment in the condition of human life, faster than nature allows, are lighting up a consuming fire between the different classes of mankind, which nothing but human blood can extinguish. To tell such men that great and beneficial modifications in the established orders of society, can only be effected by a progressive improvement in the

situation of the lower ranks of the people, is to preach to the winds. In their hands reformation, with a scythe more destructive than that of time, mows down every thing, and plants nothing. Moderation and caution they consider as rank cowardice. Force and violence are the ready, and, in their opinion, the only proper application for the cure of early and habitual prejudice. Their practice, like that of other mountebanks, is bold and compendious; their motto is, *cure or kill*.

THESE reflections necessarily arise from the circumstance which is incontrovertibly proved in the following pages, namely, that the rebellion of the negroes in St. Domingo, and the insurrection of the mulattoes, to whom Ogè was sent as ambassador, had one and the same origin. It was not the strong and irresistible impulse of human nature, groaning under oppression, that excited either of those classes to plunge their daggers into the bosoms of unoffending women and helpless infants. They were driven into those excesses—reluctantly driven—by the vile machinations of men calling themselves philosophers (the profelytes and imitators in France, of the Old

Jewry associates in London) whose pretences to philanthropy were as gross a mockery of human reason, as their conduct was an outrage on all the feelings of our nature, and the ties which hold society together!

IT is indeed true, that negro-rebellions have heretofore arisen in this and other islands of the West Indies, to which no such exciting causes contributed:—but it is equally certain, that those rebellions always originated among the newly-imported negroes only; many of whom had probably lived in a state of freedom in Africa, and had been fraudulently, or forcibly, sold into slavery by their chiefs. That cases of this kind do sometimes occur in the slave trade, I dare not dispute, and I admit that revolt and insurrection are their natural consequences.

BUT, in St. Domingo, a very considerable part of the insurgents were—not Africans, but—Creoles, or natives. Some of the leaders were favoured domesticks among the white inhabitants, born and brought up in their families. A few of them had even received those advantages, the perversion of which, under

under their philosophical preceptors, served only to render them pre-eminent in mischief; for having been taught to read, they were led to imbibe, and enabled to promulgate, those principles and doctrines which led, and always will lead, to the subversion of all government and order.

LET me not be understood, however, as affirming that nothing is to be attributed on this occasion to the slave-trade. I scorn to have recourse to concealment or falsehood. Unquestionably, the vast annual importations of enslaved Africans into St. Domingo, for many years previous to 1791, had created a black population in the French part of that island, which was, beyond all measure, disproportionate to the white;—the relative numbers of the two classes being as sixteen to one. Of this circumstance the leaders of the rebels could not be unobservant, and they doubtless derived encouragement and confidence from it. Here too, I admit, is a warning and an admonition to ourselves. The inference has not escaped me:—it constitutes my parting words with the reader, and I hope they are not urged in vain.

HAVING

P R E F A C E.

xxiii

HAVING thus pointed out the motives which induced me to write the following narrative; the sources from whence my materials are derived, and the purposes which I hope will be answered by the publication; nothing farther remains but to submit the work itself to the judgment of my readers, which I do with a respectful solicitude.

LONDON,
December, 1796.

HAVING thus pointed out the motives which induced me to write the following narrative; the sources from whence my materials are derived, and the purposes which I hope will be answered by the publication; nothing further remains but to inform the work itself to the judgment of my readers.

E R R A T A.

- Page 3, line 4, for *its*, read *the*.
 4, note (a) for *ordonateur*, read *ordonnateur*.
 5, line 16, for 52, read *fifty-one*.
 10, line 8, from the bottom: dele the words *enslaved Negroes*, and place them in the margin. The passage, as it now stands, is wholly unintelligible.
 11, line 1, for *attending this*, read *attending it*.
 13, last line but one: read *the chief aim*.
 20, line 2, for *in the metropolis*, read *of the metropolis*.
 24, line 4, for *in exclusion*, read *to the exclusion*.
 49, last line; for *Machiavilian*, read *Machiavelian*.
 86, line 1, for *apprized*, read *believing*.
 109, line 2, for *eight*, read *six*.
 —line 9, after *governor*, insert *accompanied by a fleet of thirty transports*.
 132, line 10, for *fourteen*, read *sixteen*.
 135, line 5, from the bottom: after the word *freighted*, insert *for Europe*.
 152, line 1, instead of *the whole of that extensive bay*, read *the windward passage, and the whole of that extensive bay*.

WAR DEPARTMENT



February 1, '83.

A SHORT

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

FRENCH Colony in ST. DOMINGO, &c.

C H A P. I.

Political State of ST. DOMINGO previous to the Year 1789.

THE inhabitants of the French part of St. Domingo, as of all the West Indian Islands, were composed of three great classes: 1st, pure whites. 2d, people of colour, and blacks of free condition. 3d, negroes in a state of slavery. The reader is apprised that the class which, by a strange abuse of language, is called *people of colour*, originates from an intermixture of the whites and the blacks. The genuine offspring of a pure white with a negro is called a mulatto; but there are various casts, produced by subsequent connections, some of which draw near to the whites, until all visible distinction between them is lost; whilst others fall retrograde to the blacks. All these were known in St. Domingo by the term *sang-melées*, or *gens de couleur*, (in com-

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mon parlance they are collectively called *mulattoes*) and it must be attributed, I presume, to the greater discountenance which the married state receives from the national manners, that in all the French islands these people abound in far greater proportion to the whites than in those of Great Britain. In Jamaica, the whites out-number the people of colour as three to one. In St. Domingo, the whites were estimated at 30,000, the mulattoes at 24,000, of whom 4,700 were men capable of bearing arms, and accordingly, as a distinct people, actuated by an *esprit de corps*, they were very formidable. Of the policy which it was thought necessary in St. Domingo to maintain towards this unfortunate race, I shall presently treat; but it seems proper, in the first place, to give some account of the subordination in which, before the revolution of 1789, the parent country thought fit to hold the colony at large.

THE government was exercised by a Governor General, and an officer called Intendant, both of whom were nominated by the crown, on the recommendation of the minister of the marine, and generally considered as established in their respective offices for three years. Their powers, in some cases, were administered jointly; in others, they possessed separate and distinct authority, which each of them exercised without the concurrence or participation of the other.

IN their joint administration their powers were unlimited; comprehending every part of colonial government, and extending even to detail, in the minutest branches of finance and police. They enacted the laws, nominated to all vacant offices, and

and distributed the crown lands as they thought proper. They respectively presided at the same time in each of the supreme councils, or courts of justice in the dernier resort; and as vacancies happened in those courts, by the death or removal of its members, they filled up the vacant places. Against the abuse of powers, thus extravagant and unbounded, the people had no certain protection. Fortunately, it was rare that the governor and intendant agreed in opinion on the exercise of their joint authority, which therefore became necessarily relaxed; and the inhabitants derived some degree of security from the disputes and dissensions of the contending parties. In all such cases, however, the greatest weight of authority fell to the share of the governor. He was, in truth, an absolute prince, whose will, generally speaking, constituted law. He was authorized to imprison any person in the colony, for causes of which he alone was the judge; and having at the same time the supreme command of both the naval and military force, he had the means of exercising this power whenever he thought proper. On the other hand, no arrest, by any other authority, was valid without the governor's approbation. Thus he had power to stop the course of justice, and to hold the courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction in a slavish dependance on himself.

THE peculiar province of the intendant was that of regulating the publick revenues, or administering the finances of the colony. The collectors and receivers of all duties and taxes were subject to his inspection and controul. He passed or rejected their accounts, and made them such allowances as he

alone thought proper. The application of all the publick monies rested entirely with the intendant; — a province which created such temptation to himself as no virtue could resist, and furnished such means of corruption, as overcame all opposition from others (a).

For the better administration of justice, and the easier collection of the revenues, the colony was divided into three provinces; which were distinguished, from their relative situation, by the names of the Northern, the Western and Southern. In each of these provinces resided a deputy governor, or commander *en second*, and in each were established subordinate courts of justice, both civil and criminal; from whose determination appeals were allowed to the superior councils, of which there were two; one at *Cape François* for the Northern province, the other at *Port au Prince* for the Western and Southern. They were composed of the governor-general, the intendant, the deputy governors, the king's lieutenants (b), a president,

(a) The taxes and duties were laid and modified, as occasion required, by a court composed of the governor general, the intendant, the presidents of the provincial councils, the attorney general, the commissioner of the navy (*ordonateur*) and the several commandants of the militia. This court was dignified by the title of the *Colonial Assembly*, although the colonists had not a single delegate in it.

(b) These king's lieutenants were military officers residing in the several towns, commonly with the rank of colonel. There were also in each town *majors* and *aides-major*. All these officers were wholly independent of the civil power, and owned no superior but the governor-general, who could dismiss them at pleasure. It may be proper to observe too that the counsellors held their seats by a very uncertain tenure. One of the governors (the Prince de Rohan) sent the whole number state prisoners to France. They were seized on their seats of justice, and put on board a ship in irons, and in that condition conveyed to Paris, and shut up for a long time in the Bastille, without trial or hearing.

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and twelve counsellors, four *assesseurs*, or assistant judges, together with the attorney general and register. In these councils, or courts of supreme jurisdiction, as in the parliaments of France, the king's edicts, and those of the governor and intendant, were registered. Seven members constituted a quorum for the hearing of appeal causes; but a hint from the governor-general was always sufficient to render much investigation unnecessary: and it is asserted (with what truth I pretend not to determine) that, besides their slavish dependance on the executive power, the members of these courts were notoriously and shamefully open to corruption and bribery. An appeal however lay to the king, in the last resort; and candour compels me to observe that, on such appeals, substantial justice was generally obtained (*c*).

THE number of the king's troops on the colonial establishment was commonly from 2 to 3,000 men; and each of the 52 parishes into which the colony was divided raised one or more companies of white militia, a company of mulattoes, and a company of free blacks. The officers, both of the regular troops and the militia, were commissioned provisionally by the governor-general, subject to the king's approbation; but the militia received no pay of any kind.

FROM this recapitulation, it is evident that the peace and happiness of the people of St. Domingo depended very much on

(*c*) In the year 1787 these two superior councils were consolidated into one, which held its meetings at Port au Prince, this city being the seat of government *in time of peace*. In the event of a war, the governor-general removed to Cape François. The true, though not the ostensible, reason for this junction of the council boards, was an idea that a single board would be found more tractable in the registry of edicts and ordinances than two separate jurisdictions.

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the personal qualities and native disposition of the governor-general, who was always selected from the army. At the same time it must be honestly admitted, that the liberality and mildness, which of late years have dignified and softened the military character among all the nations of Europe, had a powerful influence in the administration of the government in the French colonies. It must be allowed also, that the manifest importance to which, as mankind become divested of ancient prejudices, the commercial part of the community, even among the French, has imperceptibly risen, insured to the wealthy and opulent planters a degree of respect from persons in power, which, in former times, attached only to noble birth and powerful connections; while the lower orders among the whites derived the same advantage from that unconquerable distinction which nature herself has legibly drawn between the white and black inhabitants; and from their visible importance, in a country where, from the disproportion of the whites to the blacks, the common safety of the former class depends altogether on their united exertions.

To contend, as some philosophers have idly contended, that no natural superiority can justly belong to any one race of people over another, to Europeans over Africans, merely from a difference of colour, is to waste words to no purpose, and to combat with air. Among the inhabitants of every island in the West Indies, it is the colour, with some few exceptions, that distinguishes freedom from slavery: so long therefore as freedom shall be enjoyed exclusively by one race of people, and slavery be the condition of another, contempt and degradation

will attach to the colour by which that condition is generally recognized, and follow it, in some degree, through all its varieties and affinities. We may trace a similar prejudice among the most liberal and enlightened nations of Europe. Although nothing surely ought to reflect greater lustre on any man than the circumstance of his having risen by industry and virtue above the disadvantages of mean birth and indigent parentage, there are, nevertheless, but few persons in the world who delight to be reminded of this species of merit. There is a consciousness of something disgraceful in the recollection; and it seems therefore reasonable to conclude, that if nature had made the same distinction in this case as in the other, and stamped, by an indelible mark, the condition and parentage on the forehead, the same, or nearly the same, effect would have resulted from it, as results from the difference of colour in the West Indies. I mean however only to account for in some degree, not to defend, the conduct of the whites of St. Domingo towards the coloured people; whose condition was in truth much worse than that of the same class in the British colonies, and not to be justified on any principle of example or reason.

In many respects their situation was even more degrading and wretched than that of the enslaved negroes in any part of the West Indies; all of whom have masters that are interested in their preservation, and many of whom find in those masters powerful friends and vigilant protectors. Although released from the dominion of individuals, yet the free men of colour in all the French islands were still considered as the property of the publick, and as publick property they were obnoxious to the

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the caprice and tyranny of all those whom the accident of birth had placed above them. By the colonial governments they were treated as slaves in the strictest sense; compelled, on attaining the age of manhood, to serve three years in a military establishment called the *maréchaussée* (*e*), and on the expiration of that term they were subject, great part of the year, to the burthen of the *corvées*;—a species of labour allotted for the repair of the highways, of which the hardships were insupportable. They were compelled moreover to serve in the militia of the province or quarter to which they belonged, without pay or allowance of any kind, and in the horse or foot, at the pleasure of the commanding officer; and obliged also to supply themselves, at their own expence, with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements. Their days of muster were frequent, and the rigour with which the King's lieutenants, majors, and aides-major, enforced their authority on those occasions over these people, had degenerated into the basest tyranny.

THEY were forbidden to hold any publick office, trust, or employment, however insignificant; they were not even allowed to exercise any of those professions, to which some sort of liberal education is supposed to be necessary. All the naval and military departments, all degrees in law, physick, and divinity, were appropriated exclusively by the whites. A mulatto could not

(*e*) It consisted of certain companies of infantry, which were chiefly employed as rangers in clearing the woods of *maron* or runaway slaves. This establishment was afterwards very prudently dissolved, and the companies disbanded; it appearing that the mulattoes acquired, by communication with each other, a sense of common interest and of common strength, which was beginning to render them formidable to their employers.

be a priest, nor a lawyer, nor a physician, nor a surgeon, nor an apothecary, nor a schoolmaster. Neither did the distinction of colour terminate, as in the British West Indies, with the third generation. There was no law, nor custom, that allowed the privileges of a white person to any descendant from an African, however remote the origin. The taint in the blood was incurable, and spread to the latest posterity. Hence no white man, who had the smallest pretensions to character, would ever think of marriage with a negro or mulatto woman: such a step would immediately have terminated in his disgrace and ruin.

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UNDER the pressure of these accumulated grievances, hope itself, too frequently the only solace of the wretched, was denied to these unfortunate people; for the courts of criminal jurisdiction, adopting the popular prejudices against them, gave effect and permanency to the system. A man of colour being prosecutor (a circumstance in truth which seldom occurred) must have made out a strong case indeed, if at any time he obtained the conviction of a white person. On the other hand, the whites never failed to procure prompt and speedy justice against the mulattoes. To mark more strongly the distinction between the two classes, the law declared that if a free man of colour presumed to strike a white person of whatever condition, his right hand should be cut off; while a white man, for a similar assault on a free mulatto, was dismissed on the payment of an insignificant fine.

In extenuation of this horrible detail, it may be said with truth that the manners of the white inhabitants softened, in

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some measure, the severity of their laws: thus, in the case last mentioned, the universal abhorrence which would have attended an enforcement of the penalty, made the law a dead letter. It was the same with the Roman law of the Twelve Tables, by which a father was allowed to inflict the punishment of death on his own child:—manners, not law, prevented the exertion of a power so unnatural and odious.

BUT the circumstance which contributed most to afford the coloured people of St. Domingo protection, was the privilege they possessed of acquiring and holding property to any amount. Several of them were the owners of considerable estates; and so prevalent was the influence of money throughout the colony, that many of the great officers in the administration of government scrupled not secretly to become their pensioners. Such of the coloured people therefore as had happily the means of gratifying the venality of their superiors, were secure enough in their persons; although the same circumstance made them more pointedly the objects of hatred and envy to the lower orders of the whites.

THE next enslaved negroes, and lowest, class of people in the French islands were the negroes in a state of slavery; of whom, in the year 1789, St. Domingo contained no less than 480,000. It was in favour of this class that Louis XIV. in the year 1685, published the celebrated edict, or code of regulations, which is well known to the world under the title of the *Code Noir*; and it must be allowed, that many of its provisions breathe a spirit of tenderness and philanthropy which reflects honour on the memory of its

author;—but there is this misfortune attending this, and must attend all other systems of the same nature, that most of its regulations are inapplicable to the condition and situation of the colonies in America. In countries where slavery is established, the leading principle on which government is supported, is *fear*; or a sense of that absolute coercive necessity, which, leaving no choice of action, supercedes all question of *right*. It is in vain to deny that such actually is, and necessarily must be, the case in all countries where slavery is allowed. Every endeavour therefore to extend positive rights to men in this state, as between one class of people and the other, is an attempt to reconcile inherent contradictions, and to blend principles together which admit not of combination. The great and, I am afraid, the only certain and permanent security of the enslaved negroes, is the strong circumstance that the interest of the master is blended with, and in truth, altogether depends on, the preservation, and even on the health, strength, and activity, of the slave. This applies equally to all the European colonies in America; and accordingly the actual condition of the negroes in all those colonies, to whatever nation they belong, is I believe nearly the same. Of that condition I have given an account in another place (*f*): I have therefore only to observe in this, that in all the French islands the general treatment of the slaves is neither much better nor much worse, as far as I could observe, than in those of Great Britain. If any difference there is, I think that they are better clothed among the French, and allowed more animal food among the English. The prevalent notion that the French planters treat

(*f*) Hist. Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies.

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their negroes with greater humanity and tenderness than the British, I know to be groundless; yet no candid person, who has had an opportunity of seeing the negroes in the French islands, and of contrasting their condition with that of the peasantry in many parts of Europe, will think them, by any means, the most wretched of mankind.

ON the whole, if human life, in its best state, is a combination of happiness and misery, and we are to consider that condition of political society as relatively good, in which, notwithstanding many disadvantages, the lower classes are easily supplied with the means of healthy subsistence; and a general air of cheerful contentedness animates all ranks of people,—where we behold opulent towns, plentiful markets, extensive commerce, and increasing cultivation—it must be pronounced that the government of the French part of St. Domingo (to whatever latent causes it might be owing) was not altogether so practically bad, as some of the circumstances that have been stated might give room to imagine. With all the abuses arising from the licentiousness of power, the corruption of manners, and the system of slavery, the scale evidently preponderated on the favourable side; and, in spite of political evils and private grievances, the signs of publick prosperity were every where visible.

SUCH were the condition and situation of the French colony in St. Domingo in the year 1788—an eventful period; for the seeds of liberty which, ever since the war between Great Britain and her transatlantick possessions, had taken root in the kingdom of France, now began to spring up with a rank luxuriance in all parts

parts of her extensive dominions; and a thousand circumstances demonstrated that great and important changes and convulsions were impending. The necessity of a sober and well-digested arrangement for correcting inveterate abuses, both in the mother country and the colonies, was indeed apparent; but, unhappily, a spirit of subversion and innovation, founded on visionary systems inapplicable to real life, had taken possession of the publick mind. Its effects in St. Domingo are written in colours too lasting to be obliterated; for the pride of power, the rage of reformation, the contentions of party, and the conflict of opposing interests and passions, produced a tempest that swept every thing before it.

To trace those effects to their proper causes, to develop the atrocious purposes of pretended philanthropy, political fanaticism, and disappointed ambition; and to describe the vast and lamentable ruin which they occasioned, thereby to furnish a profitable lesson to other nations, is the aim of the following pages.

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CHAP. II.

From the Revolution of 1789, to the Meeting of the First General Colonial Assembly.

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ON the 27th of December 1788, the court of France came to the memorable determination to summon the States General of the kingdom; and resolved that the representation of the *tiers état* (or commons) should be equal to the sum of the representation of the other two orders.

THIS measure, as might have been foreseen, proved the basis of the great national revolution that followed; and it operated with immediate and decisive effect in all the French colonies. The governor of the French part of St. Domingo at that period was Monf. Duchilleau, a man who was supposed secretly to favour the popular pretensions. He was allowed therefore to continue unmolested in the seat of government; but the sceptre dropped from his hand; for when he attempted to prevent the parochial and provincial meetings, which were every where summoned, from assembling, his proclamations were treated with indignity and contempt: the meetings were held in spite of the governor, and resolutions passed declaratory of the right of the colonists to send deputies to the States General. Deputies were accordingly
elected

ected for that purpose, to the number of eighteen (six for each province) who forthwith, without any authority either from the French ministry or the colonial government, embarked for France, as the legal representatives of a great and integral part of the French empire.

THEY arrived at Versailles the latter end of June, about a month after the States General had declared themselves the national assembly. But neither the minister nor the national assembly were disposed to admit the full extent of their claims. The number of eighteen deputies from one colony was thought excessive; and it was with some difficulty that six of them only were admitted to verify their powers, and seat themselves among the national representatives.

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THERE prevailed at this time throughout the cities of France, a very strong and marked prejudice against the inhabitants of the Sugar Islands, on account of the slavery of their negroes. It was not indeed supposed, nor even pretended, that the condition of these people was worse at this juncture than in any former period: the contrary was known to be the truth. But declamations in support of personal freedom, and invectives against despotism of all kinds, had been the favourite topicks of many eminent French writers for a series of years: and the publick indignation was now artfully raised against the planters of the West Indies, as one of the means of exciting commotions and insurrections in different parts of the French dominions. This spirit of hostility against the inhabitants of the French colonies, was industriously fomented and aggravated by the measures of a society, who called themselves

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selves *Amis des Noirs* (Friends of the Blacks); and it must be acknowledged, that the splendid appearance, and thoughtless extravagance, of many of the French planters resident in the mother country, contributed by no means to divert the malice of their adversaries, or to soften the prejudices of the publick towards them.

The society in France called *Amis des Noirs*, was I believe originally formed on the model of a similar association in London; but the views and purposes of the two bodies had taken a different direction. The society in London *professed* to have nothing more in view than to obtain an act of the legislature for prohibiting the further introduction of African slaves into the British colonies. They disclaimed all intention of interfering with the government and condition of the negroes already in the plantations; publicly declaring their opinion to be, that a general emancipation of those people, in their present state of ignorance and barbarity, instead of a blessing, would prove to them a source of misfortune and misery. On the other hand, the society of *Amis des Noirs*, having secretly in view to subvert the ancient despotism of the French government, loudly clamoured for a general and immediate abolition, not only of the slave trade, but also of the slavery which it supported. Proceeding on abstract reasoning, rather than on the actual condition of human nature, they distinguished not between civilized and uncivilized life, and considered that it ill became them to claim freedom for themselves, and withhold it at the same time from the negroes: it is to be lamented that a principle so plausible in appearance,

appearance, should, in its application to this case, be visionary and impracticable.

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AT this juncture, a considerable body of the mulattoes from St. Domingo and the other French islands, were resident in the French capital. Some of these were young people sent thither for education: others were men of considerable property, and many of them, without doubt, persons of intelligence and amiable manners. With these people the society of *Amis des Noirs* formed an intimate connection; pointed out to them the wretchedness of their condition; filled the nation with remonstrances and appeals on their behalf; and poured out such invectives against the white planters, as bore away reason and moderation in the torrent. Unhappily, there was too much to offer on the part of the mulattoes. Their personal appearance too, excited pity, and, cooperating with the temper of the times, and the credulity of the French nation, raised such an indignant spirit in all ranks of people against the white colonists, as threatened their total annihilation and ruin.

IN this disposition of the people of France towards the inhabitants of their colonies in the West Indies, the national assembly, on the 20th day of August, voted the celebrated *declaration of rights*; and thus, by a revolution unparalleled in history, was a mighty fabrick (apparently established by every thing that was secure and unassailable) overturned in a moment. Happy had it been for the general interests of the human race, if, when the French had gone thus far, they had proceeded no farther! Happy for themselves, if they had then known—what painful ex-

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perience

CHAP. perience has since taught them—that the worst of all govern-
 II. ments is preferable to the miseries of anarchy!

PERHAPS a diligent observer might have discovered, even in the first proceedings of this celebrated assembly, the latent seeds of that violence, injustice, and confusion which have since produced such a harvest of crimes and calamities. Many of the doctrines contained in the declaration of rights seem to have been introduced for no other purpose than to awaken a mischievous spirit of contention and cavil, and to destroy all subordination in the lower ranks of the people. Such, for instance, was the position, that “all men are born, and continue, free and equal as to their rights;” according to which, there ought to be no distinctions in society, nor (if the possession of property is a right) can any man have a right to possess or acquire any thing to the exclusion of others; a position not only false, but pernicious, and unfit for every condition of civilized life. To promulgate such lessons in the colonies, as the declared sense of the supreme government, was to subvert the whole system of their establishments. Accordingly, a general ferment prevailed among the French inhabitants of St. Domingo, from one end of the colony to the other. All that had passed in the mother country concerning the colonists,—the prejudices of the metropolis towards them,—the efforts of the society of *Amis des Noirs* to emancipate the negroes,—and the conduct of the mulattoes,—had been represented to them through the medium of party, and perhaps with a thousand circumstances of exaggeration and insult, long before the declaration of rights was received in the colony; and this measure crowned the whole.

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They maintained that it was calculated to convert their peaceful and contented negroes into implacable enemies, and render the whole country a theatre of commotion and bloodshed.

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In the meanwhile, the French government, apprehensive that disorders of a very alarming nature might arise in the colonies from the proceedings in France, had issued orders to the governor general of St. Domingo, to convoke the inhabitants, for the purpose of forming a legislative assembly for interior regulation. These orders, however, being unaccountably delayed, the people had anticipated the measure. The inhabitants of the Northern district had already constituted a provincial assembly, which met at Cape François, and their example was followed in November in the Western and Southern provinces; the Western assembly met at Port au Prince, the Southern at *Aux Cayes*. Parochial committees were, at the same time, every where established, for the sake of a more immediate communication between the people and their representatives.

Sept. 1789.

A RECITAL of the conduct and proceedings of these provincial assemblies, would lead me too much into detail. They differed greatly on many important questions; but all of them concurred in opinion concerning the necessity of a full and speedy colonial representation; and they unanimously voted, that if instructions from the king for calling such an assembly should not be received within three months thenceforward, the colony should take on itself to adopt and enforce the measure;—their immediate safety and preservation being, they said, an obligation paramount to all others.

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DURING this period of anxiety and alarm, the mulattoes were not inactive. Instructed by their brethren in the metropolis in the nature and extent of their rights, and apprized of the favourable disposition of the French nation towards them, they became, throughout the colony, actuated by a spirit of turbulence and sedition; and disregarding all considerations of prudence, with regard to time and seasons, determined to claim, without delay, the full benefit of all the privileges enjoyed by the whites. Accordingly large bodies of them appeared in arms in different parts of the country; but acting without sufficient concert, or due preparation, they were easily overpowered. It is said, that the temper of the provincial assemblies at this juncture,—how much soever inflamed against the instigators and abettors of these people in the mother country,—was not averse to moderation and concession towards the mulattoes themselves. Thus, when the party which had taken arms at *Jacmel* was defeated, and their chiefs imprisoned, the assembly of the West *Artibonite*, where the revolt was much more extensive and alarming, a free and unconditional pardon was also cheerfully granted on the submission of the insurgents.

AGAINST such of the whites as had taken any part in these disturbances, in favour of the people of colour, the rage of the populace knew no limits. *Monf. Dubois*, deputy *procureur general*, had not only declared himself an advocate for the mulattoes, but, with a degree of imprudence which indicated insanity, fought occasions to declaim publicly against the slavery

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of the negroes. The Northern assembly arrested his person, and very probably intended to proceed to greater extremities; but the governor interposed in his behalf, obtained his release, and sent him from the country.

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Mons. *Ferrand de Beaudierre*, a magistrate at *Petit Goave*, was not so fortunate. This gentleman was unhappily enamoured of a woman of colour, to whom, as she possessed a valuable plantation, he had offered marriage. Apprehensive that by this step he might be displaced from the magistracy, and being a man of a warm imagination, with little judgment, he undertook to combat the prejudices of the whites against the whole class. He drew up, in the name and behalf of the mulatto people, a memorial to the parochial committee, wherein, among other things, they were made to claim, in express words, the full benefit of the national declaration of rights. Nothing could be more ill-timed or injudicious than this proceeding: it was evident, that such a claim led to consequences of which the mulattoes themselves (who certainly at this juncture had no wish to enfranchise the slaves) were not apprized. This memorial therefore was considered as a summons to the negroes for a general revolt. The parochial committee seized the author, and committed him to prison; but the mob took him from thence by force, and in spite of the magistrates and municipality, who exerted themselves to stop their fury, put him to death.

THE king's order for convoking a general colonial assembly was received in St. Domingo early in the month of January 1790. It appointed the town of *Leogane*, in the Western province,

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1790-

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vince, for the place of meeting; and instructions accompanied the order, concerning the mode of electing the members. These instructions, however, being considered by the provincial assemblies as inapplicable to the circumstances of the colony, were disapproved; and another plan, better suited, as they conceived, to the wealth, territory, and population of the inhabitants, was adopted. They resolved also to hold the assembly at the town of *St. Marc* instead of *Leogane*, and the 25th of March was fixed for the time of its meeting. It was afterwards prorogued to the 16th of April.

IN the meanwhile intelligence was received in France of the temper of St. Domingo towards the mother country. The inhabitants were very generally represented as manifesting a disposition either to renounce their dependency, or to throw themselves under the protection of a foreign power; and the planters of Martinico were said to be equally discontented and disaffected. The trading and manufacturing towns took the alarm; and petitions and remonstrances were presented from various quarters, imploring the national assembly to adopt measures for composing the minds of the colonists, and preserving to the French empire its most valuable dependencies.

ON the 8th of March 1790, the national assembly entered into the consideration of the subject, with a seriousness and solemnity suited to its importance; and, after full discussion, a very large majority voted, "That it never was the intention of the assembly to comprehend the interior government of the colonies in the constitution which they had framed for the mother country,

“country, or to subject them to laws which were incompatible
 “with their local establishments; they therefore authorise the in-
 “habitants of each colony to signify to the national assembly their
 “sentiments and wishes concerning that plan of interior legisla-
 “tion and commercial arrangement, which would be most con-
 “ducive to their prosperity.” It was required, however, that the
 plan to be offered should be conformable to the principles which
 had connected the colonies with the metropolis, and be calcu-
 lated for the preservation of their reciprocal interests.—To this
 decree was annexed a declaration, “That the national assembly
 “would not cause any innovation to be made, directly or indi-
 “rectly, in any system of commerce in which the colonies were
 “already concerned.”

NOTHING could equal the clamour which this decree occa-
 sioned among the people of colour resident in the mother
 country, and the philanthropick society of *Amis des Noirs*. The
 declaration concerning commerce was interpreted into a tacit
 sanction for the continuance of the slave trade; and it was even
 contended, that the national assembly, by leaving the adjustment
 of the colonial constitutions to the colonists themselves, had dis-
 charged them from their allegiance. It was said that they were
 no longer subject to the French empire, but members of an in-
 dependent state.

NEVERTHELESS, if the circumstances of the times, and the
 disposition of the French colonists at this juncture, be taken into
 the account, candour must acknowledge that it was a decree
 not only justifiable on the motives of prudence and policy, but
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was founded also on the strong basis of moral necessity. The arguments that were urged against it seem to imply that the benefits of the French revolution were intended only for the people residing in the realm, in exclusion of their fellow subjects in the plantations. After that great event, to suppose that the inhabitants of those colonies (with the successful example too of the English Americans recent in their memories) would have submitted to be governed and directed in their local concerns by a legislature at the distance of 3,000 miles from them, is to manifest a very slender acquaintance with human nature. How little inclined the colonial assembly was to such submission, their proceedings, from the first day of their meeting, to their final dissolution, will demonstrate.—Of those proceedings I shall endeavour to furnish a brief account in the next Chapter.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings of the General Colonial Assembly until its final Dissolution, and Embarkation of the Members for France, August 1790.

THE General Assembly of St. Domingo met on the 16th of April, at the town of *St. Marc*. It was composed of 213 members, of whom the city of *Cape François* elected twenty-four, *Port au Prince* sixteen, and *Aux Cayes* eight. Most of the other parishes returned two representatives each; and it is allowed that, on the whole, the colony was fairly, fully, and most respectably represented. The provincial assemblies, however, continued in the exercise of their functions as before, or appointed committees to act during their intermission.

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THE session was opened by a discourse from the president, wherein, after recounting various abuses in the constitution and administration of the former colonial government, he pointed out some of the many great objects that seemed to require immediate attention: among others, he recommended the case of the mulattoes, and a melioration of the slave laws. The assembly concurred in sentiment with the orator; and one of their first measures was to relieve the people of colour from the hardships to which they were subject under the military jurisdiction. It

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was

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was decreed, that in future no greater duty should be required of them in the militia than from the whites; and the harsh authority, in particular, which the king's lieutenants, majors, and aides-major, commanding in the towns, exercised over those people, was declared oppressive and illegal. These acts of indulgence were certainly meant as the earnest of greater favours, and an opening to conciliation and concession towards the whole class of the coloured people.

THE general assembly proceeded, in the next place, to rectify some gross abuses which had long prevailed in the courts of justice, confining themselves however to such only as called for immediate redress, their attention being chiefly directed to the great and interesting object of preparing the plan for a new constitution, or system of colonial government; a business which employed their deliberations until the 28th of May.

1790.

M. PEYNIER was now governor general, from whom the partisans and adherents of the ancient despotism secretly derived encouragement and support. The whole body of tax-gatherers, and officers under the fiscal administration, were of this number. These therefore began to recover from the panick into which so great and sudden a revolution had thrown them, and to rally their united strength. Nothing could be more opposite to their wishes, than the success of the general assembly in the establishment of order and good government throughout the colony. Nor were these the only men who beheld the proceedings of this body with an evil eye. All the persons belonging to the courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction (and their numbers were considerable)

considerable) who were interested in the maintenance of those abuses which the assembly had corrected, were filled with indignation and envy. To these were added most of the men who held military commissions under the king's authority. Habituated to the exercise of command, they indignantly beheld the subversion of all that accustomed obedience and subordination which they had been taught to consider as essential to the support of government, and offered themselves the willing instruments of the governor general in subverting the new system.

SUCH were the persons that opposed themselves to the new order of things in the colony, when the Chevalier Mauduit, colonel of the regiment of Port au Prince, arrived at St. Domingo. He had not come directly from France, but circuitously by way of Italy; and at Turin had taken leave of the Count d'Artois, to whose fortunes he was strongly attached. He was a man of talents; brave, active, and enterprising; zealous for his party, and full of projects for a counter-revolution. By his dexterity and address, he soon acquired an ascendancy over the feeble and narrow genius of Peynier, and governed the colony in his name. His penetration easily made him discover that, in order effectually to disturb the new settlement, it was absolutely necessary to prevent a coalition of interests between the colonial assembly, and the free people of colour. He therefore proclaimed himself the patron and protector of the mulattoes, and courted them on all occasions, with such assiduity and success, as gained over the whole body.

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It seems however extremely probable that the peace of the country would have been preserved, notwithstanding the machinations of Peynier and Maudit, if the planters, true to their own cause, had remained united among themselves. But, unfortunately, the provincial assembly of the North was induced, through misrepresentation or envy, to counteract, by all possible means, the proceedings of the general assembly at St. Marc. Thus, discord and dissention every where prevailed; and appearances seemed to indicate an approaching civil war, even before the plan for the new constitution was published. This was contained in the famous decree of the general colonial assembly of the 28th of May; a decree, which having been the subject of much animadversion, and made the ostensible motive, on the part of the executive power, for commencing hostilities, it is proper to state it at large.

May 1790.

It consisted of ten fundamental positions, which are preceded by an introductory discourse or preamble (as usual in the French decrees) wherein, among other considerations, it is stated, as an acknowledged principle in the French constitution, that the right in the crown to confirm the acts of the legislature, is a prerogative, inherent and *incommunicable*: of course that it cannot be delegated to a colonial governor, whose authority is precarious and subordinate. The articles are then subjoined, in the order and words following:

“ 1. The legislative authority, in every thing which relates to the internal concerns of the colony (*regime interieur*), is vested in

in the assembly of its representatives, which shall be called *the General Assembly of the French Part of St. Domingo.*

2. No act of the legislative body, in what relates to the internal concerns of the colony, shall be considered *as a law definitive*, unless it be made by the representatives of the French part of St. Domingo, freely and legally chosen, and confirmed by the king.

3. In cases of urgent necessity, a legislative decree of the general assembly, in what relates to the internal concerns of the colony, shall be considered *as a law provisional*. In all such cases, the decree shall be notified forthwith to the governor general, who, within ten days after such notification, shall cause it to be published and enforced, or transmit to the general assembly his observations thereon.

4. The necessity of the case on which the execution of such provisional decree is to depend, shall be a separate question, and be carried in the affirmative by a majority of two-thirds of the general assembly; the names and numbers being taken down. (*Prises par l'appel nominal.*)

5. If the governor general shall send down his observations on any such decree, the same shall be entered in the journals of the general assembly, who shall then proceed to revise the decree, and consider the observations thereon in three several sittings. The votes for confirming or annulling the decree shall be given in the words *Yes* or *No*, and a minute of the proceedings shall be signed by the members present, in which shall be enumerated the votes on each side of the question; and if there appears a majority of two-thirds for confirming the decree, it shall be immediately enforced by the governor general.

6. As

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6. As every law ought to be founded on the consent of those who are to be bound by it, the French part of St. Domingo shall be allowed to propose regulations concerning commercial arrangements, and the system of mutual connection (*rappports commerciaux, et autres rappports communs*), and the decrees which the national assembly shall make in all such cases shall not be enforced in the colony, until the general assembly shall have consented thereto.

7. In cases of pressing necessity, the importation of articles for the support of the inhabitants shall not be considered as any breach in the system of commercial regulations between St. Domingo and France; provided that the decrees to be made in such cases by the general assembly shall be submitted to the revision of the governor general, under the same conditions and modifications as are prescribed in articles 3 and 5.

8. Provided also, that every legislative act of the general assembly, executed provisionally, in cases of urgent necessity, shall be transmitted forthwith for the royal sanction. And if the king shall refuse his consent to any such act, its execution shall be suspended, as soon as the king's refusal shall be legally notified to the general assembly.

9. A new general assembly shall be chosen every two years, and none of the members who have served in the former assembly shall be eligible in the new one.

10. The general assembly decree that the preceding articles, as forming part of the constitution of the French colony in St. Domingo, shall be immediately transmitted to France for the acceptance of the national assembly, and the king. They shall

likewise

likewise be transmitted to all the parishes and districts of the colony, and be notified to the governor general."

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THAT a decree of such comprehensiveness and magnitude should have excited very general disquisition in the colony, and have produced misrepresentation and clamour, even among men of very opposite sentiments and tempers, is no way surprizing. It must be allowed, that some of the articles are irreconcilable to every just principle of colonial subordination. The refusing to allow a negative voice to the representative of the king, is repugnant to all the notions which an Englishman is taught to entertain of a monarchical government, however limited: and the declaration that no decree of the national assembly concerning the colony, in cases of exterior regulation, should be in force until confirmed by the colonial assembly, was such an extravagant assumption of imperial authority, in a subordinate part of the French empire, as I believe is without a precedent.

ALL that can be urged in extenuation, seems to be that the circumstances of the case were novel, and the members of the colonial assembly unexperienced in the business of legislation. That they had any serious intention of declaring the colony an independent state, in imitation of the English American provinces, it is impossible to believe. Nevertheless, the decree was no sooner promulgated, than this notion was industriously propagated by their enemies from one end of the colony to the other; and when this report failed to gain belief, it was pretended that the colony was sold to the English, and that the members of the general assembly

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assembly had received and divided among themselves 40 millions of livres as the purchase money.

IF recent events had not demonstrated the extreme credulity and jealous temper of the French character, it would be difficult to believe that charges, thus wild and unsupported, could have made an impression on the minds of any considerable number of the people. So great however was the effect produced by them, as to occasion some of the Western parishes to recal their deputies; while the inhabitants of Cape François took measures still more decisive: they renounced obedience to the general assembly, and presented a memorial to the governor, requesting him to dissolve it forthwith, declaring that they considered the colony as lost, unless he proceeded with the utmost vigour and promptitude in depriving that body of all manner of authority.

M. PEYNIER received this address with secret satisfaction. It seemed indeed to be the policy of both parties to reject all thoughts of compromise by negociation; and there occurred at this juncture a circumstance which would probably have rendered all negociation abortive, had it been attempted. In the harbour of Port au Prince lay a ship of the line, called the Leopard, commanded by M. Galisoniere. This officer, co-operating in the views of Peynier and Mauduit, made a sumptuous entertainment for the partizans of those gentlemen, and by this, or some other parts of his conduct, gave offence to his sailors. Whether these men had felt the influence of corruption (as asserted by one party) or were actuated solely by one of those unaccountable

unaccountable freaks to which seamen are particularly subject, the fact certainly is, that they withdrew their obedience from their proper officer, and declared themselves to be in the interests of the colonial assembly! Their conduct became at length so turbulent and seditious, as to induce M. Galifoniere to quit the ship, whereupon the crew gave the command to one of the lieutenants. The assembly, perceiving the advantages to be derived from this event, immediately transmitted a vote of thanks to the seamen for their patriotick conduct, and required them, in the name of the law and the king, to detain the ship in the road, and await their further orders. The sailors, gratified with this acknowledgement, promised obedience, and affixed the vote of thanks on the main-mast of the ship. Some partizans of the assembly, about the same time, took possession of a powder magazine at Leogane.

27th July,
1790.

A CIVIL war seemed now to be inevitable. Two days after the vote of thanks had been transmitted from St. Marc's to the crew of the Leopard, M. Peynier issued a proclamation to dissolve the general assembly. He charged the members with entertaining projects of independency, and asserted that they had treacherously possessed themselves of one of the king's ships by corrupting the crew. He pronounced the members and all their adherents traitors to their country, and enemies to the nation and the king: declaring that it was his intention to employ all the force he could collect to defeat their projects, and bring them to condign punishment; and he called on all officers, civil and military, for their co-operation and support.

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His first proceedings were directed against the committee of the Western provincial assembly.—This body held its meetings at Port au Prince, and in the exercise of its subordinate functions, during the intermission of that assembly, had manifested such zealous attachment to the general assembly at St. Marc, as exposed its members to the resentment of the governor and his party. It was determined therefore, at a council held the same day, to arrest their persons the following night, and M. Mauduit undertook to conduct the enterprize. Having been informed that this committee held consultations at midnight, he selected about one hundred of his soldiers, and formed a scheme to seize the members at their place of meeting. On arriving however at the house, he found it protected by four hundred of the national guards (*g*). A skirmish ensued; but the circumstances attending it are so variously related, that no precise account can be given of the particulars; nor is it ascertained which party gave the first fire. Nothing further is certainly known, than that two men were killed on the part of the assembly,—that several were wounded on both sides, and that M. Mauduit returned without effecting any purpose but that of seizing, and bearing away in triumph, the national colours;—a circumstance which afterwards (as will be seen in the sequel) cost him his life.

THE general assembly, on receiving intelligence of this attack, and of the formidable preparations that were making for di-

(*g*) The troops in St. Domingo, called the *National Guards*, were originally nothing more than the colonial militia. They were new organized in 1789, on the model of the national guards in the mother-country, and bore the same colours, and assumed the same name.

recting hostilities against themselves, summoned the people, from all parts of the colony, to hasten properly armed to protect their representatives; and most of the inhabitants of the neighbouring parishes obeyed the summons. The ship Leopard was brought from Port au Prince to St. Marc's for the same purpose. On the other hand, the Northern provincial assembly joined the party of the governor, and sent to his assistance a detachment from the regular troops in that quarter, which was joined by a body of two hundred people of colour. A much greater force was collected at the same time in the Western province by M. Mauduit, and the preparations on both sides threatened an obstinate and bloody conflict; when, by one of those wonderful eccentricities in the human mind which are seldom displayed except in times of publick commotion, a stop was put to the immediate shedding of blood, by the sudden and unexpected determination of the general assembly to undertake a voyage to France, and justify their conduct to the king and the national assembly in person. Their motives were thought the more laudable, as all the Western and great part of the Southern provinces gave a decided approbation of their conduct, and armed in a very short time two thousand men in their defence, which were in full march for Port au Prince. Their resolution however was fixed, and accordingly, of about one hundred members, to which the colonial assembly was reduced by sickness and desertion, no less than eighty-five (of whom sixty-four were fathers of families) actually embarked on board the Leopard, and on the 8th of August took their departure for Europe:—a proceeding which created as much surprize in the governor and his party, as admiration and applause among the people

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people at large. Persons of all ranks accompanied the members to the place of embarkation, pouring forth prayers for their success, and shedding tears of sensibility and affection for a conduct which was very generally considered as a noble proof of self-denial, and as signal an instance of heroick virtue and christian forbearance as any age has exhibited. A momentary calm followed this event:—the parties in arms appeared mutually disposed to submit their differences to the wisdom and justice of the king and the national assembly, and M. Peynier resumed, though with a trembling hand, the reins of government.

SUCH was the issue of the first attempt to establish a free constitution in the French part of St. Domingo, on the system of a limited monarchy; and it affords occasion for some important reflections. That the general colonial assembly, in their decree of the 28th of May, exceeded the proper boundary of their constitutional functions, has been frankly admitted. This irregularity, however, might have been corrected without bloodshed or violence; but there is this misfortune attending every deviation from the rule of right, that, in the conflict of contending factions, the excesses of one party are ever considered as the fullest justification for the outrages of the other. For some parts of their conduct an apology may be offered. The measure of securing to their interests the crew of the Leopard, and the seizure of the magazine at Leogane, may be vindicated on the plea of self-defence. It cannot be doubted that M. Peynier had long meditated how best to restore the ancient despotick system, and

that,

that, jointly with M. Mauduit and others, he had made preparations for that purpose. He had written to M. Luzerne, the minister in France, that he never intended to suffer the colonial assembly to meet; and let it be told in this place, in justice to the French ministry, that the answer which he received contained a tacit disapprobation of his measures; for M. Luzerne recommended moderate and conciliatory councils. The governor proceeded notwithstanding in the same career, and distrustful perhaps of the fidelity of the French soldiers, he made application (as appeared afterwards) to the governor of the Havannah for a reinforcement of Spanish troops from Cuba. It is evident therefore that he concurred entirely in the plans of Mauduit for effectuating a counter-revolution; and hence it is reasonable to conclude, that the discord and distrust which prevailed among the inhabitants, and above all, the fatal dissensions that alienated the provincial assembly of the North, from the general assembly at St. Marc's, were industriously fomented and encouraged by M. Peynier and his adherents. Concerning the members of the colonial assembly, their prompt and decisive determination to repair to France, and surrender their persons to the supreme government, obviates all impeachment of their loyalty. Their attachment to the mother-country was indeed secured by too many ties of interest and self-preservation to be doubted.

OF their reception by the national assembly, and the proceedings adopted in consequence of their arrival in Europe, I shall hereafter have occasion to speak. A pause in this place seems

CHAP. seems requisite;—for I have now to introduce to the reader the
 III. mournful history of an unfortunate individual, over whose sad
 fate (however we may condemn his rash and ill-concerted enterprize)

“ One human tear may drop, and be forgiven !”

C H A P. IV.

Rebellion and Defeat of Ogé, a free Man of Colour.

FROM the first meeting of the general assembly of St. Domingo, to its dissolution and dispersion, as related in the preceding chapters, the coloured people resident within the colony remained on the whole more peaceable and orderly than might have been expected. The temperate and lenient disposition manifested by the assembly towards them, produced a beneficial and decisive effect in the Western and Southern provinces, and although 300 of them from these provinces, had been persuaded by M. Mauduit to join the force under his command, they very soon became sensible of their error, and, instead of marching towards St. Marc, as Mauduit proposed, they demanded and obtained their dismissal, and returned quietly to their respective habitations. Such of the mulatto people however as resided at that juncture in the mother-country, continued in a far more hostile disposition; and they were encouraged in their animosity towards the white colonists by parties of very different descriptions. The colonial decree of the 28th of May, 1790, was no sooner made known in France, than it excited universal clamour. Many persons who concurred in nothing else, united their voices in reprobating the conduct of the inhabitants

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bitants of St. Domingo. The adherents of the ancient government were joined on this occasion by the partizans of democracy and republicanism. To the latter, the constitution of 1789 was even more odious than the old tyranny; and these men, with the deepest and darkeſt deſigns, poſſeſſed all that union, firmneſs, and perfeverance which were neceſſary to their purpoſes; and which, as the world has beheld, have ſince rendered them irrefiſtible. Theſe two factions hoped to obtain very different ends, by the ſame means; and there was another party who exerted themſelves with equal affiduity in promoting publick confuſion: theſe were the diſcordant claſs of ſpeculative reformers, whom it was impoſſible to reconcile to the new government, becauſe every man among them had probably formed a favourite ſyſtem in his own imagination which he was eager to recommend to others. I do not conſider the philan-
thropick ſociety, called *Amis des Noirs*, as another diſtinct body, becauſe it appears to me that they were pretty equally divided between the democratick party, and the claſs laſt mentioned. Strengthened by ſuch auxiliaries, it is not ſurprizing that the efforts of this ſociety ſhould have operated powerfully on the minds of thoſe who were taught to conſider their perſonal wrongs as the cauſe of the nation, and have driven ſome of them into the wildeſt exceſſes of fanaticiſm and fury.

AMONG ſuch of theſe unfortunate people reſident in France as were thus inflamed into madneſs, was a young man under thirty years of age, named *James Ogé*: he was born in St. Domingo, of a mulatto woman who ſtill poſſeſſed a coffee plantation in the Northern province, about thirty miles from Cape François,

François, whereon she lived very creditably, and found means out of its profits to educate her son at Paris, and even to support him there in some degree of affluence, after he had obtained the age of manhood. His reputed father, a white planter of some account, had been dead several years.

OGE had been introduced to the meetings of the *Amis des Noirs*, under the patronage of Gregoire, Brissot (*b*), La Fayette, and Robespierre (*i*), the leading members of that society; and was by them initiated into the popular doctrine of *equality*, and *the rights of man*. Here it was that he first learnt the miseries of his condition, the cruel wrongs and contumelies to which he and all his mulatto brethren were exposed in the West Indies, and the monstrous injustice and absurdity of that prejudice, “which, (said Gregoire) estimating a man’s merit by the colour of his skin, has placed at an immense distance from each other the children of the same parent; a prejudice which stifles the voice of nature, and breaks the bands of fraternity asunder.”

THAT these are great evils must be frankly admitted, and it would have been fortunate if such men as Brissot and Gregoire, instead of bewailing their existence and magnifying their extent, had applied their talents in considering of the best practicable means of redressing them.

BUT these persons had other objects in view:—their aim, as I have shewn, was not to reform, but to destroy; to excite con-

(*b*) Guillotined 31 October, 1793.

(*i*) Guillotined 28 July, 1794.

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vulsions in every part of the French empire; and the ill-fated Ogé became the tool, and was afterwards the victim, of their guilty ambition.

He had been led to believe, that the whole body of coloured people in the French islands were prepared to rise up as one man against their oppressors; that nothing but a discreet leader was wanting, to set them into action; and, fondly conceiving that he possessed in his own person all the qualities of an able general, he determined to proceed to St. Domingo by the first opportunity. To cherish the conceit of his own importance, and animate his exertions, the society procured him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army of one of the German electors.

As it was found difficult to export a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition from France, without attracting the notice of the government, and awakening suspicion among the planters resident in the mother country, the society resolved to procure those articles in North America, and it was recommended to Ogé to make a circuitous voyage for that purpose. Accordingly, being furnished with money and letters of credit, he embarked for New England in the month of July 1790.

BUT, notwithstanding the caution that was observed in this instance, the whole project was publickly known at Paris previous to Ogé's embarkation, and notice of the scheme, and even a portrait of Ogé himself, were transmitted to St. Domingo, long before his arrival in that island. He secretly landed there, from an American sloop, on the 12th of October 1790, and found means

means to convey undiscovered the arms and ammunition which he had purchased, to the place which his brother had prepared for their reception.

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THE first notice which the white inhabitants received of Ogé's arrival, was from himself. He dispatched a letter to the governor (Peynier) wherein, after reproaching the governor and his predecessors with the non-execution of the *Code Noir*, he demands, in very imperious terms, that the provisions of that celebrated statute should be enforced throughout the colony; he requires that the privileges enjoyed by one class of inhabitants (the whites) should be extended to all persons without distinction; declares himself the protector of the mulattoes, and announces his intention of taking up arms in their behalf, unless their wrongs should be redressed.

ABOUT six weeks had intervened between the landing of Ogé, and the publication of this mandate; in all which time he and his two brothers had exerted themselves to the utmost in spreading disaffection, and exciting revolt among the mulattoes. Assurances were held forth, that all the inhabitants of the mother country were disposed to assist them in the recovery of their rights, and it was added, that the king himself was favourably inclined to their cause. Promises were distributed to some, and money to others. But, notwithstanding all these efforts, and that the temper of the times was favourable to his views, Ogé was not able to allure to his standard above 200 followers; and of these, the major part were raw and ignorant youths, unused

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to discipline, and averse to all manner of subordination and order.

HE established his camp at a place called *Grande Riviere*, about fifteen miles from Cape François, and appointed his two brothers, together with one Mark Chavane, his lieutenants. Chavane was fierce, intrepid, active, and enterprizing; prone to mischief, and thirsty for vengeance. Ogé himself, with all his enthusiasm, was naturally mild and humane: he cautioned his followers against the shedding innocent blood; but little regard was paid to his wishes in this respect: the first white man that fell in their way they murdered on the spot: a second, of the name of Sicard, met the same fate; and it is related, that their cruelty towards such persons of their own complexion as refused to join in the revolt was extreme. A mulatto man of some property being urged to follow them, pointed to his wife and six children, assigning the largeness of his family as a motive for wishing to remain quiet. This conduct was considered as contumacious, and it is asserted, that not only the man himself, but the whole of his family, were massacred without mercy.

INTELLIGENCE was no sooner received at the town of Cape François of these enormities, than the inhabitants proceeded, with the utmost vigour and unanimity, to adopt measures for suppressing the revolt. A body of regular troops, and the Cape regiment of militia, were forthwith dispatched for that purpose. They soon invested the camp of the revolvers, who made less resistance than might have been expected from men in their desperate circumstances. The rout became general; many of them
were

were killed, and about sixty made prisoners; the rest dispersed themselves in the mountains. Ogé himself, one of his brothers, and Chavane his associate, took refuge in the Spanish territories. Of Ogé's other brother no intelligence was ever afterwards obtained.

AFTER this unsuccessful attempt of Ogé, and his escape from justice, the disposition of the white inhabitants in general towards the mulattoes, was sharpened into great animosity. The lower classes in particular, (those whom the coloured people call *les petits blancs*) breathed nothing but vengeance against them; and very serious apprehensions were entertained, in all parts of the colony, of a proscription and massacre of the whole body.

ALARMED by reports of this kind, and the appearances which threatened them from all quarters, the mulattoes flew to arms in many places. They formed camps at Artibonite, Petit-Goaves, Jeremie, and Aux Cayes. But the largest and most formidable body assembled near the little town of *Verette*. The white inhabitants collected themselves in considerable force in the neighbourhood, and Colonel Mauduit, with a corps of two hundred men from the regiment of Port au Prince, hastened to their assistance; but neither party proceeded to actual hostility. M. Mauduit even left his detachment at the port of St. Marc, thirty-six miles from *Verette*, and proceeding singly and unattended to the camp of the mulattoes, had a conference with their leaders. What passed on that occasion was never publicly divulged. It is certain, that the mulattoes retired to their habitations in consequence of it; but the silence and secrecy of M. Mauduit, and

his

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his influence over them, gave occasion to very unfavourable suspicions, by no means tending to conciliate the different classes of the inhabitants to each other. He was charged with having traiterously persuaded them not to desist from their purpose, but only to postpone their vengeance to a more favourable opportunity; assuring them, with the utmost solemnity and apparent sincerity, that the king himself, and all the friends of the ancient government, were secretly attached to their cause, and would avow and support it whenever they could do it with advantage; and that the time was not far distant, &c. He is said to have pursued the same line of conduct at Jeremie, Aux Cayes, and all the places which he visited. Every where he held secret consultations with the chiefs of the mulattoes, and those people every where immediately dispersed. At Aux Cayes, a skirmish had happened before his arrival there, in which about fifty persons on both sides had lost their lives, and preparations were making to renew hostilities. The persuasions of M. Mauduit effected a truce; but Rigaud, the leader of the mulattoes in that quarter, openly declared that it was a transient and deceitful calm, and that no peace would be permanent, until one class of people had exterminated the other.

IN November 1790, M. Peynier resigned the government to the lieutenant-general, and embarked for Europe;—a circumstance which proved highly pleasing to the major part of the planters:—and the first measure of M. Blanchelande (*k*), the new commander in chief, was considered as the earnest of a decisive

(*k*) Guillotined at Paris, 1793.

and

and vigorous administration. He made a peremptory demand of Ogé and his associates from the Spaniards; and the manner in which it was enforced, induced an immediate compliance therewith. The wretched Ogé, and his companions in misery, were delivered over, the latter end of December, to a detachment of French troops, and safely lodged in the jail of Cape François, with the prisoners formerly taken; and a commission was soon afterwards issued to bring them to trial.

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THEIR examinations were long and frequent; and in the beginning of March 1791, sentence was pronounced. Twenty of Ogé's deluded followers, among them his own brother, were condemned to be hanged. To Ogé himself, and his lieutenant Chavane, a more terrible punishment was allotted:—they were adjudged to be broken alive, and left to perish in that dreadful situation, on the wheel:—a sentence, on which it is impossible to reflect but with mingled emotions of shame, sympathy, indignation, and horror!

THE bold and hardened Chavane met his fate with unusual firmness, and suffered not a groan to escape him during the extremity of his torture: but the fortitude of Ogé deserted him altogether. When sentence was pronounced, he implored mercy with many tears, and an abject spirit. He promised to make great discoveries if his life was spared, declaring that he had an important secret to communicate. A respite of twenty-four hours was accordingly granted; but it was not made known to the publick, at that time, that he divulged any thing of importance. His secret, if any he had, was believed to have died with him.

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IT was discovered, however, about nine months afterwards, that this most unfortunate young man had not only made a full confession of the facts that I have related, but also disclosed the dreadful plot in agitation, and the miseries at that moment impending over the colony. His last solemn declarations and dying confession, sworn to and signed by himself the day before his execution, were actually produced; wherein he details at large the measures which the coloured people had fallen upon to excite the negro slaves to rise into rebellion. He points out the chiefs by name, and relates that, notwithstanding his own defeat, a general revolt would actually have taken place in the month of February preceding, if an extraordinary flood of rain, and consequent inundation from the rivers, had not prevented it. He declares that the ringleaders still maintained the same atrocious project, and held their meetings in certain subterranean passages, or caves, in the parish of La Grande Riviere, to which he offers, if his life might be spared, to conduct a body of troops, so that the conspirators might be secured.

THE persons before whom this confession and narrative were made, were the commissioners appointed for the purpose of taking Ogé's examination, by the superior council of the Northern province, of which body they were also members (1). Whether this court (all the members of which were devotedly attached to the ancient system) determined of itself to suppress evidence of such great concern to the colony, or was directed on

(1) Their names were Antoine Etienne Ruotte, and Francois Joseph de Verrieres.

this occasion by the superior officers in the administration of the government, has never been clearly made known. Suppressed it certainly was, and the miserable Ogé hurried to immediate execution; as if to prevent the further communication, and full disclosure of so weighty a secret!

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CHRISTIAN charity might lead us to suppose that the commissioners by whom Ogé's examination was taken, disregarded and neglected (rather than suppressed) his information; considering it merely as the shallow artifice of a miserable man to obtain a mitigation of the dreadful punishment which awaited him, and utterly unworthy of credit. It does not appear, however, that the commissioners made this excuse for themselves; and the caution, circumspection, and secrecy which marked their conduct, leave no room for such a supposition. The planters at large scrupled not to declare, that the royalists in the colony, and the philanthropick and republican party in the mother country, were equally criminal; and themselves made victims to the blind purposes, and unwarrantable passions, of two desperate and malignant factions.

Of men who openly and avowedly aimed at the subversion of all good order and subordination, we may easily credit the worst; but it will be difficult to point out any principle of rational policy by which the royalists could have been influenced to concur in the ruin of so noble and beautiful a part of the French empire. Their conduct therefore remains wholly inexplicable, or we must admit they were guided by a spirit of Machiavilian policy—a principle of refined cunning, which al-

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ways defeats its own purpose. They must have encouraged the vain and fallacious idea that scenes of bloodshed, devastation, and ruin, in different parts of the French dominions, would induce the great body of the people to look back with regret to their former government, and lead them by degrees to co-operate in the scheme of effecting a counter-revolution; regarding the evils of anarchy, as less tolerable than the dead repose of despotism. If such were their motives, we can only ascribe them to that infatuation with which Providence (as wise men have observed, and history evinces) *blinds a people devoted to destruction.*

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Proceedings in France—Massacre of Colonel Mauduit in St. Domingo—and fatal Decree of the National Assembly of the 15th May 1791.

IN detailing the tragical story of the miserable Ogé, I have chosen to continue my narrative unbroken: but it is now time to call the reader homewards, and direct his attention to the measures adopted by the national assembly, in consequence of advices received from all parts of St. Domingo, concerning the proceedings of the colonial assembly which met at St. Marc's.

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THE eighty-five members, whose embarkation for France has already been noticed, arrived at Brest on the 13th of September 1790. They were received on landing by all ranks of people, and even by men in authority, with congratulation and shouts of applause. The same honours were shewn to them as would have been paid to the national assembly. Their expences were defrayed, and sums of money raised for their future occasions by a voluntary and very general subscription; but these testimonies of respect and kindness served only to encrease the disappointment which they soon afterwards experienced in the capital;

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where a very different reception awaited them. They had the mortification to discover that their enemies had been beforehand with them. Deputies were already arrived from the provincial assembly of the North, who, joining with the agents of Peynier and Mauduit, had so effectually prevailed with M. Barnave (*a*), the president of the committee for the colonies, that they found their cause prejudged, and their conduct condemned, without a hearing. The national assembly had issued a peremptory order, on the 21st of September, directing them to attend at Paris, and wait there for further directions. Their prompt obedience to this order procured them no favour. They were allowed a single audience only, and then indignantly dismissed from the bar. They solicited a second, and an opportunity of being confronted with their adversaries: the national assembly refused their request, and directed the colonial committee to hasten its report concerning their conduct. On the 11th of October, this report was presented by M. Barnave. It comprehended a detail of all the proceedings of the colonial assembly, from its first meeting at St. Marc's, and censured their general conduct in terms of great asperity; representing it as flowing from motives of disaffection towards the mother country, and an impatience of subordination to constitutional authority and good government. The report concluded by recommending, "that all the pretended decrees and acts of the said colonial assembly, should be reversed, and pronounced utterly null and of no effect; that the said assembly should be declared dissolved, and its members rendered ineligible and incapable of being delegated in

(*a*) Guillotined December 1, 1793.

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“future to the colonial assembly of St. Domingo; that testimonials of approbation should be transmitted to the Northern provincial assembly, to Colonel Mauduit and the regiment of Port au Prince, for resisting the proceedings at St. Marc’s; that the king should be requested to give orders for the forming a new colonial assembly on the principles of the national decree of the 8th of March 1790, and instructions of the 28th of the same month; finally, that the *ci-devant* members, then in France, should continue in a state of arrest, until the national assembly might find time to signify its further pleasure concerning them.” A decree to this effect was accordingly voted on the 12th of October, by a very large majority; and the king was requested, at the same time, to send out an augmentation of force, both naval and military, for the better supporting the regal authority in St. Domingo.

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It is not easy to describe the surprize and indignation which the news of this decree excited in St. Domingo, except among the partizans of the former government. By *them* it was regarded as the first step towards the revival of the ancient system; by most other persons it was considered as a dereliction by the national assembly of all principle; and the orders for electing a new colonial assembly were so little regarded, that many of the parishes positively refused to choose other deputies until the fate of their former members, at that time in France, should be decided; declaring, that they still considered those persons as the legal representatives of the colony. One immediate and apparent effect of this decree was, to heighten and inflame the popular resentment against Mauduit and his regiment. The reader has already been made acquainted with some particulars concerning

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concerning this officer; and to what has been said of his general character, and his intemperate zeal for the re-establishment of the regal authority in its fullest extent, it may be added, that he was the more dangerous, because he was generous in his disposition, and even profuse in his bounty towards his soldiers. In return, the attachment of his regiment towards his person appeared to exceed the usual limits of obedience and duty (*b*).

THE massacre of this man by those very troops, a short time after the notification of the aforesaid decree, affords so striking an instance of that cruel and ungovernable disposition, equally impetuous and inconstant, which prevailed, and I am afraid still continues to prevail, amongst the lower classes of the people throughout all the French dominions, that I conceive a brief recital of the circumstances attending his murder will not be thought an unnecessary digression.

I HAVE, in a former place (*c*), given some account of the proceedings of M. Peynier, the late governor, against certain persons who composed what was called the committee of the Western provincial assembly, and of the attempt by M. Mauduit to seize by force the individuals who composed that committee. This happened on the 29th of July, 1790; and I observed that the circumstance of M. Mauduit's carrying off the colours from a detachment of the national guards on that occasion, ultimately terminated in his destruction.

(*b*) After his example they had rejected the national cockade, and wore a white feather in their hats, the symbol, or avowed signal, of the royal party.

(*c*) Chap. iii. p. 34.

THE case was, that not only the detachment from whom their ensign was taken, but the whole of the national guards throughout the colony, considered this act as the most outrageous and unpardonable insult that could possibly be offered to a body of men, who had sworn fidelity to the new constitution; and nothing but the dread of the superior discipline of the veterans composing the Port au Prince regiment (which Mauduit commanded) prevented them from exercising exemplary vengeance on the author of their disgrace. This regiment therefore, being implicated in the crime of their commanding officer, was regarded by the other troops with hatred and detestation.

ON the 3d of March 1791, the frigates Le Fougueux and Le Borée arrived from France, with two battalions of the regiments of Artois and Normandy; and when it is known that these troops had been visited by the crew of the Leopard, it will not appear surprizing that, on their landing at Port au Prince, they should have manifested the same hostile disposition towards Mauduit's regiment, as was shewn by the national guards. They refused all manner of communication or intercourse with them, and even declined to enter into any of their places of resort. They considered, or affected to consider them, as enemies to the colony, and traitors to their country. This conduct in the new-comers towards the ill-fated regiment soon made a wonderful impression on the minds of both officers and privates of the regiment itself; and mutual reproach and accusation spread through the whole corps. The white feather was indignantly torn from their hats, and dark and sullen looks towards

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wards their once-loved commander, indicated not only that he had lost their confidence, but also that he was the object of meditated mischief. Mauduit soon perceived the full extent of his danger, and fearing to involve the governor (M. Blanchelande) and his family, in the ruin which awaited himself, with great generosity advised them to make the best of their way to Cape François, while they could do it with safety; and Blanchelande, for which he was afterwards much censured, followed this advice. Mauduit then harangued his grenadiers, to whom he had always shewn great kindness, and told them that he was willing, for the sake of peace, to restore to the national troops the colours which he had formerly taken from them; and even to carry them, with his own hands, at the head of his regiment, and deposit them in the church in which they had been usually lodged; but he added, that he depended on their affection and duty to protect him from personal insult, while making this ample apology. The faithless grenadiers declared that they would protect him with their lives.

THE next day the ceremony took place, and Mauduit restored the colours as he had promised, before a vast croud of spectators. At that moment, one of his own soldiers cried aloud, *that he must ask pardon of the national troops on his knees*; and the whole regiment applauded the proposal. Mauduit started back with indignation, and offered his bosom to their swords:—it was pierced with a hundred wounds, all of them inflicted by his own men, while not a single hand was lifted up in his defence. The spectators stood motionless, either through hatred to the man, or surprize at the treachery and cowardice of the soldiers. Such indeed

indeed was the baseness of these wretches, that no modern language can describe, but in terms which would not be endured, the horrible enormities that were practised on the dead body of their wretched commander. It was reserved for the present day to behold, for the first time, a civilized nation exceeding in feats of cruelty and revenge the savages of North America. I grieve to add, that I have many dreadful instances yet to recite in confirmation of this remark (c).

WHILE these shameful enormities were passing in St. Domingo, the society of *Amis des Noirs* in the mother country were but too successfully employed in devising projects which gave birth to deeds of still greater horror, and produced scenes that transformed the most beautiful colony in the world into a field of desolation and carnage.

ALTHOUGH it must have occurred to every unprejudiced mind, from the circumstances that have been related concerning the

(c) The following anecdote, though shocking to humanity, I have thought too extraordinary to omit. It was communicated to me by a French gentleman who was at St. Domingo at the time, and knew the fact; but decency has induced me to veil it in a learned language. MAUDUITO *vix mortuo, unus de militibus, dum cadaver calidum, et cruore adhuc fluente madidum, in pavimentum ecclesie episcopalis jacuit, sicam distringens, genitalia coram populo abscondit, et membra truncata in cistam componens, ad feminam nobilem, quam amicam Mauduito statuit, ut legatum de mortuo attulit.* It may afford the reader some consolation to find that the murder of their commanding officer by his own regiment, excited in all the other troops no other sentiments than those of indignation against his murderers. They were compelled to lay down their arms, and were sent prisoners to France; but I fear they escaped the punishment due to their crimes.

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behaviour of the mulattoes resident in the colony, that the general body of those people were by no means averse to conciliation with the whites, yet it was found impossible to persuade their pretended friends in Europe to leave the affairs of St. Domingo to their natural course. Barnave alone (hitherto the most formidable opponent of the prejudices and pretensions of the colonists) avowed his conviction that any further interference of the mother country in the question between the whites and the coloured people, would be productive of fatal consequences. Such an opinion was entitled to greater respect, as coming from a man who, as president of the colonial committee, must be supposed to have acquired an intimate knowledge of the subject; but he was heard without conviction. There are enthusiasts in politicks as well as in religion, and it commonly happens with fanatics in each, that the recantation of a few of their number serves only to strengthen the errors, and animate the purposes of the rest. It was now resolved by Gregoire, La Fayette, Brissot, and some other pestilent reformers, to call in the supreme legislative authority of the French government to give effect to their projects; and that the reader may clearly understand the nature and complexion of the mischief that was meditated, and of those measures to which the ruin of the French part of St. Domingo is immediately to be attributed, it is necessary, in the first place, to recal his attention to the national decree of the 8th of March 1790, of which an account was given in the second chapter.

By that decree, as the reader must have remembered, the national assembly, among other things, disclaimed all right of interference

interference in the local and interior concerns of the colonies; and it cannot be doubted, that if this declaration had been faithfully interpreted and acted upon, it would have contributed, in a very eminent degree, to the restoration of peace and tranquillity in St. Domingo. To render it therefore of as little effect as possible, and to add fuel to the fire which perhaps would otherwise have become extinguished, it had been insidiously proposed in the national assembly, within a few days after the decree of the 8th of March had passed, to transmit with it to the governor of St. Domingo, a code, or chapter, of instructions for its due and punctual observance and execution. Accordingly, on the 28th of the same month, instructions which were said to be calculated for that purpose, were presented and decreed. They consisted of eighteen articles, and contained, among other things, a direction "that every person of the age of twenty-five and upwards, possessing property, or having resided two years in the colony, and paid taxes, should be permitted to vote in the formation of the colonial assembly."

THE friends of the colonists having at that time seats in the national assembly, opposed the measure chiefly on the ground of its repugnancy to the decree of the 8th; it being evidently, they urged, an interference in the local arrangements and interior regulations of the colonial government. It does not appear (notwithstanding what has since been asserted to the contrary) that they entertained an idea that the mulatto people were directly or indirectly concerned. The framers and supporters of the measure pretended that it went only to the modification of the privilege of voting in the parochial meetings, which it was well

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known, under the old government had been constituted of white persons only. The coloured people had in no instance attended those meetings, nor set up a claim, or even expressed a desire, to take any part in the business transacted thereat. But these instructions were no sooner adopted by the national assembly, and converted into a decree, than its framers and supporters threw off the mask, and the mulattoes resident in the mother country, as well as the society of *Amis des Noirs*, failed not to apprize their friends and agents in St. Domingo, that the people of colour, not being excepted, were virtually comprized in it. These, however, not thinking themselves sufficiently powerful to enforce the claim, or, perhaps, doubting the real meaning of the decree, sent deputies to France to demand an explanation of it from the national assembly.

In the beginning of May 1791, the consideration of this subject was brought forward by the Abbé Gregoire, and the claim of the free mulattoes to the full benefit of the instructions of the 28th of March 1790, and to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the white inhabitants, citizens of the French colonies, was supported with all that warmth and eloquence for which he was distinguished. Unfortunately, at this juncture the news of the miserable death of Ogé arrived at Paris, and raised a storm of indignation in the minds of all ranks of people, which the planters resident in France were unable to resist. Nothing was heard in all companies but declamations against their oppression and cruelty. To support and animate the popular outcry against them, a tragedy or pantomime, formed on the story of Ogé, was represented on the publick theatres. By these, and other means, the

the planters were become so generally odious, that for a time they dared not to appear in the streets of Paris. These were the arts by which Gregoire, Condorcet, La Fayette, Brissot, and Roberfpierre disposed the publick mind to clamour for a new and explanatory decree, in which the rights of the coloured people should be placed beyond all future doubts and dispute. The friends and advocates of the planters were overpowered and confounded. In vain did they predict the utter destruction of the colonies if such a proposal should pass into a law. "Perish the colonies," said Roberfpierre, "rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles." The majority reiterated the sentiment, and the famous decree of the 15th of May 1791 was pronounced amidst the acclamation and applause of the multitude.

By this decree it was declared and enacted, "that the people of colour resident in the French colonies, born of free parents, were entitled to, as of right, and should be allowed the enjoyment of, all the privileges of French citizens, and, among others, to those of having votes in the choice of representatives, and of *being eligible to seats both in the parochial and colonial assemblies.*" Thus did the national assembly sweep away in a moment all the laws, usages, prejudices, and opinions concerning these people, which had existed in the French colonies from their earliest settlement; and tear up by the roots the first principle of a free constitution:—a principle founded on the clearest dictates of reason and justice, and expressly confirmed to the inhabitants of the French West Indies by the national decree of the 8th of March 1790; I mean, *the sole and exclusive right of passing laws for their local and interior regulation and government.* The colonial committee,

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of which M. Barnave was president, failed not to apprise the national assembly of the fatal consequences of this measure, and immediately suspended the exercise of its functions. At the same time, the deputies from the colonies signified their purpose to decline any farther attendance. The only effect produced by these measures however, on the national assembly, was an order that the three civil commissioners, who had been appointed in February preceding for regulating the affairs of the colonies on the spot, should immediately repair thither, and see the national decrees duly enforced. The consequences in St. Domingo will be related in the following chapter (*d*).

(*d*) It has been confidently asserted, that *La Fayette*, in order to secure a majority on this question, introduced into the national assembly no less than eighty persons who were not members, but who sat and voted as such. This man had formerly been possessed of a plantation at Cayenne, with seventy negro slaves thereon, which he had sold, without any scruple or stipulation concerning the situation of the negroes, the latter end of 1789, and from that time enrolled himself among the friends of the blacks. The mere English reader, who may be personally unacquainted with the West Indies, will probably consider the clamour which was raised on this occasion by the French planters as equally illiberal and unjust. The planters in the British West Indies will perhaps bring the case home to themselves; and I have no hesitation in saying, that, supposing the English parliament should pass a law declaring, for instance, the free mulattoes of Jamaica to be eligible into the assembly of that island, such a measure would prove there, as it proved in St. Domingo, the declaration of civil war. On mere abstract reasoning this may appear strange and unjustifiable; but we must take mankind as we find them, and few instances occur in which the prejudices of habit, education, and opinion have been corrected by force.

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*Consequences in St. Domingo of the Decree of the 15th of May—
Rebellion of the Negroes in the Northern Province, and Enor-
mities committed by them—Revolt of the Mulattoes at Mirebalais
—Concordat or Truce between the Inhabitants of Port au Prince
and the Men of Colour of the 11th of September—Proclamation
by the National Assembly of the 20th of September.*

I AM now to enter on the retrospect of scenes, the horrors
of which imagination cannot adequately conceive nor pen
describe. The disputes and contests between different classes of
French citizens, and the violences of malignant factions to-
wards each other, no longer claim attention. Such a picture of
human misery;—such a scene of woe, presents itself, as no other
country, no former age has exhibited. Upwards of one hun-
dred thousand savage people, habituated to the barbarities of
Africa, avail themselves of the silence and obscurity of the night,
and fall on the peaceful and unsuspecting planters, like so many
famished tygers thirsting for human blood. Revolt, conflagra-
tion and massacre, every where mark their progress; and death,
in all its horrors, or cruelties and outrages, compared to which
immediate death is mercy, await alike the old and the young,
the matron, the virgin, and the helpless infant. No condition,
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age, or sex is spared. All the shocking and shameful enormities, with which the fierce and unbridled passions of savage man have ever conducted a war, prevail uncontroled. The rage of fire consumes what the sword is unable to destroy, and, in a few dismal hours, the most fertile and beautiful plains in the world are converted into one vast field of carnage;—a wilderness of desolation!

THERE is indeed too much reason to believe, that these miseries would have occurred in St. Domingo, in a great degree, even if the proceedings of the National Assembly, as related in the latter part of the preceding chapter, had been more temperate, and if the decree of the 15th of May had never passed into a law. The declarations of the dying Ogé sufficiently point out the mischief that was meditated, long before that obnoxious decree was promulgated. But it may be affirmed, with truth and certainty, that this fatal measure gave life and activity to the poison. It was the brand by which the flames were lighted, and the combustibles that were prepared set into action. Intelligence having been received of it at Cape François on the 30th of June, no words can describe the rage and indignation which immediately spread throughout the colony; and in no place did the inhabitants breathe greater resentment than in the town of the Cape, which had hitherto been foremost in professions of attachment to the mother country, and in promoting the spirit of disunion and opposition in the colonial assembly. They now unanimously determined to reject the civick oath, although great preparations had been made for a general federation on the 14th of July. The news of this decree seemed to

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unite the most discordant interests. In the first transports of indignation it was proposed to seize all the ships, and confiscate the effects of the French merchants then in the harbour. An embargo was actually laid, and a motion was even made in the provincial assembly to pull down the national colours, and hoist the British standard in their room. The national cockade was every where trodden under foot, and the governor-general, who continued a sorrowful and silent spectator of these excesses, found his authority, as representative of the parent country, together with every idea of colonial subordination in the people, annihilated in a moment.

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The fears and apprehensions which the governor felt on this occasion have been well described by that officer himself, in a memorial which he afterwards published concerning his administration. “ Acquainted (he observes) with the genius and
 “ temper of the white colonists, by a residence of seven years in
 “ the Windward Islands, and well informed of the grounds and
 “ motives of their prejudices and opinions concerning the peo-
 “ ple of colour, I immediately foresaw the disturbances and
 “ dangers which the news of this ill-advised measure would in-
 “ evitably produce; and not having it in my power to suppress
 “ the communication of it, I lost no time in apprizing the
 “ king’s ministers of the general discontent and violent fermenta-
 “ tion which it excited in the colony. To my own observa-
 “ tions, I added those of many respectable, sober, and dispa-
 “ sionate men, whom I thought it my duty to consult in so
 “ critical a conjuncture; and I concluded my letter by expres-
 “ sing my fears that this decree would prove the death-warrant

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“ of many thousands of the inhabitants. The event has mourn-
“ fully verified my predictions !”

ON the recommendation of the provincial assembly of the Northern department, the several parishes throughout the colony now proceeded, without further hesitation, to the election of deputies for a new general colonial assembly. These deputies, to the number of one hundred and seventy-six, met at Leogane, and on the 9th of August declared themselves *the general assembly of the French part of St. Domingo*. They transacted however but little business, but manifested great unanimity and temper in their proceedings, and resolved to hold their meetings at Cape François, whither they adjourned for that purpose, appointing the 25th of the same month for opening the session.

IN the mean-while, so great was the agitation of the publick mind, M. Blanchelande found it necessary not only to transmit to the provincial assembly of the North, a copy of the letter which he mentions to have written to the king's ministers, but also to accompany it with a solemn assurance, pledging himself *to suspend the execution of the obnoxious decree, whenever it should come out to him properly authenticated*; a measure which too plainly demonstrated that his authority in the colony was at an end.

JUSTLY alarmed at all these proceedings, so hostile towards them, and probably apprehensive of a general proscription, the mulattoes throughout the colony began to collect in different
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places in armed bodies; and the whites, by a mournful fatality, suffered them to assemble without molestation. In truth, every man's thoughts were directed towards the meeting of the new colonial assembly, from whose deliberations and proceedings the extinction of party, and the full and immediate redress of all existing grievances, were confidently expected. M. Blanchelande himself declares, that he cherished the same flattering and fallacious hopes. "After a long succession of violent storms, I fondly expected (he writes) the return of a calm and serene morning. The temperate and conciliating conduct of the new assembly, during their short sitting at Leogane, the characters of most of the individual members, and the necessity, so apparent to all, of mutual concession and unanimity on this great occasion, led me to think that the colony would at length see the termination of its miseries; when, alas, the storm was ready to burst, which has since involved us in one common destruction!"

It was on the morning of the 23d of August, just before day, 1791, that a general alarm and consternation spread throughout the town of the Cape, from a report that all the negro slaves in the several neighbouring parishes had revolted, and were at that moment carrying death and desolation over the adjoining large and beautiful plain to the North-east. The governor, and most of the military officers on duty, assembled together; but the reports were so confused and contradictory, as to gain but little credit; when, as day-light began to break, the sudden and successive arrival, with ghastly countenances, of persons who had with difficulty escaped the massacre, and flown to the town

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for protection, brought a dreadful confirmation of the fatal tidings.

THE rebellion first broke out on a plantation called *Nod*, in the parish of *Acul*, nine miles only from the city. Twelve or fourteen of the ringleaders, about the middle of the night, proceeded to the refinery, or sugar-house, and seized on a young man, the refiner's apprentice, dragged him to the front of the dwelling-house, and there hewed him into pieces with their cutlasses: his screams brought out the overseer, whom they instantly shot. The rebels now found their way to the apartment of the refiner, and massacred him in his bed. A young man lying sick in a neighbouring chamber, was left apparently dead of the wounds inflicted by their cutlasses: he had strength enough however to crawl to the next plantation, and relate the horrors he had witnessed. He reported, that all the whites of the estate which he had left were murdered, except only the surgeon, whom the rebels had compelled to accompany them, on the idea that they might stand in need of his professional assistance. Alarmed by this intelligence, the persons to whom it was communicated immediately sought their safety in flight. What became of the poor youth I have never been informed.

THE revoltors (consisting now of all the slaves belonging to that plantation) proceeded to the house of a Mr. Clement, by whose negroes also they were immediately joined, and both he and his refiner were massacred. The murderer of Mr. Clement was his own postillion, a man to whom he had always shewn great kindness. The other white people on this estate contrived to make their escape.

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At this juncture, the negroes on the plantation of M. Flaville, a few miles distant, likewise rose and murdered five white persons, one of whom (the *procureur* or attorney for the estate) had a wife and three daughters. These unfortunate women, while imploring for mercy of the savages on their knees, beheld their husband and father murdered before their faces. For themselves, they were devoted to a more horrid fate, and were carried away captives by the assassins.

The approach of day-light served only to discover sights of horror. It was now apparent that the negroes on all the estates in the plain acted in concert, and a general massacre of the whites took place in every quarter. On some few estates indeed the lives of the women were spared, but they were reserved only to gratify the brutal appetites of the ruffians; and it is shocking to relate, that many of them suffered violation on the dead bodies of their husbands and fathers!

In the town itself, the general belief for some time was, that the revolt was by no means an extensive, but a sudden and partial insurrection only. The largest sugar plantation on the plain was that of Monf. Gallifet, situated about eight miles from the town, the negroes belonging to which had always been treated with such kindness and liberality, and possessed so many advantages, that it became a proverbial expression among the lower white people, in speaking of any man's good fortune, to say *il est heureux comme un negre de Gallifet* (he is as happy as one of Gallifet's negroes). M. Odeluc, the attorney, or agent, for this plantation, was a member of the general assembly, and being
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fully persuaded that the negroes belonging to it would remain firm in their obedience, determined to repair thither to encourage them in opposing the insurgents; to which end, he desired the assistance of a few soldiers from the town-guard, which was granted him. He proceeded accordingly, but on approaching the estate, to his surprise and grief he found all the negroes in arms on the side of the rebels, and (horrid to tell!) *their standard was the body of a white infant, which they had recently impaled on a stake!* M. Odeluc had advanced too far to retreat undiscovered, and both he, and a friend that accompanied him, with most of the soldiers, were killed without mercy. Two or three only of the patrol, escaped by flight; and conveyed the dreadful tidings to the inhabitants of the town.

By this time, all or most of the white persons that had been found on the several plantations, being massacred or forced to seek their safety in flight, the ruffians exchanged the sword for the torch. The buildings and cane-fields were every where set on fire; and the conflagrations, which were visible from the town, in a thousand different quarters, furnished a prospect more shocking, and reflections more dismal, than fancy can paint, or the powers of man describe.

CONSTERNATION and terror now took possession of every mind; and the screams of the women and children, running from door to door, heightened the horrors of the scene. All the citizens took up arms, and the general assembly vested the governor with the command of the national guards, requesting him to give such orders as the urgency of the case seemed to demand.

ONE of the first measures was to send the white women and children on board the ships in the harbour; and very serious apprehensions being entertained concerning the domestick negroes within the town, a great proportion of the ablest men among them were likewise sent on shipboard and closely guarded.

THERE still remained in the city a considerable body of free mulattoes, who had not taken, or affected not to take, any part in the disputes between their brethren of colour and the white inhabitants. Their situation was extremely critical; for the lower class of whites, considering the mulattoes as the immediate authors of the rebellion, marked them for destruction; and the whole number in the town would undoubtedly have been murdered without scruple, if the governor and the colonial assembly had not vigorously interposed, and taken them under their immediate protection. Grateful for this interposition in their favour (perhaps not thinking their lives otherwise secure) all the able men among them offered to march immediately against the rebels, and to leave their wives and children as hostages for their fidelity. Their offer was accepted, and they were enrolled in different companies of the militia.

THE assembly continued their deliberations throughout the night, amidst the glare of the surrounding conflagrations; and the inhabitants, being strengthened by a number of seamen from the ships, and brought into some degree of order and military subordination, were now desirous that a detachment should be sent to attack the strongest body of the revolvers. Orders were given accordingly.

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cordingly; and M. de Touzard, an officer who had distinguished himself in the service of the North Americans, took the command of a party of militia and troops of the line. With these, he marched to the plantation of a M. Latour, and attacked a body of about four thousand of the rebel negroes. Many were destroyed, but to little purpose; for Touzard, finding the number of revolvers to encrease in more than a centuple proportion to their losses, was at length obliged to retreat; and it cannot be doubted, that if the rebels had forthwith proceeded to the town, defenceless as it then was towards the plain, they might have fired it without difficulty, and destroyed all its inhabitants, or compelled them to fly to the shipping for refuge.

SENSIBLE of this, the governor, by the advice of the assembly, determined to act for some time solely on the defensive; and as it was every moment to be apprehended that the revolvers would pour down upon the town, the first measure resorted to was to fortify the roads and passes leading into it. At the eastern extremity, the main road from the plain is intersected by a river, which luckily had no bridge over it, and was crossed in ferry boats. For the defence of this passage, a battery of cannon was raised on boats lashed together; while two small camps were formed at proper distances on the banks. The other principal entrance into the town, and contiguous to it towards the south, was through a mountainous district, called *le Haut du Cap*. Possession was immediately taken of these heights, and considerable bodies of troops, with such artillery as could be spared, were stationed thereon. But these precautions not being thought sufficient, it was also determined to surround the whole of the town, except

except the side next the sea, with a strong palifade and *chevaux de frize*; in the erecting and completing of which, all the inhabitants laboured without distinction or intermission. At the same time, an embargo was laid on all the shipping in the harbour; a measure of indispensable necessity, calculated as well to obtain the assistance of the seamen, as to secure a retreat for the inhabitants in the last extremity.

To such of the distant parishes as were open to communication either by land or by sea, notice of the revolt had been transmitted within a few hours after advice of it was received at the Cape; and the white inhabitants of many of those parishes had therefore found time to establish camps, and form a chain of posts, which for a short time seemed to prevent the rebellion spreading beyond the Northern province (*a*). Two of those camps however, one at *Grande Riviere*, the other at *Dondon*, were attacked by the negroes (who were here openly joined by the mulattoes) and forced with great slaughter. At *Dondon*, the whites maintained the contest for seven hours; but were overpowered by the infinite disparity of numbers, and compelled to give way, with the loss of upwards of one hundred of their body. The survivors took refuge in the Spanish territory.

THESE two districts therefore; the whole of the rich and extensive plain of the Cape, together with the contiguous moun-

(*a*) It is believed that a general insurrection was to have taken place throughout the colony on the 25th of August (St. Louis's day); but that the impatience and impetuosity of some negroes on the plain, induced them to commence their operations two days before the time.

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tains, were now wholly abandoned to the ravages of the enemy, and the cruelties which they exercised, uncontrouled, on such of the miserable whites as fell into their hands, cannot be remembered without horror, nor reported in terms strong enough to convey a proper idea of their atrocity.

THEY seized Mr. Blen, an officer of the police, and having nailed him alive to one of the gates of his plantation, chopped off his limbs, one by one, with an axe.

A POOR man named *Robert*, a carpenter by trade, endeavouring to conceal himself from the notice of the rebels, was discovered in his hiding-place; and the savages declared *that he should die in the way of his occupation*: accordingly they bound him between two boards, and deliberately sawed him asunder.

M. CARDINEAU, a planter of *Grande Riviere*, had two natural sons by a black woman. He had manumitted them in their infancy, and bred them up with great tenderness. They both joined in the revolt; and when their father endeavoured to divert them from their purpose, by soothing language and pecuniary offers, they took his money, and then stabbed him to the heart.

ALL the white, and even the mulatto children whose fathers had not joined in the revolt, were murdered without exception, frequently before the eyes, or clinging to the bosoms, of their mothers. Young women of all ranks were first violated by a whole troop of barbarians, and then generally put to death.

Some

Some of them were indeed reserved for the further gratification of the lust of the savages, and others had their eyes scooped out with a knife.

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IN the parish of *Limbè*, at a place called the Great Ravine, a venerable planter, the father of two beautiful young ladies, was tied down by a savage ringleader of a band, who ravished the eldest daughter in his presence, and delivered over the youngest to one of his followers: their passion being satisfied, they slaughtered both the father and the daughters.

AMIDST these scenes of horror, one instance however occurs of such fidelity and attachment in a negro, as is equally unexpected and affecting. *Monf. and Madame Baillon*, their daughter and son-in-law, and two white servants, residing on a mountain plantation about thirty miles from *Cape François*, were apprized of the revolt by one of their own slaves, who was himself in the conspiracy, but promised, if possible, to save the lives of his master and his family. Having no immediate means of providing for their escape, he conducted them into an adjacent wood; after which he went and joined the revolters. The following night, he found an opportunity of bringing them provisions from the rebel camp. The second night he returned again, with a further supply of provisions; but declared that it would be out of his power to give them any further assistance. After this, they saw nothing of the negro for three days; but at the end of that time he came again; and directed the family how to make their way to a river which led to *Port Margot*, assuring them they would find a canoe on a part of the river which he described. They followed his di-

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rections; found the canoe, and got safely into it; but were overfet by the rapidity of the current, and after a narrow escape, thought it beft to return to their retreat in the mountains. The negro, anxious for their fafety, again found them out, and directed them to a broader part of the river, where he affured them he had provided a boat; but faid it was the laft effort he could make to fave them. They went accordingly, but not finding the boat, gave themfelves up for loft, when the faithful negro again appeared like their guardian angel. He brought with him pigeons, poultry, and bread; and conducted the family, by flow marches in the night, along the banks of the river, until they were within fight of the wharf at Port Margot; when telling them they were entirely out of danger, he took his leave for ever, and went to join the rebels. The family were in the woods nineteen nights.

LET us now turn our attention back to the town of the Cape; where, the inhabitants being at length placed, or fupposed to be placed, in fome fort of fecurity, it was thought neceffary by the governor and affembly, that offensive operations againft the rebels fhould be renewed, and a fmall army, under the command of M. Rouvray, marched to the eastern part of the plain, and encamped at a place called *Roucrou*. A very confiderable body of the rebel negroes took poffeffion, about the fame time, of the large buildings on the plantation of M. Gallifet, and mounted fome heavy pieces of artillery on the walls. They had procured the cannon at different fhipping places and harbours along the coaft, where it had been placed in time of war by the government, and imprudently left unprotected; but it was a mat-
ter

ter of great surprize by what means they obtained ammunition (*b*). From this plantation they sent out foraging parties, with which the whites had frequent skirmishes. In these engagements, the negroes seldom stood their ground longer than to receive and return a single volley, but they appeared again the next day; and though they were at length driven out of their entrenchments with infinite slaughter, yet their numbers seemed not to diminish:—as soon as one body was cut off, another appeared, and thus they succeeded in the object of harassing and destroying the whites by perpetual fatigue, and reducing the country to a desert.

To detail the various conflicts, skirmishes, massacres, and scenes of slaughter, which this exterminating war produced, were to offer a disgusting and frightful picture;—a combination of horrors;—wherein we should behold cruelties unexampled in the annals of mankind; human blood poured forth in torrents; the earth blackened with ashes, and the air tainted with pestilence. It was computed that, within two months after the revolt first began, upwards of two thousand white persons, of all conditions and ages, had been massacred;—that one hundred and eighty sugar plantations, and about nine hundred coffee, cotton,

(*b*) It was discovered afterwards, that great quantities of powder and ball were stolen by the negroes in the town of Cape François from the king's arsenal, and secretly conveyed to the rebels. Most of the fire-arms at first in their possession were supposed to have been part of *Oge's* importation. But it grieves me to add, that the rebels were afterwards abundantly supplied, by small vessels from North America; the masters of which felt no scruple to receive in payment sugar and rum, from estates of which the owners had been murdered by the men with whom they trafficked.

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and indigo settlements had been destroyed (the buildings thereon being consumed by fire), and one thousand two hundred christian families reduced from opulence, to such a state of misery as to depend altogether for their clothing and sustenance on publick and private charity. Of the insurgents, it was reckoned that upwards of ten thousand had perished by the sword or by famine; and some hundreds by the hands of the executioner;—many of them, I grieve to say, under the torture of the wheel;—a system of revenge and retaliation, which no enormities of savage life could justify or excuse (c).

HITHERTO, my narrative has applied chiefly to transactions in the Northern province; I grieve to relate, that the flames of

(c) Two of these unhappy men suffered in this manner under the window of the author's lodgings, and in his presence, at Cape François, on Thursday the 28th of September 1791. They were broken on two pieces of timber placed crosswise. One of them expired on receiving the third stroke on his stomach, each of his legs and arms having been first broken in two places; the first three blows he bore without a groan. The other had a harder fate. When the executioner, after breaking his legs and arms, lifted up the instrument to give the finishing stroke on the breast, and which (by putting the criminal out of his pain) is called *le coup de grace*, the mob, with the ferociousness of cannibals, called out *arretez!* (stop) and compelled him to leave his work unfinished. In that condition, the miserable wretch, with his broken limbs doubled up, was put on a cart-wheel, which was placed horizontally, one end of the axle-tree being driven into the earth. He seemed perfectly sensible, but uttered not a groan. At the end of forty minutes, some English seamen, who were spectators of the tragedy, strangled him in mercy. As to all the French spectators (many of them persons of fashion, who beheld the scene from the windows of their upper apartments), it grieves me to say, that they looked on with the most perfect composure and *sang froid*. Some of the ladies, as I was told, even ridiculed, with a great deal of unseemly mirth, the sympathy manifested by the English at the sufferings of the wretched criminals.

rebellion

rebellion soon began to break forth also in the Western division. Here, however, the insurgents were chiefly men of colour, of whom upwards of two thousand appeared in arms in the parish of Mirebalais. Being joined by about six hundred of the negro slaves, they began their operations by burning the coffee plantations in the mountains adjacent to the plain of Cul-de-Sac. Some detachments of the military which were sent against them from Port au Prince were repulsed; and the insurgents continued to ravage and burn the country through an extent of thirty miles, practising the same excesses and ferocious barbarities towards such of the whites as fell into their hands, as were displayed by the rebels in the North. They had the audacity at length to approach Port au Prince, with intention, as it was believed, to set it on fire; and so defenceless was the state of that devoted town, that its destruction seemed inevitable. Many of the mulatto chiefs, however, finding that their attempts to gain over the negro slaves on the sugar plantations in this part of the country, were not attended with that success which they expected, expressed an unwillingness to proceed to this extremity; declaring that they took up arms not to desolate the colony, but merely to support the national decree of the 15th of May, and that they were not averse to a reconciliation. These sentiments coming to the knowledge of M. de *Fumecourt*, a planter of eminence, he undertook the office of mediator, and through his well-timed and powerful interposition, a truce or convention, called the *concordat*, was agreed upon the 11th of September, between the free people of colour, and the white inhabitants of Port au Prince, of which the chief provisions were an oblivion of the past, and an engagement on the part of the whites, to admit in full:

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full force the national decree of the 15th of May, so often mentioned;—certainly the ostensible, though perhaps not the sole and original cause of the rebellion.

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INSTRUCTED by this example, and softened, it may be presumed, by the loyal and temperate conduct of the free mulattoes in the town of Cape François, as before related, the general assembly, by a proclamation of the 20th of September, declared that they would no longer oppose the operation of the same decree. They even went further, and announced an intention to grant considerable indulgences towards such free people of colour as were not comprehended in it, meaning those who were born of enslaved parents. They voted at the same time the formation of certain free companies of mulattoes, wherein the men of colour of all descriptions, possessed of certain qualifications, should be allowed to serve as commissioned officers.

THESE concessions, at an earlier period, would have operated with powerful effect in the salvation of the colony; but they now came too late, and produced only a partial truce, a temporary and fallacious cessation of miseries. The wounds that had been inflicted were yet green and bleeding; and the dark and swollen passions of disappointed pride, anger, malice, hatred and revenge, were secretly burning in the gloomy minds of all parties. The flames were smothered, not extinguished; soon to break out again, with aggravated violence and greater fury than ever.

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Of the Motives which induced the People of Colour to join the revolted Negroes—Conduct of the British Association for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and of the Society in Paris called Les Amis des Noirs—Letter from Abbé Gregoire to the People of Colour—Repeal of the Decree of the 15th May 1791—Effects of that Measure—Civil War with the Mulattoes renewed—Port au Prince destroyed by Fire—Cruelties exercised by both Parties—Arrival at Cape François of the Civil Commissioners.

BEFORE I proceed to a renewal of those disgusting scenes of devastation, slaughter, and ruin, which my duty, as a faithful historian, calls upon me to describe (happy if they serve as an impressive lesson to other nations!) it seems necessary to remove some difficulties which may possibly have arisen in the mind of the reader, concerning the original and primary cause of the junction and co-operation of so large a number of the negro slaves, in this rebellion, with the men of colour. That the whole body of the latter in St. Domingo had solid ground of complaint and dissatisfaction, cannot be denied. There is a point at which oppression sometimes arrives, when forbearance under it ceases to be a virtue; and I should readily have admitted that the actual situation and condition of the mulattoes in the French islands would have made resistance a duty, if it

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did not appear, from what I have already related, that the redress of their grievances occupied the very first deliberations of the first general assembly of representatives that ever met in St. Domingo. Certainly, then, no justification can be offered for those pestilent reformers, who could persuade these unfortunate people to seek that relief by rebellion and massacre, which was offered to them by the supreme power of the country, as a spontaneous and voluntary concession;—the homage of enlightened reason on the altar of humanity. Concerning the enslaved negroes, however, it does not appear that the conduct of the whites towards them was in general reprehensible. I believe, on the whole, it was as lenient and indulgent as was consistent with their own safety. It was the mulatto people themselves who were the hard-hearted task-masters to the negroes. The same indignities which they received from the whites, they directed without scruple towards the blacks; exercising over the latter every species of that oppression which they loudly and justly complained of, when exercised on themselves;—and this is a true picture of human nature. By what means, then, it will be asked, were the negroes induced to forget their resentments, and join with those who were the constant objects both of their envy and hatred?

In order to reply to this question, with as much accuracy and precision as the subject will admit, it is necessary to recur to the proceedings of the two associations, of which mention was made in the Second Chapter of this History; namely, the British association for the abolition of the slave trade, which held its meetings in the Old Jewry in London; and the society called

Les Amis des Neirs in Paris. A short review of the conduct of these societies will serve not only to lessen the surprize which may be felt at the revolt of the negroes of St. Domingo, but also raise a considerable degree of astonishment that the enslaved negroes in the British islands had not given them the example.

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I HAVE observed, that the society in London *professed* to have nothing more in view than to obtain an act of the legislature for prohibiting the further introduction of African slaves into the British colonies. I have said, that “ they disclaimed all intention of interfering with the government and condition of the negroes already in the plantations; publicly declaring their opinion to be, that a general emancipation of those people, in their present state of ignorance and barbarity, instead of a blessing, would prove to them the source of misfortune and misery.” But although such were their ostensible declarations as a publick body, the leading members of the society, in the same moment, held a very different language; and even the society itself (acting as such) pursued a line of conduct directly and immediately repugnant to their own professions. Besides using every possible endeavour to inflame the publick of Great Britain against the planters, they distributed at a prodigious expence throughout the colonies, tracts and pamphlets without number, the direct tendency of which was to render the white inhabitants odious and contemptible in the eyes of their own slaves, and excite in the latter such ideas of their natural rights and equality of condition, as should lead them to a general struggle for freedom through rebellion and bloodshed. In many of those writings, arguments are expressly adduced, in language which can-

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not be misunderstood, to urge the negroes to rise up and murder their masters without mercy.—“Resistance,” say they, “is always justifiable where force is the substitute of right: *nor is the commission of a civil crime possible in a state of slavery.*” These sentiments are repeated in a thousand different forms; and in order that they might not lose their effect by abstract reasoning, a reverend divine of the church of England, in a pamphlet addressed to the chairman or president of the society, pours forth the most earnest prayers, in the most undisguised expressions, that the negroes would destroy all the white people, men, women, and children, in the West Indies: “Should we not, (he exclaims) approve their conduct in their violence? Should we not crown it with eulogium, if they exterminate their tyrants with fire and sword! *Should they even deliberately inflict the most exquisite tortures on those tyrants, would they not be excusable in the moral judgment of those who properly value those inestimable blessings, rational and religious liberty (a)?*”

Besides distributing pamphlets of this complexion *gratis*, at the doors of all the churches and places of worship in the kingdom, and throughout the colonies, the society caused a medal to be struck, containing the figure of a naked negro, loaded with

(a) This is a fair extract from a letter addressed to Granville Sharp, Esq; chairman of the society in the Old Jewry, by the Reverend Percival Stockdale, A. M. Of such writers the planters may well exclaim, “*Forgive them, they know not what they do!*” The same ejaculation I applied to the learned and pious Samuel Johnson, who possessed a negro servant, and before whom he frequently gave as a toast, “*A speedy rebellion of the negroes in Jamaica, and success to them!*”

chains,

chains, and in the attitude of imploring mercy; thousands of which also they found means to disperse among the negroes in each of the sugar islands, for the instruction, I presume, of such of them as could not read; but, unhappily, this instance of provident caution was not requisite; for so many negro domesticks return annually from Europe to the West Indies, as constantly furnish a sufficient number of living instructors; and certain it is (I pronounce it from my own knowledge respecting Jamaica) that the labours of the society on their behalf, as well as many of the most violent speeches in the British parliament, wherein the whole body of planters were painted as a herd of blood-thirsty and remorseless tyrants, were explained to the negro slaves, in terms well adapted to their capacities, and suited, as might have been supposed, to their feelings. It will be difficult to say what other measures the Old Jewry associates could have taken to excite a rebellion, except that of furnishing the objects of their solicitude with fire arms and ammunition.

HITHERTO, this society had served as a model and exemplar to that of Paris; but a disposition to stop at half measures constitutes no part of the French character; and the society of *Amis des Noirs* resorted, without scruple, to those measures which their fellow labourers in London still hesitated to adopt: beginning with the class of free mulattoes, because they found many of them in France, who became the willing instruments of their purposes; and who undertook to interpret to the negroes in the French colonies the wishes and good intentions towards them of their friends in the mother country. Thus an opening was made towards conciliation and union between the

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two classes. The negroes, apprized that it was only through the agency of the mulattoes, and the connections of those people in France, they could obtain a regular supply of arms and ammunition, forgot or suspended their ancient animosities; and the men of colour, sensible that nothing but the co-operation of the enslaved negroes (docile, as they supposed them to be, from their ignorance, and irresistible from their numbers) could give success to their cause, courted them with such assiduity as gained over at least nine-tenths of all the slaves in the Northern province of St. Domingo.

THERE seems however to have been some apprehensions entertained by the leading men among the *Amis des Noirs*, that the decree of the national assembly of the 15th of May, confined as the benefits of it were to the people of colour exclusively, (and of those, to such only as were born of free parents) might give rise to jealousies and suspicions, destructive of that unanimity between the different classes, the maintenance of which was an object of the last importance. To obviate any misapprehensions on this account, as well as to keep the mulattoes firm to their purpose, the Abbé Gregoire wrote and published his celebrated circular letter;—a performance which, if the intentions of the writer had been as pure as his expressions are eloquent, would have reflected lustre on his abilities (*b*). What effect this distinguished piece of oratory may have had on the rugged and unenlightened minds of savage people,

(*b*) The reader will find a translation of this letter at the end of the present Chapter.

I pretend

I pretend not to ascertain. It is certain, that the Abbé Gregoire was considered by the negroes in St. Domingo as their great advocate and patron; a sort of guardian angel or tutelary deity; of the good effects of whose benevolent interposition and friendly offices their masters unjustly deprived them, and on whose support and assistance they might confidently rely, in the attempt, through rebellion and murder, to obtain justice for themselves.

BOTH classes of people being thus instructed and prepared, the decree of the 15th of May was the signal of revolt, the war-hoop of massacre. From the clamour which it excited amongst all orders of the whites in St. Domingo (the lower classes especially) the people of colour, as I have shewn, had reason to apprehend that mischiefs of an extensive and alarming nature were meditated against them. They were thus furnished with a plausible, and, had they meant to have acted solely on the defensive, a justifiable cause for resorting to arms; but, unhappily, the strong tide of popular prejudice which prevailed in the mother country against the planters, and the great majority which voted for the fatal decree in the national assembly, were circumstances that inspired them with so dangerous a confidence in their own resources, as overpowered all considerations of prudence, policy, and humanity.

It must be considered, at the same time, that the enslaved negroes (ignorant and depressed as we suppose them to be) could not possibly be unobservant of these combined and concurring circumstances. They beheld the coloured people in open hostility

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lity against the whites. They were assured, that the former had the fullest support and encouragement from the supreme legislature of the mother country. They were taught to believe, that themselves also were become the objects of the paternal sollicitude of the king and the national assembly, who wished to rescue them from the dominion of their masters, and invest them with their estates. It appeared from indisputable evidence, that assurances of this nature were held out to the enslaved negroes;—assurances which could not but excite their attention, awaken their faculties, and rouse them to action. Whoever shall calmly deliberate on these, and the other facts that have been stated, will find no difficulty in accounting for the dreadful extent of this insurrection; or in assigning it to its proper cause, and tracing to the fountain-head those rivers of blood which still continue to flow in this unfortunate and devoted colony (c)!

(c) In September 1791, when the author was at Cape François, he dined with a large company, on board the frigate *la Prudente*, commanded by Mons. *Foyouffe* (at present a distinguished admiral in the service of the new republick, by the name of *Villaret*) when, in the midst of the entertainment, a loud exclamation from the crew announced *that the gunner was returned*. This man, who had been missing some weeks, was immediately brought forward, and gave the following account of the cause of his absence. He said that, having gone on shore, to collect green meat for the pigs, he was surrounded by the rebel negroes, who were about putting him to death, when Jean François, the chief, finding that he was an officer in the king's service, ordered that his life should be spared, alledging *that the king was their friend*. They detained him however as a prisoner, and compelled him to load and point their artillery in the attack at M. Gallifet's plantation before-mentioned. On the defeat of the rebels in that engagement, he fortunately made his escape from them. Some of the shocking enormities and cruelties inflicted by the rebels on their white prisoners, as related in the preceding pages, were committed in this man's presence.

BUT

BUT it is now time to advert to the proceedings which occurred in France, where we left *Gregoire, La Fayette, Rober-
spierre*, and the rest of the society of *Amis des Noirs*, exulting in the triumph they had obtained on the 15th of May; and perhaps waiting, in the ardent hope and expectation, that their obnoxious decree of that date, would produce those very evils which actually resulted from it. It was not until the beginning of September that information arrived at Paris concerning the reception which the account of this decree had met with in St. Domingo. The tumults, disorders, and confusions that it produced there, were now represented in the strongest colouring, and the loss of the colony to France was universally apprehended. At this time, however, no suspicion was entertained concerning the enslaved negroes; but a civil war, between the whites and the mulattoes, was believed to be inevitable. The commercial and manufacturing towns, predicting the ruin of their trade and shipping, and the loss of their capitals from existing dangers, presented remonstrances and petitions to the national assembly, urging the necessity of an immediate repeal of all the decrees by which the rights of the planters were invaded; that of the 15th of May especially. The constituent national assembly was now on the point of dissolution, and perhaps wished to leave every thing in peace. At the same time the tide of popular prejudice, which had hitherto ran with such violence against the colonists, was beginning to turn. Most of those members whose opinions in colonial concerns, a few months before, had guided the deliberations of the national assembly, were now either silently disregarded, or treated with outrage; — a strong and striking proof of the lightness and versatility of the French character.

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character. At length, a motion was made to annul the obnoxious decree, and (strange to tell!) on the 24th of September its repeal was actually voted by a large majority!—At this remarkable change of sentiment in the supreme legislature, it is necessary to pause, and remind the reader of what was doing at the same time in St. Domingo; where, as we have seen, on the 11th of that very month, the *concordat*, or truce, took place between the people of colour and the white inhabitants of Port au Prince; and on the 20th, the colonial assembly of Cape François published the proclamation mentioned in the latter part of the preceding Chapter. Thus, almost in the very moment when the justice and necessity of the decree were acknowledged, and its faithful observance promised by the colonial assembly, its repeal was pronounced by the national legislature in the mother country!

To such repugnancy and absurdity must every government be driven that attempts to regulate and direct the local concerns of a country three thousand miles distant. Of the two measures that have been mentioned, it is difficult to say which produced the greatest calamities; the decree of the 15th of May in the first instance; or its unexpected repeal, at the time and in the manner related! Doubts had already arisen in the minds of the mulattoes of the sincerity and good faith of the white people, with respect to the *concordat*. Their suspicions and apprehensions had indeed grown to such a height, as to induce them to insist on a renewal and confirmation of its provisions; which were accordingly granted them, by a new instrument or treaty of the 11th of October, and a supplementary agreement of the 20th of the same month:

but

but no sooner was authentick information received of the proceedings in France, in the repeal of the decree, than all trust and confidence, and every hope of reconciliation and amity between the two classes, vanished for ever. It was not possible to persuade the mulattoes that the planters in the colony were innocent, and ignorant of the transaction. They accused the whites of the most horrid duplicity, faithlessness and treachery; and publicly declared that one party or the other, themselves or the whites, must be utterly destroyed and exterminated:— There was no longer, they said, an alternative.

In this disposition, exasperated to frenzy, the coloured people throughout the Western and Southern provinces flew to arms. In the Southern province, a body of them became masters of Port St. Louis; but the inhabitants of Port au Prince, having been reinforced, a short time before, by the arrival of some troops from Europe, were better prepared, and drove the revolvers from the city with great slaughter. They took post in the parish of *Croix des Bouquets*; but found means, however, before their retreat, to set fire to the city, and a dreadful conflagration ensued, in which more than one-third of the buildings were consumed.

OPEN war, and war in all its horrors, was now renewed. All the soft workings of humanity—what Shakespeare calls the *compunctious visitings of nature*—were now absorbed in the raging and insatiable thirst of revenge, which inflamed each class alike. It was no longer a contest for mere victory, but a diabolical emulation which party could inflict the most abominable cruel-

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ties on the other. The enslaved negroes in the district called *Cul de Sac* having joined the mulattoes, a bloody engagement took place, in which the negroes, being ranged in front, and acting without any kind of discipline, left two thousand of their number dead on the field. Of the mulattoes about fifty were killed, and several taken prisoners. The whites claimed the victory; but for want of cavalry were unable to improve it by a pursuit, and contented themselves with satiating their revenge on their captives. Every refinement in cruelty that the most depraved imagination could suggest, was practised on the persons of those wretched men. One of the mulatto leaders was unhappily among the number: him the victors placed on an elevated seat in a cart, and secured him in it by driving large spiked nails through his feet into the boards. In this condition he was drawn a miserable spectacle through the city. His bones were afterwards broken, and he was then thrown alive into the flames!

THE mulattoes scorned to be outdone in deeds of vengeance, and atrocities shameful to humanity. In the neighbourhood of *Jeremie* a body of them attacked the house of M. Sejourné, and secured the persons both of him and his wife. This unfortunate woman (my hand trembles while I write!) was far advanced in her pregnancy. The monsters, whose prisoner she was, having first murdered her husband in her presence, ripped her up alive, and threw the infant to the hogs.—They then (how shall I relate it!) sewed up the head of the murdered husband in — —!!! —Such are thy triumphs, philanthropy!

WITH

WITH these enormities terminated the disastrous year 1791. Just before Christmas the three civil commissioners nominated by the national assembly for St. Domingo, arrived at Cape François. Much was expected from their appointment by the friends of peace and good order; but the sequel will shew that they effected very little towards restoring the peace of the country.

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Translation of the Letter of ABBÉ GREGOIRE, Bishop of the Department of Loire and Cher, Deputy of the National Assembly, to the Citizens of Colour in the French West Indies, concerning the Decree of the 15th of May 1791.

FRIENDS!

YOU were MEN;—you are now CITIZENS. Reinstated in the fulness of your rights, you will in future participate of the sovereignty of the people. The decree which the national assembly has just published respecting you, is not a *favour*; for a favour is a *privilege*: and a privilege to one class of people is an injury to all the rest.—They are words which will no longer disgrace the laws of the French.

In securing to you the exercise of your political rights, we have acquitted ourselves of a *debt*:—not to have paid it, would have been a crime on our part, and a disgrace to the constitution. The legislators of a free nation certainly could not do less for you than our ancient despots have done.

It is now above a century that Louis the XIVth solemnly acknowledged and proclaimed your rights; but of this sacred inheritance you have been defrauded by pride and avarice, which have gradually increased your burthens, and embittered your existence.

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THE regeneration of the French empire opened your hearts to hope, whose cheering influence has alleviated the weight of your miseries: miseries of which the people of Europe had no idea. While the white planters resident among us were loud in their complaints against *ministerial* tyranny, they took especial care to be silent *as to their own*. Not a hint was suggested concerning the complaints of the unhappy people of mixed blood; who, notwithstanding, are their own children. It is *we*, who, at the distance of two thousand leagues from you, have been constrained to protect these children against the neglect, the contempt, the unnatural cruelty of their fathers!

BUT it is in vain that they have endeavoured to suppress the justice of your claims. Your groans, notwithstanding the extent of the ocean which separates us, have reached the hearts of the European Frenchmen;—for *they have hearts*.

GOD Almighty comprehends all men in the circle of his mercy. His love makes no distinction between them, but what arises from the different degrees of their virtues. Can laws then, which ought to be an emanation of eternal justice, encourage so culpable a partiality? Can that government, whose duty it is to protect alike all the members of the same great family, be the mother of one branch, and the step-mother only of the others?

NO, gentlemen:—you could not escape the solicitude of the national assembly. In unfolding to the eyes of the universe the great charter of nature, your titles were traced. An attempt had indeed been made to expunge them; but happily they are written in characters as indelible as the sacred image of the Deity, which is graven on your countenances.

ALREADY had the national assembly, in the instructions which it prepared for the government of the colonies, on the 28th of March 1790, comprized both the whites and people of colour under one common denomination. Your enemies, in asserting the contrary, have published a forgery. It is incontestibly true, that when I demanded you should be expressly named, a great number of members, among whom were

several planters, eagerly exclaimed, that you were already comprehended under the general words contained in those instructions. M. Barnave himself, upon my repeated instances to him on that head, has at length acknowledged, before the whole assembly, that this was the fact. It now appears how much reason I had to apprehend that a false construction would be put upon our decree!

New oppressions on the part of your masters, and new miseries on yours, until at length the cup of affliction is filled even to the brim, have but too well justified my apprehensions. The letters which I have received from you upon this head, have forced tears from my eyes. Posterity will learn, with astonishment and indignation, that a cause like yours, the justice of which is so evident, was made the subject of debate for no less than five days successively. Alas! when humanity is obliged to struggle so long against vanity and prejudice, its triumph is dearly obtained!

It is a long time that the society of *Amis des Noirs* have employed themselves in finding out the means to soften your lot, as well as that of the slaves. It is difficult—perhaps impossible, to do good with entire impunity. The meritorious zeal of this society has drawn upon them much obloquy. Despicable writers have lanced their poisonous shafts at them, and impudent libels have never ceased to repeat objections and calumnies, which have been a hundred times answered and refuted. How often have we been accused of being sold to the English, and of being paid by them for sending you inflammatory writings and arms? You know, my friends, the weakness and wickedness of these charges. We have incessantly recommended to you attachment to your country, resignation and patience, while waiting the return of justice! Nothing has been able to cool our zeal, or that of your brethren of mixed blood who are at Paris. M. Raimond, in particular, has devoted himself most heroically to your defence. With what transport would you have seen this distinguished citizen, at the bar of the national assembly, of which he ought to be a member, laying before it the affecting picture of your miseries,

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miserics, and strenuously claiming your rights! If that assembly had sacrificed them, it would have tarnished its glory. It was its duty to decree with justice, to explain itself clearly, and cause its laws to be executed with firmness: it has done so; and if (which God forbid!) some event, hidden in the womb of futurity, should tear our colonies from us, would it not be better to have a loss to deplore, than an injustice to reproach ourselves with?

CITIZENS! raise once more your humiliated countenances, and to the dignity of men, associate the courage and nobleness of a free people. The 15th of May, the day in which you recovered your rights, ought to be for ever memorable to you and to your children. This epoch will periodically awaken in you sentiments of gratitude towards the Supreme Being; and may your accents ascend to the vault of heaven, towards which your grateful hands will be extended! At length you have a country. Hereafter you will see nothing above you but the law; while the opportunity of concurring in the framing it, will assure to you that indefeasible right of all mankind, the right of obeying yourselves only.

You have a country: and it will no longer be a land of exile, where you meet none but tyrants on the one hand, and companions in misfortune on the other; the former distributing, and the latter receiving, contempt and outrage. The groans of your afflictions were punished as the clamours of rebellion; and situated between the uplifted poinard, and certain death, those unhappy countries were often moistened with your tears, and sometimes stained with your blood.

You have a country: and happiness will shine on the seat of your nativity. You will now enjoy in peace the fruits of the fields which you have cultivated without compulsion. Then will be filled up that interval, which, placing at an immense distance from each other, the children of the same father, has suppressed the voice of nature, and broke the bands of fraternity asunder. Then will the chaste enjoyments of conjugal union take place of those vile sallies of debauchery, by which the majesty

jefty of moral sentiment has been insulted. By what strange perversion of reason can it be deemed disgraceful in a white man to marry a black or mulatto woman, when it is not thought dishonourable in him to be connected with her in the most licentious familiarity!

THE less real worth a man possesses, the more he seeks to avail himself of the appearances of virtue. What can be more absurd than to make the merit of a person consist in different shades of the skin, or in a complexion more or less fallow? The man who thinks at all must sometimes blush at being a man, when he sees his fellow-creatures blinded by such ridiculous prejudices; but as unfortunately pride is one of those failings we most unwillingly part with, the empire of prejudice is the most difficult to subvert: man appears to be unable to arrive at truth, until he has exhausted his strength in travelling through the different paths of error.

THIS prejudice against the mulattoes and negroes has however no existence in our Eastern colonies. Nothing can be more affecting than the eulogium made on the people of colour, by the inhabitants of that part of the world, in the instructions given by them, to those they have appointed their deputies to the national assembly. The members of the academy of sciences pride themselves in reckoning a mulatto of the Isle of France in the number of their correspondents. Among ourselves, a worthy negro is a superior officer of the district of St. Hypolite, in the department of Gard. We do not conceive that a difference of colour can be the foundation of different rights among members of the same political society. It is therefore we find no such despicable pride among our brave national guards, who offer themselves to embark for the West Indies to insure the execution of our decrees. Perfectly concurring in the laudable sentiments manifested by the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, they acknowledge with them, that the decree respecting the people of colour, framed under the auspices of prudence and wisdom, is an homage rendered to reason and justice. While the deputies from the colonies have endeavoured to calumniate your intentions, and those of the mercantile

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part of the nation, the conduct of those deputies is perfectly contradictory. Ardently soliciting their own admission among us at Versailles; swearing with us in the Tennis Court not to separate from us, until the constitution should be established, and then declaring, when the decree of the 15th of May was passed, that they could no longer continue to sit with us! This desertion is a desertion of their principles, and a breach of their solemn oaths.

ALL those white inhabitants of the colonies who are worthy the name of Frenchmen, have hastened to abjure such ridiculous prejudices, and have promised to regard you in future as brothers and friends. With what delightful sensations do we cite the words of the citizens of Jacmel. "We swear to obey, without reserve, the decrees of the national assembly respecting our present and future constitution, and even such of them as may substantially change it!" The citizens of Port au Prince tell the national assembly the same thing, in different words. "Condescend, gentlemen," say they, "to receive the oath which the municipality has taken to you, in the name of the commons of Port au Prince, punctually to obey and execute all your decrees, and never to swerve from them in any respect whatsoever."

Thus has philosophy enlarged its horizon in the new world, and soon will absurd prejudices have no other supporters than a few inferior tyrants, who wish to perpetuate in America, the reign of that despotism which has been abolished in France.

WHAT would these men have said, if the people of colour had endeavoured to deprive the whites of *their* political advantages? With what energy would they not have exclaimed at such an oppression! Inflamed into madness at finding that your rights have been pointed out to you, their irritated pride may perhaps lead them to make every effort to render our decrees ineffectual. They will probably endeavour to raise such disturbances, as, by wresting the colonies from the mother country, will enable them to defraud their creditors of their just debts. They have incessantly alarmed us with threats that St. Domingo will be lost.

lost, if justice be rendered to you. In this assertion we have found nothing but falsehood: we please ourselves in the belief, that our decree will draw the bands still closer which unite you to the mother country. Your patriotism, your interest, and your affections, will concur in inducing you to confine your commercial connections to France only; and the reciprocal tributes of industry will establish between her and her colonies a constant interchange of riches and good offices. If you act unfaithfully towards France, you will be the basest and most abandoned of the human race. But no! generous citizens, you will not become traitors to your country: you shudder at the idea. Rallied, with all other good Frenchmen, around the standard of liberty, you will defend our glorious constitution. The day shall arrive, when the representatives of the people of colour will cross the ocean to take their seats with us, and swear to live and die under our laws. The day shall arrive among you when the sun will shine on none but freemen; when the rays of light shall no longer fall on the fetters of slavery. It is true, the national assembly has not yet raised the condition of the enslaved negroes to a level with your situation; because suddenly granting the rights to those who are ignorant of the duties of citizens, might perhaps have been a fatal present to them: but forget not, that they, like yourselves, are born to freedom and perfect equality. It is in the irresistible course of things that all nations, whose liberty has been invaded, shall recover that precious portion of their indefeasible inheritance!

You are accused of treating your slaves much worse than the whites: but, alas! so various have been the detractions with which you have been aspersed, that it would be weakness in us to credit the charge. If, however, there be any foundation for what has been advanced on this head, so conduct yourselves in future as to prove it will be a shameful calumny hereafter.

Your oppressors have heretofore endeavoured to hide from their slaves the lights of christianity, because the religion of mildness, equality,

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lity, and liberty, suits not with such blood-thirsty men. May *your* conduct be the reverse of *theirs*. Universal love is the language of the gospel; your pastors will make it heard among you. Open your hearts to receive this divine system of morality. We have mitigated *your* misfortunes, alleviate, on your part, those of the unhappy victims of avarice, who moisten your fields with their sweat, and often with their tears. Let the existence of your slaves be no longer their torment; but by your kind treatment of them, expiate the crimes of Europe!

By leading them on progressively to liberty, you will fulfil a duty: you will prepare for yourselves the most comfortable reflections: you will do honour to humanity, and insure the prosperity of the colonies. Such will be your conduct towards your brethren, the negroes; but what ought it to be towards your fathers, the whites? Doubtless you will be permitted to shed tears over the ashes of *Ferrand de Baudiere*, and the unfortunate *Ogé*, assassinated under the forms of law, and dying on the wheel for having wished to be free! But may he among you perish, who shall dare to entertain an idea of revenge against your persecutors! They are already delivered over to the stings of their own consciences, and covered with eternal infamy. The abhorrence in which they are held by the present race of mankind, only precedes the execration of posterity. Bury then in eternal oblivion every sentiment of hatred, and taste the delicious pleasure of conferring benefits on your oppressors. Repress even too marked expressions of your joy, which, in causing them to reflect on their own injustice towards you, will make their remorse still more pungent.

STRICTLY obedient to the laws, teach your children to respect them. By a careful education, instruct them in all the duties of morality; so shall you prepare for the succeeding generation virtuous citizens, honourable men, enlightened patriots, and defenders of their country!

How will their hearts be affected when, conducting them to your shores, you direct their looks towards France, telling them, "beyond those seas is your parent country; it is from thence we have
" received

“ received justice, protection, happiness, and liberty. There dwell our
“ fellow citizens, our brethren, and our friends: to them we have
“ sworn an eternal friendship. Heirs of our sentiments, and of our
“ affections, may your hearts and your lips repeat our oaths! Live to
“ love them; and, if necessary, die to defend them!”

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Signed,

GREGOIRE.

Paris, 8th June, 1791.

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Reception and Proceedings of the Civil Commissioners, and their Return to France—National Decree of the 4th of April 1792—Appointment of a new Governor (Mons. Desparbes) and three other Commissioners (Santbonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud)—Their Embarkation and Arrival, with a select Body of Troops—Their violent Proceedings—Appointment, by the Executive Council, of M. Galbaud as Chief Governor, in the Room of Desparbes—His Arrival, and Disputes with the Commissioners—Both Parties proceed to Hostilities—The revolted Negroes called in to the Assistance of the Commissioners—A general Massacre of the White Inhabitants, and Conflagration of the Town of Cape François.

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THE civil commissioners who were to restore peace and subordination in St. Domingo, and whose arrival there was noticed in the last Chapter, were named Mirbeck, Roome, and St. Leger. Mirbeck and Roome had formerly been known as advocates in the parliaments of Paris; and St. Leger, who was a native of Ireland, had practised many years in France as a surgeon. Although the confusion of the times had elevated these men to power, not one of them was distinguished for extraordinary abilities, and their rank in life was not such as to command any great degree of consideration from the planters.

†

They

They were received however, from respect to their appointment, with politeness and submission, both by the governor and the inhabitants. Military honours were shewn them, and they were led in publick procession to the cathedral, where the blessing of the Almighty was devoutly implored for success to their mission.

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THEIR first proceeding, after announcing the new constitution and form of government for the mother country, as confirmed by the king, was to publish the decree of the 24th of September 1791, by which the fatal decree of the 15th of May was annulled. So far all was well: but a few days afterwards they took upon them to proclaim a general amnesty and pardon to such people, of all descriptions, as should lay down their arms, and come in, within a certain prescribed time, and take the oaths required by the new constitution. This measure lost them the confidence of all the white inhabitants: a general amnesty to the men of colour and revolted slaves, was considered as a justification of the most horrible enormities, and as holding out a dangerous example to such of the negroes as preserved their fidelity; and it lost its effect on the mulattoes, by being accompanied with a repeal of their favourite decree. With what contempt and indignity it was received by the latter, the following circumstance will demonstrate. At *Petit Goave*, the mulattoes were masters, and held in close confinement thirty-four white persons whom they reserved for vengeance. On the publication of this amnesty, they led them to execution: but instead of putting them to immediate death, they caused each of them to be broken alive; and in the midst of their tortures,

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tures, read to them, in a strain of diabolical mockery, the proclamation aloud; affecting to consider it as a pardon for the cruelties they had just committed.

THE unlimited and indefinite authority which the commissioners seemed to claim, alarmed the colonial assembly, who desired to be informed of the nature and extent of their powers. To this request no satisfactory answer being given, the commissioners lost ground in the publick opinion daily; and their personal conduct, as individuals, contributed by no means to acquire them respect. Mirbeck spent the greatest part of his time in the practice of low debauchery, giving indulgence to his vicious propensities without restraint or decency. St. Leger considered his appointment as an authority to exact money, in which he was little scrupulous, and laid the few mulatto people who remained faithful, under a most unmerciful contribution. Roome alone conducted himself without reproach: he was a well-meaning inoffensive man, and attempted, though without effect, to act the part of mediator between the different factions which desolated the country. This praise at least was given him—*that if he did no good, he did no harm.*

AFTER a short stay at Cape François, the commissioners visited other parts of the colony; but finding themselves every where very lightly regarded, and having no troops to support their authority, they returned separately to France in the months of March and April.

TROOPS

TROOPS however, as I have observed, had arrived from France to the number in the whole of about four thousand; but, in the spirit of the times, they manifested very little obedience either to the civil commissioners, or to the governor of the colony; yet they served as a check to the revolters, who would otherwise, in all probability, before this time, have become masters both of Cape François and Port au Prince. In the Northern province, the rebel negroes indeed were supposed to be considerably reduced by disease and famine. Having destroyed all the provision grounds, and devoured the cattle of all kinds on the plain of the Cape, they had now taken possession of the surrounding mountainous districts, and were compelled by their chief leader, *Jean François*, a negro of great sagacity, to plant provisions for their future subsistence; a measure which has kept the flames of rebellion alive to the present hour.

IN the mean time, the state of publick affairs in the mother country was tending to a great and ominous change. Ever since the flight and seizure of their unhappy king, in the month of June 1791, the faction was hourly increasing in numbers which was soon to lay the kingdom in ruins, and bring the monarch himself to the scaffold. The Jacobin party, headed by a blood-thirsty triumvirate (a), were becoming all-powerful; and the society of *Amis des Noirs* had once more acquired a fatal ascendancy in the legislative body. On the 29th of February, one of them, named *Garan de Coulon*, after a long and inflammatory harangue against the planters in general, proposed the form of a

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(a) Danton, Robespierre and Marat. P decree

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decree for abrogating that of the 24th of September, declaring a general amnesty throughout all the French colonies; and enacting, that new colonial assemblies should be formed, which should transmit their sentiments not only on the subject of the internal government of the colonies, *but also on the best method of effecting the abolition of negro slavery* IN TOTO.

FRANTICK as the new Legislature (*b*) had shewn itself on many occasions since its first meeting, a majority could not at this time be found to vote for so senseless and extravagant a proposition; but in about two months afterwards, this assembly passed the famous decree of the 4th of April 1792, of which it is necessary the reader should be furnished with a copy at large; and it is conceived in the words following:

“ THE national assembly acknowledges and declares, that the people of colour and free negroes in the colonies ought to enjoy an equality of political rights with the whites; in consequence of which it decrees as follows:

ARTICLE 1st. Immediately after the publication of the present decree, the inhabitants of each of the French colonies in the Windward and Leeward Islands shall proceed to the re-election of colonial and parochial assemblies, after the mode prescribed by the decree of the 8th of March 1790, and the instructions of the national assembly of the 28th of the same month.

2d. THE people of colour and free negroes shall be admitted to vote in all the primary and electoral assemblies, and shall be

(*b*) The former assembly is generally known by the name of the *Constituent* Assembly. The new one met the 1st of October 1791, and called itself the *First Legislative Assembly*.

eligible to the legislature and all places of trust, provided they possess the qualifications prescribed by the 4th article of the aforesaid instructions.

3d. THREE civil commissioners shall be named for the colony of St. Domingo, and four for the islands of Martinico, Guadalupe, St. Lucia, and Tobago, to see this decree enforced.

4th. THE said commissioners shall be authorized to dissolve the present colonial assemblies; to take every measure necessary for accelerating the convocation of the primary and electoral assemblies, and therein to establish union, order, and peace: as well as to determine provisionally (reserving the power of appeal to the national assembly) upon every question which may arise concerning the regularity of convocations, the holding of assemblies, the form of elections, and the eligibility of citizens.

5th. THEY are also authorized to procure every information possible, in order to discover the authors of the troubles in St. Domingo, and the continuance thereof, if they still continue; to secure the persons of the guilty, and to send them over to France, there to be put in a state of accusation, &c.

6th. THE said civil commissioners shall be directed for this purpose to transmit to the national assembly minutes of their proceedings, and of the evidence they may have collected concerning the persons accused as aforesaid.

7th. THE national assembly authorizes the civil commissioners to call forth the publick force whenever they may think it necessary, either for their own protection, or for the execution of such orders as they may issue by virtue of the preceding articles.

8th. THE executive power is directed to send a sufficient force to the colonies, to be composed chiefly of national guards.

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9th. THE colonial assemblies, immediately after their formation, shall signify, in the name of each colony respectively, their sentiments respecting that constitution, those laws, and the administration of them, which will best promote the prosperity and happiness of the people; conforming themselves nevertheless to those general principles by which the colonies and mother country are connected together, and by which their respective interests are best secured, agreeably to the decree of the 8th of March 1790, and instructions of the 28th of the same month.

10th. THE colonial assemblies are authorized to send home delegates for the purposes mentioned in the preceding article, in numbers proportionate to the population of each colony, which proportion shall be forthwith determined by the national assembly, according to the report which its colonial committee is directed to make.

11th. FORMER decrees respecting the colonies shall be in force in every thing not contrary to the present decree."

IT may be supposed that the men who (rejecting all pretensions to consistency, and despising the lessons of experience) first proposed this decree, and finally prevailed in carrying it through the legislative assembly, had duly considered of the means for ensuring its execution in the colonies, and were provided with fit instruments for that purpose. The new commissioners nominated for St. Domingo were Messrs. Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud, all of them among the most violent of the Jacobin faction; and it was resolved to furnish them with such a force as (if properly employed) would, it was alledged, not only establish their authority, but put a speedy end to all the disturbances

bances which had so long afflicted and desolated the colony. EIGHT THOUSAND men, selected with great circumspection, from the national guards, with officers whose principles were well known to their employers, were accordingly ordered to embark forthwith for St. Domingo. M. Blanchelande, the governor-general, was recalled, and a new commission of commander in chief given to a Mons. Desparbes.

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THUS appointed and provided, the civil commissioners and the new governor took their departure from France in the month of July, probably in much the same disposition of mind towards the colonists, as was manifested by the Duke D'Alva and his Spanish and Italian troops in 1568, towards the inhabitants of the Low Countries. Inflamed like them with a spirit of avarice, fanaticism, and revenge, they meditated on nothing but on the benefits to arise from seizure and confiscation; on schemes of mischief and projects of vengeance.

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THEY landed at Cape François on the 13th of September, and finding M. Blanchelande at great variance with the colonial assembly, the commissioners took the shortest course possible to terminate the dispute, by forthwith dissolving the assembly and sending the unfortunate Blanchelande a state prisoner to France, where, as to be accused was to be condemned, he soon afterwards perished by the guillotine (c).

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DISMAY and terror now prevailed throughout the colony. Delegates were sent to the civil commissioners from all quarters, to

(c) 7th April, 1793.

demand

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demand an exposure and explanation of their views and intentions. Suspicions were already gone forth concerning the project, which the commissioners afterwards avowed, of declaring a general emancipation of the negro slaves; and all parties, as well among the republicans as the royalists, concurred on this occasion in reprobating the folly and iniquity of the measure. So general was the clamour on this account, that if a firm and extensive coalition of interests among the planters could at this time have been effected, it is probable the commissioners might have found that all the force they had brought with them would have proved insufficient for the purposes which they meditated. Dissimulation therefore was thought necessary for the present. They declared (and confirmed the declaration with the solemnity of an oath) that they had no wish or intention to make any change in the system of colonial government concerning the slaves; avowing the fullest conviction that the emancipation of those people, under existing circumstances, was impracticable.—Their views, they said, extended no farther than to see the decree of the 4th of April, in favour of the free people of colour, properly enforced; to reduce the slaves in rebellion to obedience, and to settle the future government and tranquillity of the colony on a solid and permanent foundation.

THESE, and similar, declarations silenced, though they did not satisfy, the white inhabitants; who soon perceived, with unavailing indignation, that the commissioners held secret communications with the chiefs of the mulattoes in all parts of the colony. By the co-operation of those people, the commissioners soon found their strength sufficient to avow themselves openly the

the patrons and protectors of the whole body of the free negroes and mulattoes: and they now made no scruple of seizing the persons and effects of all such of the whites as opposed their projects, sending great numbers of them in a state of arrest to Europe, to answer before the national assembly to the accusations which they pretended to transmit against them. Among the persons thus imprisoned and transported to France, were comprehended the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and many other officers of the Cape regiment.

THE white inhabitants now called aloud for the election of a new colonial assembly, and hoped that the necessity of levying taxes would induce the commissioners to issue orders for that purpose; but instead of complying with the publick request, they substituted what was called *une commission intermediaire*, by nominating twelve persons, six of whom had been members of the last assembly, to act as a sort of legislative council: the other six were mulattoes. To this motley board, the commissioners delegated authority to raise money from the inhabitants; reserving to themselves, however, the right of appropriating and expending it, as they alone should think proper.

IN the meanwhile the new governor (Desparbes) began to manifest some signs of dissatisfaction and impatience. He complained that he was considered as a mere cypher in the government, or rather as an instrument in the commissioners' hands. His complaints were answered by the arrest of his person, and he soon afterwards followed his predecessor, M. Blanchelande, state prisoner to France.

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FOUR members out of the six whites that composed a moiety of the *commission intermediaire*, met with similar treatment. They ventured to offer their opinion on a measure of finance, in opposition to that of M. Santhonax. The commissioners commended their frankness, and M. Santhonax invited them to a supper. The invitation was accepted; but at the hour appointed, they found themselves surrounded by a detachment of the military, which conveyed them to very sorry entertainment in the hold of a ship, and there left them as state prisoners (*d*).

THE commissioners, in the next place, fell out among themselves; and Santhonax and Polverel determined to get quit of their associate Ailhaud. Prudently judging, however, that the publick degradation of one of their own body would reflect some degree of ignominy on them all, they persuaded him to be content with a proportion of the common plunder, and silently quit the country. Ailhaud submitted with a good grace to what he could not avoid.

By these, and other means, above all by the practice of bestowing largesses on the troops, and the acquisition of a desperate band of auxiliaries, composed of some of the revolted slaves, and vagabonds of all colours and descriptions, mostly collected from the jails, Santhonax and Polverel, in the beginning of the year

(*d*) To one of these gentlemen I am indebted for more valuable and extensive information than I have been able to collect through any other channel. In his voyage to Europe, the ship in which he was confined was (fortunately for him) captured by an English frigate, which brought him to England, where I had the happiness to render him some acceptable service.

1793, found themselves absolute masters of the colony. The lives and properties of all the white inhabitants lay at their mercy, and the dreadful scenes which were at that time passing in the mother country, enabled these men to prosecute their purposes, and gratify their vindictive and avaricious passions, without notice or controul from any superior.

BUT the tragedy which was acting in France, was no sooner brought to its catastrophe, by the foul murder of their amiable and unoffending sovereign, and war declared against Great Britain and Holland, than the persons who composed what was called the executive council, thought it necessary to pay some little attention to the safety of St. Domingo. Not having however leisure or inclination to enter into a full investigation of the complaints received from thence, they declined to revoke the powers exercised by the civil commissioners, and contented themselves with appointing a new governor, in the room of M. Desparbes. Their choice fell on a *Monf. Galbaud*, an officer of artillery, and a man of fair character, whom they directed to embark for his new government without delay, in one of the national frigates, and put the colony into the best state of defence against a foreign enemy.

GALBAUD, with his suite of attendants, landed at Cape François on the 7th of May, to the great joy of the white inhabitants. At that period, the civil commissioners, with most of their troops, were in the Western province, endeavouring to quell an insurrection there which their tyranny had created; so that Galbaud was received with acclamations and submission by the municipality of the town of the Cape; to whose place of meet-

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ing he repaired with his attendants, took the necessary oaths, and entered on his government without opposition. He declared, at the same time, that he was not dependent on the civil commissioners, and not bound to execute, at all events, their proclamations.

A VERY quick interchange of letters took place between the new governor and the commissioners. He desired them to repair immediately to the Cape, that he might communicate the instructions he had received from the executive council. They answered that he was an entire stranger to them; that they had seen no decree of the national convention by which they themselves were superseded, and that being vested with authority to suspend or appoint a governor, as they alone might think proper, he could only be considered as an agent subordinate to themselves:—They added, that they were then assembling an army to suppress a rebellion in the town and neighbourhood of Port au Prince; but that as soon as the business was at an end, they would repair to the Cape, and examine into the validity of his pretensions.

1793.

ON the 10th of June the civil commissioners, having reduced Port au Prince and Jacmel, arrived at the Cape. The streets were lined with troops, and they were received by Galbaud with attention and respect. A very serious altercation however immediately took place between them, highly disadvantageous to the governor. There existed, it seems, a decree of the national assembly, enacting that no proprietor of an estate in the West Indies should hold the government of a colony wherein his estate was situated; and M. Galbaud was possessed of a coffee-plantation in St. Domingo.

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Domingo.

mingo. When therefore he was asked why he had not acquainted the executive council with this circumstance, he was utterly disconcerted and had no reply to make.

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ON the 13th, the commissioners ordered M. Galbaud to embark forthwith on board the sloop of war La Normande, and return to France. At the same time they sent instructions to Monf. de la Salle, whom they had left commandant at Port au Prince, to repair to the Cape and receive from them, in the name of the French republick, the command of the colony.

THE seven following days were spent on both sides in intrigues and preparations for hostilities. Galbaud's brother, a man of spirit and enterprize, had collected from among the inhabitants, the Cape militia, and the seamen in the harbour, a strong party to support the governor's authority. On the 20th, the two brothers landed at the head of one thousand two hundred sailors, and being joined by a considerable body of volunteers, immediately marched in array towards the government house, in which the commissioners were stationed. The latter were defended by the people of colour, a body of regulars, and one piece of cannon. The conflict was fierce and bloody. The volunteers manifested great firmness, but the seamen getting possession of a wine cellar, soon became intoxicated and ungovernable; and the column was obliged to retire to the royal arsenal, where they remained the ensuing night unmolested.

THE next morning many skirmishes took place in the streets, with various success, in one of which Galbaud's brother was taken prisoner by the commissioners' troops; and in another, the

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seamen

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seamen that were fighting on the part of Galbaud made captive Polverel's son; and now an extraordinary circumstance occurred. The governor sent a flag proposing to exchange the commissioner's son for his brother; but Polverel rejected the proposal with indignation; declaring in answer, that his son knew his duty, and was prepared to die in the service of the republick.

BUT a scene now opens, which, if it does not obliterate, exceeds at least, all that has hitherto been related of factious anarchy, and savage cruelty, in this unfortunate colony. On the first approach of Galbaud with so large a body of seamen, the commissioners dispatched agents to call in to their assistance the revolted negroes; offering them an unconditional pardon for past offences, perfect freedom in future, and the plunder of the city. The rebel generals, *Jean François* and *Biaffou*, rejected their offers; but on the 21st, about noon (just after that Galbaud and most of his adherents, finding their cause hopeless, had retired to the ships) a negro chief called *Macaya*, with upwards of three thousand of the revolted slaves, entered the town, and began an universal and indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children. The white inhabitants fled from all quarters to the sea-side, in hopes of finding shelter with the governor on board the ships in the harbour; but a body of the mulattoes cut off their retreat, and a horrid butchery ensued, a description of which every heart susceptible of humanity must be unable to bear. Suffice it to say, that the slaughter continued with unremitting fury from the 21st, to the evening of the 23d; when the savages, having murdered all the white inhabitants that fell in their way, set fire to the buildings; and more than half the city was consumed by

the flames. The commissioners themselves, either terrified at beholding the lamentable and extensive mischief which they had occasioned, or afraid to trust their persons with their rebel allies, fought protection under cover of a ship of the line. The proclamations which they published from time to time in palliation of their conduct, manifest a consciousness of guilt which could not be suppressed, and form a record of their villainies, for which the day of retribution awaits, but still lingers to overtake them (*f*)!

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SUCH was the fate of the once flourishing and beautiful capital of St. Domingo!—a city which, for trade, opulence, and magnificence, was undoubtedly among the first in the West Indies,—perhaps in the new world: and here I shall close for the present, the disgusting detail of conspiracies, rebellions, crimes, cruelties, and conflagrations (a uniformity of horrors!) through which the nature of my work has compelled me to travel;—rejoicing that I have at last

Escap'd the Stygian pool, tho' long detain'd
In that obscure sojourn;—

MILTON.

And have the pleasing task to perform of rendering due homage to the gallant and enterprising spirit of my countrymen in their noble—but alas! hitherto unavailing—endeavours to restore peace, subordination, and good government on this theatre of anarchy and bloodshed. Previous to which, however, it will be a relief and

(*f*) When this was written, the author did not know that Santhonax alone survives. Polverel died in 1794, in some part of St. Domingo. Santhonax has lately appeared before the national assembly, and been pronounced *guiltless!*

satisfaction

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satisfaction to the reader to be presented with a picture or state of the colony, as it existed in the days of its prosperity;—its culture, population, and produce;—its growing importance and commercial value. Hitherto, we have contemplated nothing but scenes of desolation.—We shall now behold a pleasing contrast in the blessings of regular government: due subordination, social order, extensive commerce, peaceful industry, increasing cultivation, smiling plenty, and general happiness! The conclusions to be drawn from the contemplation of scenes so different in their nature are of importance to all mankind.

The Account given above of the Destruction of the City of Cape François, was drawn up with as much Caution as the Case seemed to require, from Information transmitted to the Author by Persons in Jamaica and St. Domingo, some of whom differed in many essential Circumstances from others. He had afterwards an Opportunity of conversing personally on the Subject with a Gentleman of St. Domingo, on whose Veracity and Honour he could place the fullest Dependance, by whom he was favoured with the following Notes or Memoranda in Writing, which he thinks best to lay before his Readers verbatim.

NOTES SUR L'ÉVÈNEMENT DU CAP.

LE General Galbaud avoit mandé au Cap les commissaires Santhonax et Polverel, de la maniere la plus imperieuse; les commissaires se sont déterminés a s'y rendre par terre de S. Marc, d'où ils
sont

font partis le 8 Juin, accompagnés de 400 mulâtres et 200 blancs, et compris leurs coupe tête les dragons d'Orleans. Ils ont fait leur entrée au Cap d'une maniere assez audacieuse pour en imposer.

GALBAUD avait deja indisposé les habitans du Cap par une adresse, ou proclamation, qui ordonnait une contribution de 450 mille livres, dont la perception a été faite de la façon la plus violente, et qui tenait plus du pillage que d'une contribution.

LE General Galbaud n'avait fait aucune dispositions pour se preserver des resolutions et des entreprises des commissaires, qui entrerent cependant d'une maniere menaçante.

A LA premiere entrevüe des General Galbaud et des commissaires, en la maison de la commission (le gouvernement) apres les premiers compliments, il y eut explication sur les pouvoirs du general; les commissaires lui oposerent un decret qui deffendait qu'aucun proprietaire dans la colonie pût y commander ni y avoir d'autorité; et accusèrent M. Galbaud d'avoir dissimulé au conseil executif qu'il avait des propriétés.

PENDANT ce demêlé, qui dura près de deux jours, les agents des commissaires préparaient les esprits a les laisser faire, et a ne point se mêler de la discussion, dans laquelle Santhonax prenait cependant une grande preponderance.

GALBAUD, voyant que personne ne s'empresait a le soutenir, et prevoyant sans doute une chute humiliante, demanda aux commissaires de s'en retourner en France, préférant la retraite, a des pouvoirs contestés; ce qui lui fut accordé sur le champ, et il s'embarqua le 14.

LE 17 Galbaud réunit tous les matelots de la rade et ceux des vaisseaux de guerre, et projette de descendre a la ville du Cap; il fait fon débarquement le 18, et marche au gouvernement, où logeaient les commissaires, qui instruits des mouvemens de Galbaud, réunirent les troupes qui leurs etaient devoüées, et particulierement les mulâtres, et les embusquerent derriere les murs du gouvernement, dans toutes les issues,

sur

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sur les terrasses, &c. Aussitôt que les matelots furent a portée de pistolet, on fit des décharges, qui en tuèrent et blessèrent un grand nombre, néanmoins les mulâtres furent ebranlés deux fois; mais le désordre dans les matelots determina le General Galbaud a faire sa retraite a l'arsenal; là, il fit une proclamation pour inviter les bons citoyens a se réunir a lui, pour chasser les commissaires, qui voulaient usurper le gouvernement. Dès-lors les commissaires réunirent aux mulâtres tous les nègres de la ville, qui avaient déjà pris parti dans l'action en assassinant dans la ville; toutes les troupes qui leurs avaient servis a leur expedition, et les placèrent par pelotons a chaque coin des rues, et dès qu'un blanc voulait fortir de chez lui, ou paraissait aux fenestres, il était fusillé.

PENDANT ce tems, et dès que les commissaires eurent appris les mouvemens de Galbaud, ils avaient depeché des exprès aux chefs des brigands, pour les engager a venir a leur secours, et leurs offraient le pillage de la ville.

LE 19 Galbaud capitule a l'arsenal, et se rend abord: il y en mis en état d'arrestation, ainsi que l'Amiral Cambis, et le Contre-Amiral Sercey, qui sont dépouillés de leur commandement.

UNE proclamation des commissaires avait précédemment a cet événement, mis a contribution 37 negociants, ou riches particuliers, pour une somme de 675 mille livres, qui parrait avoir été exigée et payée sur l'heure. Le 19, au soir, le 20, le 21, les brigands entrent de toutes parts dans la ville du Cap, ayant a leur tête leurs chefs, et on assure que M. de Grasse s'y est trouvé aussi. Le pillage, les massacres, les flammes deviennent effroyables; les hommes, les femmes, les enfans sont assassinés, massacrés, et éprouvent toutes les horreurs imaginables. Ils ont eu la barbarie de renfermer et de brûler dans une maison plus de 300 personnes toutes vives.

LES malheureux de tout sexe, de tout âge, qui cherchaient a se sauver en gagnant des embarcations, ou a la nage, étaient fusillés même dans l'eau.

Il parrait que dans le massacre les nègres ont frappés indistinctement tous les partis, blancs, mulâtres, et que les blancs se sont deffendus contre tous avec un grand acharnement; néanmoins il parrait certain, que la population blanche a été entierement détruite, et qu'il n'a pas resté un seul blanc au Cap; on estime que, s'il s'est sauvé 12 a 1500 personnes abord, c'est plus qu'on n'ose l'esperer.

Le convoi est sortie du Cap le 23 pour l'Amerique, la majeure partie ayant très peu de vivres, très peu d'eau, et plusieurs sans être préparés a ce voyage, sans mats ni voilles, & ceux qui ont reçu les malheureux qui se sont sauvés abord, n'y auront trouvé aucune subsistance.

La ville incendiée, détruite, ses habitans massacrés, on assuré qu'il ne reste que le gouvernement, une partie des casernes, l'arsenal, et les maisons du Petit Carenage; — l'église et les fontaines détruites.

Les commissaires ont resté spectateurs tranquilles pendant le carnage et le massacre; dans leur maison on a vu Santhonax ferrer et presser dans ses bras les chefs des brigands, les appeller ses sauveurs, et leur témoigner leur reconnaissance.

Le 23 proclamation des commissaires, qui invite et appelle tous les bons citoyens à se réunir autour d'eux, et de laisser partir les scélerats, qui vont aller subir le juste chatiment de leurs crimes, le convoi en parti le jour même, & la ville fumait encore.

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Situation, Extent, and general Description of St. Domingo—Origin of the French Colony, and Topographical Description of the several Provinces into which the French Possessions were divided—Their Population, and Produce—Shipping and Exports—Compared with the Returns of Jamaica.

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THE island of St. Domingo is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, about three thousand five hundred miles from the land's end of England; the eastern point lying in north latitude $18^{\circ} 20'$, and in longitude $68^{\circ} 40' W.$ from Greenwich. The island extends about one hundred and forty miles in the broadest part, from north to south, and three hundred and ninety from east to west. In a country of such magnitude, diversified with plains of vast extent, and mountains of prodigious height, is probably to be found every species of soil which nature has assigned to all the tropical parts of the earth. In general, it is fertile in the highest degree; every where well watered, and producing almost every variety of vegetable nature, for use and beauty, for food and luxury, which the lavish hand of a bountiful Providence has bestowed on the richest portion of the globe. In that part which constituted the French territory, the quantity of unproductive land bears no manner of proportion to the whole;

whole; and the liberality of nature was laudably seconded by the industry of the inhabitants. Until those ravages and devastations which I have had the painful task of recording, deformed and destroyed, with undistinguishing barbarity, both the bounties of nature, and the labours of art, the possessions of France in this noble island were considered as the garden of the West Indies; and for beautiful scenery, richness of soil, salubrity and variety of climate, might justly be deemed *the Paradise of the New World*.

OF the territories which remained exclusively in possession of the original conquerors, the Spaniards, my information is very imperfect. I shall hereafter give the best account I have been able to collect concerning them. On the southern coast, more especially in the neighbourhood of the ancient city from which the island derives its present name, the lands are said to be among the best, and without doubt a very large proportion of the remainder requires only the hand of the cultivator to become very productive. The interior country contains extensive savannahs, or plains, many of them occupied only by wild swine, horses, and horned cattle; for the Spaniards having exterminated the simple and unoffending natives, supplied their place with herds of domestick animals, which running wild, soon multiplied beyond computation. Thus does the tyranny of man convert the fruitful habitations of his fellow-creatures into a wilderness for beasts! In the present case, however, the crime soon brought down its own punishment;—a punishment which almost revenged the wrongs of the helpless Americans;—and who does

CHAP. not with that avarice, ambition, and cruelty may be thus always
 IX. entangled in their own projects?

THE reader is doubtless apprized that I here allude to the establishment in St. Domingo of that daring and desperate band of adventurers, the *Bucaniers*;—an association constituted of men of all countries and descriptions, but of whom it may truly be said that, if self-preservation be a law of nature, the hostilities which they maintained for upwards of fifty years against their oppressors, were more justifiable and legitimate in their origin, than all the wars which the pride and ambition of kingdoms and nations have occasioned, from the beginning of the world to the present hour. As the cruelty of the Spaniards first compelled these men, from a sense of common danger, to unite their strength, so the blind policy of stocking with cattle a country of such extent, became their support; for the flesh of those animals supplied them with food, and they purchased arms, ammunition, and clothing with the skins.

Of the rise of these people, and the primary cause of their combining together to make reprisals on the Spanish settlements, a short account may be necessary. I have elsewhere treated the subject more at large (*a*).—They consisted originally of a body of French and English planters, whom, in the year 1629, a Spanish armament had expelled from the island of St. Christopher, with circumstances of outrageous barbarity. Driven from thence, by a force which they could not resist, as the only alternative of

(*a*) Hist. of the British Colonies, Book ii. C. 2.

escaping

escaping from slaughter or slavery, they fled in open boats with their families, and possessed themselves of the small unoccupied island of *Tortuga*, situated within a few miles of the northern coast of St. Domingo. Here they were joined by a considerable number of Dutch emigrants from *Santa Cruz*, whom the avarice and cruelty of the Spaniards had compelled, in like manner, to roam over the ocean for shelter, after having witnessed the massacre of many of their number, even to the women and children. Companions in adversity, their misfortunes probably taught these poor exiles mutual forbearance; for, although they were composed of three different nations, they appear to have lived for some years in perfect harmony with each other. Their mode of life contributed to produce the same beneficial effect: finding a country of immeasurable extent in their neighbourhood abounding in cattle, their time was chiefly occupied in hunting; an employment which left no leisure for dissension, and afforded them both exercise and food. The plains of St. Domingo were considered, however, merely as their hunting grounds: *Tortuga* continued their home, and place of retreat. Here their women and young people cultivated small plantations of tobacco (an herb, of which, in hot and moist climates, the practice of inhaling the smoke, seems to be pointed out by nature); and as the coast was rugged, and of difficult approach, they fondly hoped that their obscurity would protect them from further persecution.

If the government of Spain had been actuated at this time by motives of wisdom, it would indeed have left these poor people to range over the wilderness unmolested. It ought to have known, that the occupation of hunting diverted them from pro-

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jects of vengeance, and deeds of greater enterprize; but tyranny is without foresight, and the restless and remorseless bigotry of the Spanish nation allowed the fugitives no respite. An armament was collected, and preparations made to effect their utter extermination; the commanders of which, taking occasion when the ablest of the men had resorted to the larger island in their usual pursuit, landed a body of soldiers at Tortuga, and making captives of the women and children, the old and infirm, caused them all to be massacred without mercy.

It does not appear that the miserable people who were thus pursued to destruction, like beasts of prey, had hitherto been guilty of any outrages or depredations on the ships or subjects of Spain, which called for such exemplary vengeance. Neither was it imputed to them as a crime that they had possessed themselves of Tortuga, or that they roamed about the deserts of St. Domingo in pursuit of cattle which had no owners. Their guilt consisted in the circumstance of being born out of the Spanish territories, and presuming nevertheless to venture into any part of the New World; for the arrogant presumption and extravagant selfishness of this bigotted nation, led them to appropriate all the countries of America to themselves. They claimed even the sole and exclusive right of sailing on any such part of the main ocean as, in their judgment, constituted a portion of the newly-discovered hemisphere; and strict orders were issued to all their commanders, by sea and land, to seize on the ships and subjects of all other people that should be found within the boundaries which they had prescribed, and to punish the intruders with slavery

slavery or death.—We have seen in what manner those orders were executed.

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It is evident, therefore, that no alternative remained to the occupiers of Tortuga, but to turn on their pursuers, and wage offensive war on those who would allow of no peace with them. If the justice of their cause be still a question, let the records of time be consulted; let an appeal be made to that rule of conduct, which (to use an eloquent expression of Lord Coke) *is written by the finger of God on the heart of man*; and let history and reason determine, whether any instance of hostility, in the annals of mankind, can be defended on better grounds. To such men, in such a cause, no dangers were too formidable, no obstacles too great. Inured by their mode of life to the vicissitudes of the climate, united among themselves, and animated by all the motives and passions which can inflame the human mind to great exertion, they became the most formidable antagonists which the Spaniards had ever encountered, and displayed such deeds of valour and successful enterprize, as (all circumstances considered) have never been equalled before or since.

FROM a party of these adventurers (chiefly natives of Normandy) the French colony in St. Domingo derived its origin. By what means they were induced to separate from their associates in danger, to relinquish the gratification of revenge and avarice, and exchange the tumults of war for the temperate occupations of husbandry, it is neither within my province nor ability to explain. Many of them, without doubt, were men who had been driven from Europe by indigent circumstances and desperate fortunes;

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tunes; some by the cruelty of creditors; and others, perhaps, by the consciousness of their crimes. Captivated by the renown, and allured by the wealth of the Bucaniers, they joined in their expeditions against the Spaniards from no better motives than those of plunder and rapine; and to such men must be imputed those outrages and excesses which have stamped the proceedings of the whole association with infamy (*b*). But there is a time

(*b*) I conceive, however, that these have been wonderfully magnified and exaggerated. The narrative called *The History of the Bucaniers*, published towards the latter end of the last century, which has been quoted by writers of all descriptions ever since, as of unquestionable authority, was originally written in Dutch, by one John Esquemeling, who confesses that he had been one of the Bucaniers, and was expelled from their society. The reports of such a writer ought to have been received with great caution; but there is a still stronger circumstance to excite suspicion; and it is this: The English work is not taken from the Dutch original, but from a *Spanish translation*; and to suppose that a Spaniard would speak favourably of the Bucaniers, is the very excess of human credulity. Not having the original book to refer to, I cannot pronounce with certainty; but I am of opinion, that many of the tragical stories concerning the torture of the Spanish prisoners, and the violation of the women, are interpolations of the Spanish translator. I form this conclusion from the malignity displayed towards the character of the famous Sir Henry Morgan. If we may believe the account given of this gallant commander, he was the most inhuman monster that ever existed. Yet this very man (who by the way acted under a regular commission and letters of reprisal from government) after he had quitted the sea, was recommended by the earl of Carlisle to be his successor in the government of Jamaica, and was accordingly appointed lieutenant-governor in the earl's absence. He afterwards received the honour of knighthood from King Charles II. and passed the remainder of his life on his plantation in Jamaica. By the kindness of a friend in that island, I have had an opportunity of perusing some of Sir Henry Morgan's original private letters; and this I will say, that they manifest such a spirit of humanity, justice, liberality, and piety, as prove that he has either been grossly traduced, or that he was the greatest hypocrite living; — a character ill-suited to the frank and fearless temper of the man.

for

for all things ; and the change of life in these men confirms the observation of an elegant writer, “ that as there is no foil “ which will not shew itself grateful to culture, so there is no “ disposition, no character in mankind, which may not, by “ dexterous management, be turned to the publick advantage (c).” It was a happy circumstance in the infancy of their establishment, that while they were too obscure for the notice of the government, they had no check given to their industry by the chill influence of poverty. To a fortunate exemption from the hand of power, and the facility with which they were supplied with the common necessaries of life, they were indebted for their preservation and prosperity. A mediocrity of condition, and equal freedom, excited the spirit of emulation among them ; but oppression would have produced discouragement, and penury is the parent of sloth.

Of the progressive pursuits of these people in extending the footing which they had obtained, until the French government accepted their submission, acknowledged them as faithful subjects, and availed itself of their labours,—and the final cession to France of the western part of St. Domingo, by the peace of Ryfwick, the reader will find an ample account in the history of this island by Pere Charlevoix. It is therefore unnecessary to detail what an author so well informed in the ancient transactions of the colony, has written. All that the English reader will expect from me, is an account of the political and topographical state of the colony ; its population, produce, and exports at the

(c) European Settlements, Vol. II, p. 109.

CHAP. time my History commences; and these particulars will be found
 IX. in what remains of the present Chapter.

THE possessions of the French in St. Domingo, as I have elsewhere observed, were divided into three great departments, called the Northern, the Western, and the Southern provinces. The Northern province comprehended a line of sea-coast extending about forty leagues, from the river Massacre, to Cape St. Nicholas, and contained (including Tortuga) twenty-five parishes. Its population, in the beginning of 1790, consisted of 11,996 white inhabitants of all ages, and 164,656 negro slaves. The number of sugar plantations was 288, of which 258 made what is called *clayed*, or soft white sugar, and 30 *muscovado*, or new sugar. It reckoned 2,009 plantations of coffee, 66 of cotton, 443 of indigo, and 215 smaller establishments, such as provision-polinks, cacao-groves, tan-pits, potteries, brick-kilns, &c.

OF the towns and harbours in the Northern province, the chief were those of Cape François, Fort Dauphin, Port Paix, and Cape St. Nicholas. I shall treat only of the first and the last.

THE town of Cape François (which in time of war was the seat of the French government) would have ranked among the cities of the second class, in any part of Europe, for beauty and regularity. It consisted of between eight and nine hundred houses of stone and brick, many of them handsome and commodious, besides shops and warehouses; and it contained two magnificent squares, ornamented each with

a publick fountain. The chief publick buildings were the church; the Jesuits' college (converted after the revolution into a government-house, and place of meeting for the colonial and provincial assemblies); a superb barrack for troops; a royal arsenal; a prison; a play-house; and two hospitals. The number of free inhabitants of all colours, was estimated at eight thousand, exclusive of the king's troops and sea-faring people. The domestick slaves were said to be about twelve thousand. The situation of the town, however, was not to be commended. It was built at the foot of a very high mountain, called *Le Haut du Cap*, which abounds indeed with springs of excellent water, and furnished a great supply of garden vegetables, but it served as a screen from the land wind, and reverberated the rays of the sun. The town arose to opulence chiefly from the commodiousness of its harbour, and the extreme fertility of the plain adjoining it to the east, a district fifty miles in length, and twelve in breadth, appropriated solely to the cultivation of sugar (the plantations of which were divided from each other only by hedges of citrons and limes) and yielding greater returns than perhaps any other spot of the same extent in the habitable globe.

THE town of Cape St. Nicholas consists of about 250 houses, which are chiefly built of American wood. It is situated at the foot of a high bluff, called the *Mole*; but having been a free port, it was a place of considerable trade, and particularly resorted to by the ships of America. It is chiefly known, however, for the safety and extent of its harbour, which is justly called the key of the Windward passage; and the fortifications

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towards the sea are reckoned among the strongest in the West Indies. On the side of the land they are overlooked by the surrounding heights, and hence it is concluded, that although it might be difficult to take the place by an invading armament, it would be still more difficult to retain it afterwards, unless possession was obtained also of the interior country.

THE Western province began at Cape St. Nicholas, and extending along the line of coast which forms the bight of Leogane, for upwards of one hundred leagues, terminated at Cape Tiburon. It contained fourteen parishes, and five chief towns, namely, Port au Prince, St. Marc, Leogane, Petit Goave, and Jeremie; besides villages, of which those of Gonaives, Arcahaye, and Croix des Bouquets, are not inconsiderable. The only good harbours in this great extent of coast are those of Port au Prince and Gonaives. All the other shipping-places are open roads, sometimes much exposed.

PORT AU PRINCE (except in time of war, when the Governor General was directed to remove to Cape François) was considered as the metropolis of the colony. It was destroyed by a dreadful earthquake on the 3d of June 1770, and had never been completely rebuilt. In 1790 it consisted of about 600 houses, and contained 2,754 white inhabitants (*d*). The situation is low and marshy, and the climate, in consequence, very unhealthy. It is surrounded moreover by hills, which command

(*d*) The free people of colour were estimated at 4,000, and the enslaved negroes at about 8,000: but being comprehended in the general return for the whole district, they are no where ascertained with precision.

both the town and the harbour; but both the hills and the vallies are abundantly fertile. To the east is situated the noble plain of Cul de Sac, extending from thirty to forty miles in length by nine in breadth, and it contained one hundred and fifty sugar-plantations, most of which were capable of being watered in times of drought, by canals admirably contrived and disposed for that purpose. The circumjacent mountains were at the same time clothed with plantations of coffee, which extended quite to the Spanish settlements.

THE population and state of agriculture in the Western province were as follow: white inhabitants of all ages 12,798; negroes in a state of slavery 192,961; plantations of clayed sugar 135, of muscovado 222. Plantations of coffee 894, of cotton 489, of indigo 1952, besides 343 smaller settlements.

THE Southern province, extending upwards of sixty leagues from Cape Tiburon, along the southern coast of the island to L'Ance a Pitre, contained ten parishes, and two chief towns, Aux Cayes and Jacmel; two places of which I shall hereafter have occasion to speak. It possesses no safe harbours, and its roads are dangerous. The shipping that load at Aux Cayes take refuge during the hurricane season at La Baye des Flamands.

THE population in this department was composed of 6,037 whites, and 76,812 negro slaves. Its establishments consisted of 38 plantations of white sugar, and 110 of muscovado; 214 coffee-plantations, 234 of cotton, 765 of indigo, and 119 smaller settlements.

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THE quantity of land in cultivation throughout all the parishes was 763,923 carreaux (*e*), equal to 2,289,480 English acres, of which about two-thirds were situated in the mountains; and that the reader may have a state of the agriculture at one view, I shall subjoin a summary of the preceding accounts, from whence it will appear that the French colony contained, the beginning of 1790,

	431	plantations of	clayed sugar,
	362	- - -	of muscovado.
	<hr/>		
Total -	793	plantations of	sugar,
	3,117	- - -	of coffee,
	789	- - -	of cotton,
	3,160	- - -	of indigo,
	54	- - -	of cacao, or chocolate,
	623	smaller settlements, chiefly for raising grain, yams, and other vegetable food.	
	<hr/>		
Making -	8,536	establishments of all kinds throughout the colony.	

THE population in 1790, on a like summary, appears to have been 30,831 whites of both sexes and all ages (exclusive

(*e*) The carreau of land in St. Domingo is 100 yards square, of $3\frac{1}{2}$ French feet each; the superficies 122,500 feet. The Paris foot is divided into twelve inches, and each inch into twelve lines; wherefore, if we suppose each line to be divided into 310 parts, the Paris foot will be 1440 parts, the London 1350. These proportions were settled by the Royal Academy of Sciences. The Jamaica acre contains 43,560 English feet superficial measure; which being multiplied by 1,350, and the total divided by 1,440, gives $40,837\frac{1}{2}$, or one-third part of the French carreau.

of European troops and sea-faring people), and 434,429 negro slaves. In this account, however, the domestick slaves, and negro mechanicks employed in the several towns, are not comprehended. They amounted to about 46,000, which made the number of negro slaves throughout the colony 480,000.

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Of the free people of colour, no very accurate account was obtained. Mons. Marbois, the intendant, reported them in 1787 at about 20,000. In 1790, the general opinion fixed them at 24,000.

THE exterior appearance of the colony, as I have observed in another place, every where demonstrated great and increasing prosperity. Cultivation was making rapid advances over the country. The towns abounded in warehousfes, which were filled with the richest commodities and productions of Europe, and the harbours were crouded with shipping. There were freighted, in 1787, 470 ships, containing 112,253 tons, and navigated by 11,220 seamen. Many of them were vessels of very large burthen; and the following is an accurate account, from the intendant's reports, of the general exports, on an average of the years 1787, 1788, and 1789; viz.

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			Livres.
Clayed sugar	- -	lbs. 58,642,214	— 41,049,549
Muscovado	- -	lbs. 86,549,829	— 34,619,931
Coffee	- -	lbs. 71,663,187	— 71,663,187
Cotton	- -	lbs. 6,698,858	— 12,397,716
Indigo	- -	Hhds. 951,607	— 8,564,463
Molasses	- -	Hhds. 23,061	— 2,767,320
An inferior sort of rum, cal- led taffia	- -	} Hhds. 2,600	— 312,000
Raw hides	- -		
Tanned ditto	- -	-	N° 7,900 — 118,500

The total value at the ports of shipping, in
livres of St. Domingo, was - - - 171,544,666

being equal to £. 4,765,129 sterling money of Great Britain.

IF this statement be compared by the rule of proportion with the exports from Jamaica, the result will be considerably in favour of St. Domingo, *i. e.* it will be found that the planters of Jamaica receive smaller returns from the labours of their negroes, in proportion to their numbers, than the planters of St. Domingo have received from theirs. For this difference various causes have been assigned, and advantages allowed, and qualities ascribed to the French planters, which I venture to pronounce, on full enquiry, had no existence. The true cause arose, undoubtedly, from the superior fertility of the soil; and, above all, from the prodigious benefit which resulted to the French planters from the system

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of watering their sugar-lands in dry weather. This is an advantage which nature has denied to the lands in Jamaica, except in a very few places; but has freely bestowed on many parts of St. Domingo; and the planters there availed themselves of it with the happiest success (*f*).

(*f*) Having made diligent enquiry into the average produce of the French sugar-lands while on the spot, I venture to give the following estimate, as nearly founded in truth as the subject will admit.

In the North, the districts of Ouanaminthe, Maribaroux, and Quartier Dauphin, generally yielded from six to seven thousand pounds weight of muscovads sugar for each carreau in canes; the average is

Jaquizi	-	-	-	-	-	6,500
Limonade	-	-	-	-	-	7,000
Quartier Morin	-	-	-	-	-	9,000
Plaine du Nord, Limbé, Petite Anse	-	-	-	-	-	6,000
						5,000
						<u>33,500</u>

The average of the whole is 6,700 lbs. each carreau.—This part of St. Domingo was not watered.

In the West—St. Marc, L'Artibonite, and Gonaives, each carreau

yielded	-	-	-	-	-	8,500
Vazes, Arcahayé, Boucaffin	-	-	-	-	-	10,000
Cul de Sac	-	-	-	-	-	9,000
Leogane	-	-	-	-	-	6,500
						<u>34,000</u>

The average is 8,500 lbs. the carreau.—All these districts were watered.

In the South—the districts of Grand-Gave, Aux-Cayes, Plaine du Fond, L'Iflet, &c. which likewise were watered, yielded

The general average, on the whole, is 7,500 lbs. from each carreau in canes; to which add $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for the difference between the English and French weights, the total is 8,137 lbs. for every three acres English, or 2,712 lbs. per acre; being nearly two-thirds more than the general yielding of all the land in canes throughout Jamaica.

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AND such, in the days of its prosperity, was the French colony in the island of St. Domingo. I have now presented to my readers both sides of the medal. TO GREAT BRITAIN, above all other nations of the earth, the facts which I have related may furnish an important lesson; and it is such a one as requires no comment!

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*Emigrations—Overtures to the British Government accepted—
Situation and Strength of the Republican Party in St. Domingo,
and Disposition of the Inhabitants—Negro Slavery abolished by
the French Commissioners—Armament allotted for the Invasion
of the Country—Surrender of Jeremie and the Mole at Cape
St. Nicholas—Unsuccessful Attempt on Cape Tiburon—Further
Proceedings of the British Army until the Arrival of General
Whyte—Capture of Port au Prince.*

THE destruction of the beautiful city of Cape François, and the massacre of most of the white inhabitants, were the sad events which terminated our historical detail at the close of the Eighth Chapter. It was observed, however, that M. Galbaud and his partizans, among whom were comprehended many respectable families, had fortunately embarked on the ships in the harbour, just before the revolted negroes entered the town. Happy to fly from a country devoted to ruin, they directed their course to the united states of North America; and to the honour of the human character (debased as we have beheld it in other situations) they found there, what great numbers of their unhappy fellow-citizens had found before them, a refuge from the reach of persecution, and an asylum from the pressure of poverty.

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EMIGRATIONS from all parts of St. Domingo had indeed prevailed to a very great extent, ever since the revolt of the negroes in the Northern province. Many of the planters had removed with their families to the neighbouring islands: some of them had taken refuge in Jamaica; and it was supposed that not less than ten thousand had transported themselves, at various times, to different parts of the continent of America. Most of these were persons of peaceable tempers, who sought only to procure the mere necessaries of life in safety and quiet. The principal among the planters, having other objects in view, had repaired to Great Britain. It is a circumstance within my own knowledge, that so early as the latter end of 1791 (long before the commencement of hostilities between France and England) many of them had made application to the King's ministers, requesting that an armament might be sent to take possession of the country for the king of Great Britain, and receive the allegiance of the inhabitants. They asserted (I am afraid with much greater confidence than truth) that all classes of the people wished to place themselves under the English dominion, and that, on the first appearance of a British squadron, the colony would surrender without a struggle. To these representations no attention was at that time given; but at length, after the national assembly had thought proper to declare war against Great Britain, the English ministry began to listen, with some degree of complacency, to the overtures which were again made to them, to the same effect, by the planters of St. Domingo. In the summer of 1793, a M. Charmilly (one of those planters) was furnished with dispatches from the secretary of state to General Williamson, the lieutenant-governor and commander in chief.

chief of Jamaica, signifying the king's pleasure (with allowance of great latitude however to the governor's discretion) that he should accept terms of capitulation from the inhabitants of such parts of St. Domingo as solicited the protection of the British government; and for that purpose the governor was authorized to detach, from the troops under his command in Jamaica, such a force as should be thought sufficient to take and retain possession of all the places that might be surrendered, until reinforcements should arrive from England. M. Charmilly, having thus delivered the orders and instructions with which he was entrusted, sent an agent without delay to *Jeremie (a)*, a small port and town in the district of *Grand Ance*, to which he belonged, to prepare the loyal inhabitants for a visit from their new allies and protectors the English.

BUT, before we proceed to detail the operations which followed this determination of the British cabinet, it seems necessary, as well for the satisfaction of the reader, as in justice to the gallantry and good conduct of the officers and men who were afterwards sent to St. Domingo, that some account should be given of the difficulties which were to arise, and the force that was to be encountered in this attempt to annex so great and valuable a colony to the British dominion. I am well apprized that I am here treading on tender ground; but if it shall appear, as unhappily it will, that the persons at whose instance and entreaty the project was adopted, either meant to deceive, or were themselves grossly deceived, in the representations which they made to the English government on this occasion, it is my province and my

(a) It is situated just within the Bight of *Leogans*.

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duty to place the failure which has ensued to its proper account. The historian who, in such cases, from fear, favour, or affection, suppresses the communication of facts, is hardly less culpable than the factious or venal writer, who sacrifices the interests of truth, and the dignity of history, to the prejudices of party.

THE republican commissioners, as the reader has been informed, had brought with them from France six thousand chosen troops; which, added to the national force already in the colony, and the militia of the country, constituted a body of fourteen or fifteen thousand effective whites; to whom were joined the greatest part of the free negroes and mulattoes, besides a motley but desperate band of all complexions and descriptions, chiefly slaves which had deserted from their owners, and negroes collected from the jails. All these, amounting in the whole to about twenty-five thousand effectives, were brought into some degree of order and discipline; were well armed, and, what is of infinite importance, were, in a considerable degree, inured to the climate. Being necessarily dispersed, however, in detachments throughout the different provinces, they were become on that account less formidable to an invading enemy. Aware of this circumstance, the commissioners, on the first intimation of an attack from the English, resorted to the most desperate expedient to strengthen their party, that imagination can conceive. They declared by proclamation all manner of slavery abolished, and pronounced the negro slaves to be from thenceforward a free people, on condition of resorting to their standard. From this moment it might have been foreseen that the colony was lost to Europe; for though but few of the negroes, in proportion to the whole, joined the commissioners, many thousands choosing

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to continue slaves as they were, and participate in the fortunes of their masters, yet vast numbers in all parts of the colony (apprehensive probably that this offer of liberty was too great a favour to be permanent) availed themselves of it to secure a retreat to the mountains, and possess themselves of the natural fastnesses which the interior country affords. Successive bodies have since joined them, and it is believed that upwards of 100,000 have established themselves, in those recesses, into a sort of savage republick, like that of the black Charaibes of St. Vincent, where they subsist on the spontaneous fruits of the earth, and the wild cattle which they procure by hunting; prudently declining offensive war, and trusting their safety to the rocky fortresses which nature has raised around them, and from which, in my opinion, it will be no easy undertaking to dislodge them (*b*).

Of the revolted negroes in the Northern province, many had perished of disease and famine; but a desperate band, amounting as it was supposed to upwards of 40,000, inured to war, and practised in devastation and murder, still continued in arms.

These

(*b*) The proclamation alluded to, was issued at Port au Prince the latter end of August, and was signed by Polverel alone, Santhonax being at that time in the Northern province. It begins by declaring, that neither himself nor Santhonax are recalled or disgraced. That, in order to encourage the negro slaves to assist in opposing the meditated invasion of the English, all manner of slavery is abolished; and the negroes are thenceforward to consider themselves as free citizens. It then expatiates upon the necessity of labour, and tells the negroes that they must engage to work as usual, from year to year; but that they are at liberty to make choice of their respective masters. That one third of the crop shall be appropriated annually to the purchase of clothing and provisions for their maintenance; and that in the month

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These were ready to pour down, as occasion might offer, on all nations alike; and, instead of joining the English on their landing, would rejoice to sacrifice both the victors and the vanquished, the invaders and invaded, in one common destruction.

CONCERNING the white proprietors, on whom alone our dependence was placed, a large proportion, as we have seen, perhaps more than one half of the whole, had quitted the country. Of those that remained, *some* there were, undoubtedly, who sincerely wished for the restoration of order, and the blessings of regular government; but the greatest part were persons of a different character: they were men who had nothing to lose, and every thing to gain, by confusion and anarchy: not a few of them had obtained possession of the effects and estates of absent proprietors. From people of this stamp, the most determined opposition was necessarily to be expected; and unfortunately, among those of better principle, I am afraid but a very small number were cordially attached to the English. The majority seem to have had nothing in view but to obtain by any means the restoration of their estates and possessions. Many of them, under their ancient government, had belonged to the

month of September in each year they are at liberty to make a new choice, or to confirm that of the preceding year. Such, to the best of my remembrance (for I speak from memory) are the chief provisions of this celebrated proclamation, which I think extended only to the Western and Southern provinces; Santhonax being empowered to make what other regulations he might think proper for the Northern province. The whole appears to have been a matchless piece of absurdity; betraying a lamentable degree of ignorance concerning the manners and dispositions of the negroes, and totally impracticable in itself.

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lower order of *noblesse*, and being tenacious of titles and honours, in proportion as their pretensions to real distinction were disputable; they dreaded the introduction of a system of laws and government, which would reduce them to the general level of the community. Thus, as their motives were selfish, and their attachment feeble, their exertions in the common cause were not likely to be very strenuous or efficacious. I do not find that the number of French in arms, who joined us at any one period (I mean of white inhabitants) ever exceeded two thousand. It were unjust, however, not to observe, that among them were some distinguished individuals, whose fidelity was above suspicion, and whose services were highly important. Such were the Baron de Montalembert, the Viscount de Fontagnes, Monf. Defources, and perhaps a few others (*c*).

FROM this recapitulation it is evident, that the invasion of St. Domingo was an enterprize of greater magnitude and diffi-

(*c*) A few men of colour also distinguished themselves in the common cause; *viz.* Monsieur *Le Point*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the St. Marc's legion, who, with about 300 Mulattoes under his command, kept the parish of L'Archaye in complete subjection for a considerable time. 2. *Bouquet*, Major of the *Milice Royale* of Verettes, a person much attached to the English. 3. *Charles Savory*, who commanded a very important post in the plain of Artibonite, upon the river D'Esterre. Great confidence was placed in this man by Colonel Brisbane, and never was it abused. All these men were well educated, and nourished deep resentment against the French planters, on account of the indignities which the class of coloured people had received from them. At Cape Tiburon, three or four hundred blacks were embodied very early, under a black general named Ieaa Kina, who served well and faithfully.

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culty than the British government seem to have imagined. Considering the extent and natural strength of the country, it may well be doubted, whether all the force which Great Britain could have spared, would have been sufficient to reduce it to subjection, and restore it at the same time to such a degree of order and subordination, as to make it a colony worth holding. The truth seems to have been, that General Williamson, to whom, as hath been observed, the direction and distribution of the armament was entrusted, and whose active zeal in the service of his country was eminently conspicuous, was deceived, equally with the King's ministers, by the favourable accounts and exaggerated representations of sanguine and interested individuals, concerning the disposition of their countrymen, the white planters remaining in St. Domingo. Instead of the few hundreds of them which afterwards resorted to the British standard, the Governor had reason to expect the support and co-operation of at least as many thousands. In this fatal confidence, the armament allotted for this important expedition was composed of only the 13th regiment of foot, seven companies of the 49th, and a detachment of artillery, altogether amounting to about eight hundred and seventy, rank and file, fit for duty. Such was the force that was to annex to the crown of Great Britain, a country nearly equal in extent, and in natural strength infinitely superior, [to Great Britain itself! Speedy and effectual reinforcements from England were, however, promised, as well to replace the troops which were removed from Jamaica, as to aid the operations in St. Domingo.

IN the meantime, the first division, consisting of six hundred and seventy-seven rank and file, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke, sailed from Port Royal the 9th of September, and arrived at Jeremie on the 19th of the same month. They were escorted by Commodore Ford, in the Europa, accompanied by four or five frigates.

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As the propositions, or terms of capitulation, had been previously adjusted between the people of Jeremie, by their agent Mr. Charmilly, and General Williamson, it only remained for the British forces to take possession of the town and harbour. Accordingly, the troops disembarked early the next morning; the British colours were hoisted at both the forts, with royal salutes from each, which were answered by the Commodore and his squadron, and the oaths of fidelity and allegiance were taken by the resident inhabitants, with an appearance of great zeal and alacrity.

AT the same time information was received, that the garrison at the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas, were inclined to surrender that important fortress in like manner. As this was a circumstance not to be neglected, the Commodore immediately directed his course thither, and, on the 22d, took possession of the fortress and harbour, and received the allegiance of the officers and privates. The grenadier company of the 13th regiment, was forthwith dispatched from Jeremie to take the command of the garrison; which was soon afterwards strengthened by the arrival of the second division of the armament ordered from Jamaica, consisting of five companies of forty men each.

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THE voluntary surrender of these places raised expectations in the people of England, that the whole of the French colony in St. Domingo would submit without opposition; but the advantages hitherto obtained, seem to have been greatly overvalued. The town of Jeremie is a place of no importance.—It contains about one hundred very mean houses, and the country in the vicinage is not remarkably fertile; producing nothing of any account but coffee. At the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas, the country is even less productive than in the neighbourhood of Jeremie; but the harbour is one of the finest in the new world, and the fortifications vie with the strongest in the West Indies: unfortunately, from the elevation of the surrounding heights, the place is not tenable against a powerful attack by land. The garrison consisted only of the regiment of Dillon, which was reduced by sickness or desertion to about one hundred and fifty men. The town of St. Nicholas adjoining, was in the highest degree hostile: most of the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, left the place on the arrival of the English, and joined the republican army.

ZEALOUS, however, to promote the glory of the British name, Colonel Whitelocke determined that his little army should not continue inactive at Jeremie. It was represented to him, that the acquisition of the neighbouring post of Tiburon would prove of the utmost importance towards the security of Grand Ance, and a M. Duval pledging himself to raise five hundred men to co-operate in its reduction, an expedition was undertaken for that purpose, and Colonel Whitelocke, with most of the

the British force from Jeremie, arrived in Tiburon Bay on the 4th of October. CHAP.

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BUT, on this occasion, as on almost every other, the English had a melancholy proof how little dependence can be placed on French declarations and assurances. Duval never made his appearance, for he was not able to collect fifty men; the enemy's force was found to be far more formidable than had been represented, and the gallantry of our troops proved unavailing against superiority of numbers. They were compelled to retreat, with the loss of about twenty men killed and wounded.

THE defeat and discouragement sustained in this attack were the more grievously felt, as sickness began to prevail to a great extent in the army. The season of the year was unfavourable in the highest degree for military operations in a tropical climate. The rains were incessant; and the constant and unusual fatigue, and extraordinary duty to which the soldiers, from the smallness of their number, were necessarily subject, co-operating with the state of the weather, produced the most fatal consequences. That never-failing attendant on military expeditions in the West Indies, the yellow or pestilential fever, raged with dreadful virulence, and so many, both of the seamen and soldiers, perished daily, that the survivors were stricken with astonishment and horror at beholding the havock made among their comrades!

GENERAL WILLIAMSON, with his usual humanity, exerted himself to give them all the relief in his power. Unhappily he had

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had no alternative but either to withdraw the troops altogether from St. Domingo, leaving our allies and new subjects, the French planters who had sworn allegiance to our government, to the mercy of their enemies, or to send, from an already exhausted army, a small reinforcement of men, to perish probably in the same manner as those had done whose numbers they were scarcely sufficient to replace.

THE latter measure was adopted: in truth, the circumstances of the case admitted of no other. The remainder of the 49th regiment, the 20th, and the royals, amounting altogether to seven or eight hundred men, were therefore dispatched with all possible expedition; and the safety of Jamaica was at length entrusted to less than four hundred regular troops.

THE sudden appearance in St. Domingo of a reinforcement, though small in itself, produced however a considerable effect among the French planters, by inducing a belief that the British government was now seriously resolved to follow up the blow. In the beginning of December, the parishes of Jean Rabel, St. Marc, Arcahay, and Boucassin surrendered on the same conditions as had been granted to Jeremie; and their example was soon afterwards followed by the inhabitants of Leogane. All the former parishes are situated on the north side of the Bight: Leogane on the south.

THE British commanders now directed their views once more towards the capture of Tiburon. The defeat which our troops had

had sustained in the late attack of that important post, served only to animate them to greater exertions; but a considerable time unavoidably elapsed before the expedition took place; the interval being employed in securing the places which had surrendered. On the 21st of January, however, the Commodore touched at Jeremie with the Squadron, and received the troops on board; and the whole arrived off Cape Tiburon on the evening of the 2d of February.

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THE enemy appeared in considerable force, and seemed to wait the arrival of the British with great resolution; but a few broadsides from the ships soon cleared the beach. They came forward however again, as the flank companies approached the shore, and directed a general discharge of musquetry at the boats; but our troops landed and formed in an instant, routed their line with great slaughter, and immediately took possession of the post. The gallantry of Major Spencer who commanded, and of the officers and men who composed, the flank companies, was particularly conspicuous. It seems, indeed, to have been a spirited and well conducted enterprize throughout; and it was happily effected with the loss of only three of the English killed, and seven wounded. Of the enemy, one hundred and fifty surrendered prisoners of war; and their magazines were found replete with ammunition.

By the possession of this post on the south, and that of the Mole at Cape St. Nicholas on the north-western part of the island, the British Squadron commanded the navigation of the

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the whole of that extensive bay which forms the Bight of Leogane, and the capture of the forts, shipping, and town of Port au Prince (the metropolis of the French colony) seemed more than probable, on the arrival of a large armament now daily expected, with much anxiety, from England.

In the mean while (the reduced state and condition of the troops not admitting of great enterprize) the commander in chief conceived an idea of obtaining possession of the town of Port Paix, an important station to the eastward of Cape St. Nicholas, *by private negotiation*. The town was commanded by Lavaux, an old general in the French service, to whom Colonel Whitlocke addressed himself by letter, which he sent with a flag, and offered five thousand pounds to be paid to him in person, on his delivering up the post. Colonel Whitlocke seems, however, to have mistaken the character of Lavaux, who was not only a man of distinguished bravery, but of great probity. His answer is remarkable: “ You
 “ have endeavoured (said he) to dishonour me in the eyes of
 “ my troops, by supposing me so vile, flagitious, and base, as to
 “ be capable of betraying my trust for a bribe: this is an affront
 “ for which you owe me personal satisfaction, and I demand it
 “ in the name of honour. Wherefore, previous to any general
 “ action, I offer you single combat until one of us falls; leaving
 “ to you the choice of arms, either on foot or horseback. Your
 “ situation, as my enemy on the part of your country, did not give
 “ you a right to offer me a personal insult; and as a private
 “ person,

“ person, I ask satisfaction for an injury done me by an individual (d).”

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THIS attempt therefore proving abortive, it was determined (now that the season was favourable) in order that the troops might not continue inactive, as well as to facilitate the meditated reduction of Port au Prince, to attack *L'Acul*, an important fortress in the vicinity of Leogane. Accordingly, on the 19th of February, the flank companies, a detachment of the royal artillery, and of the 13th regiment, with some colonial troops, having two five half-inch howitzers and two four-pounders, marched from thence under the command of Colonel Whitelocke, at four in the morning. Baron de Montalembert, with about two hundred colonial troops, and a few of the British artillery, were previously embarked on transports, and ordered to land and attack the fort at an hour appointed. Captain Vincent, with the light infantry of the 49th, and about eighty of the colonial troops, took a mountain road, while Colonel Whitelocke moved forward on the great road, and took post just out of cannon shot, waiting the united attacks of the Baron and Captain Vincent's detachments. The enemy began to cannonade about seven o'clock, and continued

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(d) Colonel Whitelocke, I suppose, rejected the challenge; but the officer who was sent by him with the letter to Lavaux, had a service of danger: for Lavaux, having silently read the letter, compelled him to declare, upon the honour of a foldier, whether he knew the contents of it. The officer, as the fact was, answered in the negative. The French general thereupon read the letter aloud to the people who surrounded him, and told the British officer, that if he had brought him such a proposal *knowingly*, he would instantly have caused him to be executed on a gibbet.

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it with intervals till eleven, when Colonel Whitelocke ordered Captain Smith, with the howitzers and cannon, to advance and fire upon the fort, supported by the light infantry of the royals and 13th regiments, under the command of Major Spencer, in order to give time for the Baron's people to land. Unfortunately, from the mismanagement of one of the transports, the troops under the orders of the Baron de Montalembert could not be landed. Colonel Whitelocke, therefore, finding he had nothing to expect from them, the day being considerably advanced, now came to the determination of attacking the fort by storm; and detached Major Spencer, with the grenadiers of the 49th regiment, and light infantry of the 13th, to join Captain Vincent, and approach the fort by the mountain road, while he himself marched by the great road for the same purpose. At half past four or five o'clock, the two columns moved forward, and the moment the enemy discovered the march of Colonel Whitelocke's division, they commenced a very heavy fire of cannon and musquetry. Orders were immediately given for the column to advance and gain the fort, which orders were gallantly and rapidly executed. At this instant, Lieutenant M'Kerras of the engineers, and Captain Hutchinson of the royals, were both wounded; but they continued their exertions, notwithstanding, till the fort was in quiet possession of the victors. Our loss was not great; but Captain Morfhead (who had before received a shot in the body, when gallantly mounting the hill) with Lieutenant Tinlin of the 20th grenadiers, Lieutenant Caulfield of the 62d regiment, and some privates, were unfortunately blown up from an explosion which took place after the fort was taken; for the officer who commanded, finding he could no longer defend it, placed

placed a quantity of powder and other combustibles in one of the buildings, which was fired by an unfortunate brigand, who perished in the explosion. Captain Morshead died the next day, and was interred with military honours, attended by the British garrison; Lieutenant Caulfield lingered some time longer, and then followed him to the grave; but Lieutenant Tinlin recovered.

THE next enterprize of our gallant little army had a less favourable termination. It was directed against a strong post and settlement at a place called *Bompard*, about fifteen miles from Cape St. Nicholas, where a hardy race of people, chiefly a colony of Germans, had established themselves, and lived in unambitious poverty. A detachment of two hundred men, from the different corps, were ordered on this service in two divisions, one of which was commanded by Major Spencer, the brave and active officer already mentioned, the other by Lieutenant-Colonel Markham. Of their proceedings during the attack, and their retreat afterwards, I have not been furnished with the particulars. All that is known to the publick with certainty is, that our troops were repulsed by superior numbers, with the loss of forty men, but without any diminution of the national character. It was allowed, even by the enemy, that they fought bravely. They were defeated, not dismayed, by circumstances probably which they did not foresee, and against which human prudence could not provide.

THIS afflicting loss was but ill compensated, by the very distinguished honour which was soon afterwards acquired by the

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few British troops that had been left in possession of Cape Tiburon, who were attacked on the 16th of April, by an army of brigands amounting to upwards of two thousand. The enemy's force was led on by Andrew Rigaud, a man of colour, who commanded at Aux Cayes, and was composed of revolted negroes, and desperadoes of all descriptions, rapacious after plunder, and thirsting for blood. This savage horde surrounded the fort about three o'clock in the morning. It was defended with much spirit until a quarter before nine, when the besieged, quitting the fort, assailed the assailants, and routed the besiegers with great slaughter, one hundred and seventy of their number being left dead on the field; but when it was discovered that no less than twenty-eight of our gallant soldiers had lost their lives, and that one hundred and nine others were severely wounded in this bloody contest, the shouts of triumph were suppressed by gloomy reflections on the forlorn condition of the army, it being mournfully evident that a few more such victories would annihilate the victors!

THE whole of the British force at this time in all parts of St. Domingo did not, I believe, amount to nine hundred effective men, a number by no means sufficient to garrison the places in our possession; and the rapid diminution which prevailed among them, could not fail to attract observation among all classes of the French inhabitants; to dispirit our allies, and encourage our enemies. Such of the planters as had hitherto stood aloof, now began to declare themselves hostile; and desertions were frequent from most of the parishes that had surrendered. At Jean Rabell, a place which, a few months before, had voluntarily

rarily declared for the British government, the garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty of our supposed allies, rose on their officers, and compelled them to deliver up the post to Lavaux, the French general, and it was greatly apprehended that, unless a very powerful reinforcement should speedily arrive to strengthen the British army, many other places would follow their example.

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EIGHT months had now elapsed since the surrender of Jeremie, and in all that interval, not a soldier had arrived from Great Britain; and the want of camp-equipage, provisions, and necessaries, was grievously felt. The army seemed devoted to inevitable destruction, and disappointment and dismay were strongly marked in the countenance of every man. At length, however, on the 19th of May, when expectation was nearly lost in despair, it was announced that his Majesty's ships the *Belliqueux* and the *Irresistible*, with the *Fly* sloop, had cast anchor in the harbour of Cape St. Nicholas, having on board the 22d, 23d, and 41st regiments of infantry, under the command of Brigadier General Whyte. This event, as may well be imagined, afforded infinite relief and satisfaction to the harassed and worn-out troops on shore; and their animation on this occasion was heightened by the confident hope and expectation that Port au Prince would be the object of an immediate attack. It was known that its harbour was crowded with ships, most of which were supposed to be laden with the richest productions of the colony; and although the regiments newly arrived did not exceed sixteen hundred men in the whole (of whom two hundred and fifty were sick and convalescent) the deficiency of numbers was no longer the subject of complaint. Every one anticipated

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to himself the possession of great wealth from the capture; and justly concluded that his share of the prize money would augment or diminish in an inverse proportion to the number of captors.

THE belief that Port au Prince would be the first object of attack, was well founded; and the road of Arcahayé was fixed on as the place of rendezvous for the men of war and transports. Accordingly, General Whyte, having landed his sick at Cape St. Nicholas, and taken one hundred and fifty of the garrison in their room, proceeded on the 23d to the place appointed, to concert measures with Commodore Ford, and receive on board such of the colonial troops as were to co-operate with the British in this enterprize. On the 30th the squadron sailed from Arcahayé, and cast anchor off Port au Prince on the evening of the same day. It was composed of four ships of the line, the Europa, the Belliqueux, the Irresistible and the Sceptre, three frigates, and four or five smaller vessels; the whole under the immediate command of Commodore Ford; and the land forces, under the orders of General Whyte, consisted of 1,465 rank and file fit for duty.

THE whole force being thus collected, and the necessary preparations made, a flag was sent, early the next morning, to demand the surrender of the place; but the officer charged with the dispatch, was informed that no flag would be admitted, and the letter was returned unopened. It was now determined to commence operations by the cannonade of Fort Bizotton, a fortress situated on a commanding eminence, well adapted to guard the approach to the harbour, and defended by five hundred

dred men, eight pieces of heavy cannon, and two mortars. Two line of battle ships were ordered to attack the sea-front, and a frigate was stationed close to the shore, to flank a ravine to the eastward. From these vessels a brisk and well-directed fire was maintained for several hours; but no great impression appearing to be made, Major Spencer, with three hundred British, and about five hundred of the colonial troops, was put on shore in the evening, within a mile of the fort, with orders to commence an attack on the side of the land. On their arrival at a small distance from the scene of action, about eight o'clock at night, a most tremendous thunder-storm arose, accompanied with a deluge of rain, of which, as it overpowered the sound of their approach, the advanced guard, commanded by Captain Daniel, of the 41st, determined to take advantage. These brave men, sixty only in number, accordingly rushed forward, and finding a breach in the walls, entered with fixed bayonets, and became instantly masters of the fortress; the besieged every where throwing down their arms and calling for mercy. So rapid were the movements of this gallant band, and so unexpected was their success, that Major Spencer, the commander, had his fears for the safety of the whole party, of whose situation he was unapprized for some hours. I grieve to add, that Captain Daniel, who so gallantly led the advanced guard on this occasion, received a severe wound in the attack, while his brave associate, Captain Wallace, the second in command, was most unfortunately killed on the glacis.

THE possession of Fort Bizotton determined the fate of the capital, which was evacuated by the enemy on the 4th of June; and

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and the British commanders were so fortunate as to preserve, not only the town itself, but also the shipping in the harbour, from conflagration, although the republican commissioners had given orders and made preparations for setting fire to both. The commissioners themselves, with many of their adherents, made their escape to the mountains.

Thus was achieved the conquest of Port au Prince; an event which has proved not less profitable than honourable to such of the officers and soldiers by whom it was effected, as have lived to enjoy the fruits of their victory; for there were captured in the harbour, two-and-twenty top-sail vessels, fully laden with sugar, indigo, and coffee, of which thirteen were from three to five hundred tons burthen, and the remaining nine, from one hundred and fifty to three hundred tons; besides seven thousand tons of shipping in ballast; the value of all which, at a moderate computation, could not be far short of £. 400,000 sterling.

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Sickness among the Troops, and the Causes thereof.—Reinforcement.—Dreadful Mortality.—General Whyte is succeeded by Brigadier General Horneck.—Leogane taken by the Rebels.—Temporary Successes of Lieutenant-Colonel Brisbane at Artibonite.—Revolt of the Mulattoes at St. Marc.—Attack of Fort Bizoton.—Preparations by Rigaud for a second Attempt on Tiburon.—The Post attacked on Christmas Day, and carried.—Gallant Defence and Escape of the Garrison, and melancholy Fate of Lieutenant Baskerville.—Lieutenant-Colonels Brisbane and Markham killed.—Observations and Strictures on the Conduct of the War.

FROM the success which attended the British arms in the conquest of Port au Prince, it might have been hoped that we were now to enter on the survey of brighter prospects than those which have hitherto presented themselves to our contemplation; but a melancholy reverse of fortune was soon to await the conquerors; for, immediately after possession was taken of the town, the same dreadful scourge—disease, exasperated to contagion, which had been so fatally prevalent among our troops, in the preceding autumn, renewed its destructive progress; and, on this occasion, it is not difficult to trace the proximate causes of so terrible a calamity. The situation of

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the town of Port au Prince has already been noticed. Unhealthy in itself, it is surrounded by fortified heights, which command both the lines and the harbour; and these heights are again commanded by others. Here, the enemy, on their retreat from the town, made their stand, in the well-founded confidence of receiving regular supplies of men, ammunition, and necessaries from Aux Cayes, a sea-port on the southern coast, distant only from Port au Prince by a very easy road, about forty miles (*a*). No part of St. Domingo possesses a more ready communication with the French Islands to windward, or with the states of America, than the port last mentioned; and from both those sources, reinforcements were constantly poured into the enemy's camp. On this account the British commanders found it indispensibly necessary to strengthen the lines, and raise additional intrenchments and works on that side of the town which fronts the mountains. Thus a most severe and unusual burthen was imposed on the soldiers. They were compelled, with but little intermission, to dig the ground in the day, and to perform military duty in the night; exposed, in the one case, to the burning rays of the sun; in the other, to the noxious dews and heavy rains of the climate. Such extraordinary and

(*a*) The harbour of Aux Cayes was guarded by two small forts, each of which was furnished with only six pieces of cannon, and a smaller battery, which mounted only five pieces. The number of white inhabitants belonging to the town were computed at eight hundred; but the people of colour had taken possession of it the latter end of 1792, and Andrew Rigaud, a Mulatto, was made commander in chief and governor-general of the fourth side of the French part of St. Domingo. His power was absolute, and his brother, of the same colour, was appointed next in command. These men were invested with this authority by the two commissioners, Polverel and Santhonax.

excessive labour imposed on men, most of whom had been actually confined six months on ship-board, without fresh provisions or exercise, co-operating with the malignancy of the air, produced its natural consequences. They dropt like the leaves in autumn, until at length the garrison became so diminished and enfeebled, that deficiencies of the guards were oftentimes made up from convalescents, who were scarcely able to stand under their arms (*b*).

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It is true, that a reinforcement came from the Windward Islands, soon after the surrender of the town;—but, by a mournful fatality, this apparent augmentation of the strength of the garrison, contributed in an eminent degree to the rapid encrease and aggravation of its miseries. On the 8th of June, eight flank companies belonging to the 22d, 23d, 35th, and 41st regiments, arrived at Port au Prince, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox. They consisted, on their embarkation, of about seventy men each, but the aggregate number, when landed, was not quite three hundred. The four grenadier companies, in particular, were nearly annihilated. The frigate in which they were conveyed, became a *house of pestilence*. Upwards of one hundred of their number were buried in the deep, in the short passage between Guadaloupe and Jamaica, and one hundred and fifty more were left in a dying state at Port Royal. The wretched remains of the whole de-

(*b*) It was fortunate for the British army, that the French troops suffered by sickness almost as much as our own: Port au Prince would otherwise have been but a short time in our possession.

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tachment discovered, on their landing at Port au Prince, that they came—not to participate in the glories of conquest, but—to perish themselves within the walls of an hospital! So rapid was the mortality in the British army, after their arrival, that no less than forty officers and upwards of six hundred rank and file met an untimely death, without a contest with any other enemy than sickness, in the short space of two months after the surrender of the town.

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GENERAL WHYTE, his health much impaired, and hopeless, it may be presumed, of further triumphs, with an army thus reduced and debilitated, now solicited and obtained permission to return to Europe. He was succeeded in the chief command by Brigadier-General Horneck, who arrived from Jamaica about the middle of September; and if the requisite qualifications for such a station—firmness without arrogance, and conciliating manners without weakness, could always ensure success to the possessor, General Horneck would have brought good fortune with him. But the difficulties which the former commander would have had to encounter, had he remained in his station, devolved with aggravated weight on his successor. The only reinforcement which followed General Horneck, consisted of fifty men from Jamaica. Whatever troops were promised or expected from Great Britain, none arrived, until the expiration of seven months after General Horneck had taken the command. Instead, therefore, of attempting new achievements, he was compelled, by irresistible necessity, to act chiefly on the defensive. The rebel Mulattoes, under Rigaud, even became masters of Leogane, and satiated their vengeance by

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putting

putting to death all such of the French planters, our allies, as
 unfortunately fell into their power. C H A P.
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ON the other hand, the judicious exertions and rapid suc-
 cesses of Lieutenant-Colonel Brisbane on the plain of Artibo-
 nite, had been for some time the subject of much applause, and
 had given birth to great expectation. The French inhabitants
 of the town and neighbourhood of St. Marc, had been all along
 more heartily disposed to co-operate with the English, than
 any of their countrymen. Mr. Brisbane had not above four-
 score British under his command. The rest of his little army
 was composed of the remains of Dillon's regiment, the St.
 Marc's legion, the militia of the neighbouring parishes, and a
 body of about three hundred reluctant Spaniards from Verette;
 the whole not exceeding twelve hundred men in arms. With
 this force, properly distributed, he had routed the republican
 troops and rebel negroes in every quarter; and even brought
 the negro chiefs to solicit permission to capitulate. Eight or
 ten thousand of these deluded wretches, had actually submitted
 unconditionally, and many returned, of their own accord, to
 the plantations of their masters. But these promising ap-
 pearances were of short continuance. While Colonel Brisbane
 was following up his successes in a distant part of Artibonite,
 the men of colour in the town of St. Marc, seduced by the
 promises of the French commissioners, and finding the town
 itself without troops, had violated their promises of neutra-
 lity, and on the 6th of September taken up arms on the
 part of the republick; putting to death every man that fell in
 their way, whom they considered as an enemy to the French
 commissioners.

CHAP. commissioners.—The garrison, consisting of about forty British
 XI. convalescents, threw themselves into a small fort on the sea-
 shore, which they gallantly defended for two days, when a frigate came to their relief from the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas.—The triumph of the Mulattoes, however, was transient. Colonel Brisbane attacked them on the side of the land, and recovered the town; making upwards of three hundred of the insurgents prisoners, and driving the rest over the Artibonite river; but the advantages which he had obtained on the plain, were lost in the interim. The negro chiefs no longer solicited to capitulate, but appeared in greater force than ever. Being joined by the fugitive Mulattoes, they soon repassed the river; and having, in the beginning of October, obtained possession of two out-posts (St. Michael and St. Raphael) they had procured plenty of arms and ammunition, and now threatened so formidable an attack on the town of St. Marc, as to excite the most serious apprehensions for its safety.

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Such was the situation of affairs in the western parts of St. Domingo about the period of General Horneck's arrival. The northern province (the Mole of St. Nicholas and the town of Fort Dauphin excepted) was entirely in possession of the rebel negroes; and unhappily, in all other parts of the colony, the weakness of the British was so apparent, as not only to invite attacks from the enemy, but also to encourage revolt and conspiracy in the posts in our possession (c). Rigaud, who commanded

(c) Colonel Brisbane had scarcely driven the Mulattoes from St. Marc, and restored order and tranquillity in the town, before a dark conspiracy was agitated among

manded in the south, now determined to make a bold effort for the recovery of Fort Bizoton, in which, if he had succeeded, the loss of the whole of the British army at Port au Prince would have been inevitable. The fort was attacked early in the morning of the 5th of December, by three columns of the enemy, amounting in the whole to about two thousand men; but they were defeated with great slaughter on their part, and with little loss on ours. Captain Grant, however, and both his lieutenants, Clunes and Hamilton, were severely wounded early in the attack; yet they continued their efforts, and nobly succeeded; and General Williamson bore testimony to their good conduct and valour.

BAFFLED in this attack, Rigaud resolved to make another, and a more formidable attempt, for the recovery of Tiburon. His intentions were known, and his project might have been defeated, if any one English ship of war could have been spared to watch his motions off the harbour of Aux Cayes, from whence he conveyed his artillery, ammunition, and provisions. He proceeded, however, without interruption in his

among some of the French inhabitants under the British protection to cut him off; but it was happily discovered and defeated before it broke out into action. This happened the beginning of January 1795; and a still more daring and dangerous plot was carried on a month afterwards in Port au Prince, to seize on the garrison, and put all the English to death. This conspiracy also was fortunately discovered, and twenty of the conspirators being brought to trial before a council of war, composed of the principal commanders by sea and land (among whom were five French field officers) they were all adjudged to suffer death, and fifteen of them were accordingly shot on the 18th of February.

preparations

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preparations for the attack; and his armament sailed from Aux Cayes on the 23^d of December. His naval force consisted of one brig of sixteen guns, and three schooners of fourteen guns each, and he commanded a body of near three thousand men, of all colours and descriptions. The attack commenced on Christmas day. The garrison, consisting of only four hundred and eighty men, made a vigorous defence for four days, when, having lost upwards of three hundred of their number, and finding the post no longer tenable, the survivors, headed by their gallant commander, Lieutenant Bradford, of the 23^d regiment, with unexampled bravery, fought their way for five miles through the enemy, and got safe to Irois. Lieutenant Baskerville was the only officer who, by some unfortunate circumstance, was unable to join his companions in their retreat; and this high-spirited young man, with a resolution which, though a Christian must condemn it, a Roman would have approved, to defeat the triumph of his savage enemy, who would probably have made him suffer a shameful death, put a period to his own existence, as Rigaud entered the fort.

WITH this disastrous occurrence terminated the year 1794 (*d*), and here I shall close my account of the military transactions of

(*d*) Major General Williamson, the latter end of the year, was appointed governor-general and commander in chief of his Majesty's possessions in St. Domingo; and was soon afterwards honoured with the order of the Bath—a distinction which he had nobly earned. He arrived at Port au Prince, and took upon him the government, in May 1795.

the

the British army in St. Domingo; for, although hostilities are still continued in this ill-fated country, it is, I think, sufficiently apparent, that all hopes and expectations of ultimate success are vanished for ever! The historian who shall recount the events of 1795, will have to lament the mournful and untimely deaths of many brave and excellent young men who perished in this fruitless contest. Among the foremost of these was Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Brisbane, of whom honourable mention is made in the foregoing pages, and whose gallantry and good conduct were not more the subject of universal admiration, than his untimely fate of universal regret. He was killed on a reconnoitring party in February. By his death, his country was deprived, at a most critical juncture, of an able, indefatigable, and intelligent officer, who had gained the affections of most of the various descriptions of people under his command by his kindness, and the confidence of all by his courage (*e*). The same fate, a month afterwards, awaited Lieutenant-Colonel Markham, who perished in attacking an out-post of the enemy's forces which were at that time laying siege to Fort Bizotton. The out-post was carried; the colours of the enemy, and five pieces of their cannon, were taken, and upwards of six hundred of their number slain on the spot; but the victory was dearly obtained by the loss of so enterprising and accomplished a leader. Yet it affords some consolation to reflect, that these brave young men, though cut off in the bloom of life, fell in the field of glory, nobly exerting them-

(*e*) He was a captain in the 49th regiment, and lieutenant colonel of the colonial corps called the St. Marc's Legion.

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themselves in the cause of their country, and dying amidst the blessings and applauses of their compatriots. Alas, how many of their youthful associates, in this unhappy war, might have envied them so glorious an exit! What numbers have perished—not in the field of honour—but on the bed of sickness!—not amidst the shouts of victory—but the groans of despair!—condemned to linger in the horrors of pestilence; to fall without a conflict, and to die without renown (f)!

THESE reflections, and the observations which I have made in the preceding pages, on the insufficiency of the means to the

(f) The disease, in which so many gallant men have perished, is commonly known by the name of the *yellow fever*. Two writers of great ability (Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, and Dr. Benjamin Moseley of Pall Mall, London) have treated fully of this dreadful calamity. The picture which the latter has given of an unhappy patient of his in the West Indies, a young officer of great merit, in the last stage of this disease, after four days illness, is drawn by the hand of a master. “I arrived at the lodgings of this much-esteemed young man (says the doctor) about four hours before his death. When I entered the room, he was vomiting a black muddy cruor, and was bleeding at the nose. A bloody ichor was oozing from the corners of his eyes, and from his mouth and gums. His face was besmeared with blood, and, with the dulness of his eyes, it presented a most distressing contrast to his natural visage. His abdomen was swelled, and inflated prodigiously. His body was all over of a deep yellow, interspersed with livid spots. His hands and feet were of a livid hue. Every part of him was cold excepting about his heart. He had a deep strong hiccup, but neither delirium nor coma; and was, at my first seeing him, as I thought, in his perfect senses. He looked at the changed appearance of his skin, and expressed, though he could not speak, by his sad countenance, that he knew life was soon to yield up her citadel, now abandoning the rest of his body. Exhausted with vomiting, he at last was suffocated with the blood he was endeavouring to bring up, and expired.”

Moseley on Tropical Diseases, 3d edit. p. 459.

objects

objects in view, are not written in the spirit of accusation against men in authority; nor (if I know myself) is there any bias of party zeal on my judgment. I am far from asserting, that the situation and resources of Great Britain were such as to afford a greater body of troops for service in St. Domingo, at the proper moment, than the number that was actually sent thither. I presume not to intrude into the national councils, and am well apprized that existing alliances and pre-engagements of the state, were objects of important consideration to his Majesty's ministers. Neither can I affirm, that the delays and obstructions, which prevented the arrival at the scene of action of some of the detachments, until the return of the sickly season, were avoidable. A thousand accidents and casualties continually subvert and overthrow the best laid schemes of human contrivance. We have seen considerable fleets detained by adverse winds, in the ports of Great Britain for many successive months, and powerful armaments have been driven back by storms and tempests, after many unavailing attempts to reach the place of their destination. Thus much I owe to candour; but, at the same time, I owe it also to truth to avow my opinion, that in case no greater force could have been spared for the enterprize against St. Domingo, the enterprize itself ought not to have been undertaken*. The

* If, from the ill success which has attended the attack of St. Domingo, a justification of the original measure shall be thought necessary, it ought not to be overlooked, that General Williamson, among other motives, had also strong reason to believe, that attempts were meditated by the republican commissioners on the island of Jamaica. He therefore, probably thought, that the most certain way of preventing the success of such designs, was to give the commissioners sufficient employment at home.—I write this note in justice to a distinguished officer, than whom no man living has deserved better of his country.

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object of the British ministers was avowedly to obtain possession of the whole of the French part of the country. That they placed great dependence on the co-operation of the French inhabitants, and were grossly deceived by agents from thence, I believe and admit; but they ought surely to have foreseen, that a very formidable opposition was to be expected from the partizans and troops of the republican government; and they ought also to have known, that no considerable body of the French planters could be expected to risk their lives and fortunes in the common cause, but in full confidence of protection and support. In my own judgment, all the force which Great Britain could have sent thither, would not have been sufficient for the complete subjugation of the colony. It is asserted by competent judges, that not less than six thousand men were necessary for the secure maintenance of Port au Prince alone; yet I do not believe that the number of British, in all parts of St. Domingo, at any one period, previous to the month of April 1795, exceeded two thousand two hundred, of whom, except at the capture of Port au Prince, not one half were fit for active service; and during the hot and sickly months of August, September, and October, not one third (*g*).

PERHAPS

(*g*) The following returns are authentick.

Return of the provincial troops in the service of the British government at St. Domingo, 1st January 1795.

	Rank and file fit for duty.	Sick.	Total.
At Port au Prince	496	48	544
Mole St. Nicholas	209	38	247
St. Marc	813	321	1134
	1518	407	1925

Return.

PERHAPS the most fatal oversight in the conduct of the whole expedition, was the strange and unaccountable neglect of not securing the town and harbour of Aux Cayes, and the little port of Jacmel on the same part of the coast, previous to the attack of Port au Prince. With those places, on the one side of the peninsula, and the post of Acul in our possession on the other, all communication between the Southern and the two other provinces would have been cut off; the navigation from the Windward Islands to Jamaica would have been secure, while the possession of the two Capes which form the entrance into the Bight of Leogane (Cape Nicholas and Tiburon) would have protected the homeward trade in its course through the Windward Passage. All this might have been accomplished and secured; and I think it is all that, in sound policy, ought to have been attempted. As to Port au Prince, it would have been for-

Return of the British forces in the island of St. Domingo, 1st January 1795.

	Rank and file effective.	Sick.	Total.
Port au Prince	366	462	828
Mole St. Nicholas	209	166	375
Jeremie	95	59	154
Tiburon	34	18	52
St. Marc	48	33	81
	752	738	1490

The next reinforcement from Europe arrived the latter end of April 1795, and consisted of about fourteen hundred men (the 81st and 96th regiments): a further reinforcement (the 82d regiment) landed in August following. All these corps, the last especially, from its landing at so unfavourable a season, suffered prodigiously. The 82d landed nine hundred and eighty men, of whom six hundred and thirty were buried within ten weeks. In one of the companies, three rank and file only were able to do duty.

tunate.

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fortunate if the works had been destroyed, and the town evacuated immediately after its surrender.

THE retention by the enemy of Aux Cayes and Jacmel, not only enabled them to procure reinforcements and supplies; but also most amply to revenge our attempts on their coasts, by reprisals on our trade. It is known that upwards of thirty privateers, some of them of considerable force, have been fitted out from those ports, whose rapacity and vigilance scarce a vessel bound from the Windward Islands to Jamaica can escape. The prizes which they made, in a few short months, abundantly compensated for the loss of their ships at Port au Prince (*b*).

AFTER

(*b*) The following is a list of vessels bound to Jamaica, which were taken and carried into Aux Cayes, between June 1794 and June 1795, most of them laden with dry goods, provisions, and plantation stores, and many of them of great value.

	From	
The Edward - - -	W ^m Marshall - -	{ 13th June } Bristol.
Fame - - -	Rob ^t Hall - -	July - - - L. and Cork.
Bellona - - -	Tho ^s White - -	- - - - - Liverpool.
Hope - - -	W ^m Swan.	
Molly - - -	Peter Mawdsley -	5th Mar. 1795, Africa, 300 negroes.
Hodge - - -	Geo. Brown -	19th Ditto, Liverpool.
William - - -	Tho ^s Calloine -	20th Ditto.
Bell - - -	Arch ^d Weir - -	Ditto, Greenock.
Bufler - - -	Sewell - - -	- - - - - a transport.
Druid - - -	Wilson - - -	14th March, Leith.
Martha - - -	W ^m Reid - - -	31st March, London.
Alexander - - -	Benj ⁿ Moor - -	17th April, Glasgow.
Lovely Peggy -	Peter Murphy.	
Swallow - - -	Lachlan Vass -	10th May.

AFTER all, though I have asserted nothing which I do not believe to be true, I will honestly admit, that many important facts and circumstances, unknown to me, very probably existed, an acquaintance with which is indispensably necessary to enable any man to form a correct judgment on the measures which were pursued on this occasion. To a writer, sitting with composure in his closet, with a partial display of facts before him, it is no difficult task to point out faults and mistakes in the conduct of publick affairs; and even where mistakes are discovered, the wisdom of after-knowledge is very cheaply acquired. It is the lot of our nature, that the best concerted plans of human policy are subject to errors which the meanest observer will sometimes detect. "The hand (says an eminent writer) that cannot build a hovel, may demolish a palace."

BUT, a new scene now opens for contemplation and reflection, arising from intelligence received since I began my work, that the Spanish government has formally ceded to the republick of

Dunmore	- -	Stephen Connick	26th May,	London.
Maria	- -	Wilkinson	- - -	Ditto.
Minerva	- -	Robertson	4th June,	Africa, 450 negroes.
General Mathew		Tho ^s Douglas	8th Ditto,	London.
A schooner, name forgot	}	Adam Walker	- 22d Ditto,	Glasgow.
Hope	- -	Hambleton	Ditto,	Ditto.
Caledonia	- -	Hunter	- 25th Ditto,	Leith, last from London.
Molly	- -	Simpson	- 27th Ditto,	Glasgow.
Resolution	- -	Taunton	- 29th Ditto,	Hull.

And several vessels belonging to Kingstons, names forgot.

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France the whole of this great and noble island in perpetual sovereignty! So extraordinary a circumstance will doubtless give birth to much speculation and enquiry, as well concerning the value and extent of the territory ceded, as the present disposition and general character of the Spanish inhabitants. Will they relish this transfer of their allegiance from a monarchical to a republican government, made, as it confessedly is, without their previous consent or knowledge; or may reasonable expectations be encouraged, that they will now cordially co-operate with the English, in reducing the country to the British dominion? Will such assistance effect the re-establishment of subordination and good government among the vast body of revolted negroes? These are deep questions, the investigation of which will lead to enquiries of still greater magnitude; for, whether we consider the possession, by an active and industrious people, of so vast a field for enterprize and improvement on the one hand, or the triumph of successful revolt and savage anarchy on the other, it appears to me that the future fate and profitable existence of the British territories in this part of the world, are involved in the issue. On all these, and various collateral subjects, I regret that I do not possess the means of giving much satisfaction to the reader. Such information, however, as I have collected on some of the preceding enquiries, and such reflections as occur to me on others, will be found in the ensuing chapter, which concludes my work.

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Ancient State of the Spanish Colony.—The Town of St. Domingo established by Bartholomew Columbus in 1498.—Pillaged by Drake in 1586.—Conjectures and Reflections concerning its present Condition, and the State of Agriculture in the interior Country.—Numbers and Character of the present Inhabitants.—Their Animosity towards the French Planters, and Jealousy of the English.—Conjectures concerning the future Situation of the whole Island; and some concluding Reflections.

THE Spanish colony in Hispaniola (the name St. Domingo being properly applicable to the chief city only) was the earliest establishment made by the nations of Europe in the new world; and, unhappily, it is too notorious to be denied, that it was an establishment founded in rapacity and cemented with blood! The sole object of the first Spanish adventurers was to ransack the bowels of the earth for silver and gold; in which frantick pursuit, they murdered at least a million of the peaceful and inoffensive natives! As the mines became exhausted, a few of the more industrious entered on the cultivation of cacao, ginger, and sugar; but the poverty of the greater part of the inhabitants, and the discovery of new mines in Mexico, occasioned a prodigious emigration;—the experience of past disappointments not proving sufficiently powerful to cure the rage for acquiring wealth by a shorter course than that of patient industry. In less than a century, therefore, Hispaniola was nearly deserted, and nothing preserved it as a colony,

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lony, but the establishment of archiepiscopal government in its chief city, St. Domingo, and its being for many years the seat of civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases of appeal, from all the territories of Spain in this part of the world (a).

THE settlement of the French in the western part of the island, of the origin of which I have already given an account, though the primary cause of hereditary and irreconcilable enmity between the two colonies, was however productive of good even to the Spaniards themselves. As the French settlers increased in number, and their plantations became enlarged, they wanted oxen for their markets, and horses for their mills. These, their neighbours were able to supply without much exertion of labour; and thus an intercourse was created, which has continued to the present day; the Spaniards receiving, through the French, the manufactures of Europe, in exchange for cattle. The example too, before their eyes, of successful industry and growing prosperity, was not wholly without its effect. The cultivation of sugar, which had diminished nearly to nothing, was revived in different parts of the Spanish territory, and plantations were established of cacao, indigo, ginger, and tobacco. The quantity of sugar exported in the beginning of the present century, is said to have amounted yearly to 15,000 chests each of 7 cwt.

THE country itself being evidently more mountainous in the central and eastern than in the western parts, it is probable, that the Spanish territory is, on the whole, naturally less fer-

(a) The administration of justice throughout Spanish America is at present divided into twelve courts of *audience*, one only of which is at St. Domingo.

tile than that of the French; but much the greater portion of the island remained, until the late treaty, under the Spanish dominion; and of that, by far the major part continues at this hour an unproductive wilderness. On the northern coast, the line of division began at the river Massacre, and, crossing the country somewhat irregularly, terminated on the southern side, at a small bay called *Les Anses à Pitre*; leaving about two-thirds of the whole island in the possession of Spain. Proceeding eastward along the shore from the boundary on the north, the first place of note is Monte Christi, a town which formerly grew to importance by contraband traffick with North America, but is now reduced to a miserable village, the abode of a few fishermen, and the surrounding country exhibits a melancholy prospect of neglect and sterility. The river St. Jago runs into the sea at this place; on the banks of which, at some distance inland, are grass farms of considerable extent. From the mouth of this river, for the space of fifteen leagues, to Punta Isabella (the scite of the first settlement established by Christopher Columbus) the soil, though capable of improvement, exhibits no sign of cultivation. From Isabella to old Cape François (with the exception of Puerto de Plata) the coast seems entirely deserted; nor, after passing the bay of Samana, does a much better prospect offer, until coasting round the eastern extremity, we reach a vast extent of level country called *Los Llanos*, or the Plains; at the west end of which, on the banks of the river Ozama, stands the metropolis.

THIS city, which was long the most considerable in the new world, was founded by Bartholomew Columbus, in the year 1498, and named after a saint of great renown in those days, St.

CHAP. Dominick. There is preserved in Oviedo, a Spanish historian,
 XII. who resided here about thirty years after its first establishment,
 an account of its state and population at that period, which be-
 ing equally authentick and curious, I shall present to the reader
 at length.

“ BUT nowe (says the Historian) to speake sumwhat of the
 “ principall and chiefe place of the islande, whiche is the citie
 “ of *San Domenico*: I saye, that as touchynge the buildynges,
 “ there is no citie in Spaine, so muche for so-muche (no not
 “ *Barfalona*, whiche I have oftentimes seene) that is to bee
 “ preferred before this generallye. For the houses of San Do-
 “ menico are for the moste parte of stone, as are they of
 “ *Barfalona*. The situation is muche better thā that of *Bar-*
 “ *salona*, by reason that the streates are much larger and playner,
 “ and without comparyson more directe and strayght furth.
 “ For beinge buylded nowe in our tyme, besyde the commo-
 “ ditie of the place of the foundation, the streates were also
 “ directed with corde compase and measure; wherein it excelleth
 “ al the cities that I have sene. It hath the sea so nere, that
 “ of one syde there is no more space between the sea and the
 “ citie, then the waules. On the other parte, hard by the
 “ syde and at the foote of the houses, passeth the ryver *Ozama*,
 “ whiche is a marveyulous porte; wherein laden shyppes ryse
 “ very nere to the lande, and in manner under the house wyn-
 “ dowes. In the mydde of the citie is the fortresse and
 “ castle; the port or haven also, is so fayre and commodious
 “ to defraight or unlade shyppes, as the lyke is founde but in
 “ fewe places of the worlde. The chymineis that are in this citie
 “ are about syxe hundreth in number, and such houses as I have
 “ spoken

“ spoken of before ; of the which sum are so fayre and large
 “ that they maye well receave and lodge any lorde or noble
 “ manne of Spayne, with his trayne and familie ; and especially
 “ that which Don *Diego Colon*, viceroy under your majestie,
 “ hath in this citie, is suche that I knowe no man in Spayne that
 “ hath the lyke, by a quarter, in goodnesse, consyderynge all the
 “ commodities of the same. Lykewyse the situation thereof as
 “ beinge above the sayde porte, and altogether of stone, and
 “ havynge many faire and large roomes, with as goodly a pro-
 “ spect of the lande and sea as may be devysed, seemeth unto
 “ me so magnificent and princelyke, that your majestie may bee
 “ as well lodged therein as in any of the moste exquisite build-
 “ ed houses of Spayne. There is also a cathedrall church-
 “ buylded of late, where, aswell the byshop accordyng to his
 “ dygnitie, as also the canones, are wel indued. This church-
 “ is well buylded of stone and lyme, and of good woorkeman-
 “ shyppe. There are further-more three monasteries bearyng
 “ the names of Saynt Dominike, Saynt Frances, and Saynt
 “ Mary of Mercedes ; the whiche are well buylded, although
 “ not so curiouslye as they of Spayne. There is also a very
 “ good hospitall for the ayde and succour of pore people,
 “ whiche was founded by Michaell Passamont, threasurer to
 “ your majestie. To conclude, this citie frō day to day in-
 “ creaseth in welth and good order, as wel for that the sayde
 “ admirall and viceroy, with the lorde chaunceloure and coun-
 “ sayle appoynted there by your majestie, have theyr conti-
 “ nuall abydyng here, as also that the rycheft men of the
 “ ilande resort hyther, for thyre moste commodious habitation
 “ and trade of such merchaundies as are eyther brought owt of
 “ Spayne,

CHAP. " Spayne, or sent thither from this island, which nowe so
 XII. " abundeth in many thynges, that it serveth Spayne with
 " many commodities, as it were with usury requityng such
 " benefites as it fyrst received from theise (b).

It is probable that St. Domingo had now attained the summit of its prosperity. About sixty years afterwards (1st January 1586) it was attacked by Sir Francis Drake; a narrative of whose expedition, by an eye-witness, is preserved in Hakluyt's Collection; from which it appears, that it was, even then, a city of great extent and magnificence; and it is shocking to relate, that, after a month's possession, Drake thought himself authorized, by the laws of war, to destroy it by fire. " We spent the early part of the mornings (says the historian of the voyage) in firing the outmost houses; but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high loftes, gave us no small travell to ruin them. And albeit, for divers dayes together, we ordeined ech morning by day-break, until the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred mariners did nought els but labour to fire and burn the said houses, whilst the souldiers, in a like proportion, stood forth for their guard; yet did we not, or could not, in this time, consume so much as one third part of the towne; and so in the end, wearied with firing, we were contented to accept of five and twenty thousand ducats, of five shillings and sixpence the peece, for the ranfome of the rest of the towne (c)."

OF

(b) From a translation by Richard Eden, printed, London 1555, in black letter.

(c) The following anecdote, related by the same author, is too striking to be overlooked. I shall quote his own words: During the stay of the English army in
 in

Of the present condition of this ancient city, the number of its inhabitants, and the commerce which they support, I can obtain no account on which I can depend. That it hath been long in its decline, I have no doubt; but that it is wholly depopulated and in ruins, as Raynal asserts, I do not believe. The cathedral and other publick buildings are still in being, and were lately the residence of a considerable body of clergy and lawyers. The city continued also, while under the Spanish government, the diocese of an archbishop, to whom, it is said, the bishops of St. Jago in Cuba, Venezuela in New Spain, and St. John's in Porto Rico, were suffragans. These circumstances, added to the security, commodiousness, and extent of the port or harbour, containing throughout not less than

in the city, "it chanced that the general sent on a message to the Spanish governor, a negro boy with a flag of white, signifying truce, as is the Spaniards ordinary manner to do there, when they approach to speak to us; which boy unhappily was first met withall by some of those who had been belonging as officers for the king in the Spanish galley, which, with the towne, was lately fallen into our hands, who, without all order or reason, and contrary to that good usage wherewith wee had intertain'd their messengers, furiously strooke the poor boy thorow the body, with which wound the boy returned to the general, and, after he had declared the manner of this wrongfull crueltie, died forthwith in his presence; wherewith the general being greatly passion'd, commanded—the provost martiall to cause a couple of friers, then prisoners, to be carried to the same place where the boy was stroken, and there presently to be hanged; dispatching, at the same instant, another poor prisoner, with the reason wherfore this execution was done, and with this further message, that untill the party who had thus murdered the general's messenger, were delivered into our hands to receive condigne punishment, there should no day passe wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, until they were all consumed which were in our hands. Whereupon the day following, hee that had been captaine of the king's galley, brought the offender to the towne's end, offering to deliver him into our hands; but it was thought to be a more honourable revenge to make them there, in our sight, to performe the execution themselves, which was done accordingly."

*

three

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three fathoms of water, and protected by a bar over which the largest vessels may pass with safety, have hitherto saved St. Domingo from entire decay, and may possibly continue to save it. With this very defective information the reader must be content. As little seems to be known concerning the state of agriculture in the Spanish possessions in this island, as of their capital and commerce. A few planters are said to cultivate cacao, tobacco, and sugar, for their own expenditure; and, perhaps some small quantities of each are still exported for consumption in Spain. The chief article of exportation, however, continues to be, what it always has been since the mines were abandoned, *the hides of horned cattle*; which have multiplied to such a degree, that the proprietors are said to reckon them by thousands; and vast numbers (as I believe I have elsewhere observed) are annually slaughtered solely for the skins †.

It seems therefore extremely probable, that the cultivation of the earth is almost entirely neglected throughout the whole of the Spanish dominion in this island; and that some of the finest tracts of land in the world, once the paradise of a simple and innocent people, are now abandoned to the beasts of the field, and the vultures which hover round them (*d*).

Of this description, probably, is the country already mentioned, called Los Llanos, which stretches eastward

† It is said that a Company was formed at Barcelona in 1757, with exclusive privileges, for the re-establishment of agriculture and commerce in the Spanish part of St. Domingo: I know not with what success.

(*d*) The *Gallinazo*, or American vulture, a very ravenous and filthy bird that feeds on carrion. These birds abound in St. Domingo, and devour the carcasses of the cattle as soon as the skins are stripped off by the hunters.

from

from the capital upwards of fourscore British miles in length, by twenty or twenty-five in width; and which, abounding in rivers throughout, may be supposed adapted for the growth of every tropical production in the greatest perfection: It seems capable also of being artificially flooded in dry weather.

NEXT to Los Llanos in magnitude, but superior, it is believed, in native fertility, is the noble valley to the north, called *Vega Real*; through the middle of which flows the river *Yuna*, for the space of fifty miles, and disembogues in Samana bay to the east. Perhaps it were no exaggeration to say, that this and the former districts are alone capable of producing more sugar, and other valuable commodities, than all the British West Indies put together.

THESE plains, however, though in contiguity the largest, are not the only parts of the country on which nature has bestowed extraordinary fertility. Glades abundantly rich, easy of access, and obvious to cultivation, are every where found even in the bosom of the mountains; while the mountains themselves contribute to fertilize the vallies which they encircle.

IN beholding the gifts of a bountiful Creator, thus lying usefess and unimproved, and remembering at what an expence of human blood, and by what inexpiable guilt the Spanish nation obtained the possession of these countries from the rightful possessors, it is scarce possible to abstain from very gloomy and

CHAP. desponding reflections, or to suppress the exclamation, *how in-*
 XII. *scrutable are the ways of Divine Providence!*

Thus scanty and uninteresting is the best account I have to give of the territory itself; nor is my information much more perfect concerning the number and condition of the people by whom it is at present inhabited. The earliest detachments from Old Spain were undoubtedly numerous. Herrera, an accurate and well-informed historian, reckons that there were, at one period, no less than 14,000 Castilians in Hispaniola. Such was the renown of its riches, that men of all ranks and conditions resorted thither, in the fond expectation of sharing in the golden harvest. Its mines, indeed, were very productive. Robertson relates, that they continued for many years to yield a revenue of 460,000 pesos (*e*). In contrasting this fact, with an anecdote which I have elsewhere † recorded, that the inhabitants, at the time of Drake's invasion, were so wretchedly poor, as to be compelled to use, in barter among themselves, *pieces of leather* as a substitute for money, we are furnished with a striking proof, that the true way to acquire riches, is not by digging into the bowels, but by improving the surface, of the earth. Not having any manufactures, nor the productions of agriculture, to offer in exchange for the necessaries and conveniences of life, all their gold had soon found its way to Europe; and when the mines became exhausted, their

(*e*) Upwards of £. 100,000 sterling.

† History of the British West Indies, vol. i.

penury was extreme; and sloth, depopulation, and degeneracy, were its necessary consequences (*f*).

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THE introduction into this island of negroes from Africa, of which I have elsewhere traced the origin and cause (*g*), took place at an early period. This resource did not, however, greatly contribute to augment the population of the colony; for such of the whites as removed to the continent, in search of richer mines and better fortune, commonly took their negroes with them; and the small pox, a few years afterwards, destroyed prodigious numbers of others. In 1717, the whole number of inhabitants under the Spanish dominion, of all ages and conditions, enslaved and free, were no more than 18,410, and since that time, I conceive, they have rather diminished than increased. Of pure whites (in contradistinction to the people of mixed blood) the number is undoubtedly very inconsiderable; perhaps not 3,000 in the whole.

(*f*) The gross ignorance of considering gold and silver as *real* instead of *artificial* wealth, and the folly of neglecting agriculture for the sake of exploring mines, have been well exposed by Abbé Raynal; who compares the conduct of the Spaniards in this respect, to that of the dog in the fable, dropping the piece of meat which he had in his mouth, to catch at the shadow of it in the water.

(*g*) Hist. of the British West Indies, Book iv. c. 2. A curious circumstance was, however, omitted. When the Portuguese first began the traffick in negroes, application was made to the Pope to sanctify the trade by a bull, which his Holiness issued accordingly. In consequence of this permission and authority, a very considerable slave-market was established at Lisbon, inasmuch, that about the year 1539, from 10 to 12,000 negroes were sold there annually.

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THE hereditary and unextinguishable animosity between the Spanish and French planters has already been noticed. It is probable, however, that the knowledge of this circumstance created greater reliance on the co-operation of the Spaniards with the British army than was justified by subsequent events. At the earnest and repeated solicitations of Lieutenant Colonel Brisbane, in 1794, orders were indeed transmitted from the city of St. Domingo to the Commandant at Verettes, Don Francisco de Villa Neuva, to join the English with the militia of that part of the country; the British garrison at St. Marc undertaking to supply them with provisions and ammunition: but these orders were ill obeyed. Not more than three hundred men were brought into the field, and even those were far from being hearty in the common cause. The French loyalists appeared in greater numbers in the neighbourhood of St. Marc than in any other district; and the Spaniards detested the French colonists of all descriptions. It was evident, at the same time, that they were almost equally jealous of the English; betraying manifest symptoms of discontent and envy, at beholding them in possession of St. Marc, and the fertile plains in its vicinage. They proceeded, however, and took the town and harbour of Gonaive; but their subsequent conduct manifested the basest treachery, or the rankest cowardice. The town was no sooner attacked by a small detachment from the revolted negroes, than the Spaniards suffered themselves to be driven out of it, in the most unaccountable manner; leaving the French inhabitants to the fury of the savages, who massacred the whole number (as their comrades.

comrades had done at Fort Dauphin) and then reduced the town itself to ashes (*b*).

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ON the whole, there is reason to suppose that a great proportion of the present Spanish proprietors in St. Domingo are a debased and degenerate race; a motley mixture from European, Indian, and African ancestry; and the observation which has been made in another place (*i*), concerning the Spanish inhabitants of Jamaica, at the conquest of that island in 1655, will

(*b*) In the northern province of the French colony, the inhabitants of Fort Dauphin, a town situated on the Spanish borders, having no assistance from the English, and being apprehensive of an attack from the rebel negroes, applied for protection, and delivered up the town, to the Spanish government. The Spanish commandant, on accepting the conditions required, which were chiefly for personal safety, issued a proclamation, importing, that such of the French planters as would seek refuge there, should find security. Seduced by this proclamation, a considerable number repaired thither; when, on Monday the 7th of July 1794, *Jean François*, the negro general, and leader of the revolt in 1791, entered the town with some thousands of armed negroes. He met not the smallest resistance, either at the advanced posts, or at the barriers occupied by the Spanish troops; the inhabitants keeping their houses, in the hope of being protected by the commandant. In an instant, every part of the city resounded with the cry of "Long live the king of Spain! Kill all the French; but offer no violence to the Spaniards;" and a general massacre of the French commenced, in which no less than 771 of them, without distinction of sex or age, were murdered on the spot: the Spanish soldiers standing by, spectators of the tragedy. It is thought, however, that if the Spaniards had openly interposed, they would have shared the fate of the French. It is said that *Mont-Calvos*, commander of the Spanish troops, moved by compassion towards some French gentlemen of his acquaintance, admitted them into the ranks, dressing them in the Spanish uniform for their security; others were secretly conveyed to the fort, and sent off in the night to Monte Christi, where they got on board an American vessel belonging to Salem.

(*i*) History of the British West Indies, vol. i.

equally

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equally apply to these. They are neither polished by social intercourse, nor improved by education; but pass their days in gloomy languor, enfeebled by sloth, and depressed by poverty. From such men, therefore, great as their antipathy is to the French nation, and however averse they may be to a change of laws and government, I am afraid that no cordial co-operation with the British can ever be expected. The best families among them, rather than submit to the French dominion, will probably remove to Cuba, or seek out new habitations among their countrymen on the neighbouring continent; while those which remain will necessarily sink into the general mass of coloured people, French and English; a class that, I think, in process of time, will become masters of the towns and cultivated parts of the island on the sea-coast; leaving the interior country to the revolted negroes. Such, probably, will be the fate of this once beautiful and princely colony; and it grieves me to say, that the present exertions of Great Britain on this blood-stained theatre, can answer no other end than to hasten the catastrophe!

I MIGHT here expatiate on the wonderful dispensations of Divine Providence, in raising up the enslaved Africans to avenge the wrongs of the injured aborigines: I might also indulge the fond but fallacious idea, that as the negroes of St. Domingo have been eye-witnesses to the benefits of civilized life among the whites;—have seen in what manner, and to what extent, social order, peaceful industry, and submission to laws, contribute to individual and general prosperity (advantages which were denied to them in their native country;) some superior

rior spirits may hereafter rise up among them, by whose encouragement and example they may be taught, in due time, to discard the ferocious and sordid manners and pursuits of savage life; to correct their vices, and be led progressively on to civilization and gentleness, to the knowledge of truth, and the practice of virtue. This picture is so pleasing to the imagination, that every humane and reflecting mind must wish it may be realized; but I am afraid it is the mere creation of the fancy—"the fabric of a vision!" Experience has demonstrated, that a wild and lawless freedom affords no means of improvement, either mental or moral. The Charaibes of St. Vincent, and the Maroon negroes of Jamaica, were originally enslaved Africans; and *what they now are*, the freed negroes of St. Domingo *will hereafter be*; savages in the midst of society—without peace, security, agriculture, or property; ignorant of the duties of life, and unacquainted with all the soft and endearing relations which render it desirable; averse to labour, though frequently perishing of want; suspicious of each other, and towards the rest of mankind revengeful and faithless, remorseless and bloody-minded; pretending to be free, while groaning beneath the capricious despotism of their chiefs, and feeling all the miseries of servitude, without the benefits of subordination!

If what I have thus—not hastily, but—deliberately predicted, concerning the fate of this unfortunate country, shall be verified by the event, all other reflections must yield to the pressing consideration how best to obviate and defeat the influence which so dreadful an example of successful revolt and triumphant

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phant anarchy may have in our own islands. This is a subject which will soon force itself on the most serious attention of Government; and I am of opinion, that nothing less than the co-operation of the British parliament with the colonial legislatures can meet its emergency. On the other hand, if it be admitted that the object is infinitely too important, and the means and resources of France much too powerful and abundant, to suffer a doubt to remain concerning the ultimate accomplishment of her views, in seizing on the whole of this extensive country: if we can suppose that (convinced at length, by painful experience, of the monstrous folly of suddenly emancipating barbarous men, and placing them at once in all the complicated relations of civil society) she will finally succeed in reducing the vast body of fugitive negroes to obedience; and in establishing security, subordination, and order, under a constitution of government suited to the actual condition of the various classes of the inhabitants:—if such shall be her good fortune, it will not require the endowment of prophecy to foretell the result. The middling, and who are commonly the most industrious, class of Planters, throughout every island in the West Indies, allured by the cheapness of the land and the superior fertility of the soil, will assuredly seek out settlements in St. Domingo; and a West Indian empire will fix itself in this noble island, to which, in a few short years, all the tropical possessions of Europe will be found subordinate and tributary. Placed in the centre of British and Spanish America, and situated to windward of those territories of either nation which are most valuable, while the commerce of both must exist only by its good pleasure, all the riches of Mexico will be wholly at its disposal.

Then

Then will the humbled Spaniard lament, when it is too late, the thoughtless and improvident surrender he has made, and Great Britain find leisure to reflect how deeply she is herself concerned in the consequences of it. The dilemma is awful, and the final issue known only to that omniscient Power, in whose hand is the fate of empires! But whatever the issue may be,—in all the varieties of fortune,—in all events and circumstances, whether prosperous or adverse,—it infinitely concerns both the people of Great Britain, and the inhabitants of the British colonies,—I cannot repeat it too often,—to derive admonition from the story before us. To Great Britain I would intimate, that if, disregarding the present example, encouragement shall continue to be given to the pestilent doctrines of those hot-brained fanatics, and detestable incendiaries, who, under the vile pretence of philanthropy and zeal for the interests of suffering humanity, preach up rebellion and murder to the contented and orderly negroes in our own territories, what else can be expected, but that the same dreadful scenes of carnage and desolation, which we have contemplated in St. Domingo, will be renewed among our countrymen and relations in the British West Indies? May God Almighty, of his infinite mercy, avert the evil! To the resident Planters I address myself with still greater solicitude; and, if it were in my power, I would exhort them, “with more than mortal voice,” to rise above the foggy atmosphere of local prejudices, and, by a generous surrender of temporary advantages, do that which the Parliament of Great Britain, in the pride and plenitude of imperial dominion, cannot effect, and ought not to attempt. I call on them, with the sincerity and the affection of a brother, of them-

CHAP.
XII.

selves to restrain, limit, and finally abolish the further introduction of enslaved men from Africa;—not indeed by measures of sudden violence and injustice, disregarding the many weighty and complicated interests which are involved in the issue; but by means which, though slow and gradual in their operation, will be sure and certain in their effect. The Colonial Legislatures, by their situation and local knowledge, are alone competent to this great and glorious task: and this example of St. Domingo, and the dictates of self-preservation like the hand-writing against the wall, warn them no longer to delay it! Towards the poor negroes over whom the statutes of Great Britain, the accidents of fortune, and the laws of inheritance, have invested them with power, their general conduct for the last twenty years (notwithstanding the foul calumnies with which they have been loaded) may court enquiry and bid defiance to censure. A perseverance in the same benevolent system, progressively leading the objects of it to civilization and mental improvement, preparatory to greater indulgence, is all that humanity can require; for it is all that prudence can dictate. Thus will the Planters prepare a shield of defence against their enemies, and secure to themselves that serenity and elevation of mind, which arise from an approving conscience; producing assurance in hope, and consolation in adversity. Their persecutors and slanderers in the meantime will be disregarded or forgotten; for calumny, though a great is a temporary evil, but truth and justice will prove triumphant and eternal!

The first two of the following TABLES were drawn up by order of the
Legislative Assembly of France, which met the 1st of October 1791.
and seem to have been intended to give a general view of the
of the Colony, and its Commerce, immediately before the breaking out
of the Revolution.

TABLEAU
Du Commerce et des Finances de la partie Françoise
de ST. DOMINGUE

1791.

The first Four of the following TABLES were drawn up by order of the Legislative Assembly of FRANCE, which met the 1st of October 1791, and seem to have been framed in the view of ascertaining the actual state of the Colony, and its Commerce, immediately before the breaking out of the rebellion of the Negroes in the Month of August of that Year. The totals will be found to differ, in some of the particulars, from the statement which has been given in the preceding pages. The difference arises partly from the actual change of circumstances, in the course of two years which intervened between the periods when each statement was made up, and partly, I am afraid, from errors and omissions of my own.

No. I.

Etat Général des Cultures et des Manufactures de la Partie Française de St Domingue.

CHEFS LIEUX OU JURISDICTIONS.	QUARTIERS OU PAROISSES.	Sucreries.		Cafeteries.	Cotonneries.	Indigoteries.	Tanneries.	Guidiveries.	Cacaoteries.	Fours à Chaux.	Briqueries et Poteries.	Nombre de Nègres.
		En blanc.	En brut.									
Partie du Nord.	Le Cap -	Le Cap et dépendances -	1	2	1	3	2	1	21,613			
		La petite Ance et la plaine du Nord -	43	7	37	1	5	2	3	11,122		
		L'Acul, Limonade et St ^e Suzanne -	52	4	157	3	6	9	1	19,576		
		Morin et la Grande Rivière -	35	1	255	2	1	5	5	18,554		
		Le Dondon et Marmelade -	1	1	216	1	1	1	32	2	17,376	
		A Limbé et Port Margot -	22	3	272	5	11	7	1	2	15,978	
	Plaisance et le Borgne -	1	1	324	2	4	1	3	5	15,018		
	Le Fort Dauphin	Le Fort Dauphin -	29	7	71	2	10	4	3	8	10,004	
		Ouanaminthe et Vallière -	25	2	151	1	2	4	3	3	9,987	
		Le Terrier rouge et le trou -	56	1	123	1	37	5	4	1	15,476	
Le Port de Paix	{ Le Port de Paix le petit St Louis - Jean Rabel et le gros Morne -	6	2	218	9	369	4	18	26	4	29,540	
Le Mole -	Le Mole et Bombarde -	1	1	31	14	15	1	1	1	3,183		
Partie de l' Ouest.	Port au Prince	Port au Prince et la Croix des Bouquets -	65	75	151	22	15	29	1	20	1	42,848
		L'Arcahaye -	11	36	62	24	48	11	23	5	18,553	
		Mirebalais -	3	1	27	19	322	1	2	5	10,902	
Léogane -	Léogane -	27	39	58	18	78	25	1	14	1	14,896	
St Marc -	{ St Marc, la petite Rivière - Les Verettes et les Gonaïves -	22	21	298	315	1,184	10	1	71	12	67,216	
	Le petit Goave -	{ Le petit Goave, le grand Goave, et le fonds des Nègres - L'Anse à Veau et le petit trou -	11	16	52	25	31	11	2	9	1	18,829
			6	11	11	7	85	7	1	9	2	13,229
Jérémie -	Jérémie et le Cap Dame Marie -	3	5	105	30	44	6	25	14	1	20,774	
Partie du Sud.	Les Cayes Le Cap Tiburon St Louis Jacmel	Les Cayes et Törbeck -	24	86	69	76	175	18	2	32	8	30,937
		Le Cap Tiburon et les Coteaux -	1	1	24	12	109	4	7	1	8,153	
		St Louis, Cavaillon et Aquin -	9	23	39	28	157	8	2	18	1	18,785
		Jacmel, les Cayes, et Baynel -	1	1	57	89	129	3	7	1	21,151	
Total	51 Paroisses -	451	341	2,810	705	3,097	3	173	69	313	61	455,000

No. II.

Etat des Denrées de St. Domingue exportées en France depuis le 1^{er} Janvier 1791 au
31 Déc^{re} inclusivement.

Départemens.	Sucre.		Café.	Coton.	Indigo.	Cuir.		Sirop.	Tafia.
	Blanc.	Brut.				en Poil.	Tannés.		
	Livres.	Livres.							
Partie du Nord.									
Le Cap - - -	43,864,552	1,517,489	29,367,382	—	195,099	2,006	6,975	10,654	—
Le Port Dauphin - - -	8,609,258	1,639,900	2,321,610	1,200	2,005	1,134	160	2,731	—
Le Port de Paix - - -	473,800	824,500	1,829,754	38,752	61,472	120	—	272	25
Le Mole - - -	22,500	105,680	294,550	29,236	6,294	31	—	84	6
Partie de l'Ouest.									
Le Port au Prince - - -	7,792,219	53,648,923	14,584,023	1,370,021	176,918	1,601	752	8,350	36
Léogane - - -	1,492,983	7,688,537	1,786,484	154,084	12,520	112	—	95	45
Saint Marc - - -	3,244,673	6,993,966	5,521,237	3,008,163	357,530	—	—	73	49
Le Petit Goave - - -	218,866	85,237	1,395,690	84,865	320	—	—	206	6
Jérémie - - -	19,804	476,445	4,453,331	189,194	1,075	100	—	—	—
Partie du Sud.									
Les Cayes - - -	4,375,627	18,984,425	1,843,403	720,770	105,456	67	—	6,938	136
Le Cap Tiburon - - -	63,150	278,500	305,740	34,325	1,954	—	—	99	—
St Louis - - -	2,000	9,600	90,706	42,497	2,064	—	—	—	—
Jacmel - - -	48,266	67,910	4,357,270	613,019	7,309	15	—	—	—
Total - - -	70,227,708	93,177,512	68,151,180	6,286,126	930,016	5,186	7,887	29,502	303

Valeur

No. II *continued.*

Valeur commune des Exportations et des Droits perçus dans la Colonie
sur toutes les Denrées.

Indication de la nature des Denrées.	Quantité en nature.	Estimation en raison du prix Commun.	Du 1 ^{er} Janvier 1791 au 31 ^{er} X ^{bre} de la même année.		Vendus en France.
			Valeur Commune.	Droits perçus.	
Sucre { Blanc ou terré - - - - -	70,227,708	Livres - à - - - 12	67,670,781	2,528,197	65,142,584
{ Brut - - - - -	93,177,512	Livres - à - - - 6	49,941,567	1,677,195	48,264,372
Café - - - - -	68,151,180	Livres - à - - - 16	51,890,748	1,226,720	50,664,028
Coton - - - - -	6,286, 26	Livres - à - - - 2	17,572,252	785,766	16,786,486
Indigo - - - - -	930,016	Livres - à - - - 7	10,875,120	465,008	10,410,112
Cacao - - - - -	150,000	Livres - à - - - 16	120,000	-	120,000
Sirap - - - - -	29,502	Boucauts - à - - 66	1,947,132	221,275	1,725,857
Tafia - - - - -	303	Bariques - à - - 72	21,816	1,821	19,995
Cuir Tannés - - - - -	7,887	Cotés - à - - 10	78,870	10,377	68,493
Cuir en poil - - - - -	5,186	Banettes - à - - 18	93,348	7,807	85,541
Caret (tortoise shell) - - - - -	5,000	Livres - à - - 10	50,000	-	50,000
Gayac, Acajou, et Campêche	1,500,000	Livres - à - Estimés	40,000	-	40,000
Total de la Valeur commune de toutes les Denrées - - - - -			200,301,634	6,924,166	193,377,468

Observation essentielle.

Toutes les sommes dont il est question dans ce tableau font Argent des Colonies. Le change y est à 33 $\frac{1}{2}$, et la Livre Tournois comptée pour une livre dix fous.

1^{er} Exemple.

Le montant des Exportations s'élève Argent des Colonies à la somme de - - - - -	200,301,634
Réduite Argent de France à - - - - -	133,534,423
Différence sur cet Article de - - - - -	<u>66,767,211</u>

2^{me} Exemple.

La totalité des denrées exportées, et vendues en France montent ensemble à la somme de - - - - -	193,377,468
Réduite en Livres Tournois à - - - - -	128,918,312
Différence sur cet Article de - - - - -	<u>64,459,156</u>

On obtiendra le même résultat article par article ayant l'attention de réduire le tiers sur chaque somme.

Valeur commune des Exportations et des Droits perçus dans la Colonie
sur toutes les Denrées.
No. III.

Apperçu des Richesses territoriales des habitations en grande Culture de la
Partie Française de St. Domingue.

Indication de la Nature des Capitaux.	Nombre.	Estimation particulière de chaque Objet en raison du prix moyen.	Evaluation des Capitaux.		Totalité de la Valeur Générale.
			En Terres, Bâtimens, et Plantations.	En Nègres et animaux employés à l'exploitation.	
Sucreries { en Blanc	451 à	230,000	103,730,000	—	103,730,000
en Brut	341 à	180,000	61,380,000	—	61,380,000
Cafeteries	2,810 à	20,000	56,200,000	—	56,200,000
Cotonneries	705 à	30,000	21,150,000	—	21,150,000
Indigoteries	3,097 à	30,000	92,910,000	—	92,910,000
Guildiveries	173 à	5,000	865,000	—	865,000
Cacaotières	69 à	4,000	275,000	—	275,000
Tanneries	3 à	100,000	480,000	—	480,000
Fours à Chaux, Briqueries et Poteries	374 à	15,000	5,510,000	—	5,510,000
Nègres anciens et nouveaux, grands et petits	455,000 à	2,500	—	1,137,500,000	1,137,500,000
Chevaux et Mulets	16,000 à	400	—	6,400,000	6,400,000
Bêtes à cornes	12,000 à	120	—	1,440,000	1,440,000
Total des Richesses employées à la Culture			342,500,000	1,145,340,000	1,487,840,000

RECETTES ET DEPENSES, &c.

R E C E T T E S.

DESIGNATION DES OBJETS.		Sommes.
Caisse de la Marine.		
1.	Restant en Caisse au 31 Décembre 1790	935,160
2.	Droits perçus sur les Denrées exportées de la Colonie en France pendant l'année 1789	6,924,166
	A déduire les appointemens des Réceveurs de l'Océroi et frais de Bureaux	34,200
		6,889,966
3.	Imposition pour la capitation des Esclaves	581,035
	A déduire les remises et modérations en faveur des Contribuables, cy	25,286
		555,749
		10,838,348
4.	Droits de 2 ½ pour C. sur les loyers des maisons	376,143
5.	Reçu de divers Débiteurs au Roi	229,403
6.	Loyers des Halles et maisons au profit de Sa Majesté	30,453
7.	Objets vendus dans les magasins des divers Départemens	139,324
8.	Reçu de divers pour journées employées à l'Hôpital	13,295
9.	Remboursemens des avances faites à divers	149,930
10.	Dépôt à charge de remboursemens	465,820
11.	Montant des Lettres de change tirées sur les Trésoriers et Munitonnaires Généraux	1,053,100
Caisse Générale.		
1.	Restant en Caisse au 31 Décembre 1790	159,886
2.	Reçu de divers Comptables en exercisé et à valoir sur les débits pendant les années 1787, 1788, et 1789	178,756
3.	Révenu de la ferme du bac du Cap.	87,500
4.	Révenu de la ferme des Postes	161,847
5.	Reçu des anciens Comptables, Fermiers, &c.	150,716
6.	Remboursement d'un Prêt fait à la Caisse Municipale	30,000
7.	Remboursement de celui fait à la Caisse de la Marine	49,042
8.	Loyer de la Salle de Spectacle au Port au Prince	2,000
9.	Remboursemens par divers Réceveurs des Droits domaniaux	30,400
10.	Reçu des Curateurs aux Successions vacantes	321,143
		1,171,290

DESIGNATION DES OBJETS.		Sommes.
Caisse des Libertés.		
1. Restant en Caisse au 31 Décembre 1790	- - -	51,642
2. Il a été versé dans cette Caisse pour l'affranchissement de 297 Esclaves pendant l'année 1790	- - -	547,892
3. Remboursemens de divers Débiteurs a cette Caisse	- - -	33,830
4. A compte sur le produit de la vente de divers Comestibles	- - -	21,542
		654,906
Caisse des Droits Domaniaux.		
1. Montant des Amendes	- - -	143,010
2. Nègres épaves vendus au profit du Roi	- - -	152,634
3. Successions à titre d'Aubaines, Bâtardises, &c.	- - -	318,444
4. Confiscations	- - -	51,343
5. Droits de 2 pour C ^t . sur le montant des ventes judiciaires	- - -	114,869
		780,300
Caisse de l'Entrepôt.		
1. Droit d'un pour C ^t . imposé sur les marchandises qui sont importées et exportées par le Commerce étranger	- - -	112,397
2. Droit de 3 ^l Tournis par quintal sur le bœuf salé introduit dans la Colonie par le Commerce étranger	- - -	42,378
3. Droits additionnels imposés par arrêt du Conseil de l'année 1786 et 1787	- - -	304,303
		459,078
Caisse des Confignations.		
1. Restant en Caisse au 31. Décembre 1790	- - -	82,500
2. Configné par divers ; dans la caisse du Trésorier principal des Colonies pendant le cours de l'année 1789, pour la sûreté de 68 Esclaves embarqués pour France	- - -	102,000
		184,500
Invalides et fonds d'Armemens.		
1. Recettes faites pendant l'année 1790 au profit des Invalides de la Marine	- - -	153,620
2. Montant des gages acquis aux équipages dont les bâtimens ont été desarmés dans la Colonie pendant les 9. derniers mois de 1789, et pendant l'année 1790	- - -	430,972
		584,592
Total de la Recette	- - -	14,673,014
		14,673,014

DEPENSES.

No. IV. *continued.*

D E P E N S E S.

DESIGNATION DES OBJETS.		Sommes.
Caisse de la Marine.		
1.	Traitemens et Appointemens des Officiers de l'Etat Major général, et particuliers des Places	580,000
2.	Officiers de l'Administration	670,000
3.	Conseils et Jurisdiccions	710,000
4.	Officiers de Santé	183,547
5.	Appointemens et Soldes des Troupes	1,206,003
6.	Subsistences et Fournitures relatives aux Troupes	293,656
7.	Journées d'Hôpital	606,478
8.	Fortifications et entretiens des Bâtimens publics	917,560
9.	Achâts des matériaux nécessaires à la construction des Edifices publics	851,193
10.	Entretiens des Bâtimens de Mer sur l'Isle de la Gonave	90,635
11.	Aux Entrepreneurs des Hôpitaux	196,000
12.	A divers pour fournitures de Riz et de Biscuit	120,000
13.	Dépenses pour les chemins de communication	586,102
14.	A divers Entrepreneurs de maçonnerie, charpente, &c.	235,061
15.	Frais de voyages et avaries de mer.	142,064
16.	Remboursemens à la Caisse générale des Invalides	511,520
17.	A divers pour loyers des maisons, magasins, &c.	233,679
18.	Dépense faite par les vaisseaux de S. M. en Station dans la Colonie	1,204,650
19.	Frais de transports, journées d'Ouvriers, &c.	119,720
		9,448,168
Caisse Générale.		
1.	Traitemens et gages assignés sur cette Caisse	202,775
2.	A divers Entrepreneurs des Canaux, Fontaines, &c.	229,403
3.	Payé aux Héritiers et Créanciers des Successions vacantes	192,794
4.	Payé à la décharge de la Caisse des Biens domaniaux	397,109
5.	Indemnités et gratifications à divers	409,575
		1,131,656
Caisse des Libertés.		
1.	Pensions aux Peres et Meres de 10 à 12 enfans	71,765
2.	Dépense pour l'achèvement des remblais du quay du Roi	72,731
3.	Travaux relatifs au chemin de Jacmel	86,621
4.	Jardin du Roi au Port au Prince et Plantes d'Asie	50,912
5.	Travaux faits au Cap	70,464
6.	Entretiens et constructions des Fontaines publiques	101,896
7.	Abrévoirs et Lavoirs publics	65,058
8.	A divers pour transports des comestibles	90,951
9.	Dons et gratifications assignés sur cette Caisse	40,956
		651,354

DESIGNATION DES OBJETS.		Sommes.
Caisse des Droits domaniaux.		
1. Traitemens et gages des employés, remboursemens des amandes, taxations de Témoins, et frais de voyages	482,550	} 702,380
2. Réclamation des Epaves vendus au profit du Roi	46,521	
3. Frais de justice applicables au produit des Successions vacantes	160,848	
4. Payé aux dénonciateurs, sur le produit des confiscations pour fait de Commerce interlope	12,461	
Caisse de l'Entrepôt.		
1. Traitemens des Directeurs, Receveurs et Employés des Bureaux	112,397	} 459,070
2. Rembursemens à divers pour les marchandises ré-exportées	2,028	
3. Verfé dans la Caisse de la Marine à titre de Dépôt	344,653	
Caisse des Consignations.		
1. Rembursemens à divers consignataires pour le retour dans la Colonie de 53 Esclaves embarqués pour la France	79,500	} 81,000
2. Frais relatifs à cette comptabilité	1,500	
Invalides et Fonds d'Armemens.		
1. Montant des remises à faire à la Caisse Générale des Invalides	153,620	} 584,592
2. Remises faites dans les differents Ports pour les gages acquis aux équipages pour les Désarmemens	430,972	
Montant des Fonds non consommés au 31 Décembre 1791.		
Par la Caisse de la Marine	1,493,674	} 1,614,886
Par la Caisse Générale	39,634	
Par la Caisse des Libertés	3,659	
Par la Caisse des Droits domaniaux	77,919	
Somme pareille à la Recette	14,673,014	14,673,014

No. IV. *continued.*Rélévé Général des Dettes actives et passives de St. Domingue au
31 X^{bre} 1791.

Dettes actives en faveur des diverses Caisses.

Indication de la nature des Créances.	Montant de la Créance publique.	Recouvrements faits		Sommes dues en 1791.
		en 1789.	en 1790.	
1. Sommes dues à la Caisse de la Marine par promesses, obligations, &c.	6,576,838	633,221	229,403	5,714,214
2. Sommes dues par divers Contribuables	2,514,465	483,701	376,143	1,654,621
3. Avances faites par la Colonie en faveur des Troupes et des Escadres alliées	3,385,917	3,182,804	—	203,113
4. Débits de comptes ou arrearages des Fermes	1,471,511	546,433	103,618	821,460
5. Sommes dues par divers particuliers	978,299	101,579	73,999	802,721
Total de la Créance publique de la Colonie	14,927,030	4,947,738	783,163	9,196,129

Dettes passives à la charge de diverses Caisses.

Indication de la nature des Dettes.	Montant de la Dette publique.	Payements faits		Sommes à payer en 1791.
		en 1789.	en 1790.	
1. Il est dû à l'Entrepreneur des Travaux du Roi dans la Partie du Nord	3,141,265	1,446,814	334,451	1,360,000
2. Il est dû à divers Fournisseurs, Entrepreneurs, Propriétaires et autres, tant pour Soldes d'entreprises, que pour avances par eux faites dans la partie de l'Ouest	1,140,530	1,070,072	70,458	
3. Il est dû à divers Entrepreneurs, Fournisseurs, &c. dans la Partie du Sud	543,220	533,889	7,395	1,936
4. Il est dû aux Etats Majors des divers Bâtimens du Roi	117,401	88,341	29,060	
Total de la Dette publique de la Colonie	4,942,416	3,139,116	441,364	1,361,936

ADDITIONAL TABLES, containing Information not
 comprehended in the preceding; collected by the Author
 when at Cape François.

No. V.

TRADE of the French Part of ST. DOMINGO with Old France.

IMPORTS for the Year 1783.

Quantity.	Nature of Goods.	Amount in Hispaniola Currency.
		Liv.
186,759	Barrels of Flour, — —	12,271,247
1,366	Quintals of Biscuit, — —	38,684
3,309	Ditto - - Cheefe, — —	217,450
2,044	Ditto - - Wax Candles, — —	602,010
27,154	Ditto - - Soap, — —	1,589,985
16,896	Ditto - - Tallow Candles, — —	1,479,510
20,762	Ditto - - Oil, — —	1,973,750
1,359	Ditto - - Tallow, — —	55,770
121,587	Casks of Wine, — —	13,610,960
7,020	Cases of D°, — —	584,770
5,732	Casks of Beer, — —	328,175
6,174	Hampers of Beer, — —	157,380
10,375	Cases of Cordials, — —	340,070
6,937	Ankers of Brandy, — —	140,238
2,284	Ditto of Vinegar, — —	23,784
19,457	Baskets of Aniseed Liquor, — —	254,398
5,999	Quintals of Vegetables, — —	322,130
14,613	Cases of preserved Fruit, — —	320,477
2,486	Quintals of Cod Fish, — —	85,607
1,308	Ditto - - Salt Fish, — —	26,700
17,219	Ditto - - Butter, — —	1,650,150
24,261	Ditto - - Salt Beef, — —	998,300
14,732	Ditto - - Salt Pork, — —	1,101,395
4,351	Ditto - - Ditto, — —	376,560
1,627	Ditto - - Hams, — —	177,340
	Dry Goods, viz. Linens, Wool- lens, Silks, Cottons, and Manu- factures of all kinds, — —	39,008,600
	Sundry other Articles, valued at — —	8,685,600
	Amount of all the Goods imported	86,414,040

These

No. V. continued.

These Importations were made in 580 Vessels, measuring together 189,679 Tons, or by Average $325 \frac{1}{2}$ Tons each Vessel; viz.

224	from Bourdeaux.	3	from Harfleur.
129	from Nantes.	2	from Cherbourg.
90	from Marseilles.	2	from Croific.
80	from Havre de Grace.	1	from Dieppe.
19	from Dunkirk.	1	from Rouen.
11	from St. Malo.	1	from Granville.
10	from Bayonnæ.	1	from Cette.
5	from La Rochelle.	1	from Rhedon.

Add to the 580 Vessels from France, 98 from the Coast of Africa, and the French Part of Hispaniola will be found to have employed 678 Vessels belonging to France in the year 1788.

No. VI.

Foreign TRADE in 1788 (exclusive of the Spanish.)

Imported by Foreigners (Spaniards excepted) to the Amount of	-	-	-	6,821,707 Livres.
Exported by the same	-	-	-	4,409,922
Difference	-	-	-	<u>2,411,785</u>

N. B. This Trade employed 763 small Vessels, measuring 55,745 Tons. The Average is 73 Tons each. Vessels from North America (American built) are comprehended in it; but there were also employed in the North American Trade 45 French Vessels, measuring 3,475 Tons (the Average 77 Tons each), which exported to North America Colonial Products, Value 525,571 Livres. And imported in return Goods to the Amount of 465,081

Difference	-	-	-	<u>60,490</u>
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Spanish

208—212 : ADDITIONAL TABLES.

No. VI. *continued.*

Spanish TRADE in 1788.

259 Spanish Vessels, measuring 15,417 Tons, or 59 Tons each, imported to the Amount of (chiefly Bullion) - 9,717,113
 And exported Negro Slaves, and Goods, chiefly European Manufactures, to the Amount of - 5,587,515

Difference - - - 4,129,598

N. B. This is exclusive of the inland Trade with the Spaniards, of which there is no Account.

No. VII.

AFRICAN TRADE.

NEGROES imported into the French Part of HISPANIOLA, in 1788.

Ports of Importation.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Amount.	Num. of Vessels.
Port au Prince	4,732	2,256	764	541	8,293	24
St. Marc - -	1,665	645	230	60	2,600	8
Léogane - -	1,652	798	469	327	3,246	9
Jérémie - -	88	75	23	18	204	1
Cayes - -	1,624	872	1,245	849	4,590	19
Cape François	5,913	2,394	1,514	752	10,573	37
	15,674	7,040	4,245	2,547	29,506	98

In 1787, 30,839 Negroes were imported into the French Part of St. Domingo.

The 29,506 Negroes imported in 1788, were sold for 61,936,190 Livres (Hispaniola Currency) which on an average is 2,099 liv. 2s. each, being about £. 60. sterling.

ADDITIONAL

ADDITIONAL NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHAP. I. p. II.

THIS applies equally to all the European Colonies in America, and accordingly the actual condition of the Negroes in all those colonies, to whatever nation they belong, is, I believe, nearly the same, &c.

CHAP. I.

p. II.

THIS is meant, however, rather as a *general* observation, than a precise and accurate statement applicable to all cases. *Habit* alone has so great an influence in national manners, as on some occasions to counteract the plainest dictates of self-interest. The Dutch, for instance, are, as I have heard, *habitually* a cruel and unfeeling people. The state of slavery, therefore, in Surinam, differs probably, in many respects, from the same condition of life both in the British and Spanish West Indies. Among the Spaniards the superstitious observances of the Romish Church co-operate with the slothful disposition of the white inhabitants, to produce a great relaxation of discipline. On the other hand, the Dutch disregard all religious festivals, and abhor idleness. These cases, however, are the opposite extremes.

E e

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

p. 16.

CHAP. II. p. 16.

The Society in France called Amis des Noirs, was, I believe, originally formed on the model of a similar Association in London, &c.

SINCE the foregoing sheets were printed, I have met with a work published this present year (1796) at Paris, entitled, *Reflexions sur la Colonie de St. Domingue*; the following passage from which is given, as a striking illustration of the foregoing observation: speaking of the discussions which arose in the British Parliament about the year 1789, concerning the Slave Trade, the author continues thus: Les idées Anglaises furent un brandon lancé au milieu de matières combustibles, et elles furent accueillies en France avec autant de fureur qu'on en mettait précédemment à adopter ses ridicules et la forme de ses vêtemens. Toute raison de convenance et d'intérêt national fut foulée aux pieds; on se précipita dans le piège grossier tendu à l'ignorance et à la présomption, et l'on ne parut plus animé que par la crainte d'être précédé par ses rivaux dans ce nouveau champ de gloire. Soit que les imaginations malades ou fortement ébranlées, se repaissent plus volontiers de chimères que de réalité, soit que des agens secrets fussent chargés de donner direction à l'amour violent de la nouveauté, les cœurs resterent secs & insensibles au spectacle de la misère dont les yeux étoient journellement frappés, pour ne s'occuper exclusivement que de
maux

maux imaginaires ou éloignés, et sur lesquels on n'avoit que des idées vagues. Tous les maux de l'humanité furent l'ouvrage des intrigans, de ces hommes mille fois plus funestes à la société que les brigands le plus féroces, &c.

CHAP. II.

p. 16.

Reflexions sur la Colonie de St. Domingue, tom. i. p. 72.

CHAP. III. p. 31.

CHAP. III.

p. 31.

All that can be urged in extenuation, seems to be that the circumstances of the case were novel, and the Members of the Colonial Assembly unexperienced in the business of legislation, &c.

A MOST able and elaborate defence of the Colonial Assembly was drawn up by one of its Members (Mr. de Pons) and published at Paris in November 1790, wherein (as far as general rules will admit) the relation in which the Colony stood to the Mother Country, and the rights that distinctly appertained to each party, consistently with that due subordination which was due from the child to the parent, was clearly, and (with one or two exceptions) I think very accurately defined. I shall present the reader with an extract from this performance, not only as illustrating the case of St. Domingo, but as furnishing some hints which the government and colonies of Great Britain may not find unworthy attention, if unhappily disputes shall hereafter arise between them, concerning the extents of jurisdiction on the one hand, and the obligation to obedience on the other.

Un

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p. 31.

Un principe d'où sont émanés tous les travaux de l'Assemblée de la Colonie, fut généralement adopté par tous ses Membres, c'est que les Colonies ne doivent intéresser la Métropole, qu'en proportion des avantages qu'elles lui procurent. Cette considération dû acquérir, dans l'esprit de tous les Colons, un caractère de légalité à tous les moyens qui pouvoient assurer la prospérité de la Colonie, & augmenter ses rapports avec la mère-patrie.

Il auroit été sans doute à souhaiter, & il le seroit bien plus encore, qu'une même Loi pût convenir à tous les climats, à toute espèce de mœurs, à toutes les populations; mais malheureusement les hommes ne sont pas les mêmes par-tout; telle Loi qui convient dans un endroit, seroit nuisible dans un autre.

L'Assemblée générale envisagea donc la Constitution de Saint-Domingue sous trois rapports, toujours dirigés d'après son intérêt de rester unie à la Métropole, & d'après la révolution de l'empire.

- 1°. Comme faisant partie intégrante de l'empire François.
- 2°. Comme obligée de concourir par ses productions à la prospérité de l'Etat.
- 3°. Comme assujettie par la dissemblance de son climat, de ses mœurs & de sa population, à des besoins particuliers & différens de ceux de la Métropole.

DIVISION DE LA CONSTITUTION DE SAINT-DOMINGUE.

CHAP. III.

p. 31.

Ces divers rapports firent diviser la Constitution convenable à Saint-Domingue,

En Loix générales ;

En Loix communes,

Et en Loix particulières.

LOIX GENERALES.

Les Loix générales de l'empire, celles qui intéressent tous les François, dans quelque coin de la terre qu'ils soient placés, furent considérées comme obligatoires pour les Colonies, sans aucun examen, sans aucune restriction.

Ces Loix sont : la forme du Gouvernement, le sort de la Couronne, la réconnoissance du Monarque, les Déclarations de guerre, les Traités de paix, l'organisation générale de la Police & de la Justice, &c. &c. L'intérêt des Colonies se trouvant à cet égard confondu avec celui de toute la Nation, l'Assemblée Nationale a seule le droit de décréter ces Loix.

LOIX COMMUNES.

Les Loix communes sont celles qui ont rapport aux relations de la Métropole avec les Colonies ; c'est un contrat par lequel la France s'oblige de protéger & défendre les Colonies contre les puissances étrangères, de l'ambition desquelles elles devien-
droient l'objet. Cette protection ne devant ni ne pouvant être

F f

gratuite,

CHAP. III. gratuite, les Colonies doivent en dédommager l'Etat par les
 } P. 31. avantages du Commerce. Délà, le régime prohibitif dans les
 fers duquel la destinée les a condamnés à rester toujours ; &
 quel que soit le degré de liberté dont jouisse la Nation, les Co-
 lonies seront toujours esclaves du Commerce. C'est une posi-
 tion politique absolument inhérente à leur position physique,
 elles n'en laissent pas échapper le moindre murmure ; elles fa-
 vent bien que leur qualité de François ne leur donne pas de
 droit sur les deniers de l'Etat ; elles consentent donc à ne récé-
 voir que de la France tous les objets de consommation que ses
 Manufactures & son sol peuvent fournir ; elles souscrivent en-
 core à l'obligation de n'envoyer leurs denrées qu'en France.
 Ce qu'elles demandent, ce qu'on ne peut leur refuser, c'est qu'en
 consacrant ces conventions fondamentales, les abus que le ré-
 gime prohibitif entraîne après lui soient détruits.

LOIX PARTICULIERES OU REGIME INTERIEUR.

LES Loix particulières sont celles qui n'intéressent que les
 Colonies. De grands motifs ont porté la Colonie de Saint-
 Domingue à s'en réserver la formation : 1°. il est bien reconnu
 que les Loix de Saint-Domingue ne peuvent être faites ailleurs
 que dans son sein ; cette vérité fondamentale a échappé à son
 ennemi le plus cruel. M. la Luzerne, dans son mémoire pré-
 senté à l'Assemblée Nationale, le 27 Octobre 1789, (N°. 2.)
 disoit que les Colonies n'ont jamais pu être régies par les mêmes
 Loix que le Royaume, & qu'il a fallu toujours conférer le pou-
 voir à deux Administrateurs de faire les Loix locales, parce qu'il

est une infinité de convenances qu'on ne peut connoître que sur les lieux.

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Ce que l'Assemblée générale s'est réservée n'est donc que la portion du pouvoir législatif qui résidoit, contre le droit des hommes, dans les mains de deux fatrapes, que la Colonie n'intéresse que par les richesses qu'ils en retirent pendant leur triennat.

2°. Il est contraire aux principes constitutionnels, que celui qui fait la Loi n'y soit point assujetti.

Tous les hommes ont le droit de concourir à la formation de la Loi à laquelle ils sont assujettis ; mais nul ne peut concourir à la formation de celle qui ne l'assujettit pas.

Ce principe, seul égide de la liberté individuelle, seul garant de la bienfaisance de la Loi, n'a pas permis aux Colons de Saint-Domingue de douter que l'Assemblée Nationale, dispensatrice des bienfaits régénérateurs, n'approuvât cette disposition qui assure la prospérité de Saint-Domingue.

En effet, il ne peut pas en être des Loix locales des Sections éloignées de l'Empire, comme des Loix qui n'intéressent que la France.

La Loi décrétée pour le Royaume est la même pour tous les Cantons. L'universalité des Députés de l'Assemblée Nationale est intéressée à en examiner scrupuleusement tous les rapports, à en considérer tous les avantages & tous les inconvéniens. De sorte que l'intérêt que tous ont à ce que la Loi, du vice de la-

CHAP. III. quelle ils seroient eux-mêmes les victimes, ne soit que le fruit
 p. 31. d'une longue méditation, & de réflexions longuement & soigneusement discutées, en assure la sagesse.

Les Loix particulières de Saint-Domingue n'assujettissant que les habitans qui y résident ou qui y ont leurs fortunes, n'intéressent dans l'Assemblée Nationale que les douze Députés des Colonies.

3°. Une des conditions essentielles, à la bonté de la Loi, est que celui qui la fait, connoisse parfaitement les rapports qui doivent la constituer. Or, nul ne peut connoître les particularités locales que celui qui est sur les lieux, parce que ces mêmes particularités changent & varient ; & il faut que la Loi soit faite, d'après ces changemens, d'après ces variations.

4°. Il est bien constant que les liens de la Société sont les pouvoirs établis pour en faire exécuter les conditions.

Le bonheur de toute constitution dépend absolument d'une action égale dans ces différens pouvoirs ; c'est cette égalité seule qui en maintient l'équilibre.

Il faut nécessairement qu'il existe à Saint-Dominique un pouvoir exécutif ; car le malheur des Sociétés veut que la raison n'aille jamais en politique qu'à côté de la force. Si ce pouvoir n'est balancé par aucun autre, il finira par tout envahir, & par substituer l'oppression aux bienfaits de la régénération à laquelle la révolution actuelle donne à tous les François le droit de prétendre. Il ne peut donc être contenu dans ses bornes que par une

une masse proportionnée de pouvoir législatif, dont il ait à redouter la surveillance.

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5°. LES principes de l'Assemblée Nationale s'opposent à ce qu'elle décrète la Constitution particulière de Saint-Domingue. Celle de la France a pour base la liberté, l'égalité; celle de Saint-Domingue repose malheureusement sur la servitude, & une distinction de classes, d'où dépend la conservation de cette superbe Colonie. Tous les raisonnemens possibles échoueront contre cette vérité.

Ces différentes observations, bien analysées dans l'Assemblée générale, la rassurèrent sur la crainte qu'elle avoit de ne point se trouver d'accord avec les principes de l'Assemblée Nationale, & de prêter à la calomnie le prétexte d'inculper ses intentions.

Les différens Membres de l'Assemblée générale étoient bien éloignés de prévoir que l'heureuse révolution qui a porté la joie & l'enthousiasme dans les cœurs de tous les François, finiroit par porter à Saint-Domingue le deuil & la désolation. Qu'importe à la France, quelque soit notre régime domestique, pourvu qu'il tende à augmenter les productions de la Colonie? pourvu que nous soyons assujettis aux Loix générales de l'Empire? pourvu que nous respections les rapports commerciaux? pourvu que nous regardions la sujétion de ne traiter qu'avec la France, comme un juste dédommagement de la protection & des secours qu'elle nous accorde? pourvu que nous exécutions les Décrets de l'Assemblée Nationale, en tout ce qui n'est point contraire aux localités.

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Il importe à la France que nous soyons heureux, que nous consommions les denrées & les marchandises qu'elle peut nous fournir, & que nous lui envoyions en échange beaucoup de sucre, de café, d'indigo, de coton, de cacao, &c. Enfin, il lui importe que la Constitution de Saint-Domingue soit telle, qu'elle unisse pour jamais cette Colonie à la Métropole, & qu'elle concoure, par ses richesses, à la prospérité de l'Etat.

D'après ces réflexions, simples & vraies, l'Assemblée générale de Saint-Domingue posa ses bases constitutionnelles dans son Décret du 28 Mai (N^o. 3.)

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CHAP. IV. p. 49.

Suppressed it certainly was, and the miserable Oge hurried to immediate execution, as if to prevent the further communication and full disclosure of so weighty a secret.

THIS is a very remarkable fact, and leads to most serious reflections concerning the conduct of the French loyalists in St. Domingo; I shall therefore present the reader with Oge's dying declaration at length, as copied *verbatim* from the public records, when the disclosure was made nine months afterwards to the Colonial Assembly.

TESTAMENT

TESTAMENT DE MORT D'OGÉ.

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p. 49.

EXTRAIT des minutes du Conseil Supérieur du Cap, l'an mil sept cent quatre-vingt-onze et le neuf mars, nous Antoine-Etienne Ruotte, conseiller du roi, doyen au Conseil Supérieur du Cap, et Marie-François Pourchereffe de Vertieres, aussi conseiller du roi au Conseil Supérieur du Cap, commissaires nommés par la cour, à l'effet de faire exécuter l'arrêt de ladite cour, du 5 du présent mois, portant condamnation de mort contre le nommé Jacques Ogé, dit Jacquot, quarteron libre ; lequel, étant en la chambre criminelle, et après lecture faite dudit arrêt, en ce qui le concerne, a dit et déclaré, pour la décharge de sa conscience, serment préalablement par lui prêté, la main levée devant nous, de dire vérité.

Que dans le commencement du mois de février dernier, si les rivières n'avoient pas été débordées, il devoit se faire un attroupe-ment de gens de couleur, qui devoient entraîner avec eux les ateliers, et devoient venir fondre sur la ville du Cap en nombre très-considérable ; qu'ils étoient même déjà réunis au nombre de onze mille hommes ; que le débordement des rivières est le seul obstacle qui les a empêchés de se réunir ; cette quantité d'hommes de couleur étant composée de ceux du Mirebalais, de l'Artibonite, du Limbe, d'Ouanaminthe, de la Grande-Rivière, et généralement de toute la Colonie. Qu'à cette époque, il étoit parti du Cap cent hommes de couleur pour se joindre à cette troupe. Que l'accusé est assuré que les auteurs de cette révolte sont les Declains, négres libres de la Grande-Rivière,

au

CHAP. IV. au procès; Dumas, n. l.; Yvon, n. l.; Bitozin, m. l. espagnol; Pierre Godard et Jean-Baptiste, son frère, n. l. de la Grande-Rivière; Legrand Mazeau et Toussaint Mazeau, n. l.; Pierre Mauzi, m. l.; Ginga Lapaire, Charles Lamadiou, les Sabourins, Jean Pierre Goudy, Joseph Lucas, mulâtres libres; Maurice, n. l.; tous accusés au procès.

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Que les grands moteurs, au bas de la côte, sont les nommés Daguin, accusé au procès; Rebel, demeurant au Mirebalais; Pinchinat, accusé au procès; Labastille, également accusé au procès; et que l'accusé, ici présent, croit devoir nous déclarer être un des plus ardents partisans de la révolte, qui a mu en grande partie celle qui a éclaté dans les environs de Saint-Marc, et qui cherche à en exciter une nouvelle; qu'il y a dans ce moment plusieurs gens de couleur, dans différens quartiers, bien résolus à tenir à leurs projets, malgré que ceux qui trempoient dans la révolte perdroient la vie; que l'accusé, ici présent, ne peut pas se ressouvenir du nom de tous; mais qu'il se rappelle que le fils de Laplace, q. l.; dont lui accusé a vu la sœur dans les prisons, a quitté le Limbé pour aller faire des récrues dans le quartier d'Ouanaminthe; et que ces récrues et ces soulevemens de gens de couleur sont soutenus ici par la présence des nommés Fleury et l'Hirondelle Viard, députés des gens de couleur auprès de l'assemblée nationale; que lui accusé, ici présent, ignore si les députés se tiennent chez eux; qu'il croit que le nommé Fleury se tient au Mirebalais, et le nommé l'Hirondelle Viard dans le quartier de la Grande-Rivière.

Que

Que lui accusé, ici présent, déclare que l'insurrection des révoltés existe dans les souterrains qui se trouvent entre la Crête à Marcan et le Canton du Giromon, paroisse de la Grande-Rivière; qu'en conséquence, si lui accusé pouvoit être conduit sur les lieux, il se feroit fort de prendre les chefs des révoltés; que l'agitation dans laquelle il se trouve, relativement à sa position actuelle, ne lui permet pas de nous donner des détails plus circonstanciés; qu'il nous les donnera par la suite, lorsqu'il sera un peu plus tranquille; qu'il lui vient en ce moment à l'esprit que le nommé Castaing, mulâtre libre de cette dépendance; ne se trouve compris en aucune manière dans l'affaire actuelle; mais que lui accusé, nous assure que si son frère Ogé eût suivi l'impulsion dudit Castaing, il se feroit porté à de bien plus grandes extrémités; qui est tout ce qu'il nous a dit pouvoir nous déclarer dans ce moment, dont lui avons donné acte, qu'il a signé avec nous et le greffier.

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Signé à la minute J. OGE', RUOTTE, POURCHERESSE
DE VERTIERES, et LANDAIS, greffier.

EXTRAIT des minutes du greffe du Conseil Supérieur du Cap, l'an mil sept cent quatre-vingt-onze, le dix mars, trois heures de relevée, en la chambre criminelle, nous Antoine-Etienne Ruotte, conseiller du roi, doyen du Conseil Supérieur du Cap, et Marie-François-Joseph de Vertieres, aussi conseiller du roi audit Conseil Supérieur du Cap, commissaires nommés par la cour, suivant arrêt de ce jour, rendu sur les conclusions du procureur général du roi de ladite cour, à l'effet de procéder au recolement de la déclaration faite par le nommé Jacques Ogé, q. l.;

G g

lequel,

CHAP. IV. lequel, après serment par lui fait, la main levée devant nous de
 P. 49. dire la vérité, et après lui avoir fait lecture, par le greffier, de la
 déclaration du jour d'hier, l'avons interpellé de nous déclarer si
 ladite déclaration contient vérité, s'il veut n'y rien ajouter, n'y
 diminuer, et s'il y persiste.

A répondu que ladite déclaration du jour d'hier contient vérité, qu'il y persiste, et qu'il y ajoute que les deux Didiers frères, dont l'un plus grand que l'autre, mulâtres ou quarterons libres, ne les ayant vu que cette fois; Jean-Pierre Gerard, m. l. du Cap, et Caton, m. l. aussi du Cap, sont employés à gagner les ateliers de la Grande-Rivière, qu'ils sont ensemble de jour, et que de nuit ils sont dispersés.

Ajoute encore que lors de sa confrontation avec Jacques Lucas, il a été dit par ce dernier, que lui accusé, ici présent, favoit menacé de le faire pendre; à quoi, lui accusé, a répondu audit Jacques Lucas, qu'il devoit savoir pourquoi que ledit Jacques Lucas n'ayant pas insisté, lui accusé n'a pas déclaré le motif de cette menace, pour ne pas perdre ledit Jacques Lucas; qu'il nous déclare les choses comme elles se sont passées; que ledit Lucas lui ayant dit qu'il avoit soulevé les ateliers de M. Bonamy et de divers autres habitans de la Grande-Rivière, pour aller égorger l'armée chez M. Cardineau; qu'au premier coup de corne, il étoit sûr que ces ateliers s'attrouperoient et se joindroient à la troupe des gens de couleur; alors lui accusé, tenant aux blancs, fut révolté de cette barbarie, et dit au nommé Jacques Lucas, que l'auteur d'un pareil projet méritoit d'être pendu; qu'il eût à l'instant à faire rentrer les nègres qu'il avoit apposé
 dans

dans différens coins avec des cornes ; que lui accusé, ici présent, nous déclare qu'il a donné audit Lucas trois pomponelles de tafia, trois bouteilles de vin et du pain ; qu'il ignoroit l'usage que ledit Lucas en faisoit ; que la troisième fois que ledit Lucas en vint chercher ; lui accusé, ici présent, lui ayant demandé ce qu'il faisoit de ces boissons et vivres ; ledit Lucas répondit que c'étoit pour les nègres qu'il avoit dispersé de côté et d'autre ; que ce qui prouve que ledit Lucas avoit le projet de soulever les nègres esclaves contre les blancs, et de faire égorger ces derniers par les premiers ; c'est la proposition qu'il fit à Vincent Ogé, frère de lui accusé, de venir sur l'habitation de lui Jacques Lucas, pour être plus a portée de se joindre aux nègres qu'il avoit débauché ; que si lui accusé n'a pas révélé ces faits à sa confrontation avec ledit Jacques Lucas, c'est qu'il s'est apperçu qu'ils n'étoient pas connus, et qu'il n'a pas voulu le perdre ; qu'il a du moins la satisfaction d'avoir détourné ce crime horrible et cannibale ; qu'il s'étoit réservé de révéler en justice, lors de son élargissement ; que ce même Lucas est celui qui a voulu couper la tête a deux blancs prisonniers, et notamment au sieur Belisle, pour lui avoir enlevé une femme ; que Pierre Roubert ôta le sabre des mains de Jacques Lucas, et appella Vincent Ogé, frère de lui accusé, ici présent, qui fit des rémontrances audit Lucas ; que cependant ces prisonniers ont déclarés en justice que c'étoit lui accusé qui avoit eu ce dessein ; que même à la confrontation ils le lui ont soutenu ; mais que le fait s'étant passé de nuit, lesdits prisonniers ont pris, lui accusé, pour ledit Lucas, tandis que lui accusé n'a cessé de les combler d'honnêtetés ; qu'à la confrontation, lui accusé a cru qu'il étoit suffisant de dire que ce n'étoit pas lui, et d'affirmer qu'il n'avoit jamais connu cette femme ; mais qu'aujourd'

CHAP. IV. hui il se croyoit obligé, pour la décharge de sa conscience, de nous rendre les faits tels qu'ils sont, et d'insister à jurer qu'il ne l'a jamais connue.

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Ajoute l'accusé que le nommé Fleury et Periffe; le premier, l'un des députés des gens de couleur près de l'assemblée nationale, sont arrivés en cette Colonie par un bâtiment Bordelais avec le nommé l'Hirondelle Viard; que le capitaine a mis les deux premiers à Acquin, chez un nommé Dupont, homme de couleur; et le nommé l'Hirondelle Viard, également député des gens de couleur, au Cap. Ajoute encore l'accusé, qu'il nous avoit déclaré, le jour d'hier, que le nommé Laplace, dont le père est ici dans les prisons, faisant des récrues à Ouanaminthe, est du nombre de ceux qui ont marché du Limbé contre le Cap; que pour éloigner les soupçons, il est allé au Port-Margot, où il s'est tenu caché plusieurs jours, feignant d'avoir une fluxion; que ledit Laplace père a dit, à lui accusé, qu'il étoit sûr que son voisin, qui est un blanc, ne déposera pas contre lui, malgré qu'il sache toutes ses démarches; qu'il étoit assuré que le nommé Girardeau, détenu en prison, ne déclareroit rien, parce qu'il étoit trop son ami pour le découvrir; qu'en suite, s'il le dénonçoit, il seroit forcé d'en dénoncer beaucoup d'autres, tant du Limbé que des autres quartiers.

Observe l'accusé que lorsqu'il nous a parlé des moyens employés par Jacques Lucas pour soulever les nègres esclaves, il a omis de nous dire que Pierre Maury avait envoyé une trentaine d'esclaves chez Lucas; que lui accusé, avec l'agrément d'Ogé le jeune, son frère, les renvoya, ce qui occasionna une plainte générale, les gens de couleur disant que c'étoit du renfort; que lui
accusé

accusé eut même à cette occasion une rixe avec le plus grand des Didiers, avec lequel il manqua de se battre au pistolet, pour vouloir lui soutenir qu'étant libre et cherchant à être assimilé aux blancs, il n'étoit pas fait pour être assimilé aux nègres esclaves; que d'ailleurs soulevant les esclaves, c'étoit détruire les propriétés des blancs, et qu'en les détruisant, ils détruisoient les leurs propres; que depuis que lui accusé étoit dans les prisons, il a vu un petit billet écrit par ledit Pierre Maury à Jean-François Teffier, par lequel il lui marque qu'il continue à ramasser, et que le nègre nommé Coquin, à la dame veuve Castaing aînée, armé d'une paire de pistolet garni en argent et d'une manchette que ledit Maury lui a donné, veille à tout ce qui se passe, et rend compte tous les soirs audit Maury; qui est tout ce que l'accusé, ici présent, nous déclare, en nous conjurant d'être persuadés que, s'il lui étoit possible d'obtenir miséricorde, il s'exposeroit volontiers à tous les dangers pour faire arrêter les chefs de ces révoltés; et que dans toutes les circonstances, il prouvera son zèle et son respect pour les blancs.

CHAP. IV.

p. 49.

LECTURE à lui faite de sa déclaration, dans laquelle il persiste pour contenir vérité, lui en donnons acte, qu'il a signé avec nous et le greffier.

Signé à la minute J. OGE', RUOTTE, POUCHERESSES DE VERTIERES, et LANDAIS, greffier.

Pour expedition collationée, signé LANDAIS, greffier.

A COPY of the preceding document, the existence of which I had often heard of, but very much doubted, was transmitted

CHAP. IV. to me from St. Domingo in the month of July 1795, inclosed
 P. 49. in a letter from a gentleman of that island, whose attachment
 to the British cannot be suspected, and whose means of information were equal to any: This Letter is too remarkable to be omitted, and I hope, as I conceal his name, that the writer will pardon its publication: It here follows.

Je vous envoie ci joint, le testament de Jaques Ogé exécuté au Cap le 9 Mars 1791. Voici mes réflexions sur les dates et les faits:

1°. Jaques Ogé dépose le projet connu depuis long tems par les Brissotins dont il étoit un des Agents. Il nomme les chefs des Mulâtres, qui dans toutes les parties de la Colonie devoient exécuter un plan digne des Suppôts de l'enfer.

2°. Il dépose que l'abondance des pluies et les cruës des rivières avoient empêché l'exécution du projet au mois de février.

3°. Il déclare que si on veut lui accorder miséricorde, il s'exposera aux dangers de faire arrêter les chefs.

Ogé est exécuté, avec vingt de ses complices, le 9 Mars 1791. Son testament est gardé secret jusqu'à la fin de 1791 (après l'incendie générale de la partie du Nord) qu'un arrêté de l'Assemblée Coloniale oblige impérieusement le Gréffier du Conseil du Cap à en délivrer des copies. Que conclure? Hélas, que les coupables sont aussi nombreux qu'atroces et cruels!

1^{re}. Coupables: Les hommes de couleur nommés par la déposition d'Ogé.

2. (et au moins autant s'ils ne sont plus) Le Conseil du Cap, qui a osé faire exécuter Ogé, et qui a gardé le secret sur ses dépositions si intéressantes.

3. Le Général Blanchelande et tous les chefs militaires qui non pas fait arrêter sur le champ toutes les personnes de Couleur nommés par Ogé et ne les ont confrontés avec leur accusateur. Mais non: on a précipité l'exécution du malheureux Ogé; on a gardé un secret dont la publicité fauvoit la Colonie. On a laissé libres tous les chefs des révoltés; on les a laissé pour suivre leurs projets destructifs.

Si les Chefs militaires, le conseil, les magistrats civils, avoient fait arrêter au mois de Mars 1791, les mulâtres Pinchinat, Castaing, Viard, et tous les autres, ils n'auroient pas pu commettre leur crime le 25 Août suivant. Les Régimens de Normandie et d'Artois qui venoient d'arriver de France, étoient assez forts pour arrêter tous les gens de couleur coupables, et s'ils ne l'avoient pas été, et que ce fut le motif, qui eut empêché Blanchelande d'agir, pourquoi Blanchelande envoya-t-il, au mois de Mai 1791, des troupes de lignes que lui envoyoit de la Martinique, M. de Behague?

La série de tous ces faits prouve évidemment la coalition des contre révolutionnaires avec les Mulâtres, dont ils ont été la dupe, et la victime après l'arrivée des Commissaires Polverel et Santhonax.

CHAP. V.

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CHAP. V. p. 56.

Mauduit started back, &c.—while not a single hand was lifted up in his defence.

In this last particular I was misinformed, and rejoice that I have an opportunity of correcting my mistake. The following detail of that bloody transaction has been transmitted to me from St. Domingo since the first sheets were printed: “ Les grenadiers du regiment de Mauduit, et d’autres voix parties de la foule, demandent que le Colonel fasse réparation à la garde nationale. On exige qu’il fasse des excuses pour l’insulte qu’il lui a fait. Il prononce les excuses qu’on lui demande; ses grenadiers ne sont points satisfaits, ils veulent qu’il les fasse à genoux. Une rumeur terrible se fait entendre: ce fut alors que plusieurs citoyens, même de ceux que Mauduit avoit le plus vexé, fendent la foule, et cherchent à le soustraire au mouvement qui se préparoit. On a vu dans ce moment le brave *Beausoleil*, après avoir été atteint d’un coup de feu à l’affaire du 29 au 30 Juillet, en défendant le comité (see page 34) recevoir un coup de sabre en protégeant les jours de Mauduit. On peut rendre justice aussi à deux officiers de Mauduit: *Galeseau* et *Germain* n’ayant pas abandonné leur Colonel jusqu’au dernier moment; mais l’indignation des soldats étoit à son comble, et il n’étoit plus temps.

MAUDUIT pressé par ses grenadiers, de s’agenouiller pour demander pardon à la garde nationale, et refusant constamment de

de s'y soumettre, reçut un coup de sabre à la figure, qui le terrassa; un autre grenadier lui coupa à l'instant la tête, *qui fut portée au bout d'une bayonnette.* Alors le ressentiment des soldats et des matelots livrés à eux memes, n'eut plus de bornes: ils se transporterent chez Maudit, où ils trainèrent son corps, tout y fut brisé, rompu, meubles &c. on décarela même la maison, &c. &c.

CHAP. V.

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CHAP. VI. p. 77.

CHAP. VI.

p. 77.

It was computed that, within two months after the revolt began, upwards of 2,000 white persons had been massacred, &c.

IN the month of October 1791 the Colonial Assembly of St. Domingo sent two Commissioners (Mefs. *Raboteau* and *Le-moine*) to negotiate a loan of money in the Island of Jamaica, on the security of their internal taxes and port duties. As an Act of Assembly was necessary to give effect to the measure, it was proposed in the house, by the author of this work, to advance on this occasion £. 100,000 of the publick money, but the motion was over-ruled by a majority. The house however ordered the Receiver General to advance the French Commissioners £. 10,000 Sterling on the security of bills drawn by the Colonial Government on the treasury of France; but this offer was declined by the Colonial Assembly. In the course of this business the French Commissioners were examined at the bar, and from the examination of one of those gentlemen I have selected some

H h

of

CHAP. VI.

p. 77.

of the particulars given in the text. It is a curious and important document; and conceiving that some of my readers will not be displeased to have an opportunity of perusing the whole, I have subjoined it, as follows:

“ ON the 16th of October last (1791) when I left Cape François, 182 sugar plantations, and 950 coffee, cotton, and indigo settlements had been plundered and destroyed, and the buildings thereof burnt down; one hundred thousand slaves, as far as can be computed, were in rebellion, and the men of Colour in a state of insurrection in every part of the Colony except round the Cape. All the whites that fell into their hands were indiscriminately murdered, and about 1,200 families reduced to such a dreadful state of misery, that they were forced to receive their clothing and sustenance either from public or private charity.

“ The loss in this year's crop was estimated at 66,000,000 * St. Domingo livres, which are nearly equal to £. 2,650,000 of the currency of Jamaica. The value of the capital could not then be ascertained, but it must amount to an immense sum, considering the loss of stock, slaves, and buildings.

“ Since I left the town of the Cape, the rebellion has extended itself to the eastern parts of the plain, and 246 coffee settlements and a few sugar plantations have been destroyed; this will add about £. 300,000 † Jamaica currency to the loss of this year's crop.

* Nearly £. 1,900,000 sterling. † £. 210,000 sterling.

“ The last accounts I have received from St. Domingo inform me, that detachments of regulars and militia have succeeded in surprizing and dispersing several negro encampments, in consequence of which a few gangs of slaves have returned to their masters’ estates; but these advantages have occasioned extreme fatigue to our troops, though they have not been able to reduce even the sixth part of the rebels.

“ The quarters of Doudon and Grande Riviere are occupied by such a number of rebels, that without a larger body of troops than we are possessed of, we cannot attempt to attack them with any hope of success.

“ We are reduced to remain shut up as it were within the town of the Cape, and it is with great difficulty that we can man the line of posts which are necessary to prevent the rebels from attacking the western and southern parts of the island. Notwithstanding the activity of our troops, a body of the rebels found means to pass those posts, in order to spread their ravages in the mountains of L’artibonite, called *Les Cabos*; the inhabitants whereof have united their forces to repulse and stop them, but after killing a few, the rest escaped into the woods, and there is reason to apprehend that the rebellion may soon extend itself to that part of the island, which would in a few days become a prey to a general conflagration.

“ At this juncture we received a copy of the decree of the national assembly of the 24th of September last, whereby our rights are acknowledged; but we fear too late. We have only

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a copy of the decree, it has not been received officially, no troops are yet arrived to enforce the execution of it; and that decree may, in our critical circumstances, add to our calamities, inasmuch as the free people of colour, knowing the enormity of their crimes, declare that they will sooner perish than submit to this last decree; they are again forming a camp in the parish of La Croix des Bouquets, near Port au Prince, and every hour I dread to hear of their having commenced hostilities against the white inhabitants; if so, our ruin is inevitable.

“ If this should unfortunately be the case, your Island, Gentlemen, would of course be exposed to similar destruction, as the success of our slaves would induce your own to rebel against you.

“ Negroes have not sufficient resolution to encounter the whites in the field of battle; but no men bear with greater fortitude hunger, pain, and fatigue, when once their imagination is heated, and their resolution settled; we have amongst us men, who, pretending to be philanthropists, have preached freedom even to our slaves; these men are connected with men of weight and fortune in Old France, by whom they are greatly encouraged, and who are also connected with the philanthropists in Great Britain, *from whose conduct, indeed, the first example was taken*; and I most sincerely pray, that this island may not be exposed to the same evils as have resulted amongst us from such an enormous misinterpretation and misapplication of philanthropical principles.

“ The

“ The means left us for our defence are but few and feeble, and it is indeed surprizing that we have been able to resist our enemies for so long a time; we owe much to the power of opinion, and to the superiority the negroes have been accustomed to yield to the whites. The forces we have to defend every part of the colony, consists of about 1000 men of the regiments of Artois and Normandy; 700 of the regiment of the Cape, including the sick, who are in great number; 1200 stipendiary troops, paid by ourselves; and 6000 or 7000 militia, which have been without the least discipline or order ever since our fatal political divisions. Our maritime force consists in one ship of 74 guns, two frigates, and two sloops of war.

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“ It is with such feeble means that we are to face the free people of colour, and the slaves in rebellion. We have applied for relief to our neighbours and allies, the Spaniards; but it has been refused by the Spanish government, with inhumanity and insult; private men among them, and some of the commanding officers on the lines between us and them, *appear to have seconded the rebels, by supplying them with ammunition, and by delivering into their hands some of the wretched inhabitants, who had fled to them for refuge.*

“ Our publick treasury is not only free of debt, but there is even money due to it, yet it is absolutely empty; it being impossible at present to collect the taxes, or otherwise to provide for the vast expence occasioned by the war, and the necessity of giving relief to unfortunate families in want.

“ The

CHAP. VI. " The state of our monthly expences is nearly as follows :

<u>p. 77.</u>	3000 regular troops, at 3 livres a-day, is 9000		
	livres a-day, equal <i>per</i> month to	-	- 270,000
	4000 men, women, and children at public allow-		
	ance, at 2 livres a-day, is <i>per</i> month	-	- 240,000
	Expences of officers, clothing, arms, ammuni-		
	tion, &c.	-	- 410,000
			<hr/>
	Total Livres	-	920,000

of St. Domingo currency, or about £.34,166 * Jamaica cur-
 rency *per* month, without including several other extraordinary
 expences, such as that of administration, rewards, maritime ex-
 peditions, &c.

" Were we deprived of the necessary funds to pay our troops,
 and to supply them with provisions, they soon would join the
 mulattoes, and we should be ruined without any resource. The
 forces which are expected from Europe would arrive too late ;
 and they could then only revenge, and not defend us.

" RABOTEAU."

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 VII.

p. 85.

CHAP. VII. p. 85.

*The society of Amis des Noirs resorted without scruple to those mea-
 sures which their fellow labourers in London still hesitated to adopt.*

JE répéterai éternellement que c'est à vous, zélateurs de
 philanthropie! qu' appartient l'honneur de ces bouleversements:

* £.24,500 sterling.

c'est

c'est à vous seuls que l'on doit le déperissement des ressources nationales. Si vous n'aviez pas frappé jusqu'aux fondemens la plus brillante colonie de l'univers, &c. &c.

CHAP.
VII.
p. 85.

Reflexions sur la Colonie de St. Domingue, tom. 2. p. 66.

CHAP. X. p. 142.

CHAP.
X.
p. 142.

They declared by proclamation all manner of slavery abolished, &c.—This proceeding was ratified in February, followed by the National Convention in a Decree, of which follows a Copy.

DECRET de la Convention Nationale, du 16 Jour de Pluviôse; au second de la Republique Française, une et indivisible.

5 Feb.
1794.

LA Convention Nationale déclare que l'esclavage des Nègres dans toutes les Colonies est aboli; en conséquence elle décrète que tous les hommes, sans distinction de couleur, domiciliés dans les Colonies, sont citoyens Français, et jouiront de tous les droits assurés par la constitution.

ELLE renvoie au comité de salut public, pour lui faire incessamment un rapport sur les mesures à prendre pour assurer l'exécution du présent décret.

Visé par les inspecteurs. *Signé*

Auger,
Cordier,
S. E. Monnel.

Collationné.

CHAP. Collationné à l'original, par nous président et secrétaires de
 X. la Convention Nationale, à Paris le 22 Germinal, an second
 P. 142. de la République Française une et indivisible. *Signé*, Amar,
Président. A. M. Baudot. Monnot. Ch. Pottier, et Peyffard,
Secrétaires.

As most of the French islands fell into possession of the English soon after that this extraordinary decree was promulgated, the only place where it was attempted to be enforced, was in the southern province of St. Domingo, and the mode of enforcing it, as I have heard, was as singular as the decree itself. The negroes of the several plantations were called together, and informed *that they were all a free people*, and at liberty to quit the service of their masters whenever they thought proper. — They were told however, at the same time, that as the Republick wanted soldiers, and the state allowed no man to be idle, such of them as left their masters, would be compelled to enlist in one or other of the black regiments then forming. At first many of the negroes accepted the alternative, and enlisted accordingly; but the reports they soon gave of the rigid discipline and hard fare to which they were subject, operated in a surprising manner on the rest, in keeping them more than usually quiet and industrious; and they requested that no change might be made in their condition.

CHAP. X.

CHAP. X. p. 143.

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Of the revolted negroes in the Northern province, many had perished of disease and famine, &c.

FROM the vast number of negroes that had fallen in battle, and the still greater number that perished from the causes above mentioned, it was computed in the year 1793 that this class of people at that period had sustained a diminution of more than one hundred thousand. (*Reflexions sur la Colonie, &c.* tom. 2. p. 217.) Since that time the mortality has been still more rapid, and, including the loss of whites, by sickness and emigration, I do not believe that St. Domingo at this juncture (June 1796) contains more than two fifths of the whole number of inhabitants (white and black) which it possessed in the beginning of 1791.—According to this calculation upwards of 300,000 human beings have miserably perished in this devoted country within the last six years!

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CHAP. X.

p. 147.

The propositions, or terms of capitulation, had been previously adjusted between the people of Jeremie, by their Agent, Mr. Charmingly, and General Williamson, &c.

As I conceive that these articles were drawn up in England, and adjusted with the King's ministers previous to Mr. Char-

CHAP. X. milly's return from thence, I shall present them to the reader.
 P. 147. The passages which I have printed in *italick* are remarkable.

TERMS OF CAPITULATION *proposed by the Inhabitants of La Grande Anse (including the Quarter at Jeremie) represented by Mons. de Cbarmilly, possessed of full powers by a Commission from the Council of Public Safety of the aforesaid Place, dated the 18th of August 1793, and presented to his Excellency Major General Williamson, his Majesty's Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, for his Acceptance.*

Article I.

That the proprietors of St. Domingo, deprived of all recourse to their lawful Sovereign to deliver them from the tyranny under which they now groan, implore the protection of his Britannick Majesty, and take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to him; and supplicate him to take their colony under his protection, and to treat them as good and faithful subjects till a general peace; at which period they shall be finally subjected to the terms then agreed upon between his Britannick Majesty, *the Government of France*, and the Allied Powers, with respect to the Sovereignty of St. Domingo.—Answer. Granted.

Art. II. That till order and tranquillity are restored at St. Domingo, the Governor appointed by his Britannick Majesty shall have full power to regulate and direct whatever measures of Safety and Police he shall judge proper.—Ans. Granted.

Art. III. That no one shall be molested on account of any anterior disturbances, except those who are legally accused, in
 some

some Court of Justice, of having committed murder, or of having destroyed property by fire, or of having instigated others to commit those crimes.—Ans. Granted.

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Art. IV. That the Mulattoes shall have all the privileges enjoyed by that class of inhabitants in the British islands.—Ans. Granted.

Art. V. That if, at the conclusion of the war, the colony remains under the Sovereignty of his Britannick Majesty, and order is established therein; in such case, the laws respecting property *and all civil rights, which were in force in the said colony before the Revolution in France, shall be preserved*: nevertheless, until a Colonial Assembly can be formed, his Britannick Majesty shall have the right of determining provisionally upon any measures which the general good and the tranquillity of the colony may require; but that no Assembly shall be called till order is established in every part of the colony; and, till that period, his Britannick Majesty's Governor shall be assisted in all the details of Administration and Police by a Committee of Six Persons, which he shall have the power of choosing from among the proprietors of the three Provinces of which the colony consists.—Ans. Granted.

Art. VI. That, in consequence of the devastations which have taken place in the colony by insurrections, fire, and pillage, the Governor appointed by his Majesty, on taking possession of the colony, to satisfy the demand of the Inhabitants in this respect, *shall be authorized to grant, for the payment of debts, a suspension of ten years, which shall be computed from the date of the surrender; and*

CHAP. X. *the suspension of all interest upon the same shall begin from the period of the 1st of August 1791, and terminate at the expiration of the ten years above mentioned granted for the payment of debts; but all sums due to minors by their guardians, or to absent planters by those who have the management of their property, or from one planter to another, for the transfer of property, are not to be included in the above suspension.—Ans. Granted.*

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Art. VII. That the duties of importation and exportation upon all European commodities shall be the same as in the English colonies.—Ans. Granted. In consequence, the tariff shall be made public and affixed, that every one may be acquainted therewith.

Art. VIII. That the manufacturers of white sugars shall preserve the right of exporting their clayed sugars, subject to such regulations as it may be necessary to make with respect to them.—Ans. Granted. In consequence, the duties upon white sugars shall be the same as were taken in the colony of St. Domingo in 1789.

Art. IX. That the Catholic Religion shall be preserved and maintained, but that no other mode of Evangelic worship shall be excluded.—Ans. Granted. On condition that such priests as have taken the Oath prescribed by the persons exercising the powers of Government in France shall be sent away, and replaced by others.

Art. X. The local taxes destined to acquit the expences of garrisons, and of the Administration of the colony shall be assessed in the same manner as in 1789, except the alleviations and

and remittances which shall be granted to the inhabitants whose property has suffered by fire, till their possessions are repaired. An account shall be kept by the colony of all the sums advanced on the part of Great Britain for supplying the deficiency of the said taxes; which deficiency, as well as all the public expences of the Colony (except those of his Majesty's naval forces, destined for its protection) shall always be defrayed by the said colony.—Ans. Granted.

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Art. XI. His Britannic Majesty's Governor of St. Domingo shall apply to the Spanish Government, to obtain restitution of the negroes and cattle sold upon the Spanish territory by the revolted slaves.—Ans. Granted.

Art. XII. The importation, in American bottoms, of provisions, cattle, grain, and wood of every kind from the United States of America, shall be allowed at St. Domingo.—Ans. Granted. On condition that the American ships, which shall be employed in this trade, shall have only one deck; and this importation shall be allowed only as long as it shall appear necessary for the re-establishment or subsistence of the Colony, or until measures have been taken for putting it in this respect upon the same footing as other English Colonies; and an exact account shall be kept of the said vessels, with the description of their cargoes, and shall be transmitted every three months to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, as well as to one of the principal Secretaries of State; and on no account whatever shall any of the said vessels be allowed to take in return any production of the Colony, except molasses and rum.

Art. XIII.

CHAP. X. Art. XIII. *No part of the aforesaid conditions shall be considered as a restriction to the power of the Parliament of Great Britain, to regulate and determine the Political Government of the Colony.*—
 p. 147. *Ans. Granted.*

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CHAP. XI. p. 169.

The same fate awaited Lieutenant Colonel Markham, &c.

I CANNOT deny myself the melancholy satisfaction of preserving in this work the following honourable tribute to the memory of this amiable officer, which was given out in general orders after his death, by the Commander in Chief.

Head Quarters, 28 March 1795.

Brigadier General Horneck begs the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the detachment, which, on the 26th Inst. proceeded under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Markham, on a party of observation, to receive his very sincere thanks for their gallant behaviour, at the attack of the enemy's advanced post; taking their colours and cannon, and destroying their stores.

At the same time he cannot sufficiently express his feelings on the late afflicting loss, that has been sustained in Lieutenant Colonel Markham; who, equally excellent and meritorious as an officer and a man, lived universally respected and beloved, and
 died

died leaving a bright example of military, social, and private virtue.

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The Brigadier General likewise requests Captains Martin and Wilkinfon, of the Royal Navy, to receive his acknowledgments and thanks, for the important assistance they have afforded; not only on this occasion alone, but on every other, wherein his Majesty's service has required their co-operation. He also begs Captain Martin to do him the favour, to impart the like acknowledgments to the officers of the Royal Navy, and to the respective ships companies under his command, for the zeal and good conduct they have shewn whenever employed.

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did leaving a bright example of military, social, and private
virtue.

The Brigadier General likewise requests Captain Martin and
Wilkinson, of the Royal Navy, to receive his acknowledgments
and thanks for the important assistance they have afforded;
not only on this occasion alone, but on every other, wherein his
Majesty's service has required their co-operation. He also
begs Captain Martin to do him the favour to impart the like
acknowledgments to the officers of the Royal Navy, and to the
respective ships companies under his command, for the zeal and
good conduct they have shewn whenever employed.

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