

A. G. G. G. G.  
April 7  
1843







A  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**WEST INDIES,**

CONTAINING THE  
NATURAL, CIVIL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL  
*History of each Island :*

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE  
**MISSIONS**

INSTITUTED IN THOSE ISLANDS, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT  
OF THEIR CIVILIZATION ;

BUT MORE ESPECIALLY OF THE  
**MISSIONS**

WHICH HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THAT ARCHIPELAGO  
BY THE SOCIETY  
*Late in Connexion with the Rev. John Wesley.*

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BY THOMAS COKE, LL.D.  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.  
VOL. III.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
N E V I S.

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CHAP. XXXIV.

*Situation.—Conjectures on its origin.—Appearance at sea.—Name.—First settled by Sir Thomas Warner; under whose administration, and that of his Successor, the Colony flourished.—Extent of population, and industry of the Inhabitants.—Ravaged by a dreadful mortality;—by the French;—and by a violent hurricane.—Description of this hurricane by Dr. Moseley.—Survives these disasters, and again recovers its prosperity.—Topographical divisions, and internal regulations.—Productions, and advantages.—Author's first visit to the island.—Unable to gain access to the slaves.—Requested to re-visit it.—Establishment of a Mission.—The Gospel obtains a footing in the island.—Affecting anecdote of two little Negro children.—Success of preaching the Gospel, and attachment of the negroes to it.—A violent persecution, notwithstanding which the Society flourishes.—Nature and utility of Class-meetings.—General reflections, and number in society.*

**T**HIS beautiful little spot is remarkable for its fertility, and for the romantic scenery of its scanty domains. It is situated in 17°. 14.' north latitude, and 62°. 29.' west longitude, from Greenwich. In itself, it is little more than a high and extensive mountain, the base of which is encircled by the waves; from which its sloping sides appear to rise with easy ascent, till its elevated summit terminates in a point, and mixes with the clouds.

That this island was produced by some volcanic explo-

sion, Mr. Edwards says, there can be no doubt: and the reason that he assigns for this conjecture is, "That there is  
" a hollow or crater still visible near the summit, which  
" contains a hot spring strongly impregnated with sulphur;  
" and sulphur (he adds) is frequently found in substance in  
" the neighboring gullies and cavities of the earth."

On the origin of this island, as distinct from that of others, we presume not to risk even a conjecture. It may have started into visible existence, as Mr. Edwards has imagined; yet we cannot but conceive, that the reason which he has assigned is totally insufficient to warrant the supposition. For, if either hot springs impregnated with sulphur, the visibility of a crater on its summit, or sulphur being found in substance, be admitted as a satisfactory proof that the island was *produced by some volcanic explosion*, we shall feel no difficulty in accounting for the peculiar origin of every mountain in the world, which retains marks of intestine but extinguished fires.

The island of Nevis, whatever might have been its origin, is, from the singularity of its form, easily discoverable at a considerable distance. It looks like a conical pillar emerging from the ocean to support the skies. On its first discovery, it was covered with lofty trees which graced its acclivities from the base to the summit; and, even in its present state of improved cultivation, it is well supplied with wood and timber.

The plantations, which are numerous, nearly surround it on all sides, beginning at the sea-shores, and continuing as the mountain rises, till they almost reach its top. The fertility of this island, which, perhaps, towards its base will hardly admit of many rivals, diminishes in proportion as we ascend; so that near its summit the ground becomes stony, and will produce little else but coarse vegetables, which are only adapted for domestic purposes.

Contrary to Antigua, which can hardly produce a single spring, Nevis is remarkably well watered with rivulets and salubrious fountains. The hot spring to which Mr. Edwards has alluded above, is frequently used as a medicinal bath; and its waters are presumed to possess qualities of a similar nature to the hot springs of the city of Bath, in Somersetshire.

But, unhappily for the settlers on this fertile territory, the waters, which in one view may be considered as an inex-

haustible source of wealth and plenty, may in another be contemplated as a source of ruin and devastation. Issuing chiefly from the upper parts of the island, they sometimes, in stormy seasons, swell into impetuous torrents, and, in their progress towards the sea, strip the soil of its verdant honors, and sweep away plantations in the general wreck. It is probably by these temporary inundations that the upper regions have acquired a comparative sterility; while the plantations below feel themselves enriched with the losses which those nearer the summit have been obliged to sustain.

On the origin of its name we can hardly presume to speak with certainty. From the Indians who occasionally frequented it in their canoes, it does not appear to have obtained any; it is therefore to Columbus that we must look for its present appellation. It has been supposed by some, that its name was bestowed by that celebrated navigator, from a fancied resemblance which the island bore to a mountain in Spain called the *Nievis*, a word signifying "*The Snows*," because that mountain in Spain is covered with snow through the greater part of the year. There are others who have supposed, that the volcano was at that time burning, and that the issuing smoke had a white appearance at sea, and bore a strong resemblance to snow. It is perhaps not improbable that both of these circumstances might have concurred; because, to the Spanish mountain it has some likeness, and the remains of an ancient volcano are still visible.

Of its ancient history, scarcely any notice has been taken by the English writers, in their various accounts of the British settlements in the West Indies. And, indeed, from the time of its discovery, through the space of 130 years, it has presented in history nothing more than a dreary blank. It was about the year 1628, that some of our countrymen, under the protection and by the assistance of Sir Thomas Warner, began a settlement in this island, and laid the foundation of that unexampled prosperity which almost instantly ensued. The motives, however, which first induced the friends of *Warner* to plant this colony, are hardly known with accuracy. Policy, prudence, industry, and economy, were combined in the character of that enterprising leader; and it is highly probable, that it became necessary for him to extend his establishment beyond the shores of St. Christopher's, to soften the clamors of the turbulent, and to reward the meritorious for their past services.

On the island of Nevis the celebrated history of Bryan Edwards is remarkably concise. And wherever the materials are scanty, and difficult to be obtained, every account must be more or less defective. The few memorials which our English historians have recorded of this island have been collected chiefly from French authors; and, indeed, no other method of obtaining intelligence remains for us, than that of applying to the same source. Of these the most correct and satisfactory appears to be the Abbé Raynal, from whose pages we shall make no scruple to borrow such facts as seem to be authentic with respect to its ancient history. The observations which apply to its modern vicissitudes we shall draw from other sources, which we feel assured are entitled to equal credit.

The paternal care of Sir Thomas Warner introduced into this colony, at the period of its early settlement, men whose characters were well established for industry, probity, and virtue. These excellencies, therefore, instantly assumed a dominion over the vices which were contrasted with them, and established the inhabitants on a basis which subsequent innovations were never able to destroy. The people who succeeded these virtuous planters found, on their arrival, that they were under a necessity of complying with the reigning principles, however hostile they might have found them to their private inclinations. The virtues which they were thus compelled to adopt through constraint were, at least, exceedingly useful in promoting the prosperity of the colony. The force of example conferred on the rising generations similar energies. The benefits which rewarded them ensured their perseverance; and they were guarded from deviations by the dread which a sense of dishonor rarely fails to inspire. Their love of labor was both stimulated and recompensed by the advantages which crowned their exertions; and their recreations were such as prudence might relate, or modesty hear, without feeling an occasion to blush.

The various plantations which were thus begun received due encouragement from the amiable Governor; but more especially those which were appropriated to the cultivation of the sugar-cane. The produce of this valuable plant soon furnished an inexhaustible source of wealth; and became in this, as well as in other islands, the principal commodity

for exportation to Europe. Both the Commander in Chief, and the people who flourished under his mild administration, were alike actuated by equity and sobriety. Harmony and peace subsisted among them; the persons of all were held sacred, and their property was rendered unquestionably secure.

Under such circumstances, and a conduct so auspicious, the progress of the colony from solitude to population, and from a desert to cultivation, was amazingly rapid. St. Christopher's, under the same Governor, enjoyed the same benefits, and the same effects were there more than equally visible. But its scanty domains were soon overpeopled by the influx of European emigrants. These had been allured thither by the prospect of rising to opulence, under the auspices of Warner. This redundance compelled many families to remove from the spot on which they had chosen to reside, and to migrate to Nevis, where the competition for advantageous settlement was not so great. This island was preferred to others, because it was under the jurisdiction of the same beloved Commander, and was inhabited by people whose views and aims were congenial with their own. The successes of past adventurers soon tempted others to embark. The event realized their hopes, and this still tended to augment their numbers. An increase of numbers added to the mutual benefits, contributed to supply the wants of all, and soon raised their commercial pursuits to a state of exalted prosperity.

The death of Warner, which happened about the year 1638, blasted for a moment those sanguine hopes which the colonists had entertained. But their fears were soon dissipated by the prudent conduct of his immediate successor Governor Lake. This gentleman adopted the political maxims of his predecessor, and fixed his residence on the spot. This was an advantage which hitherto the island had not enjoyed, because Warner, from its priority of settlement, had fixed his residence in St. Christopher's; and, in a place where he found himself universally beloved, he seemed resolved to take up his final abode. This resolution was so rooted within him, that nothing could induce him to relinquish the object of his attachment.

Within the short space of twelve years the productions of Nevis became an object of national importance, and it appears to have been considered in England as a fruitful and valuable colony. But authors vary as to the state of its popu-

pulation. In the year 1640, Raynal estimates it at 10,000 whites, and 20,000 blacks; but this statement, it is highly probable, has been exaggerated. The circumference of the island, according to the account given by the same author, does not exceed eighteen miles; it is therefore rather unlikely that such amazing multitudes should be crowded together, at this early period, within such narrow limits. Other accounts state the inhabitants at this period to amount to 5000 whites, and 12,000 blacks, and these numbers appear more probable than the former. But even the lowest calculation exhibits the infallible effects of public virtue, in promoting the prosperity of a well regulated community. Such were the regulations established in the island, and such were the effects which resulted from them, in the aggrandizement, wealth, and population of the settlement, that, taken in the aggregate, they furnish both lessons and examples to governors and subjects. They teach the former, that mildness and justice in the administration of power ensure to themselves both respect and honor, and dispense happiness to those who are placed under their dominion. And they teach the latter, that no sources are too small to teem with wealth, when they are prudently explored and improved; and that no obstacles are too great for persevering industry to overcome, when justice engages to shield its productions from the lawless sallies of rapacity. Happy would it have been for the reputation of Warner, if his conduct in St. Christopher's towards the Charaibs had been governed by these amiable principles!

The annually increasing prosperity of Nevis continued nearly half a century; when it experienced in the wise, but perhaps mysterious, providence of God, a melancholy reverse. In 1689, a dreadful mortality swept away one half of the inhabitants of this flourishing colony. In 1706, it was invaded by the French, who plundered, and carried off between three and four thousand slaves, with whom the French squadron sailed to Martinico, where they were sold to their own planters. The following year, the ruin of the island was nearly completed by one of the most furious hurricanes ever recorded in history.

That our readers may form some idea of the devastations occasioned by similar hurricanes that have happened in modern times at Jamaica, and other islands of the West Indies, it may not be unacceptable to have laid before them a detail of these awful catastrophes, from a justly esteemed

treatise on "Tropical Diseases," &c. and on the climate of the West Indies, by Dr. Benjamin Moseley\*.

"Hurricanes generally set in from the north, or north-west, from the great rarefaction of the air within the tropic of *Cancer*, by the sun's northern declination in the autumnal season (therefore the months of August, September, and October, are called in the West Indies the hurricane months); from which an influx of dense air rushes in from the polar regions, and the great Western Continent (the earth being susceptible of much greater degrees of cold and heat than the ocean, which is preserved in a more uniform temperature, from being incapable, like all transparent bodies, of deriving heat from solar light), and a great conflict is raised; the wind varying with furious blasts from every point of the compass, until an equilibrium is restored, and nature composed by the eastern winds regaining their course.

"The ruin and desolation accompanying a hurricane can hardly be described.—Like fire, its resistless force consumes every thing in its tract, in the most terrible and rapid manner. It is generally preceded by an awful stillness of the elements, and a closeness and mistiness in the atmosphere, which makes the sun appear red, and the stars look larger than usual. But a dreadful reverse succeeding, the sky is suddenly overcast and wild. The sea rises at once from a profound calm into mountains. The wind rages and roars like the noise of cannon. The rain descends in deluges. A dismal obscurity envelopes the earth with darkness. The superior regions appear rent with lightning and thunder. The earth often does, and seems to tremble. Terror and consternation distract all nature. Birds are carried from the woods into the ocean; and those whose element is the sea, seek for refuge on the land. The frightened animals in the fields assemble together, and are almost suffocated by the impetuosity of the wind, in searching for shelter, which, when found, serves only for their destruction. The roofs of houses are carried to vast distances from their walls, which are beaten to the ground, burying their inhabitants under them. Large trees are torn up by the roots, and huge branches shivered off, and driven through the air in every direction

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\* See the third edition, published at London, in 1792, p. 10, &c.

“ with immense velocity. Every tree and shrub, that with-  
 “ stands the shock, is stripped of its boughs and foliage.  
 “ Plants and grass are laid flat on the earth. Luxuriant  
 “ spring is changed in a moment to dreary winter.—This  
 “ direful tragedy ended, when it happens in a town, the  
 “ devastation is surveyed with accumulated horror. The  
 “ harbor is covered with the wrecks of boats and vessels ;  
 “ and the shore has not a vestige of its former state remain-  
 “ ing. Mounds of rubbish and rafters in one place, heaps  
 “ of earth and trunks of trees in another, deep gullies from  
 “ torrents of water, and the dead and dying bodies of men,  
 “ women, and children, half buried, and scattered about,  
 “ where streets but a few hours before were, present the  
 “ miserable survivors with the shocking conclusion of a  
 “ spectacle, generally followed by famine, and, when ac-  
 “ companied by an earthquake, with mortal diseases.

“ Such were the hurricanes that left melancholy traces  
 “ in many of the West India Islands, in the month of Octo-  
 “ ber, 1780 : and particularly in Jamaica ; where, on the  
 “ third of that month, the west end of the island was laid  
 “ waste. Vast districts of finely cultivated lands were made  
 “ a desert, and several villages were destroyed. But the  
 “ part of Jamaica which suffered most, was the parish of  
 “ *Westmoreland*. Here, in addition to the preceding cala-  
 “ mities, the sea rose in a column, appearing at a distance  
 “ like a dark cloud, and overwhelmed the little sea-port  
 “ town of *Savannah-la-mer*.

“ While many people were viewing the approach of this  
 “ phenomenon from their windows, ignorant of what it was,  
 “ it advanced suddenly upon them, drowned them in their  
 “ upper rooms, into which they had retreated as the water  
 “ rose, and washed away them and their houses together.—  
 “ The sea overflowed the land above half a mile beyond  
 “ its usual bounds, and carried several large ships with it ;  
 “ one of which, when the water subsided, was left nearly a  
 “ quarter of a mile on the land. This hurricane commenced  
 “ from the south-east, about twelve o’clock at noon, and  
 “ continued till eight in the evening. The sea rose between  
 “ four and eight o’clock, and subsided at ten with an earth-  
 “ quake. Nearly 300 people perished.”

It required a long series of years, indefatigable industry  
 on the part of the surviving inhabitants, and the benevolent  
 assistance of their friends in England, to recover the prom-  
 ising little colony of Nevis from the low state to which



it was reduced by the hurricane of 1707. However, by degrees its commerce revived, and by the exemplary humanity of the British planters to their negro slaves, the lands are better cultivated in this island than in most of the other colonies in the West Indies.

The whole island is divided into five parishes, but has, properly speaking, but one town, namely, Charlestown, in which all the officers concerned in the administration of the government reside. It consists, for the civil department, of the President of the council, acting as lieutenant governor, six assistant members, and an assembly consisting of fifteen representatives, three of whom are elected by each parish respectively. The military commandant is appointed by the King, as is also the chief justice, who holds his court in Charlestown, and is assisted by two judges elected from among the principal gentlemen of the island. A port or harbor contiguous to Charlestown has a small custom-house, in which merchants' ships are entered inwards and outwards. The only staple commodity for exportation to the mother-country is sugar, of which it is computed that 4000 hogsheads are exported annually, taking the favorable and unfavorable years together upon an average of seven years. With respect to internal conveniencies, no part of the West Indies enjoys them in more abundance than this island; the fertility of its soil (a small portion only on the acclivity of the mountain excepted) producing all culinary plants and roots peculiar to the climate, and likewise those which are most esteemed in Europe; such as cauliflowers, artichokes, &c. and likewise a great variety of fruits.

In common with other islands, the shores of Nevis abound with fish of various kinds peculiar to these seas, of which we have given a general description in our account of Jamaica; it is, therefore, needless on this article to enter into any detail. The productions of the different elements in these regions bear to each other a strong resemblance; they are but varied effects resulting from the same cause; and the same power and goodness superintend and preside over all.

The blessings of an indulgent Providence are more or less visible in every portion of the world; but in no parts more conspicuously so, than in these fertile regions of the earth. What grateful returns have been made, and what proportion they have borne to the numerous favors which the inhabitants have received, we proceed now to enquire,

while we contemplate that reception which has been afforded to the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Having entered somewhat at large into the account of our original establishment of missions in the West Indies at the close of the history of Antigua, it will be less necessary to be minute in the details which may hereafter be laid before our readers. Antigua was with us the primary scene of action, and the central spot on which we first attempted to plant the gospel. We have seen, in our survey of the establishment of the gospel in that island, a train of providential circumstances which have led to the most important issues, and baffled those calculations which human prudence might have been induced to make. It was from this central place that our missionaries found their way into those islands in which we have already traced the progress of the gospel, and into others which yet remain to be considered; in most of which, by the success that has accompanied their labors, the Almighty has so plainly acknowledged the work to be his.

It was in one of those voyages, of which a description has been already given, that the Author, on business solely of a missionary nature, reached the island of St. Christopher's; from which, in company with other ministers employed on the same important errand, on the 19th of January 1787, he went with some recommendatory letters to that of Nevis. We were received with the greatest civility, and even with politeness; but every door seemed to be completely shut against our ministry. In this island the Moravian brethren had established no mission; so that, by viewing the gospel through an improper medium, the inhabitants might probably have apprehended, that its operations on the minds of the slaves would tend to lessen that subordination which is inseparably connected with their relative situations in life. Our letters of recommendation were apparently useless as to the object of our visit, as no access to the negroes could be obtained; and we were obliged to return again to the island from which we had embarked, with this uncomfortable reflection, that we had, to all human appearance, undertaken the most useless and expensive journey in which we had hitherto been engaged.

In this opinion, however, we found soon afterward that we were much deceived. On our departure, it is not improbable that many of the inhabitants began to reflect more seriously upon the object of our visit, and saw reason to

abandon the resolution which had been adopted with such precipitation. Of their humanity towards their slaves we have already spoken; this, therefore, might have forcibly operated upon their minds. And in addition to this, they might have calculated upon the effects which had been produced by the preaching of the gospel to the negroes in the islands of St. Christopher's and Antigua.

But, whatever their motives were for the alteration in their conduct, certain it is that a considerable change almost immediately took place. Mr. Hammet, one of our missionaries in St. Christopher's, soon received an invitation from a Mr. Brazier, a gentleman in the island of Nevis, and a member of the assembly, to come over and preach to his negroes. This invitation was soon followed by another from a gentleman nearly allied by the ties of consanguinity to the President of the Council. This gentleman not only invited Mr. Hammet to the island, but even requested him to preach in his house in Charlestown, which, as before observed, is the principal town in Nevis.

These invitations were favorable symptoms of future success, though at this time it was impossible that we could treat them with due attention, without neglecting those other islands in which not only an opening, but an establishment, had been already made. They, nevertheless, plainly indicated the wishes of many of the inhabitants to have their slaves instructed in the principles and practice of Christianity; so that nothing now remained, but some exertions on our part to introduce the gospel into the island.

Early in the year 1789, the Author being then in the West Indies, we again made two visits to Nevis; and found, to our great joy, that God had so disposed the hearts of the people, that the slaves were willing to hear the word, and their rulers to permit the gospel to be preached. To two or three gentlemen, particularly the Judge of the Admiralty, we felt ourselves greatly obliged, for the comfortable accommodations which we found, and for that civility and politeness which they so readily manifested on the present, as well as on the former occasion. From this period we may date the introduction of the gospel into the island. At this time we formed a little class of twenty-one catechumens, and provided for their instruction before our departure, by leaving them to the care of Mr. Owens, one of our missionaries, who was appointed to take upon him the charge of the mission throughout the whole colony.

Towards the close of the year 1790, in company with

other missionaries, I again visited this island, and was received with the greatest hospitality by many friends; particularly by Mr. Ward, the Judge of the Admiralty, whose kindness I have already had an occasion to mention. During the interim which had elapsed between my former visit and the present time, the gospel had so far gained a footing, that our friends had found means to procure a chapel, in which religious worship was now established. In this chapel, which is in Charlestown, the metropolis of the island, we preached three times on the ensuing Sunday, to congregations which proved, by their attention, that they had been accustomed to hear the things of God.

In the course of this Sunday, we held a love-feast, in which we had an opportunity of learning what progress had been made in experimental Christianity. It is by this chiefly that we can estimate the stability which is likely to accompany the establishment of the gospel; for where divine love so far fills the soul, that from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, such converts are willing to follow Jesus through evil and good report. But, on the contrary, though multitudes may assemble for a season, who may at first receive the word with joy,—if divine grace influence not the heart, when the charms of novelty have subsided, they too frequently grow weary in well-doing, and turn their backs upon religion, though they bade fair for the kingdom of God.

But from this quarter, in the island of Nevis, we apparently had then but little to apprehend. We heard their accounts of God's dealings with their souls, with the most pleasing satisfaction; and found that many knew in whom they had believed, and were enabled to rejoice in hope of the glory of God. One young black man particularly, who spoke rather better English than his associates, gave us a pleasing detail of the various circumstances connected with his conviction and conversion. And in this account he described, in a most intelligible manner, *how* (as he expressed it) *he was drawn out of the dark shades, and from the power of satan, into glorious liberty*; so that not a doubt could remain as to the genuineness of the work of grace upon his soul.

The following day we paid a visit to several of our friends in the country, particularly to *Mr. Richard Nesbitt*; who, perhaps, for piety, was not exceeded by any white inhabitant of the West Indies. This Gentleman had met with many misfortunes in life; but he was crucified unto the

world, and the world to him; so that adversity had lost its sting, and earthly allurements their charms. Mr. Nesbitt of Nevis, like Mr. Gilbert of Antigua, was not ashamed (although under different circumstances) to assist us in instructing and exhorting the numerous bodies of negroes on the several estates of his near relation *Walter Nesbitt, Esq.* on one of which he resided. To this last mentioned gentleman also we paid a visit, in company with his pious kinsman, and found concentrated in him, those exalted qualifications which constitute the gentleman and the man of honor. On the evening of the same day I both preached and lodged in the house of a Mr. Kane, a planter, and a friend; and on the following morning I took my leave of this promising island and its hospitable inhabitants.

Early in the month of January 1793, I again paid the island of Nevis a transient visit. My stay was short; but it was sufficiently long to strengthen this conviction, that the inhabitants were friendly to the gospel, and that the labors of our missionaries had been made a blessing to many souls. An ingathering had taken place, the gospel was advancing in respectability, and the congregations had increased both in numbers and attention.

Toward the close of the same month, contrary winds conducted us again to its friendly shores; and, as the frowning elements forbade us to depart on that day, we ascended the common acclivity, and distributed ourselves among our friends in the different plantations. At the house of *Walter Nesbitt, Esq.* it was my lot to reside; and I had the happiness to find in him a sincere friend. Our missionaries were openly received by him, and his negroes were constantly instructed by them. This benevolent gentleman, satisfied with the benefits which his negroes had received from the instructions that had been imparted by the missionaries, had prepared a convenient chapel in which his slaves were regularly collected at stated periods, to hear the words of eternal life. These in the evening were gathered together; a circumstance which afforded me an opportunity of endeavoring to unfold to their understandings some branches of the things of God\*.

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\* During my stay on this island, I was informed of an affecting little incident which had occurred not long before, and which probably may be worth relating. The substance is as follows:

Some time since, Mr. N. purchased from a Guinea ship a company of

The day following the weather grew more moderate; we therefore took our leave of Nevis, and departed to Antigua, in which island we opened our conference on the 9th of February. By the returns which were made at this time, it appeared that the great Head of the church had blessed the endeavors which had been made to spread his gospel, in a singular manner. Nearly *four hundred*, we had reason to believe, that had been formed into a society in Nevis, were seeking after the salvation of their souls. These, through the instrumentality of our missionaries, had been brought from their native darkness to an acquaintance with the gospel; and, instead of seeking death in the error of their ways, they were inquiring their way to Zion with their faces thitherward.

Thus, from those diminutive beginnings which we have transiently surveyed, we saw reason to adore the infinite wisdom of God in directing our steps to the island of Nevis; and we were constrained to pause, and say, *What has God wrought!* These early beginnings appeared to our views in a double light; they were rewards for our past exertions, and promises of future success. They taught us to persevere in the path in which we had trodden, and encouraged us to believe that we had obtained, in that department of duty, the approbation of our God.

Nor were these conceptions imaginary and delusive. The progress of subsequent years has justified the conclusions which we then formed, and has taught us that nothing is impossible with God. Every year has added to their numbers;

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negroes. These were conducted to his estates, and employed in the usual occupations. Finding, however, that they were insufficient for all his purposes, he soon after attended another sale from another ship, and purchased another company: these also were brought up to the estate. When the negroes who had been last purchased, were brought up, a young girl of that company fixed her eye in a moment on one of nearly the same age who had been purchased in the first instance. The latter seemed equally affected; and both stood like statues for a considerable time, absorbed in the deepest attention to each other, and showing the most expressive gaze that can possibly be conceived. At last, as if satisfied with their mutual recognition, they recovered from their mute astonishment, and, as if actuated by an involuntary impulse, sprang into each other's arms. In this mutual embrace they continued some time, kissing, and bathing each other with their tears, till they were disengaged with some degree of violence from their eager grasp. An action so extraordinary could not fail to excite attention and solicitude. The children had acted from the impulse of nature: for it was found, on inquiry, *that they were sisters.*

and even the ravages of death have been supplied by the addition of souls that have been converted to the truth as it is in Jesus. But the religious state of the island will best appear from the various accounts which have been transmitted from the missionaries. We will begin with some letters from one who, at the Conference held in Antigua 1793, was stationed as a missionary in Nevis.

*Charlestown, Nevis, June 4th, 1793.*

“ I gladly embrace the opportunity of giving you an account of the work in this island. In general, I have large and attentive congregations both in town and country. The Lord hath inclined the principal inhabitants to favor us, which gives me free access to the poor heathens; hundreds of whom, after having toiled hard all day beneath the beams of the scorching sun, come at night with pleasure to seek and serve the living God. And, when the house of prayer on the different plantations is full, those who cannot get in, fall down on their knees all around the place, whether it be wet or dry. This is really matter of encouragement and consolation to me; and there is certainly a great appearance of a glorious gospel-harvest.

“ I have formed many classes on the estates, and the Society is considerably increased both in town and country. Since the Antigua Conference, I have joined about two hundred, many of whom will, I trust, be everlastingly saved. So mightily has the word of God prevailed, that I have admitted in this island thirty, forty, and sometimes more, in a fortnight; and, blessed be God, we are still increasing. I do not say that all these are savingly converted to God; but I hope and trust the class-meetings will be one blessed means of bringing them into the good way, as they are very loving and simple.

“ I have been greatly comforted, and in some measure assisted, in my labors, by a few American slaves, purchased on the Continent, and brought hither by a Gentleman of this island, upon whose estate I preach. They were members of our society in America, and are truly precious black people. I believe I may say, they are “*Israelites indeed, in whom there is no guile.*”

“ For my own part, I have abundant cause to bless the Lord for a continued course of the greatest mercies a beneficent Being can bestow. I am as well, and have as good health, as ever I enjoyed. And though I am sure I labor as hard as ever I did in my life, yet, I feel that my labor is

my delight ; it is good for body and mind. I desire earnestly to bend my mind to the blessed employment of saving souls, and to serve God in my day and generation according to his will.

“ I beg my love to all my friends in London, and hope they will pray earnestly for Zion’s prosperity, and that *pure religion and undefiled* may flourish and abound from sea to sea, and from pole to pole.”

[From the same ; dated Nevis, Jan. 4, 1794.]

“ Your kind letter came to hand this day. I rejoice that you are well ; and that God is helping you to help us, by sending laborers to this part of his vineyard, where they are so much wanted. You say, that two missionaries had sailed, and that you hope two more will sail by Christmas. May the Lord in mercy bring them to us, and help them to bring lost sinners to God!

“ As you do not mention it, I conclude that you did not receive, before the date of your last, the account of my late severe illness. It pleased God, for which I trust I shall ever praise him, to lay his afflictive hand upon me ; insomuch, that nothing but death was expected by my physician and attendants. But the Lord, in mercy, has spared me to this day ; and while I am writing, I feel that I would not live but to his glory ; and my duty is in some measure my delight. But I am ashamed that I do not love God more abundantly, and serve him more faithfully : yet, blessed be his name, for what he has done ; and that I feel determined, by divine assistance, to press on to the mark of the prize of my high calling in Christ Jesus.

“ The Lord has blessed my poor endeavors in this island to glorify him. I believe, that had not affliction kept me from going in and out among the inhabitants, we should have had a blessed work among the colored people. But God is good ; and all he does is right ; and now (glory be to his name), he has in a good degree given me back my wonted strength ; and my enfeebled body is again becoming hard to bear the toils of my happy calling ; and I well know,

“ ’Tis worth living for this,  
To administer bliss  
And salvation in Jesus’s name.”

“ All the planters, as well as the inhabitants in general, are kind to me. My congregations are frequently large,



and seem to hear for eternity. The society is increasing, and the Lord often deigns to bless us both in public and in private. Some profess faith, and others are seeking the Lord."

[*From the same ; dated Nevis, May 6, 1794.*]

"The work in the West Indies is now, I think, in a prosperous state; more so, I believe, than I have ever known it since I left England. There seems to be a great expectation of good among the people; and many of the colored inhabitants, and some of the whites, are turning to the Lord. Lord God, arise, and shake the nations, and grant that peace and piety may soon cover the globe! I bless God that I am in good health, and, I believe, not going backward in the divine life. In this island the work prospers; my congregations are large and attentive; and, through grace, they do not hear in vain.

"I have long thought, that the Lord has a great work to do in this part of the world; and, indeed, it is already begun. It is reported that the fleet is arrived to windward. I hope our brethren are coming to our assistance; for truly the harvest is great, and the laborers are few. The Lord, I trust, will incline the hearts of the Europeans to help us all they can."\*

[*From the same ; dated Nevis, Sept. 17, 1794.*]

"I can with pleasure inform you, dear Sir, that the work of the Lord is prospering in a great measure in this island. More and more of all colors attend a preached gospel, insomuch that I am going to enlarge the chapel in town as soon as possible. I have already betwixt forty and fifty pounds subscribed towards it; and have no doubt that I shall get as much as will defray the whole expense of the enlargement. The planters, and people in general, are very friendly: and I have many comforts, for which I bless my God."

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\* The assistance from England, which this letter so properly requested, was as readily granted by our Conference. And a subsequent letter announces the arrival and establishment of a Missionary, as was solicited.

[From Mr. Brownell; dated Nevis, April 1, 1796.]

“ We are at present on a more respectable footing in Nevis than in any other island of the West Indies, except Antigua. The gentlemen of this place frequently invite us to their houses, and behave with great civility. My predecessor had left Nevis six weeks before I came to it. He was much respected here. On my arrival, I labored with all my might to recover our discipline. I met the classes myself, and visited the members from house to house. In September I was afflicted with a fever, which continued three months, and reduced me almost to a skeleton. Here I had fellowship with the Lord in his sufferings. I seemed to be out of the reach of humanity; for, as all on the island became very sickly, it was every man for himself. Our society was in the same condition, and therefore could contribute but little; so I was left in a strange land, nearly without money, attendance, or even the necessaries of life. I have lain all night in the chapel alone in a burning fever, with nothing to drink but cold water. Had it not been for the kindness of Mr. Frith, and of Mr. Washington’s family who took me into the country, and paid me every degree of attention for six weeks, I had probably been in my grave long ago. But I am far from repining at those afflictions. I was educated nearly all my life in the school of adversity; and therefore her rugged face was become familiar to me. And I bless God that I was sent here, to approve myself a minister of Christ, in hunger and thirst, in sickness and health, in perils and dangers from various quarters. I am determined to spend and be spent in the Lord’s service. Our society is at present in a flourishing condition.”

[From Mr. Edward Frith; dated Nevis, May 11, 1796.]

“ I have taken the liberty to address to you these few lines. I am happy to inform you, that the Lord has brought me out of darkness into his marvellous light. I have great reason to bless God that he sent his servants, the Methodist Preachers, into this part of the world; otherwise I must probably have been for ever miserable. Mrs. Frith and myself are now members of *your society*; and by the assistance of Almighty God, we hope to persevere in the good way, and adorn the gospel of God our Saviour in all things.—I am happy to inform you of the prosperity of the work in this island. Many souls have lately been brought

out of darkness; and I hope many more will be ere long. Brother Brownell is indefatigable in his labors, and has the salvation of souls greatly at heart."

[From Mr. Brownell; dated Nevis, May 12, 1797.]

" I gladly embrace the present opportunity by Brother Warrener, to inform you and the Conference concerning myself, and the society in this island committed to my charge. I thank my God for having preserved me from the abominable wickedness practised in this place. I can still say, I love my God, hate every kind of sin, and feel it the ruling passion of my soul to preach the gospel, and to do good to mankind. Many have been my troubles, and many hairbreadth escapes I have had. On the 8th of June last, a ball of fire struck a windmill, near which I was; killed two men; wounded forty more; passed through a narrow room in which was a keg of gunpowder; and involved me in smoke and flame. Happily the powder did not take fire; else we had all now been in eternity.—In October and November we had much persecution. The enemy raged violently. Several great men were ringleaders. They frequently attended the preaching, and disturbed us by swearing, brandishing their bludgeons, swords, &c.; and forced us often to break up our meetings. I applied to a magistrate for redress, but could obtain none.—Our persecutors, being encouraged, determined to set fire to the chapel, and force us to quit the island. Our friends hung down their heads, and did not wish to interfere; while our enemies triumphed greatly, it being generally believed, that we were connected with Mr. Willerforce in England, to support his application to Parliament to abolish the slave-trade. On the 10th of November, a mob came to the chapel, armed with swords, bludgeons, &c. and, while we were singing, threw in a large squib, and set the chapel on fire. Such uproar, confusion, and noise, I never heard before. However, we put out the fire; and they were restrained from doing any thing further, except venting their rage on some colored people, who were obliged to flee from the island to preserve their lives. The next morning they way-laid me as I was going to a magistrate, and struck me with a bludgeon. Worse consequences would have ensued, had not some people interposed. I then presented an address to the Honorable the President and Council, setting forth our grievances, and praying for redress. They heard me with patience, and

would have given me satisfaction ; but I freely forgave the persecutors what was past, on condition that they pledged their honor not to trouble us any more. Some of them afterwards fell into disgrace, and were obliged to quit the island. From that time we have had peace,—glory be to God.”

“ During this time of persecution, it is remarkable that the society flourished amazingly. Numbers flocked to hear us preach ; and, I trust, to Christ ; insomuch that we were obliged to enlarge our place of worship. We began the work, not doubting but God would help us ; and in two months we built an addition to the chapel, and many pews ; and inclosed the land, &c. The whole cost us £140 ; and now we have as pretty a chapel as any in the West Indies. I forgot to observe, that last year, the planters entered into an agreement to give me one barrel of rum *per* year for attending their estates. With the sale of this, we have completed the above works, which will put our society in the island in a good condition for the future. We have admitted about one hundred new members since this time last year, and I hope in another year we shall have as many more. Our number at present does not exceed four hundred ; the reason of this is, that many of the planters have an aversion to class-meetings ; nor can we remove their prejudices at present. The good we have done, therefore, is not to be estimated by the number of our society ; for many have been reformed, and are become rational beings, who cannot, from various circumstances, join us. On the whole, I think, this island and St. Kitts exhibit a very pleasing prospect indeed. O, that God would give us patience and grace to persevere, until all these poor souls are brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus ! Amen.”

From the period of the preceding letter, nothing remarkable occurred in the religious history of Nevis for some considerable time. In the month of January 1799, Mr. Brownell made the following observations :—“ It appears to me, that the mode which has been adopted in this place, of preaching in the *houses* of the managers of such estates as we visit, is not that which God has favorably acknowledged ; neither, indeed, does it seem calculated to extend our societies. Thus far it is an undeniable fact, that where we have erected small cabins to preach in, the people have attended with greater regularity, and our endeavors have been blessed with more success. About a twelvemonth since, a

gentleman gave us the use of an old boiling-house at some distance from his plantation, and thus suggested to us a plan of proceeding which we have since followed, and which God has owned in a signal manner. Indeed, since that time, more good has been done in that neighborhood, than had been done for seven years before. We have now in that place between two and three hundred in society, most of whom have the fear of God before their eyes, and many among them an evident degree of his love in their hearts. In town and country we have about five hundred and fifty members; and to these we add eight or ten every week. Glory be to God for all his mercies! we have many precious meetings, in which the Lord graciously pours out his Spirit upon our souls, and waters us as with the dew of heaven."

In another letter, dated May 3, 1799, Mr. Brownell corroborates his former account, and states the success which had attended his ministerial labours, in nearly the following words:—"Amidst the difficulties which assail us, God acknowledges the endeavors of his servants. We have now nearly seven hundred members in society. The way to future success is now pointed out before us. To places where we have little chapels of our own, the negroes will resort from distances of five or six miles. And from the prospects which at present lie before us, and from the stability which the mission has acquired, we look forward with sanguine expectations. Many, very many slaves in this island raise towards heaven their lifted hands, and, with hearts full of gratitude and love, bless God for sending his gospel among them. And scanty as their words and ideas are, they sometimes express themselves in a most affecting manner on the occasion, and even bless the very ship which brought over the first ministers among them. This they do with so much artless simplicity, as frequently to draw tears from the eyes of those who hear them declare what God has done for their souls."

About the time that the above letter was written, some land belonging to a little chapel in the country was appropriated to the burial of the dead. This circumstance awakened the vengeance of some persons who inhabited a house which lay contiguous to the spot, and they indicted the place as a public nuisance. For some time the spirit of persecution raged with a menacing aspect; but it at length began to abate, and the subject of complaint was not

brought to a legal issue. What contributed much to this, in all probability, was the interposition of a gentleman who had long felt the prosperity of the gospel near his heart. This gentleman purchased the land of the plaintiff, and took the more immediate cause of complaint out of his hand.

In the year 1800, things assumed a more favorable appearance than they had worn for some time before: the missionaries and the members enjoyed peace. The prosecution was, however, still kept pending, though no progress was made towards bringing it to a conclusion. It frowned at a distance with formidable menaces, but neither imparted fears, nor occasioned any interruption. In the society at large, those changes continued to take place which every year produces. Many were called from time into eternity; many grew weary of attending the means of grace; and many were excluded for immoral conduct. But though these causes conspired to operate, still the addition was considerably larger than the diminution. A greater number was added than these causes took away, so that the year closed with a more than usual increase of members.

Nothing of any remarkable moment occurred in the year 1801. "I thank the Lord (says Mr. Taylor, who was at this time a missionary on the island), that his work flourishes with us a little. I generally add from four to eight members to our society every week. But I long to see greater things than these, and hope ere long to behold my wishes accomplished. At present our congregations are so large, that on Sundays the chapel will not hold them; so that many are obliged to stand on the outside of the house, in the full blaze of the sun, for want of room within." This circumstance plainly shows that a spirit of hearing very generally prevailed; and, from the behavior of those who thus regularly attended, it was plainly to be inferred, that the souls of many were profited, who, from local causes, found it inconvenient to associate with the people whom they loved. The whole society, in the month of May in this year, amounted to eight hundred and thirty-three members, and many more gave evident proofs that the means of grace had been spirit and life to their souls. To what extent the benefits of their preaching had reached, it was impossible for the missionaries to ascertain. Appearances put on a favorable indication; and from these they learned, that the advantages were considerable which the people at large had reaped. And from hence we may learn, that, even amidst those ob-

stacles which religion is more or less compelled always to encounter, God can promote his cause in the earth, and render those seasons most advantageous to it, which promise in themselves nothing but hostility and destruction to piety and virtue.

The secret aversion which many of the planters had towards private class-meetings, was a circumstance which prevented the missionaries from fully appreciating the extent of the benefits of their labors. Many, whose names have never been returned as members of our societies, have manifested, by their lives and conversation, that they had not attended on the public means of grace in vain; and, without doubt, will have reason to bless God through eternity, that ever they heard the joyful sound of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

It must not, however, be understood, that these planters, here adverted to as entertaining prejudices against class-meetings, were the avowed enemies of all righteousness, or that they discovered a spirit of hostility towards the leading truths of Christianity; because, just the reverse was actually the case. Their dislike was not directed against religion itself, but against that particular mode of worship, the excellency of which they were unable to comprehend.

The utility of class-meetings we have learned from long experience; and thousands and tens of thousands will, we have no doubt, have cause to bless God through all eternity for their institution. But for Christian fellowship, experimental religion would be at a very low ebb among us as a body. Convictions would, in general, soon perish for want of nourishment. After the first impressions upon the mind, they would die away before the soul was conducted by Divine grace to the Fountain of all felicity\*.

As a medium, therefore, through which experimental religion is retained among us, we cannot but view Christian fellowship in an important light; not as absolutely essential to salvation, but as highly expedient, while we feel solicitous to enjoy all those consolations which the Father of mer-

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\* The Author, by using the term *class-meeting*, is far from intending to diminish the worth and importance of Christian fellowship in any other mode whatever. He would principally intimate here the necessity of "the Communion of Saints," for the edification and building up of the church of God: while, at the same time, he allows most fully, that every good thought, word, and work, are originated by the inspiration or influences of the Holy Spirit of God.

cies is waiting to impart. Nor are such meetings, in which the friends of Jesus Christ assemble together, of mere modern invention. Long before the commencement of the Christian æra, *they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another; and the Lord hearkened, and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name.* (Mal. iii. 16.)

Directed therefore by an example which has been sanctioned by the approbation of Heaven, we feel it a duty incumbent on us *not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together.* The Parent of all our mercies has, in this as in other instances, connected our interest with our duty; and has given to us many infallible signs that he sanctions our endeavors, and approves the means. On this ground, therefore, we cannot but adhere to an institution, which, though varying in name, was originally of God; and through which he has communicated his spiritual blessings to many thousands who are at the present moment living witnesses, both in Europe and America, of the important truths we now assert. Through these means, accompanied by Divine grace, thousands continue to know in whom they have believed, having found them the medium of spirit and life to their souls.

But of these blessings many of the planters were unhappily ignorant; and hence they were led to view our class-meetings in a suspicious light. And from those unfavorable impressions which these suspicions made, in many instances, they absolutely forbade their slaves to attend our private meetings for Christian fellowship. These prohibitions did not, however, forbid the word of God to run, and be glorified. Numbers, even of those who were thus prevented from attending the *private* means, were evidently blessed of God. The *public* means were rendered useful in a peculiar manner to numbers who were debarred of the *private* ones. From this statement we must therefore conclude, that the benefits which have resulted from the introduction of the gospel into many portions of the habitable earth, and into these islands of the sea particularly, will not be known in their fullest extent, till time shall be wholly succeeded by eternity.

That the public means were peculiarly made a public blessing, the following letters will perhaps evince much better than any labored description. They communicate



ideas with accuracy and precision, because taken from the spot and scene of action.

The first letter which we have occasion to introduce was written by Mr. John Brownell, and addressed to the Author. It is dated Nevis, May 17, 1802, and is nearly as follows :

“ On the 10th instant, I came to this island to examine into the temporal and spiritual concerns of the society. Brother Taylor has been instrumental of much good in this place. The number of whites in society, is only eight ; but that of the colored people and blacks is *nine hundred* ! What has God wrought for this people in the space of a few years !

“ To the country societies no proper attention could possibly be given, while there was only one preacher upon the island. They have now agreed to meet regularly at *Hog Valley* on Sundays, and to contribute their mite weekly towards buying the piece of land for the purpose of building ; and when this is accomplished, to remove the old chapel from the town. Their number in the country society is about *fifteen hundred* ; but, as much spiritual seed has been sown on all the adjacent estates, I doubt not, but with the blessing of God four or five hundred more will soon be raised up. They are greatly delighted with the prospect of having, as they term it, *a chapel and burying-ground of their own*. The simple mode which they adopt of testifying their affection is of a nature so affecting, as to excite at once our smiles and tears. Last Sunday, while the tears of grateful affection ran down the cheeks of some, others shook hands with me, crying, “ God bless Massa ; glad for see him once more.”

“ On the whole, I have reason to think, from the crowded congregations, the numbers who have joined the society, their affection towards their teachers, and their upright walk, that great good has been done the last year ; and the prospect is certainly much greater for that which is ensuing. Mr. Taylor has conducted himself as a faithfully zealous missionary, and has labored disinterestedly for the good of precious souls. It would be well to insert his name in the minutes for this island. I recommend that Mr. Taylor, together with Mr. Bradnock, be re-appointed for Nevis the ensuing year ; and the more especially so, as the new chapel is begun, and the inhabitants are disposed to assist them. Our brethren in this place purpose to keep a school, in addition

to their missionary labors. I pray God to prosper their endeavors also in this respect."

Such were the peculiar favors with which the religion of our Jesus Christ was blessed in this little island; and such were the numbers who had espoused his cause in the year 1802. Our next letter is from Mr. John Taylor, who had been stationed three years as a missionary in Nevis, but who at this period had just removed to St. Christopher's, from which island the letter is dated, and addressed to his friends in Liverpool. We give it nearly in his own words.

[*Basseterre, March 10, 1803.*]

"Having an opportunity of transmitting to you a few lines, you perceive that I embrace it. I am happy to inform you, that in general, since my arrival in the West Indies, I have had my health better than in my own country. But, what is infinitely superior to this, the work of God has been prospering for some time among us, and still continues to prosper more than at any former period. Our chapels are frequently so crowded, that many times we know not how to find room for the people. These hear as for eternity; and so far have their hearts been affected with the things of God, that I have sometimes joined in society from ten to twenty in a day, both in this island and Nevis; in the latter of which I have been laboring for nearly three years. At present, I am come hither only on a visit, and expect shortly to return. Mr. Debell, one of our missionaries, is dead. He was taken sick of a fever on a Friday, and died on the Tuesday following: prior to that awful visitation, he enjoyed a state of perfect health.

"In Nevis, our prayer-meetings have been attended with a peculiar blessing, and have been rendered profitable to many souls. Mr. Bradnock, my fellow missionary, has been laboring with me in that island since April last; and I believe we have added, from that time to the present, about four hundred members to our society. We have also built a commodious chapel, but the increase of hearers has already rendered it too small. Great as these ingatherings are, our hopes present us with still brighter prospects. Not only the colored people and blacks join us, but the whites also, which is a kind of miracle in these regions. But when God works, who shall hinder? May the Lord work more abun-

dantly both in England and the West Indies; and to his name be all the glory!"

[From the same, to Dr. Coke; dated Nevis, May 7, 1803.]

" Mr. Turner having arrived in this island, I am preparing for, and in a few days expect to sail to, St. Vincent's. During the time that I have resided in this pleasant little island, God has wrought for his name's sake among the inhabitants. In both whites and blacks we perceive a wonderful, and, I hope, a lasting change. Hundreds of the latter have joined the society; and scores of the former have with seriousness attended the preaching of the word; and even some of these have also joined us.

" Sunday, in the West Indies, is the common market-day. But so visible is the change which has been wrought here, that many now shut up their shops, and keep the sabbaths of the Lord by attending to his service. The negroes, who used to spend that sacred day in dancing, drinking, &c. which generally ended in fighting, now attend the house of God, and learn to sing his praise. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

" In some parts of the country, the changes which have taken place are equally visible; vice appears to hide her head; and many of those, that were once persecutors, are now become friends. On Sunday night last, *Mr. Frith*, who occasionally acts as an exhorter, went to *Newcastle* to conduct a meeting. This place has long been noted for cock-fighting and negro-dancing on the Sabbath day. *Mr. Frith* had collected his congregations, and just begun the public service. But as he was about to pray, he heard the music strike up for the dance. He went immediately to the house, and on his approach the general cry was, "*The parson is coming.*" The dancers instantly fled. On entering the house, he enquired for the person who had appointed the dance. On this, a woman stepped forward, and acknowledged that she was the person. He then began to talk seriously to her on the impropriety and sinfulness of her conduct. She at first made light of her actions, and said, that she had adopted this method to support her family. It was not long, however, before her mind began to soften, and she at length promised she would never do the like again.

" At this place lives a gentleman, who, as I have mentioned on a former occasion, had offered, for about twenty pounds, to sell me a piece of land, upon which to build a

chapel. He is now come forward again, and promises freely to give the land, if we will build a chapel upon it. But as *Mr. Turner* is come, he must act as he thinks proper.

“ Surely the Lord has wrought wonderfully for us, both in spiritual and temporal matters. I before informed you, that the purchase and repairs, together with the building of the new chapel, had cost us upward of *one thousand eight hundred pounds*; which debt, through the blessing of God, we have now reduced to eight hundred. A detail of receipts and disbursements will be sent you by *Mr. Turner*. We have at this time in our societies one thousand two hundred and eleven members: of these, eleven only are whites; all the others are colored people and blacks.”

In the month of June 1803, a letter from Nevis was written by *Mr. Edward Turner*; but being chiefly of a domestic nature, it afforded little public information. His observations, however, though concise and general, confirm that approbation which *Mr. Taylor* had expressed, and assert the continuance of that prosperity which he had given somewhat largely in detail.

“ I like my circuit,” he observes, “ much; we have a lovely situation. Several have joined our society since my arrival. One of these is a white lady: and two more whites, I hear, intend to join us. Our congregations are large and attentive, and the state of our finance as high as usual.”

In the month of August, of the same year, *Mr. Turner* wrote again; and his account corroborated what he had previously observed. A state of regular prosperity hardly admits of variety in the detail. Such, we shall find, will be the case in many of the islands; and this is one of those happy disappointments which we experience in the account of Nevis.

“ I have been,” *Mr. Turner* observes, “ in this island nearly four months, and feel an attachment to my situation. I trust, I have grown in grace, and in the knowledge and love of God, since I came hither; and I have reason to believe that my labors have not been in vain. Two white persons, and sixty or seventy blacks, have joined us since our arrival. Our congregations are not only large, but I

think generally increasing. Many respectable white people attend our preaching, and behave with the utmost propriety.

“ Last Thursday, Brother Joseph Taylor landed on our little friendly isle. He appears to be a young man of deep piety, and, I hope, will be an useful and acceptable preacher.”

Such was the state of religion in the island of Nevis in the year 1803. On the 18th of May 1804, the same pleasing prospects continued to bloom before the missionaries, to excite their future exertions; while past successes presented them with an ample recompense for all their toils. But these truths the following letter from Mr. Edward Turner, bearing the above date, will best evince.

“ I received,” he observes, “ the circular letter, and can freely say I much approve of it. We ought on all occasions to act for God, without disguise, and without reserve. It is proper that you should know the whole of our affairs, since you have so warmly interested yourselves in the welfare of the missions. I am sorry, however, that I am obliged to write in greater haste than I intended.

“ All thanks to Divine goodness, I still enjoy a tolerable degree of health in my body, and experience a competent degree of peace and composure of mind; and to this I may add, that the Lord is still carrying on his work among us. Since the commencement of the present year, we have joined upwards of *two hundred* to the society, and several have been brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God. We enjoy perfect peace; our congregations are good, and the state of our finances is improving. I send you a statement of our accounts for eleven months, in order that, in future, the account which may be sent home may include the four quarters ending with that of March.”

It was early in the year 1805, that the island of Nevis, in conjunction with others, was invaded by the French. The methodists, in common with others, were involved in this disaster, and had to share in the public calamity. An event so serious could not fail to create an alarm, and spread consternation through the whole territory. Disorder and confusion must have been felt in every department, particularly in the religious, because the tumults of war are

not congenial with the mild dominion of the Prince of Peace.

In this alarming crisis it happened that Mr. Turner was exceedingly ill; so that, instead of being able to afford any consolation to his feeble fugitives in the midst of danger, he was utterly unable to provide for his personal safety without having recourse to the assistance of his friends. On this afflictive occasion he expresses himself as follows, in a letter dated April 3, 1805.

“ I was very sick at the time the French made their appearance, more so than I had been for seven years before. After sending Mrs. Turner and my dear little boy to the house of a friend in the country, I retired to the mountain-habitation of *Judge Ward*. In this place I was treated with great kindness and attention; and, breathing a purer air than that which I had forsaken in the town, the fever soon left me. During the time of this double affliction, I found my mind stayed upon God, and in possession of that peace—

“ Which nothing earthly gives, or can destroy,—  
“ The soul’s calm sunshine, and the heart-felt joy.”

But though the fever, of which Mr. Turner has spoken above, forsook him, it was only in a temporary manner. It was followed by a relapse which brought him to the margin of the grave, and for a considerable time, prevented him from those exertions in his sphere of usefulness which had previously marked his conduct. Of his illness, and the joint affliction in which his wife was compelled to bear a part, he speaks in the following letter; in which also he gives a short account of the work at large throughout the island. It was addressed to the author, and bears date August 13, 1805.

“ On the 27th of April,” he observes, “ I had another severe attack of the fever; and soon after, Mrs. Turner was afflicted in nearly the same manner; so that we were both very ill at the same time in one room. One of our kind friends, who had lately joined the society, seeing the condition in which we were, resolved to take me to his own house. In this hospitable mansion I found every attention, and all that care which my case required; and perhaps to this, under God, I am at present indebted for the continuance of my life.

“ The fever continued without intermission for eleven days ; and I was so ill, that all around me thought the closing scene of life was drawing near. I was not particularly anxious as to the event. I knew in whom I had believed, and felt a consciousness that God was with me. In the midst of this extremity the Lord came to assist me in my distress. I knew the moment when I began to amend, and when I received, as I think, a divine conviction that I should not die, but live. My recovery, however, was very slow ; and though several months have elapsed since the removal of that painful visitation, I have not yet regained my former strength. Perhaps I have been a sufficiency of time in this enervating climate.

“ On the 17th of May, Brother Isham and his family arrived here in good health. He brought with him three fine children ; but one of them is now a corpse. He was a promising little boy ; but he is gone beyond the reach of sin and sorrow. Brother Isham is very well received in this island.

“ I flatter myself that we do not decline in Nevis. Some are continually joining us ; we frequently have refreshing seasons, and enjoy great peace and harmony among ourselves. It is true, we are occasionally under the necessity of excluding unworthy members ; and others exclude themselves by growing weary in well-doing. On these accounts, and on account of the common calamity that we have experienced, the acquisitions which we have made, have only counteracted the losses we have sustained ; so that, on the whole, our number is not greater than it was last year.”

Surveying the calamities to which the missionaries are exposed, together with the hazards which they are obliged to run, we cannot avoid concluding, that nothing but a love for the souls of their fellow-creatures, infused into their hearts through the influence of Divine grace, can support them in accomplishing their arduous tasks. Constrained by that love, many have forsaken their kindred after the flesh, and have not counted their lives dear unto themselves. They have surmounted dangers of the most formidable nature ; have been exposed to the ravages of a burning climate ; and have suffered those dreadful diseases which lay waste the torrid zone. Yet in all these things they have been more than conquerors through Christ who hath loved them. Influenced by that love which passeth knowledge, and animated with an abiding sense of the Divine approbation and

presence, they find that, to them, "to live is Christ, and to die is gain." And on this account, whether their lives are preserved in the midst of encircling disasters, or they are called from their labors to that rest which remaineth for the people of God, they enjoy a commencement of that bliss which shall never end. In the former case, the Almighty, in his spiritual presence, takes up his abode with them on earth; and in the latter, he translates them from this obscure habitation to dwell in his presence for ever.— In the former case, God dwells with them, and in the latter they dwell with him. It is the Divine presence alone that can constitute genuine felicity; and whether this be enjoyed on earth, or in heaven, the essence of happiness cannot be affected thereby. Time and eternity present unto us varied modes of being; and while in either station felicity is derived from God, both afford us only varied modes of enjoyment. In either case, felicity is adapted to our condition; and includes all that perfection in its own nature, which infinite Goodness, consistently with infinite Wisdom, can bestow.

But when to these personal reflections, which arise exclusively from a conviction that we enjoy the favor of God, and that we are found in the way of duty, we add the vast importance of missionary labors in the church of Christ, the field becomes more ample, and the subject still more interesting. The gems which shall deck the mystical crowns of such as turn many to righteousness, must shine with a peculiar brilliancy on those who have devoted their days (and occasionally sacrificed their lives) to the eternal happiness of the souls of their fellow-creatures who were buried in savage darkness in foreign lands.

Many of our missionaries have thus suffered martyrdom in their Master's cause; but the fruits of their ministerial labors have either preceded, accompanied, or followed them into another world. Many living witnesses of the blessings which have attended the exertions both of the dead and the living, are still in existence here on earth; and many more have been removed to heaven. The seed which has thus been sown, we hope, will spring up abundantly in the coming year, while we look back and acknowledge with gratitude *what God has wrought*. If the appearances of prospects can justify expectation, and we may reason from analogy in the case before us, it will be difficult to set bounds to our views. We have seen the wilderness blossom like the rose, and we have heard the inhabitants of



the rock sing. From regions which were wrapped up in darkness, the praises of mount Zion have resounded; and those tongues which had never pronounced the name of Jehovah, have learned to bless the God of their salvation.

If then so many hundreds, in this island only, have been converted to God through the preaching of his holy word, what may we not expect, now the light of the gospel is diffused through so many parts of this great archipelago? Those obstacles, which in its infant establishment it was obliged to encounter, are now in some good measure removed; and those prejudices, which occasionally laid an embargo on its progress, have partially subsided, and will ere long, we earnestly hope, totally disappear.

These favorable circumstances animate our hopes, and urge us to persevere in the use of those means which God has already owned, and crowned with so many seals. Taken in an aggregate, they awaken within the mind an expectation of that long wished-for period, when all shall know the Lord, from the least to the greatest; and when universal righteousness shall overflow the earth. May God in mercy hasten the arrival of that happy moment, when his kingdom shall be universally established; when all nations shall flock to his standard, and when the inhabitants of the world shall learn war no more!

## CHAP. XXXV.

## HISTORY OF ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

*St. Christopher's.—Discovery and situation—Delightful appearance, and extraordinary fertility of the island. First settlement under Sir Thomas Warner.—Injured by a hurricane.—Assisted by the Earl of Carlisle.—The Colonists joined by some Frenchmen under D'Esnambuc.—Both parties form a compact, encroach on the lands of the Natives, provoke them to war, and nearly exterminate them.—The Charaibees in other islands make a common cause with the unhappy fugitives, who had escaped the sword.—Attack the Colonists in great force, and, though defeated, they nearly ruin the Colony.—The Settlement soon afterwards totally destroyed by the Spaniards.—Again re-established, on their departure, by the former occupants.—These differ among themselves, and mutually destroy each other.—This leads to an open rupture, which finally terminates in the expulsion of the French.—The English confirmed in their possession by the peace of Utrecht.—Captured by the French in 1782, and restored again in 1783.—Character of the inhabitants—Present state and population of the island—Topography.—View of the Island in relation to Religion.—Moravian mission.—Account of that mission.—Remarks on a violent inundation.—Advantages of toleration.*

**A**NTIGUA and this island, having been discovered nearly at the same period by Christopher Columbus, were both abandoned by that celebrated navigator to future adventurers. These islands were first settled by the English, either at the same time, or at a very small distance from each other. A frivolous contest has, however, been maintained both by ancient and modern writers, concerning the priority of their respective claims to this honorable distinction. In this competition for antiquity of colonization,

Barbadoes also is included. The advocates for each island make fair pretences, and affect to prove that the island of their respective choice became the origin of the British settlements in the West Indies. Upon the whole, it appears from those accounts which have the greatest claim to credit, because they partake apparently of the greatest impartiality, that St. Christopher's was the original nursery of all the English and French settlements in this part of the world.

A subject of much more importance is the undoubted superior fertility of the cultivated lands of this fine island, which has been so justly celebrated for the salubrity of its atmosphere. It is situated in  $63^{\circ} 14'$  western longitude, and in  $17^{\circ} 15'$  north latitude, at the distance of about 18 leagues from Antigua; while it is separated from Nevis only by a narrow channel of the sea on its eastern coast. Its utmost extent does not exceed twenty miles, nor is its greatest breadth more than seven. By the most accurate surveys, the lands are computed at 43,726 English acres, 18,000 of which are under the most advantageous cultivation in sugar-plantations, for which the soil has been found by long experience to be peculiarly adapted. And, on an average, *communibus annis*, it has been found to be more productive than an equal quantity of land under similar cultivation in any other island in the West Indies. From this circumstance, the growth of sugar very early became, and still continues to be, the principal object of the capitalists of the colony.

The general aspect of St. Christopher's is uncommonly beautiful. Mount Misery, which is a volcanic mountain, 3,711 feet in perpendicular height from its base, occupies the body of the island in the north-west district, and gradually declines into smaller hills; and is at length lost in the plain of *Basseterre* to the south. Between the foot of this mountain and the sea, a narrow and gently inclining plain everywhere environs it, the fertility of which is only equalled by its delightful distribution into woods, pasture, and sugar-plantations. To this must be added, where the soil will admit of it, pleasant gardens, producing all the tropical fruits in the greatest perfection, together with an abundance of common vegetables, affording a supply proportionate to the considerable population of the colony.

No island, probably, can furnish a greater contrast, than that which the sterility of the mountains and the fertility of the plains exhibit in St. Christopher's. The former, in

general, presents to the eye of the spectator a confused mass of broken rocks, the interstices of which are filled with a species of clay that is not very friendly to vegetation; but the vales below appear to have acquired what the mountains have lost, and to have retained all those fruitful powers which nature seems to be capable of combining. The scenery of the elevated regions is picturesque and romantic, even beyond description, and affords views which are at once extensive and sublime. The soil which is found on the plains, appears to be of a peculiar nature; totally different from any that has hitherto been found in the other West-India islands. Its extraordinary richness has excited much attention, and given birth to opinions which are probably founded more on conjecture than fact. In its nature it is loose, light, and hollow; and the particles which compose it are so detached from one another, that it rarely possesses a solidity of surface. On this account it may be easily broken, and without much trouble made subservient to all the purposes of cultivation. Its color is grey, rather deeply tinged with a darkish hue. This soil is spread at varied thicknesses, over most of the plains, on a bed of gravel, which seems to have been spread beneath for its support.

On the minutest inspection, it has been found to consist of two distinct species of loam, which in themselves have no natural connections one with another. Of these, one appears to be the pure virgin mould, which is probably coeval with the island, and which of itself is extremely valuable. The other seems to have been produced by some violent concussion of nature, through which these distinct masses have been mingled and incorporated together. The most general opinion is, that it was originally thrown up by the action of subterraneous fires, and precipitated down the sides of the mountain;—that it was conducted afterward through a necessary process, by the action of the elements to which it lay open—till, decomposed and reduced to dust, it incorporated with the native loam, and either imparted or received that fertilizing power which has rendered the whole so remarkably conspicuous.

Of such volcanic eruptions no memorials are on record; neither indeed are they to be expected, because the existence of these islands was totally unknown till the days of Columbus. But proofs of the most indubitable kind are visible, that Mount Misery was once a burning mountain; though at what period, it is impossible now to ascertain. The history of *Ætna* and *Vesuvius* will furnish us with instances,

that centuries have elapsed between the eruptions which those mountains have at times exhibited; and from their returning again it may be inferred, that the peaceful state of Mount Misery can promise to the inhabitants of its vicinity no permanent security. This much is clear, that the soil is of the most unctuous nature, from what source soever it came; and that it is better adapted to the production of sugar, than any other of which the West Indies can boast.

The civil history of St. Christopher's has chiefly been compiled by Bryan Edwards, from Rochefort, Père du Tertre, Labat, and other French historians, and from our countryman Dr. John Campbell. From the same sources, and from the additional aid of the Abbé Raynal, the following concise narrative of the most interesting occurrences has been carefully selected.

A party of English adventurers, under the conduct of Mr. Thomas Warner, who had made a voyage of speculation to Surinam, were encouraged by favorable reports to attempt a settlement on this island. For this purpose they embarked on-board a merchant-ship bound to Virginia, where they arrived the latter end of the year 1622, and from thence were safely landed with their effects at St. Christopher's in the month of January 1623. Here they made their first experiment of cultivation, following the example of Virginia, by raising a crop of tobacco, which they then considered as the most profitable staple commodity for exportation to England. They succeeded the first year beyond all expectation, owing to the extraordinary fertility of the spot they had chosen for their new plantation. But, unfortunately, their sanguine hopes were suddenly suspended by a dreadful hurricane towards the close of the year, the autumn of which had proved so favorable. Their promising plantations being nearly demolished by this calamity, Warner went to England to obtain fresh supplies, and to solicit the aid of powerful friends.

James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, distinguished himself upon this occasion, by fitting out a ship at his own expense, laden with necessaries for the support of the distressed inhabitants, and with tools and implements of husbandry to enable them to proceed in the cultivation of the land. This ship and cargo happily arrived at the island in the month of May 1624; and the following year, the founder and restorer of the colony, the indefatigable Warner, returned, and brought with him a considerable number of new adventurers. Much about the same time, or, as some assert, on the very day

that Warner landed, D'Esnambuc, a Frenchman, who commanded a privateer, and had lost several men in an engagement with a Spanish galloon, retreated with the remainder of his crew, consisting of about thirty hardy veterans, to this island\*. Here they met with a very kind reception from the English inhabitants, who were then under continual alarms of being attacked by the Charaibs; who, about this time, became jealous of the encroachments made on their territorial rights by the English planters. At this juncture, therefore, an alliance, founded on mutual interest and safety, took place between the English and French; by which they engaged to defend the island, not only against the Charaibs, but against the Spaniards, who threatened to invade and overturn all the settlements that had been made by other nations in the West Indies in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In these contentions for territory, it always happened that the poor Charaibs were permitted of Divine Providence to feel the sword of the oppressor. English, French, and Spaniards, were alike their enemies; and those differences which marked their conduct, only varied in degrees of injustice and barbarity. Whatever nation gained the ascendancy, the natives were sure to be oppressed. To deprive them of their lands, was considered as an act of right, to which common usage had given an awful sanction: while any attempt on their part to repel the plunderers of their dominion, was viewed as an act of rebellion, and as justifying their invaders in putting them to the sword.

Previously to the arrival of the French, the party under the direction of Warner had lived on terms of civility and friendship with the natives; and it must be acknowledged, that they had much occasion for so doing. The Charaibs supplied them with provisions, while they were busily engaged in seizing upon, and cultivating their lands. Con-

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\* This circumstance fully decides that much-contested question between the two rival nations, namely,---*To which nation did St. Christopher's first belong?* The French, in asserting their claims, seem entirely to have lost sight of the pre-occupancy of the English adventurers under Warner, previous to the hurricane; and they date the arrival of the English from the return of Warner with his new recruits in 1624. Had this period been in reality the commencement of Warner's visit, the claims of France would, without all doubt, have been every way equal to those of England. But as, on the contrary, the latter were in actual possession so early, as the month of January 1623, the pretensions of France can hold no competition with those of our own nation.

scious of their own injustice, their apprehensions suggested to them an idea, that the unhappy sufferers intended some act of retaliation. Whether this meditated plan of revenge was real or only imaginary, cannot perhaps with certainty now be known; but whether it were the former or the latter, thus much is evident, their merciless invaders determined to anticipate their actions, and actually concerted a plan for their destruction.

Agreeably to this pre-concerted scheme, both English and French, in the dead of the night, fell upon the unsuspecting Charaibeas, and actually murdered in cold blood about *one hundred and twenty* of their stoutest and bravest warriors. The unhappy male fugitives who escaped this carnage forsook the island with the utmost precipitation; while the assassins of their countrymen detained their youngest and most beautiful women for purposes which I will not name. An act of cruelty so flagrant was soon communicated, by those who had escaped, to the Charaibeas of the neighbouring islands. These made the sufferings of the injured one common cause; reasonably concluding, that it was only to a want of power or a want of opportunity in their invaders, that they were indebted for their own preservation. Accordingly, having collected a large body, they returned again to St. Christopher's, breathing slaughter, and meditating revenge. They commenced their attack with impetuosity, and sustained the action for a considerable time with the most invincible bravery and valor. Victory for a season wavered in suspense. Oppression, however, at length became triumphant; and European arms and discipline discomfited Charaibeas courage. This conquest was, however, most dearly purchased: it was obtained at no less expense than the loss of one hundred Europeans, who perished on the field of battle. This was a loss which nothing less than a voyage to Europe could repair.

The Charaibs, in the meanwhile, disheartened with their misfortunes, formed no estimation of the weakness of their victorious enemy; but, instead of rallying their forces, and waiting the issue of a second day, gave up the island for lost, and abandoned it altogether. Their first onset had proved unsuccessful, and hope supplied them with no new resources. The prospect of advantage was too feeble to tempt them to a second trial, or to encourage them to expect victory by perseverance after their late defeat. Depressed and melancholy, they collected the survivors of this disaster, and taking their leave of this and of some other small islands in

the vicinity, they sought a refuge in the more southern parts of this archipelago. But unhappily this departure only furnished them with a temporary retreat from surrounding danger. Calamities pursued them in every recess, and sooner or later brought about those events, through which, in the unsearchable will of Providence, the whole race has been long since nearly exterminated from the face of these islands. A world filled with iniquity affords no asylum but what must more or less be insecure; and on this account there must be another and a better state, in which a distribution of recompense shall be accommodated to the deeds of the human race.

Warner and D'Esnambuc, weakened more with their victory than perhaps the Charaibs were with their defeat, felt themselves under the necessity of repairing personally to their respective nations, to solicit immediate assistance to repair the losses they had sustained, and to enable them to withstand the Charaibs in case of a second attack. Dignified with the honorary appellation of conquerors, from having vanquished the savage hordes, they were received on their arrival with that respect which suppliants but rarely know. Warner obtained from his sovereign the honor of knighthood, and, through the interest of the Earl of Carlisle, was again sent out as governor in 1626, vested with considerable powers. With him were also sent four hundred men amply supplied with necessaries of every kind, for the voyage which they had undertaken, and for the enterprize in which they were about to engage. These reached the island in safety, commenced their labors, and were rewarded with success.

D'Esnambuc, though rewarded by his nation with equal courtesy, was ultimately less successful than Warner. His ships, though sufficiently manned, were badly equipped, and worse supplied. He sailed from France in February 1627, with five hundred and thirty-two recruits; but the greater part of these adventurers miserably perished on their voyage for want of the necessaries of life. The English, however, on their arrival, received the survivors as fellow-adventurers, and used every exertion to alleviate their distress. As a proof of this, an equal division of the island was made between the followers of both commanders. And, to secure themselves from the inroads both of the Charaibs and Spaniards, they entered into a treaty offensive and defensive, and mutually engaged to assist each other in all cases of emergency.



But this domestic compact, though sufficient to secure both parties from the inroads of the Charaibees, was insufficient to preserve them from the calamities of a Spanish invasion, which unexpectedly took place in 1629.

It was towards the close of the above year, that Spain, which uniformly claimed the exclusive property of all the islands, fitted out an armament consisting of nearly fifty ships of different dimensions. The ostensible object for which this fleet was equipped was the reduction of a Dutch settlement in Brazil. But Spain considered almost every nation in Europe as an intruder: so that even to be found in these seas, was considered by them as an act of criminality which could hardly be forgiven. The Spanish admiral *Don Frederick de Toledo*, in addition to his public orders, which directed him against the Dutch in the Brazils, received private ones, which ordered him, in his way thither, to touch at the islands, and either destroy or totally rout out those inhabitants of any other nation who might be found in possession of the . . .

Governed by these instructions, he instantly on his arrival attacked both the English and French in their little colony in St. Christopher's, with a force which their united efforts were totally unable to resist. Driven from their habitations and labor, each party was obliged to provide for its safety by flight. The French, after some disasters, found a temporary refuge in Antigua; while the English were under the necessity of retiring to the mountains. From these mountains they dispatched deputies to the Spaniards, to treat for a surrender; but the haughty admiral would hear of nothing but unconditional submission; and with these imperious demands they were compelled to comply. No sooner were these unhappy persons in the hands of the Spaniards, than they selected about six hundred of their stoutest and most robust men, and condemned them immediately to their mines. The remaining part, consisting chiefly of women and children, were ordered instantly to quit the island in some English vessels which had been seized at Nevis. This, or death, was the only condition they could obtain. After this destruction, capture, and exile of the inhabitants, the commander of the expedition proceeded to demolish their houses, and to destroy their plantations; and having reduced the country to a desert, and established the empire of desolation, he abandoned the island, and pursued the public object of his destination.

Against the authors and the executors of evils like these,

the mind is always impressed with sentiments of indignation, and we feel ourselves interested, from motives of humanity, in behalf of the unhappy sufferers. Yet even in the case before us, when we reflect on the conduct of the English and French towards the unoffending Charaibeas, we feel ourselves agitated with conflicting emotions. Severe as the afflictions may seem which these European settlers were compelled to undergo, they appear in one view as a just punishment upon them, for those barbarities which they had so undeservedly practised upon the natives, not more than three years before. Thus they who showed no mercy, were able to obtain none; so that with what measure they meted, it was measured unto them again. On the whole, as Mr. Edwards justly observes on this occasion, "Unjustifiable as this attack of the Spaniards may be deemed, if the conduct of the new settlers towards the Charaibeas was such as *Du Tertre* has related, we have but little cause to lament over the miseries which befel them. The mind exults in the chastisement of cruelty, even when the instruments of vengeance are as criminal as the objects of punishment."

The fugitives, who had been thus driven from the island, finding that their conquerors had no intention of forming a settlement, but that they had only landed for the purposes of devastation, returned after some time to their former habitations, or rather to that island on which their former habitations had originally stood. On their arrival, they had their work to begin anew. A scene of desolation presented itself on every side; and they literally found nothing to excite their hopes, but the uncommon fertility of the soil.

Instructed in the school of adversity, the bond of union between the settlers appeared for a time firm and indissoluble; but, unhappily, it did not continue long. Their recent losses made no more than a momentary impression. The progress of time and the return of prosperity erased from their minds a recollection of their past misfortunes, and permitted them to forget that lesson of prudence, and of mutual support and assistance, which they had already learned by such painful experience how to estimate. There are, however, but few motives which are of sufficient efficacy to counteract the natural propensities of the heart. Vice and vicious inclinations can only be subdued by the influence of divine grace; and to this principle it is more than probable that both parties were utter strangers. Their union, nevertheless, continued for a season; and its perfe-

tuity would soon have advanced them to that ease and affluence, from which they had been so lately driven, had they continued at peace among themselves.

But, unhappily for both parties, jealousies soon divided those whom interest and calamity had united. The French grew envious of the rapid prosperity of the English, and became disgusted with those actions which should have kindled emulation. While the English, on their part, could not bear with patience an idle set of people, whose chief employment consisted in hunting and unlawful gallantry. From these causes sprang domestic animosities, quarrellings, duels, assassinations, and depredations on the plantations of both parties. At length a war between the mother countries, which broke out in 1666, furnished them with an opportunity of giving loose to that enmity which had hitherto been but partially concealed, in consequence of which they proceeded to open hostilities. From this era, for nearly half a century, the island of St. Christopher's became a scene of civil discord and confusion, accompanied with all the horrors of war and bloodshed. Neither party could be called conquerors; both were alternately the strongest and the weakest; and, according to these vicissitudes, one and the other evacuated the island in order to return with reinforcements, or remained temporary masters of the residence.

But this struggle for empire and exclusive right was at length finally terminated in 1702, at which time the French were totally overcome and driven from the island. In 1705, they however again rallied their forces; and, strengthening themselves with all the reinforcements which they could muster, once more made a vigorous attack. In committing depredations they were but too successful; but victory once more decided in favor of our troops, and the assailants were compelled to retire. These calamities would, nevertheless, have proved fatal to the colony, if parliament had not interposed, to prevent the ruin which was impending. But the sum of £. 103,000 being voted to relieve the unhappy sufferers, enabled them to re-erect their buildings which had been demolished, and to raise new plantations on the ruins of the old ones. The peace of Utrecht, which took place in 1713, confirmed the decisions of the sword; it ceded the island in perpetuity to Great Britain, and cut off from the French all hopes of returning. The lands which had formerly belonged to them were confiscated by our government, and finally sold, to reimburse those sums which

hadbeen voted to compensate the British colonists for their sufferings. Such are the vicissitudes and manœuvres of war and peace!

From this period to the year 1782, the island enjoyed perfect tranquillity, if we except some internal disputes respecting partial sales of the ceded lands by selfish or avaricious governors. But to this evil the wisdom and equity of parliament soon put an end, by appointing public sales by auction of the territories belonging to the crown in virtue of the treaty of Utrecht. After this salutary regulation, the new plantations raised on the purchased lands were as profitably cultivated as the old ones.

The temporary interruption to the prosperity of the island, which happened in the above year, arose in a partial manner from the negligence of government at home, in not providing a sufficient naval force for the protection of our settlements in the West Indies. This omission was in some respects occasioned by the unsettled state of the ministry at that period. The French, who had attentively watched our movements, perceived the confusion which prevailed, and did not hesitate to turn it to their own advantage. At this time the whole military force of St. Christopher's consisted only of two battalions of militia composed of white inhabitants, and a company of free blacks. Of this circumstance the enemies of our country were soon informed; and, instantly availing themselves of the favorable intelligence, fitted out a fleet of sufficient force to subdue the garrison, and ensure the capture of the island. The fleet which was equipped on this occasion consisted of thirty-two line-of-battle ships, on board of which they embarked eight thousand of their choicest infantry. These sailed directly to the spot, and commenced the attack with a resolution which their superior force so justly inspired.

The fortifications were ably defended for some time; but valor was unavailing against such superior numbers. The inhabitants, however, continued to resist the assailants till honorable terms of capitulation were obtained. When these were signed, the island was surrendered into their hands. This happened on the 12th of February, 1782. Nevis was compelled to follow its example on the 14th, and Montserrat surrendered to the same squadron on the 22d of the same month. The triumphs of the French were, however, of short duration; for a definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain, France, Spain, and America, was concluded in the month of September, in the following year. This

treaty being founded on the basis of the *statu quo*, the captured islands were all restored. By these means St. Christopher's reverted to the dominion of the British crown; and the harassed planters were enabled again to revive that spirit of commercial enterprize, and domestic industry, for which the colony had always been peculiarly remarkable.

In the early periods of its history the inhabitants of St. Christopher's were particularly distinguished from those of the other islands, by the urbanity of their manners, and the amenity of their dispositions. These honorable features of character most probably arose from the habits which were imported by its first settlers. The intercourse which first subsisted between the English and French tended to introduce civilities, and to mature them into a degree of politeness and refinement, of which the infant state of few colonies besides can boast. Happily for those who finally claimed the sovereignty of the island, the private feuds which have disgraced their annals, and stained their shores with blood, did not banish the social virtues. These survived the carnage which desolated their plantations, and have been handed down from generation to generation to the present day. Dr. Chisholm, whose account of St. Christopher's is brought down to the year 1801, observes, that the character which was given by Du Tertre in 1640, is as applicable to the inhabitants now, as it was at that distant period. At that time the island obtained the honorable appellation of *L'Isle douce*, the *mild island*. And towards the middle of the last century, Rochfort, in describing the manners of the inhabitants of the French colonies, introduces St. Christopher's, though belonging to the English, with this proverbial distinction: *La noblesse étoit à Saint Christophe, les bourgeois à la Guadeloupe, les soldats à la Martinique, et les paysans à la Grenade. Nobility inhabited St. Christopher's; citizens, Guadeloupe; soldiers, Martinico; and peasants, Grenada.*

The topography of the island comprises four towns and hamlets, of which Basseterre is the capital, it being the seat of government, civil, military, and judicial. This town is in general well built, and contained, in 1801, nine hundred houses. The population of the whole island, in 1802, was computed at four thousand five hundred whites, twenty-five thousand negro slaves; and about five hundred free blacks, and people of color, or mulattoes. *Sandy Point* is a sea-port town next in rank to Basseterre; and both are distinguished as the only lawful ports for the entry of mer-

chandise and the products of the country inwards and outwards. For this purpose there are regular custom-houses, and proper officers, with stationary residences and appointments. *Old Road* and *Deep Bay* scarcely deserve the name of towns: they are chiefly inhabited by fishermen, and persons of the lower orders of the people. The parochial distribution into nine parishes makes a comfortable provision for so many beneficed clergymen of the church of England.

The climate of St. Christopher's has always been deemed remarkably healthy. To this the light and porous soil spread over a bed of sand, has greatly contributed by absorbing the rains which would otherwise stagnate, and breed pestilential diseases. For though the surface of the plains forms a gentle declivity, and therefore would not permit any considerable accumulation, yet there are cavities sufficiently capacious to retain the waters till they would be capable of communicating a pernicious taint to the atmosphere. But in the present state, both the declivity of the lands, and the openness of the soil, prevent the formation of marshes which in other islands have proved so destructive. On the south-east side of Basseterre, there is, however, a morass of some considerable extent, which has hitherto been left undrained. Of this, in the autumnal months, the inhabitants feel the pernicious effects, and sometimes suffer severely from fevers of an intermittent and dangerous kind. The removal of this miasma is not beyond the reach of art; but the happy consequences which must result from such an important labor have not yet so far operated on the minds of the legislators, as to induce them to undertake the task. Could this be once accomplished, the salubrity for which the island is now conspicuous would become universal.

In springs and rivers the whole island is rather deficient, and this occasions an inconveniency under which the inhabitants labor. The only streams of which it can boast are in the vicinity of *Old Road*, and the district of *Cayon*; and these are too diminutive to be entitled to the name of rivers. Several springs, however, are to be found on some of those ridges of *Mount Misery* which incline towards the capital; and the waters which flow from them are carefully preserved, and conducted to the plantations in pipes, and applied to the various branches of domestic purposes. But as this water is strongly impregnated with saline particles, its taste is extremely insipid to strangers. Use, however, after some

time, renders it familiar, and removes that insipidity which gave at first so much disgust.

The local and natural advantages of St. Christopher's over those of an invading armament are very considerable; and these in no small degree preclude the necessity of the formidable fortifications of art. In the vicinity of the capital there are three batteries. There is another at Palmeto Point; another at Brimstone Hill, and another at Charles Fort; the two latter are near Sandy Point. There are also a few others, but they are too inconsiderable to merit notice. These may probably appear to be disproportionate to the importance of the colony; but they are admitted by military men, who may be deemed competent judges, to be sufficient to repel such forces as an enemy might be able to send against it. It has been said, that the formidable force which occasioned its reduction in 1782 would have found their efforts ineffectual, if the garrisons could have mustered about two thousand men.

The quadrupeds and birds of this island have scarcely any thing to distinguish them from those of others. The only exception applies to a species of monkey. These are very small; but they assemble in large troops, and, frequently sallying forth, do considerable mischief to the sugar-canes. And no methods have hitherto been discovered to prevent their depredations, in such a manner as to secure the crops from their inroads.

In its legislative departments, St. Christopher's bears a strong resemblance to other islands. Its house of representatives consists of twenty-four members, and its council of ten. Antigua is the residence of the Governor General, and this island contributes £1000 currency towards his salary. Their courts for the administration of justice are such as we have frequently had occasion to describe; so that to recount their forms of procedure would be little more than needless repetition.

In this island the Moravian brethren have established a mission, which has been attended with no small success. However, in point of advantage, it has been much inferior to ours. But as it tends to spread the name of the Redeemer, and to enlarge his kingdom, it justly merits a place in this account.

Influenced by the purest of motives, the United Brethren, from having formed establishments in other islands, proceeded to visit St. Christopher's with the same benevolent intentions. Here they were received with a degree of cor-

diality, which at once encouraged them to proceed, and promised them success. Finding their labors accompanied with the divine blessing, they began to provide for a permanent settlement, by laying the foundation of a house in which to worship God. This building was begun on the 21st of May 1789, and continued with as much speed as circumstances would admit. The peculiar severity of the weather which took place in the months of August and September retarded their progress in a considerable degree, yet the edifice was completed early in the following October.

The opening and dedication of this place of worship was attended with a peculiar blessing: the whole congregation joined in the solemn service, and many among them seemed resolved to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified. After the usual Sunday's service, seventeen negroes were baptized; three baptized women were received into fellowship, and twenty-five were added to the candidates for baptism. The day was closed by the communicants, who were sixty in number, who then partook of the holy sacrament. "In general (they observe), the number of negroes  
 " that attend the chapel has much increased this year, and  
 " many have become not only hearers of the word of God,  
 " but doers also. Seventy-five adults and eleven children  
 " were baptized in the year 1789; and the number of  
 " negroes that were either baptized, or considered as candi-  
 " dates for baptism belonging to this mission, was upwards  
 " of three hundred at the close of the year."

In 1790, they say, "By letters dated January 31st of  
 " this year, we learn from St. Kitt's, that our brethren  
 " there are well, and labor in peace and unanimity in that  
 " mission. The congregation of believing negroes, under  
 " the care of the brethren, were nearly three hundred at  
 " the close of the year 1789, besides about one hundred that  
 " constantly attended the public service. The new chapel is  
 " always well filled."

In 1791, they observe, that "the mission in St. Kitt's is  
 " in a flourishing condition, and the Lord blesses the labors  
 " of his servants abundantly, so that their testimony pene-  
 " trates into the hearts of the poor heathens. The number  
 " of those who seek for pardon in the blood of Jesus, and  
 " deliverance from sin, increases greatly. The negroes  
 " formerly met in a room in the missionaries' house, but  
 " now even the new chapel is found too small to contain the  
 " constant hearers." At the close of 1790, the congrega-



tion of baptized negroes had increased to upwards of four hundred ; and the letters dated in February and April mentioned a further increase, and stated, that whole gangs of negroes came on Sundays to hear the gospel. The grace of God our Saviour prevails in all their meetings in a particular manner, and fills the hearts of his people with joy and peace.

In the year 1792, their successes were partially interrupted by a common calamity which was felt by all, and which their missionary, who resided in the island, has thus described :

*St. Kitt's, April 11, 1792:*

“ By this opportunity I send you an account of the dismal situation into which this island, and in particular the town of Basseterre, has suddenly been thrown.

“ Ever since Palm Sunday, we have had at times smart showers of rain. In the night a strong wind arose, with repeated violent gusts of flying showers, which lasted till morning. Towards noon it rained much, and great quantities of water flowed down College Street. At two, it began to lighten and thunder ; and the stream increased, so that it spread as far as our new wall : and about eight in the evening, the rain grew more violent. Between nine and ten, we heard much noise. I went into the garden, and heard distinctly the cries and shrieks of the poor negroes opposite to us ; for the waters, coming across Mr. L.'s cane-lands, had passed through their huts. I would gladly have gone to their assistance, but could not ; for the current was very rapid, and the water higher than our walled fence. I called upon the Lord to have mercy upon them ; but soon after saw the negro houses carried away with their inhabitants.

“ As I went to our burying-ground, I perceived that about fifty feet in length of the wall from the corner below the gate, was washed away, the planks of the remaining part torn off, and the strong cedar posts bending towards the street. The ground within the wall, to the depth of five or six feet, was washed out and carried away. It was now between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, and I went in to inform the sisters how things appeared ; we then prayed to our Heavenly Father to help us in our distress. We soon felt comforted ; and presently after the violence of the rain abated. At six in the morning, a few people who had escaped the danger came to our church to pray the Easter litany. Having sung an hymn,

“ we kneeled down, thanked our merciful Savior for having  
“ protected and preserved us, prayed for the island and its  
“ inhabitants; read the history of our Lord's resurrection,  
“ and then prayed the litany in the church.

“ We were soon afterward informed of the great damage  
“ done in the town. On L.'s plantation two women, one  
“ of whom was a candidate for baptism, with two children,  
“ were lost. A woman from W.'s estate, who had put up  
“ on L.'s for that night, with four children, her husband,  
“ and a blind woman, were all in great danger. As they  
“ stood in the water, the children cried, “ Dear Father,  
“ dear Savior, hear the cry of us poor children, and help  
“ us and our mother.”—God heard their cries, and preserv-  
“ ed them.”

“ In College-Street, the torrent carried away all the fences,  
“ walls, and steps, and in some places tore down the houses;  
“ some falling upon their inhabitants, and some being car-  
“ ried away with them. The water also broke into the  
“ house of one of our communicants, gained vent, and swept  
“ away two adjoining houses into the sea. In one of these  
“ was a communicant sister and her son. The parish house  
“ was broken down: the English church and the Methodist  
“ chapel were filled with mud and water. Several houses  
“ were carried into the sea with all their furniture, and  
“ dashed to pieces. Most of the merchants' cellars were  
“ filled with water, mud, and sand; and great quantities of  
“ provisions were spoiled. A Mrs. T. with her house  
“ and family was carried into the sea. She cried out,  
“ Lord, have mercy upon me, and help me.” A mulatto,  
“ hearing her cries, ventured out, and swimming after her,  
“ caught her by the hair, and saved her, though she was al-  
“ most dead. Her daughter's dead corpse swam by her  
“ side; her son was saved; but two of the inhabitants were  
“ lost. One of our people, a mulatto woman, said, “ It  
“ is of my Savior's mercy that my life is preserved:” and,  
“ indeed, the divine mercy was signal in her behalf; for her  
“ neighbor's house was swept away, while her's was left  
“ standing, though so filled with mud and water, that her  
“ goods were spoiled. The strongest walls were unable  
“ to withstand the vehemence of the main current, and  
“ the oldest inhabitants cannot remember so formidable  
“ and destructive an inundation, whereby so many lives  
“ were lost. In the forenoon, Brother Reichel returned  
“ from a visit upon Burt's plantation, after a very danger-  
“ ous journey. In our church alone divine service could

“ be performed, and but few attended both in the fore and  
 “ afternoon.

“ We were thankful that we had so good a wall to defend our premises, otherwise we must have been overflowed, and both the house and the church would have been in danger; because the floods used generally to break in at the corner of our burying-ground. We have certainly sustained some damage, but nothing in comparison with the rest of the inhabitants. However, we feel it much. In the town of Old Road, some houses have been washed into the sea, and on the north side much injury has been done. You will, undoubtedly, join us in thanking our gracious Lord, that our dear negroes in the town have been so mercifully preserved; only Henrietta a communicant, and a candidate for baptism on L.'s estate, have lost their lives. Had poor Henrietta stayed in her own house, she would in all probability have been safe, for that was left standing.

“ On Good Friday, previous to the calamity, our church was filled with negroes from the country: these were very attentive, and shed many tears during the prayer with which the meeting closed. Thanks be to God! we are at present well in health, and recommend ourselves to your prayers and remembrance before the Lord.

“ G. C. SCHNELLER.”

Exclusively of the above calamity which we have given in detail, “ The accounts received from their missionaries in St. Kitt's, are such (they say) that all true lovers of Jesus Christ and his precious gospel will rejoice with us at the great grace prevailing in that mission. The missionaries (they add) live in peace and brotherly love, preaching the word, and are indefatigably employed in visiting the negroes upon the different plantations. The Lord blesses their labor and their testimony. The congregation at Basseterre consisted, at the end of 1791, of six hundred and twenty-four souls, besides many new people who come to beg for baptism. The brethren have also been invited to a plantation about ten miles from Basseterre, where they have generally from seventy to eighty attentive hearers.”

In a subsequent number of their periodical accounts for 1792, they observe, that the last letters from St. Kitt's were dated on the 24th and 28th of July. “ The new chapel at Basseterre (they say) is, at all opportunities, filled with

“attentive hearers; and the missionaries preach the gospel  
 “at four different places in the country with an abiding  
 “blessing. The negroes belonging to their congregations  
 “come from thirty-nine plantations. Of these, six hundred  
 “and twenty-four are baptized, or are candidates for bap-  
 “tism; and about three hundred new people have desired  
 “to have their names written down, wishing to be remem-  
 “bered by the missionaries. The grace and blessing of  
 “God attend the course of that mission, and peace and  
 “love prevail among his servants. For these great favors  
 “we join our dear brethren there in praising and blessing  
 “his holy name.”

In their number for 1793, their accounts were equally favorable and flattering. The letters to which they then referred were dated in January of that year, and place the mission of that island in a very pleasing point of view. They mention, that the influence of the Holy Ghost on the hearts of the baptized negroes was remarkably evident, and encouraged them to exert every faculty of mind and body in endeavoring to do justice to their very extensive charge. Last year (they observe) three hundred and thirty-five negroes were added to their congregation by baptism, or by admission to their class of candidates for it; and on the 6th of January 1793 thirty grown persons and seven children were bapuzed.

Such was the introduction and early success of the Moravian mission in the island of St. Christopher's. From the year 1793, to the present period, their labors have been abundantly blessed; by which we have reason to believe that many souls have been added to Jesus Christ. Through their instrumentality a great many had been awakened, and taught to seek after the living God; so that the number of those who have inquired the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, has been greatly increased. Their missionaries and sincere disciples, we have every reason to believe, are ornaments to their profession; influenced by no secular motive, and aiming at no honor but that which cometh from God. The particular successes which have attended the ministration of the word among them are proofs of missionary assiduity; while that reformation which is so visible in the lives of those who have cordially embraced their doctrines, affords an indubitable evidence that the work is owned and blessed of God.

That Christ is preached among the heathen, we do and will rejoice. The great Head of the church sends no man

a warfare at his own charge; he employs what instruments he sees meet, and gives them souls for their hire: and through such agency as he thinks proper to make subservient to his purposes, he will finally bring many sons and daughters unto glory. In that blessed region above, those local distinctions which here on earth divide mankind, and too frequently extinguish brotherly love, shall never enter; names and sects and parties shall disappear before the Sun of Righteousness, and Jesus Christ shall be all in all.

When contemplating the sects and parties who preach Christ, and him crucified, into which the true Christian church is divided, we may view them in the light of individuals standing at last before the tribunal of Heaven, and saying, *Here we are, and the children thou hast given us.* Why then may we not consider them as having received different talents from God, which they have all improved, and which have been rendered subservient to the general salvation of souls? In the natural world, "All nature's difference keeps all nature's peace:" and it is at least pleasing to transfer the analogy to the empire of Christianity, and to behold the various modes of worship which have been adopted, as well as the peculiarity of sentiments which have occasionally been entertained, as secretly acting towards the important end for which the religion of Jesus Christ was first instituted, namely, the ultimate happiness of the faithful. Shadows indeed on these topics encircle us, so that we have only a sufficiency of acuteness to discern obscurities which we cannot penetrate: but of this we are assured, the King of eternity does all things well; and in a future world he will unravel all.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

## HISTORY OF ST. CHRISTOPHER'S

*(Concluded.)*

*St. Christopher's continued.—The Author's first visit to the island.—Establishment of a Methodist mission.—Extraordinary success of that mission.—Author's second and third visits.—Remains of a burning mountain, and evidence of still unextinguished fires.—Progress of religion.—Political benefits resulting from the propagation of the gospel.—Extensiveness of a gracious work among the negroes.—Comparative estimate between the piety of the negroes and that of Europeans.*

**T**HERE are, perhaps, but few instances to which those reflections wherewith we concluded the preceding chapter can be more applicable, than to the introduction of the gospel by our missionaries into the West India islands; and few of these can so fully illustrate their truth, as the island of St. Christopher's.

It was on Tuesday the 16th of January 1787, that the author, in company with three other Methodist missionaries, namely, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Hammet, and Mr. Clarke, sailed from Dominica to the island of St. Christopher's, with a full design, if possible, to establish a mission: and on the Thursday following, we reached it in safety. On our arrival, we found that intelligence of our intention had been transmitted from Antigua, which island we had visited previously to our touching at Dominica.

Friendship, perhaps, when completely refined, is always a volunteer. We at least found it so in St. Christopher's, and we found it genuine. The occasion of our visit had been communicated, with the information of our intention to touch upon the shores of that island; and, on our arrival, we found that some of the inhabitants had provided us a house in which to preach, and in which to lodge. Accommodations must always be estimated by the purity of the

intention, and the exigency of the occasion. To the former we were much indebted; and, notwithstanding the latter, we had no reason to complain.

But few places, which hold an intercourse with mankind, are so abandoned, as to afford not a single friend to the religion of Jesus Christ. In the interchanges which occasionally take place among the inhabitants of the earth, the sacred leaven will be more or less diffused; and in proportion as Christianity becomes extended, the sincere friends of God must necessarily increase. On our arrival at St. Christopher's, we soon found out two persons, who had not only a relish for the excellencies of religion, but had in an eminent manner the fear of God before their eyes. One of these was a Mr. Cable, a mulatto gentleman, by trade a printer; and the other a Mrs. Seaton, a gentlewoman of the same complexion. By these persons we were not only acknowledged, but received with kindness, attention, and hospitality. There are to be found not unfrequently in the human character, certain features, which, though indescribable in words, are indubitable marks by which cordial approbation may be distinguished from common civility, even though the latter should be much refined. In Mr. Cable and Mrs. Seaton we found both, and therefore could not be deceived. To a Mr. Bertrie, a jeweller, we likewise felt ourselves much indebted, for that sincerity of friendship which marked his conduct towards us in this our early visit. It was offered with disinterestedness, and is therefore entitled to a tribute of grateful acknowledgement.

On the evening of Thursday, though the notice that had been given was only local, a congregation that might be deemed considerable attended to hear those things which make for their everlasting peace. Decency and order prevailed; and the general appearance plainly indicated that the inhabitants were ripe for the gospel; and that a mission might be established on the island with every probability of success. Such were the ideas suggested by the early conduct of the people; and such were the probable reasons, under the providence and grace of God, on which we, in part, rested our future expectations.

It was from this place that we first paid a visit to Nevis, as has been related in our account of the introduction of the gospel into that island. Our stay, however, on the latter island was at that time but transient; for, after an absence of three days, we again returned to St. Christopher's. On our second arrival, an invitation was given to

us, to preach in the court-house of Basseterre. Both necessity and approbation dictated a compliance; in consequence of which we accepted the invitation, and Mr. Hammet preached in the afternoon, and the Author in the evening. At this time, notice having been publicly given, the crowd was prodigious, and something more than mere novelty appeared to have actuated the greater part. The inhabitants seemed to feel themselves interested in the issue of our ministry; and, by the countenance which they gave to our endeavors, we could not but infer the sincerity of that approbation which they so readily manifested. As an evidence of these facts, six or seven of the principal gentlemen of the town felt no scruple in inviting us to their houses; and among them was the established clergyman of the parish. With some of these invitations we found it both necessary and convenient to comply, that we might have an opportunity of communicating our intentions, and of unfolding the objects which we had in view.

Satisfied with our statements of these objects, many of the inhabitants began to calculate upon a permanent residence for one of our missionaries. And understanding that Mr. Hammet was to be stationed among them, they began with renting for him a convenient house, in which he could at once reside, and preach the gospel to the negroes and others, who might be disposed to attend.

Matters being thus adjusted in Basseterre, we sailed from that town on Wednesday the 24th, to another part of the island, and landed at a small town called *Sandy Point*. In this place we called on a Mr. Sommersal, a gentleman of property and influence, at whose house *Mr. Tunnel*, one of our American elders, who had previously taken a voyage to this island on account of his health, had once preached. This gentleman also received us with something more than common civility. And having been made acquainted with the motives which had led us to these shores, he not only approved of our designs, but promised to consult some of his friends in the neighborhood in which he resided, on the occasion of our visit, and with them endeavor to prepare a place, in which Mr. Hammet might conveniently preach. Relying therefore on the promises of friendship which gave encouragement to hope, and on the protection of that God who has engaged never to leave nor forsake his servants who put their confidence in him, we bade adieu to our affectionate friends for a season, and took our leave of the island.

In the month of February 1789, in the course of a third



voyage to America, the Author again visited St. Christopher's, and had the satisfaction of being personally convinced of the great benefit which had resulted from the introduction of the gospel into this island. The labors of Mr. Hammet had been unremitting; and the blessings which had crowned his exertions were almost unexampled in the history of modern times. In the space of two years he had, through the divine assistance, raised in different parts of the island a society of *seven hundred members*; of whom, the greater part, I had reason to believe, were members of the mystical body of Christ. In what state soever religion might have been considered prior to our former visit, certain it is that those converts were raised from a barren soil which had hitherto produced no fruit to God. To labor among the negroes with any tolerable degree of success, humanly speaking, is always a difficult, and sometimes an almost impossible task. When, therefore, we take these common difficulties into the account, and connect them with the shortness of that time in which the work we contemplate was wrought, we cannot but admire the infinite compassions of God towards the poor negroes, who had been living without hope and without him in the world. Here also had the great Head of the church poured out the spirit of prophecy, and raised up in this society two preachers qualified to impart instruction to others. To these he had communicated a willingness, equal to their ability, to devote themselves entirely to the work of the ministry in these regions of the world. All circumstances considered, we may perhaps view this outpouring of the Spirit as an extraordinary display of the divine mercy towards the colored inhabitants, who were buried in shades, to which their complexions could not be admitted as rivals.

A fifth tour to the continent of North America afforded the Author an opportunity of surveying the progress of religion, and of paying his last visit to his friends and brethren in the West Indies. On the 12th of December 1792, he sailed from New York, and arrived on the 31st at St. Eustatius. After a short stay at that Dutch colony, of which an account will be given in its proper place, he touched at Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Grenada; and on the 26th of January 1793, reached St. Christopher's, to survey the society, recommend the members to the grace of God, and take his final leave.

At this time we remained on the island two days, and were kindly entertained by Dr. Bull, a physician, and a

member of the legislative assembly. This gentleman resides on the side of what was once a burning mountain, namely, Mount Misery; of which we have already given some account. "On this mountain," says Dr. Chisholm, "is a huge cliff of granite, forming one side of the most perfect crater I ever remember to have seen in the West Indies." The garden belonging to this gentleman, was certainly the most complete of any among private gardens that had come under my observation, in any part of the windward or leeward islands\*.

As to its situation, it is sufficiently cool for raising all the esculents of England, but it would be difficult to say that a perfect conformity subsisted between the atmosphere and earth. In some parts toward the summit of the mountain, assistance appeared necessary

—————"to support uneasy steps  
Over the burning marle;"

for the ground was literally so hot, that it was difficult to walk over it. This violence of heat must, without doubt, have arisen from some internal unextinguished fires, which perhaps are corroding the intestines of the mountain, and preying upon that bitumen, which, when exhausted, will reduce the surface to a shell. The period may, therefore, not be remote, when these half-smothered fires shall burst their confines, and deluge the inhabitants with an inundation of lava and flame.

How far the above conjecture may be well founded, time only can determine. This much is certain, that no eruption has taken place, and no lava has been thrown up by it

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\* The manner in which two streams of water have been brought from the burning mountain to the garden of Dr. Bull, is so ingenious, that it might afford delight to the contemplative philosopher, and employ his attention for a considerable time. The powers of art are vast and astonishing: in multitudes of instances we behold much to admire; but in this they appear perhaps to superior advantage. Between the warring elements there is a secret harmony; the earth is rendered more prolific by the acquisitions which she derives from salubrious fluids. In the garden of which I speak, the soil is impregnated with nutritive particles and a genial warmth. From these happy internixtures of heat and cold, the scene abounds with varying delights. While walking in its retreats, I more than once forgot myself, and for a few seconds imagined that I was in my native land. But recollection soon dissipated the forgetfulness of the moment, and awakened my attention to the important object of my voyage.

since these islands have been visited by the nations of Europe. And from this circumstance it has been inferred, that the inhabitants who reside on the declivity of the mountain are secure from danger. A continuance of safety, without doubt, tends to banish suspicion; but a mountain that trembles beneath the feet of the inhabitants, and which exhibits such powerful symptoms of subterranean fires, presents an awful warning that danger may be much nearer than apprehension. If those causes which produced an eruption in former ages are still at work, the lapse of time has only brought the portentous explosion nearer to an awful crisis, and the moment may be fast approaching when the dreadful effect will be produced. Delay in this view only hastens calamity, while it gives confidence to deceitful security; and disarms the mind of its native vigilance, to seize it in its most unguarded moment. But every thing is in the hand of God; he can quench the volcanic fires in an instant, or direct their progress towards the centre of the earth. And, by the displays of uncontrolled omnipotence, we cannot but admit, that he can cause eruptions to burst in those regions which promise the greatest safety, and send forth his ministers of vengeance to alarm and punish a guilty world. A confidence in his mercies, through Jesus Christ, affords firm footing amidst "the war of elements, the wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds;" and all besides, is only building on the passing stream.

On Sunday the 27th, in visiting the societies, and engaging in public worship, I found my soul much refreshed, and have reason to believe that it was a refreshing season to many others. In speaking for God, I found great liberty, and every heart seemed to be watered from on high with the dew of Heaven. After our public service we held a love-feast. It was really animating to hear from the negroes the lively and clear accounts which they gave of their conversion to God. Simplicity, in their conversation, put on her simplest dress, and expressed the warm and genuine effusions of grateful hearts. Like loveliness,

"It needed not the foreign aid of ornament,  
"But was, when unadorn'd, adorn'd the most."

On the 28th, we took our leave of this happy island, in which genuine religion flourished like an olive-tree in the house of God. And it is matter of much consolation to know, that it has since continued to thrive, under the fostering care of our pious gospel-ministers, who have, since the

above period, been stationed in the island. Soon after quitting St. Christopher's, we held our conference in Antigua, and found, by the returns which were then made from the former island, that the little one had literally become a thousand. Our number of members at this time amounted to thirty-two whites and one thousand five hundred and twenty-two colored people and blacks, who were inquiring "the way to Zion with their faces thitherward."

From this period personal knowledge closes. Our subsequent accounts are drawn from letters which have been since transmitted from the missionaries. From these, therefore, we proceed to take extracts to lay before our readers; and, in doing this, shall follow the order in which they have been respectively dated and written.

[From Mr. Harper; dated St. Kitt's, April 1794.]

"The hope you express of *St. Eustatius* being opened for the reception of the gospel affords me much satisfaction. The seed sown in that island has not perished. There are about forty who still meet in class, and some of them appear to be much in earnest. They go some distance into the country, that they may have an opportunity of meeting together in quietness; and as often as their circumstances will admit, they visit us in this island. Twelve or fourteen of them are now here, to spend Easter with us. I was this morning speaking to one of them, who said, "In our prayers God assures us that his gospel will be preached among us. We have prayed for it; he promises to grant us what we have prayed for; and his promise cannot fail." I did not give her the slightest intimation that there was any probability of this more than usual. I believe she is a daughter of Abraham.

"Our members in society here, since the departure of our brethren in the army, are as follow:—one thousand four hundred and ten blacks, and thirteen whites."

[From Mr. Andrews; dated Basseterre, St. Kitt's, July 18, 1794.]

"This climate agrees very well with me. I am in good health, and in better spirits in general than when in England. I feel much love to the negroes; so much so, that I am amazed at myself. The word is generally blessed to them. I believe good has been done, and is still doing, among them.

On some of the estates, where the work had declined, and they would not attend, I began with the young negroes. This caused a revival; and now I meet these young people separately, in general, throughout the whole island. The managers and owners approve of it much. I began a school at Old Road, and opened a subscription for its support, which meets with encouragement. A good woman now teaches about twenty-five children to read. The preacher constantly meets about fifty. From among these, there has been chosen a class of about fifteen, most of them deeply serious. This society is thriving; much of the power and presence of God attends us here. Our love-feast, last Sunday week, was an extraordinary one; God poured out his Spirit upon the people abundantly.

“ At Basseterre, also, we meet the children. They flock to us in numbers. One morning lately, I believe eighty attended; and I find in general much freedom and power to speak to these little ones. But here, there is as yet no teacher in the absence of the preacher.

“ The societies in general are increasing. I have admitted about one hundred. But still the work does not blaze out as I could wish; though God works, and will work. I bless and praise the Lord, that his Providence sent me here; because a cloud of darkness and prejudice is taken from my mind, which more or less hangs over many of my dear brethren in England with respect to the West-India islands. There are few quite free from it; or who see the vast importance of preaching the gospel among the negroes and heathens, in this, as well as in other parts of the world. Who is there, with eyes in any degree opened, that does not see something of the signs of the times? *My gospel*, says our Lord, *shall be preached to every creature*; Mark, xiii. 10. xvi. 15. May not this be the time? And is not God now *giving the heathen to his Son*? Ps. ii. 8. Is not this the time for every messenger and servant of God to bestir himself, to open his mind, and let in light, to disperse narrowness of spirit and prejudice, and to pray that God would send forth his light and truth far and wide, and more laborers into his harvest? I have been at Mr. Horton's estate three or four times. The negroes are amazingly thankful and attentive. I trust much good will be done.

“ My dear Sir; God has dealt, and does still deal, very bountifully with me. I enjoy happiness among these people; yea, often as much, it appears to me, as I can contain. Some of them enjoy the love of God in an eminent

degree. I eagerly pant to see the fire spread through thousands more.—Peace be with your spirit.”

[From Mr. Alexander to Messrs. Thoresby and Truscott ; dated Basseterre, St. Kitt's, August 22, 1794.]

“ Glory be to God that I enjoy a good state of health ; and, above all, that he gives me a desire to spend and be spent for his glory, and the good of souls. On our passage to the windward of Barbadoes, we were nearly cast away ; but, through mercy, we arrived safe at Antigua, where we spent ten days with Mr. Baxter and Mr. Warrenner, who treated us with the utmost kindness. On the 13th we had a love-feast. It was the best I ever was at. Indeed, it was a heaven upon earth, to hear the converted negroes declare the goodness of God with such artless simplicity. Their attitude was very expressive, while in broken accents, and with tears running down their black faces, they spoke of the goodness of God to them in such words as these : “ *No fader ; no moder ; no sister ; no broder, no friend ! but Jesus is all in all !*” And then they blessed God that they had been taken from their native country, and brought to hear the sound of the gospel. Frequently they concluded with this short prayer, “ May God bless all my ministers from first to last. *Bless my leader, bless all my country-people. May we join heart and hand together, to travel to the New Jerusalem.*” If you had been there, it would have made your heart dance for joy. The congregations are very large ; and I think they are the most loving people I ever saw.

“ On the 21st of July we set sail for this place, and arrived safely the next day. The friends here are exceedingly kind. The number of hearers is increasing ; and so is the number in society ; and I think that the people are growing more alive to God ; so that there is a pleasing prospect at present of a revival of the work.”

[From Mr. Baxter ; dated Old Road, St. Christopher's, May 18, 1795.]

“ The slaves in Antigua and St. Kitt's are loyal ; we have nothing to fear from them. I was called on by the President and Council of Antigua to give my opinion whether the slaves would defend that island. I was firmly persuaded they would ; and undertook with brother War-

rener to raise a corps of our own society, and to attend as chaplain to them. The Moravian brethren also raised a corps out of their people. We got upwards of one thousand men in both societies. They have also formed a corps of slaves in this island. But if the Lord be not our support, all will be in vain."

In these and similar instances we perceive the blessed effects of that genuine faith in Christ, which our missionaries are so zealous in inculcating. They are rendered conspicuous on many occasions, but on none so much as when some trying emergency calls them into action. They shine in the promoting of domestic virtues in private families, in animating and encouraging the discharge of social duties, and in the establishment of genuine patriotism, whenever a fair occasion calls. Nothing but the power of divine grace could induce the negroes to offer themselves for the defence of a country in which they were held as slaves, and to protect their masters, many of whom, doubtless, had treated them with severity. And nothing but this persuasion could incline their masters to place in these a degree of confidence which they felt reluctant to repose in others. While these remained in a state of heathenism, the passions of sullen discontent at their situation, and a latent spirit of revenge, must of course have waited only for a favourable opportunity to operate. And such propensities attaching more or less to men in that condition, must invariably render them more hostile than indifferent, with respect to the fate of their masters, and of the country which they inhabit. But these pious negroes, with dispositions which a knowledge of their situation through the merits of the blessed Jesus had converted into patience, resignation, and fortitude, were ready to stand forth to repel the combined force of France and Spain in their attempts to subjugate the island.

Slaves devoid of principle follow the impulse of their passions, and are always ready to become the dupes of designing men. Having no internal resources, they move under the direction of a leading faction,—the tools of imposition, or the blind instruments of lawless power. From the peculiar situation of the slaves in the West Indies, these observations acquire an additional force. The interest of their masters is therefore connected with the issue. The establishment of some permanent principles in the bosoms of the negroes, is the only basis upon which, in moments

of exigency, they can rely with safety, or rest their hopes with any confidence of success.

Men who have nothing to expect in this life to meliorate their condition, should have, above all others, their views directed to another. With this prospect of happiness beyond the grave, obedience in the present state is inseparably connected. The rewards of eternity beget a fixed principle in the mind, which diffuses itself through every branch of human actions; so that men endure with fortitude a state of trials, from the expectation of felicity which shall never end.

These effects the introduction of the gospel is calculated to produce: and while the soul breathes gratitude to God from a feeling sense of his communicated presence, the calamities of life put on a less formidable aspect, and vanish from a comparison with those glories which shall continue for ever. These blessings were experienced by multitudes of the slaves in St. Christopher's; and these effects were produced upon their minds. In moments of danger they expressed their attachment to their masters, and demonstrated by their conduct that their professions were sincere.

Making all due allowance for those vicissitudes to which the work of God has been exposed in all ages of the world, religion in the succeeding five years continued to flourish in this island in an abundant manner. Converts that had but recently been brought into the ways of God acquired a stability of which they were destitute in early times. And, notwithstanding the members who occasionally withdrew from the holy commandment that had been delivered unto them,—though many had been expelled for improper conduct,—and though vast numbers had exchanged a state of trial for a state of certainty, a deficiency was rarely found. On the contrary, a spirit of hearing was greatly diffused among whites as well as blacks, and the number belonging to the societies in different parts of the island was augmented in a considerable degree. But of these facts the following letters will give the clearest statement. The first was written by Mr. Debell, and is dated St. Kitt's, April 22, 1802, and addressed to the Author.

“ I have the satisfaction to inform you, that, after a passage of thirty-five days, we safely arrived at our desired haven. The captain behaved to us like a gentleman. I was sea-sick for many days, but nothing was omitted that could be procured to make me comfortable. We left our ship on



the 4th instant, and repaired to Mr. Brownell's, where we were kindly received. The friends in general bade us a hearty welcome to St. Kitt's. The country exceeds my expectation; and I am very much pleased with this part of God's vineyard. I can read, write, and think, almost as well as I could when in England. My head is not affected by the sun, as I expected; and I trust, by the aid of my God, I shall be rendered useful to the people.

"In the island of Nevis there is a prospect of a plentiful harvest. Did the English preachers but conceive what a glorious work is going on in the West Indies, they would not think it a sacrifice too great, to leave their native land, and cross the Western ocean, to publish the glad tidings of salvation to the poor negroes.

"But the negroes are not the only persons to whom we preach. The white people crowd our chapels to hear for themselves. They seem all attention, and I doubt not that many of them will be converted to God. May God in mercy hasten the happy day, and quicken their precious souls!

"The white people so throng our chapels, that there is not room for them to sit down. I feel at this moment gratitude to God for drawing them to hear; but I expect soon to feel my heart rejoice in their conversion. It gives me a degree of pain to see them standing all the time of divine service; but our chapels must remain as they are at present, unless assistance come from some unexpected quarter. Should this be our happy portion, to meet with some kind benefactors, our places of worship would soon be made much larger; and I am persuaded, even in that case, that the congregations would fill them soon.

"Brother Bradnack is in Nevis, and has sent us good news of the work of God in that island. Yesterday I received our credentials; but of our books and clothes we have no account. I hope, however, that they will come safely to hand."

[From Mr. John Brownell; dated St. Kitt's, May 6, 1802.]

"You will perceive from the inclosed statement, that the number in our society amounts to two thousand five hundred and eighty-seven; and that the Lord has blessed us greatly in our temporal affairs. Indeed we had more in number than are included in the above statement; but the crop of canes is so great, that many companies of negroes

are obliged to work until midnight; and therefore, having no time to attend their classes, I did not take their names into the account.

“The Sunday-School I mentioned is nearly established. Our friends are consulting about building a school-house. They urge very much to have a day-school to educate their children in the principles of religion, together with reading, writing, and arithmetic. Many white people also press this matter, and say, “Their children are learning little but vice in common schools.” His Honor the President said, that “*our Sunday-schools deserved public support,*” or words to that effect. Many tarry after public service is done, to hear the children sing praises unto God.

“Had we four preachers in this island, and two in Nevis, and were the superintendant a man that took delight in training up the rising generation, the above plan might be carried into effect, and the profits resulting from it would be more than sufficient for the maintenance of one preacher. Indeed it would be only another mode, and perhaps a more effectual one, of forwarding the object of our mission. The children at present under our care are about two hundred.

“Were you again to visit these islands, you would not stand in doubt whether religion had made any progress since you were here last. On the contrary, I doubt not that you would say at parting, “Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy “salvation.”

The kind attention and respect with which Mr. Debell and Mr. Bradnack were received on their arrival in St. Kitt's, together with the pleasing prospects of success which lay before them, are thus described in the following letter, written by Mr. Brownell soon after they reached the island, and had entered upon their missionary labors. Indeed, to a soul truly alive to God, and ardently endeavoring to be rendered serviceable to his fellow-creatures, nothing can be more reviving. The compassions of God are conspicuous in the calls of mercy which he holds out to a guilty world; but they shine with peculiar lustre in those regions where the people had been sitting in darkness, and in the shadow of death.

“On Sunday the 4th of April, 1802, (says Mr. Brownell) Mr. Debell and Mr. Bradnack arrived here, after a short and pleasant passage. Divine Providence favored them in every respect: perhaps, no former missionaries ever came

out with so few difficulties, and entered upon their labors with so many favorable circumstances.

“ On the same day that they left the ship, one of them preached in the afternoon to such a crowded audience, as struck them with astonishment. Our congregations have increased so much during the last twelve months, that we are constrained to cry out, “ Lord, enlarge our borders !” When I see the ailes of the chapel closely wedged with white and black people, promiscuously interspersed, without a seat upon which to sit, together with such numbers in the yard, who in former days could scarcely be brought to worship God in the same place, I cannot but acknowledge, “ This is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvelous indeed.” Several have found peace with God, and are happy witnesses of a present salvation ; and some have gone to heaven in a calm and resigned manner, while others have entered into the joy of their Lord in the full triumph of faith. Our young brethren breathe the true spirit of missionaries : they are acceptable to the people, and are likely to do good.”

On the 3d of May 1803, Mr. Brownell writes again as follows :—“ I send inclosed the receipts and disbursements for last year in Basseterre circuit, Sandy Point, and also for the island of St. Bartholomew’s.

“ I am happy to inform you, that the work in every island is acquiring great stability. We have determined to separate the spiritual and temporal affairs of our society as far as we can. After serving this dear people in every even the meanest office, for three years, the trustees have resumed their place, and are to take charge of the chapel. This happy event is owing to the return of *Mr. George Skerret* to the society.

“ There is a large deficiency in the finances in St. Bartholomew’s, and a single preacher must be stationed there, or the island must be given up. We have enlarged Basseterre chapel, and put it in an ample order, expecting positively to see you the next Christmas. It now contains two thousand eight hundred square feet ; and, what is much better, is generally full of people, and sometimes crowded. The expense of this enlargement is not included in this year’s account. I suppose it will cost about £.600 currency ; two thirds of which will be subscribed ; and fifty-one pews at six dollars, and some at £3 6s. annually, will, if the Lord prosper us, make out the rest. The dwelling-house

should be removed, and raised a story, to complete the plan; but I imagine we must rest a little while."

On May the 11th 1803, Mr. Brownell again wrote from the same island, and his letter furnishes us with the following pleasing extract:

"The account of our temporal affairs I dispatched by the packet, and will now inform you of that which will be more pleasing; namely, the spiritual welfare of the flock.

"It cannot be denied, that there has been a great ingathering of souls since this time last year, at Basseterre, Old-Road, and Sandy-Point. And what may be deemed remarkable, the whites and colored people chiefly have found peace with God. Many of them experience redemption through the blood of Christ, even the forgiveness of sins, and bring forth the fruits of a real conversion in a holy life and a heavenly conversation.

"We have about thirty-four whites in society, and I view them as a precious seed of a future harvest. Six of them are class-leaders; and several are champions in the cause, carrying religion into those houses where we could have no access. Indeed, there is a sensible growing in grace in those three societies above mentioned; and not a few blacks relate what God has done for their souls, with such plain, such artless simplicity, as immediately reaches and affects the hearts of those that hear.

"Although I readily confess, that religion is not in general so deep in the hearts of the blacks, as it is in those of the English Methodists, yet it is truly conspicuous. Indeed, the whites and colored people in these islands, who possess the power of religion, having far more knowledge than the blacks, greatly excel them in spreading religion, and in a steady and upright walking with God. But, on the whole, it may be said with astonishment, "What has God wrought!"

"Having now spent fully three years in this island, and beheld with pleasure the work of the Lord flourish beyond my most sanguine expectations, I feel desirous that some pious and able missionary should be appointed to this weighty charge. The trustees, leaders, and respectable white gentlemen and ladies who are lovers of the cause, and have subscribed largely towards our chapel which they now attend, feel not a little anxious at this intimation; and would, were they to know the purport of these lines, and had liberty to speak, conjure you in the most solemn manner to

be cautious and judicious in the choice of a missionary for this place. Brother Turner has preached here once with great acceptance; and in all the West Indies, I know not a man whose abilities would suit St. Kitt's better."

[*From the same; dated St. Christopher's, June 9, 1803.*]

"Having procured the Rev. — — — to preach in Basseterre on Sunday, May 22d, brother Thomson and myself went down to Sandy-Point to assist brother Pattison, who wished to have a sort of opening of the addition which had been made to the chapel. The addition is nearly as large as the original part; and the whole is so constructed, as to become both respectable and commodious. There were present at this opening about a dozen whites, fifty colored people, and between four and five hundred blacks. I suppose the dedication of Solomon's temple was scarcely a matter of greater joy to the Jews, than the chapel of Sandy-Point was to these persons. And indeed, when I reflected that in this town, about seven years ago, I had preached in a private house to a few poor despised people, and that the ablest preachers that ever were in St. Kitt's, had been ready to shake off the dust of their feet against this place—when I compared these circumstances with what I now saw before me, the past appeared like a dream, and I was ready again to repeat, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

"It is but justice to acknowledge, that brother Owens began this work by removing the chapel from Deep-Bay to Sandy-Point. Brother Shepley carried it forward, and gave stability to it, by building a house there, and residing on the spot; and brother Pattison has almost perfected it, by enlarging the chapel, and by his attention to the people. In the forenoon I preached from Matt. xxiv. 14; and in the afternoon from Rom. i. 16. My brethren assisted in prayer, giving out hymns, and administering the sacrament. I trust that great good will be done in that place.

"With respect to my appointment, I cannot say I have any choice. I may, perhaps, linger out another year or two, and would wish to be as useful as possible while I stay."

On the 10th of October 1803, we were furnished with another letter from Mr. Brownell, in which he corroborates the preceding accounts, and speaks of the pleasing pro-

spects which lay before the missionaries in terms of the warmest approbation. But his own sentiments on this occasion will be best expressed in his own language.

“ We held (says he) our quarterly meeting on the 3d and 4th of this month, and found it necessary to draw the line of duty for every preacher according to the English minutes, and to commit certain regulations to paper. Our minutes may, perhaps, be of use whenever a conference shall be held in the West Indies, which we hope you will not defer longer than is absolutely necessary. We held a watch-night at Basseterre, Old-Road, and Sandy-Point, in the course of the week, in which places none of the chapels were large enough to hold the crowds of people that attended. Brother T. is a pleasing popular preacher, which appears to me to be one of the least of his good qualifications.

“ It was Dr. Coke’s injunction that we should never lose sight of St. Eustatius, but endeavor to establish a mission there, as soon as a proper opportunity offered. We have now a clear call to that island. A gentleman of respectability, having obtained permission from the governor for a mission to come and reside there, offers his house for his accommodation. I propose to go down about the second Sunday in April with one of the young missionaries, and to act as circumstances may require.

“ I have suffered much in mind since the last quarter, which has had no small effect upon my body. This has, perhaps, been occasioned by the indisposition of brother Thomson, who was sick at Old-Road: this circumstance caused an additional expense, so that at the last quarter-day the balance was against the society.”

When we take a retrospective survey of the preceding letters, and of the various branches of the accounts already given, we cannot but admire the condescension and compassion of God, in thus blessing the endeavors of his servants, and in communicating to the negroes, through their instrumentality, a knowledge of salvation through the remission of sins. These, before the introduction of the gospel, were buried in idolatry and vice, and living without hope and without God in the world. But now, so far is the scene completely changed, that they know in whom they have believed, and many of them can rejoice in hope of the glory of God.

Mr. Brownell has observed in one of his letters, “ That

religion is not so deep in the hearts of the blacks, as it is in those of the English Methodists." In point of naked fact, this statement, I believe, is true: but how far a comparison may justly be made, is a question which involves many other considerations.

The lowest orders of society in England are brought up in the hereditary admission of many of the first principles of religion. Of the being of a God, of the authenticity of the sacred records, and of the certainty of rewards and punishments in another life, they have no more doubts, in general, than they have of their own existence. But with the negroes the case was far otherwise. Ignorant in themselves, and cut off from all intercourse with those from whom alone they could derive information, their mental powers were hardened against those impressions, which, of all others, to an uncultivated mind, are the most difficult to be received. Without these previous impressions, all subsequent reasonings must be of little or no avail; they can be no other than a fabric without a foundation, which must create repugnance rather than beget belief. Why then should we be astonished, if on most occasions, especially considering the scantiness of their language, their ideas should be confused?

The indistinct perceptions, which, from the preceding combination of causes, they have in their minds, must, more or less, render their mode of speaking somewhat obscure and inexpressive. And we cannot doubt that these causes must occasionally communicate an inconsistency to their actions, which it will be difficult to reconcile with that purity of intention, by which, when converted to God, we presume they have been actuated.

To erect a standard in this happy region in which we dwell, and then transfer the analogy to a race of men who exist under circumstances which will not submit to any comparison, is certainly to take a liberty which we can more easily assume than justify. Our conceptions on these occasions are, undoubtedly, insufficient to mark all those shades of difference which must be admitted to exist. But we see in the case before us, even more than we can satisfactorily express: and we are even compelled to allow variations, which spring from causes which we cannot distinctly perceive. All these circumstances and considerations induce a belief, that a comparative estimate, abstracted from all local allowances, cannot be fairly made. And from hence we must conclude, that even genuine piety may with them

be concealed under some disguises, which, upon a superficial view, we cannot penetrate.

Be these things, however, as they may, of this truth we are infallibly assured, that the Almighty is not an *austere master, reaping where he has not sown, and gathering where he has not sowed*. On the contrary, as his knowledge is infinite, and his wisdom perfect, those causes and impediments of action which we cannot comprehend, must be perfectly known to him. On these the principles of immutable justice must be founded, and hence we are fully satisfied that the Judge of the whole earth must do right.

In this as well as in other instances, we are called to walk by faith and not by sight, and to wait for the light of eternity to unravel the mysteries of time. In the mean while, how much soever the piety of these converted negroes may be obscured by the causes which have been mentioned, or by others, on which we have not touched; they afford us a sufficiency of evidence, that the work of grace is genuine upon their hearts. Truth, embellished with simplicity, works its way through those shades which we have been contemplating, and finds, among the friends of Jesus Christ, a mirror in every feeling breast. "As iron sharpeneth iron," so doth the countenance of a man his friend;" and perhaps we may add, without making any unwarrantable assumption, that the feelings of the soul which are excited, when they relate what God has done for them, are internal evidences which but rarely err.

In all these cases, whatever the final issue may be, we have this source of consolation, that we have used our best exertions in the best of causes; while the purity of our motives, through Divine grace, forbids those clouds of remorse to gather, which must otherwise pollute the soul with shades. The external deportment of these people, as well as their language, communicates all that evidence which the case itself could be supposed to supply, upon a presumption that a genuine work of grace had taken place upon their hearts. And consequently, we are not only justified in concluding, but rationally compelled to decide, that as their experience is sound, and as their actions, all circumstances considered, are correspondent, they are converted to God.

Animated with a prospect of that glory which shall never end, these converted negroes have learned to bear the calamities of life with a degree of fortitude, which neither philosophy nor ignorance can supply. Divine grace gives immediate possession of the divine favor, and becomes an un-



questionable evidence of future joy. An enlargement of future prospects compels present evils to dwindle in their apprehension, and to sink in reality in the scale of comparative estimation. And from hence they obtain an assurance, that those afflictions to which they are exposed, being only transient and momentary, will "work out for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." Thus far Almighty goodness has revealed, and given them to enjoy; all besides lies buried in futurity; and, like ourselves, they must enter another world, to comprehend and experience all.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

## HISTORY OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

*First peopled by some Frenchmen from St. Christopher's upwards of a century after its discovery.—Oppressed by the proprietors.—Inhabitants form a compact with the Dutch.—Measures adopted by the French government to reclaim them, prove ineffectual.—Population in 1653 and in 1760.—Situation, aspect, soil, and advantages.—Ceded to Sweden in 1785.—Introduction of the gospel in 1798.—Early success and vicissitudes.—Tolerant spirit of the government.—Circumstances which retarded the work of God.—Religion begins to revive.—The island visited by a hurricane.—Calamities reduce the society from its original number.*

**I**F the island of St. Bartholomew merits a distinct history, it is chiefly because Sweden holds it as a solitary possession in this vast Archipelago. The scantiness of its domains, the poverty of its lands, and its vicinity to the larger and more valuable islands, have conspired to spread a veil over the period of its discovery. These and similar causes have prevented it from becoming the scene of any memorable transaction during the first two centuries in which the nations of Europe visited these distant shores.

It was at an early period after the discoveries of Columbus, that some adventurers from France, driven by the despotism of their government, and allured by the wealth which they had seen pouring into Spain, directed their vessels across the Atlantic in pursuit either of settlements or plunder; and, after encountering many hardships, found an asylum in the island of St. Christopher's, in the year 1625. In succeeding years their numbers increased; and with an augmentation of their power, they swarmed from this spot, and hoisted their national flag on such islands as were either without inhabitants, or peopled by those who were unable to defend themselves. In one of these lists

stood the little rock of St. Bartholomew. In process of time, when it became inhabited, it was included with several other possessions in the same grant, and was doomed to languish for several years under the complicated oppression of its proprietors.

The Dutch, who had attentively observed the conduct both of the oppressors and the oppressed, applied privately to the latter, and offered them both provisions and merchandise on such terms as they knew would be accepted with eagerness. The colonists readily availed themselves of the advantageous offer; both parties were highly satisfied; and thus was laid the foundation of a traffic which neither force nor compromise was ever afterwards able to destroy. After many ineffectual efforts to reinstate their power, and secure the wealth which their tyranny had completely alienated, the proprietors, in a moment of despondency, sunk down into a state of inaction, and contemplated the failure of their profits without being able to retrench any of their expenses.

The French government, which had previously stipulated with the proprietors for the twentieth part of their profits, on beholding their condition, relinquished its demand. But this was of no avail. The interested parties now finding the concessions of government insufficient to reclaim the commercial revolvers, proposed to renounce that system of oppression which had occasioned their calamities. But even this they found impracticable, as they would be obliged to contend with industrious and frugal rivals, already in possession of the market, and who were too well acquainted with the arts of trade, to surrender the advantages and ascendancy which they had acquired, to an imperious, but now humbled power. The affairs of the proprietors were therefore considered as irretrievable. "This opinion (says Ray-  
"nal) brought on a revolution. The company [or proprie-  
"tors,] to prevent their total ruin, and that they might not  
"sink under the weight of their engagements, put their  
"possessions up to auction; and they were mostly bought  
"up by their respective governors. In 1651, Malta bought  
"St. Martin's, Tortuga, Santa Cruz, and St. Bartholo-  
"mew's, for 120,000 livres, (about £.5,250) which were  
"paid down by the commandant of Poincy, who governed  
"these islands. The knights of Malta were to hold them  
"in fief of the crown, and were not allowed to intrust any  
"but a Frenchman with the administration of them."

This change of masters did not, however, change the condition of these islands. The authority of the new pos-

sessors was nearly unlimited; but, though lenitives and severities were alternately applied, nothing could reclaim the inhabitants from a mode of traffic which was now become habitual. The Dutch still continued to supply them with provisions and other necessary articles, and obtained from them a credit for their integrity, which the new proprietors could neither acquire nor shake. In payment for the articles which were thus imported, the Dutch carried off the principal part of the produce of the island, and occasionally sold it to that nation which originally claimed the profits as their exclusive right.

To prevent as much as possible the trade which the Hollanders had established in this and some other colonies, the mother country, in 1664, established a company, armed with sufficient powers to secure the advantages of all. And to allure by interest, as well as compel by force, the government advanced one-tenth of the whole capital free of interest for four years. In addition to this, provisions of all kinds were permitted to be imported free of every impost; and the most effectual methods that could be devised, were adopted, for prohibiting as much as possible all intercourse with the Dutch, to prevent competitions.

Laudable as these exertions were, they failed of success. The liberality of the government was defeated by the rapacity of its own agents: these were wholly intent upon their own aggrandisement, to accomplish which they levied heavier imposts than those which the government had declined. The devastations of war concurred with these rapacious agents in impoverishing the inhabitants, and both causes prevented them from increasing either in number or wealth. The Dutch, availing themselves of every opportunity, improved both by their misfortunes and their crimes. Vigilance and power were alike eluded by their perseverance and ingenuity; commotions afforded them fresh incentives to action; and while others were contending for punctilio and law, they made almost the whole trade their own.

Amidst these contentions and oppressions, which avarice and injustice rarely fail to introduce into a colony, whenever they engross the seat of dominion, it is not to be expected that the little island of St. Bartholomew could be in a very flourishing condition. Its limits forbade a large population, and local causes conspired to retard its prosperity, notwithstanding the uniform assistance which the inhabitants derived from their prohibited trade with the Dutch. This little island was first peopled from St. Christopher's with fifty

Frenchmen in the year 1648. In 1653, their whole number amounted to no more than one hundred and seventy whites: these had among them fifty slaves, who, with about sixty-four thousand cocoa-trees, constituted all their wealth. In the year 1656, they were assailed by a troop of Charaibs from St. Vincent's and Dominica, who murdered all that fell into their hands: and so great was the devastation, that several years elapsed before their numbers were reinstated. The ruin which awaited them in consequence of this disaster approached so fast, that in the year 1674, it appeared inevitable. The debts which they had contracted, tended to involve them in difficulties from which they had no means of extricating themselves; and nothing but the timely interference of the government at home could at that moment have preserved them from destruction. But the generosity of the mother country in cancelling all their debts gave new vigor to their proceedings; encouragement was held out to settlers to embark; and a spirit of industry and enterprise succeeded to languor and inaction. Exposed to those vicissitudes which are common to these islands, the inhabitants continued but slowly to increase, and the cultivation of its lands advanced in just the same proportion. In the year 1760, the white people amounted to four hundred, and the blacks to five hundred. The plantations, though not very productive, displayed marks of unremitting industry, and rather yielded the rewards of labor than the gratification of ambition.

The island of St. Bartholomew lies in latitude  $17^{\circ} 56'$  north, and longitude  $63^{\circ} 10'$  west from London. The whole territory is about twenty miles in circumference: its principal recommendation is the excellency of its harbor. This has drawn to it the vessels of various nations, which, in times of peace, give an energy to its trade, that its internal productions cannot command. The soil of the island is far from being fertile: it is of a sandy nature, and, to be rendered fruitful, demands much from the assistance of art. The whole surface presents an aspect extremely irregular. Hills, however, rather than mountains, occasion the diversity; on which account they throw no considerable impediments in the way of cultivation. From the period of its discovery to the year 1785, it knew no European masters but the French; but in the above year it was ceded to Sweden, in whose possession it still remains.

It is a fact well known to those who are acquainted with the history of Methodism, and not to be disputed by

those who know it not, that it owes its establishment to no preconcerted schemes. The doors which appeared to be opened by Providence were the guides which its venerable founder invariably followed; and the result has presented us with a general spread of the gospel through a conspicuous portion of Europe and America. That the introduction of the gospel into the West Indies is rather ascribable to Providence than to human ingenuity, may be gathered from the Missionary history of Antigua. It has afforded much evidence in some other islands, but in none more singularly than in that of St. Bartholomew which we now consider. The following letter from the first missionary, which traces the origin and progress of the mission, will place this truth in the clearest light: it is dated August 31, 1798.

“ For the space of four years I resided at Antigua, where I exhorted occasionally in the societies. In 1785, I went to America, and travelled on the Long Island circuit for some time. Upon returning to Antigua, I preached in several parts of the island, when, at the request of Mr. Baxter, I visited Tobago. Soon after my arrival there, the place was invaded by the French, who made dreadful devastations through the whole island. For several days and nights I was exposed to the open air, having no other shelter but a bush to skreen me from the sun by day and the cold by night, and with scarcely any food to sustain nature. This brought on a fit of sickness, from which I did not get free for some months.

“ After the French evacuated the island, I resided with one or two kind families; but every thing being destroyed by fire, we were in a dreadful situation; and finding it on these accounts exceedingly difficult to collect a congregation, I removed to the island of St. Bartholomew in the month of December, very ill of a fever. But the kind hand of Providence having restored me again to health, I made application to the Governor for the use of the church, which he readily granted. At first, when I began to preach, there were many prejudiced against me, and I had a variety of difficulties to encounter. House-rent was so very high, that I was obliged to give two *joes*\* per month for a small

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\* A *joe*, or *johannes*, is a Portuguese coin very current in the West Indies. Its value is thirty-six shillings sterling. It is in fact only a half-johannes. The proper johannes is 3*l.* 12*s.* sterling. But this latter coin is seldom to be met with in these islands.

place to reside in; nor was it in my power to obtain lodgings with a family, to save that expense. However, after a little time, things changed for the better, and a prospect of doing good made its appearance.

“Prior, however, to this favourable change, I found myself so badly situated, that, receiving no encouragement from my brethren in the neighbouring Islands, I was ready to sink into despondency, and resolved, at times, to leave the work in which I was engaged; but was providentially prevented, for which I desire this day to be unfeignedly thankful. Thus having obtained help from God, I resolved to persevere, and to do the best in my power. I therefore opened a school, intending to take in only twelve scholars: but by the advice of my friends I have enlarged it.

“In the latter end of 1797, David Nisbet, Esq. an English gentleman residing in this Island, advised me to build a small Chapel, as it was inconvenient to preach in the Church at night, and as that was the best time for meeting the Negroes. Being thus encouraged, and having obtained the patronage of the Governor, I applied to all with whom I had any acquaintance, for assistance in this undertaking; and met with such success, that in a little time we built a little chapel, forty-seven feet in length, and twenty-six in breadth, and likewise a dwelling-house adjoining to it. Several very respectable gentlemen contributed handsomely to the work. My good friend, Mr. Owens, visited me from another Island, as I was proceeding in the building, and seeing there was a prospect of much good being done, encouraged me to proceed; hinting, that though a little debt might be incurred, he hoped the British Conference would send us some assistance. This was a cordial to my mind. I set out with fresh life and energy. The Lord revived his work, and it has increased ever since.

“When we first began to build the chapel, our society consisted only of thirty members; but it is now increased to one hundred and ten. About a month ago, Mr. Owens favoured me with another visit. He met some of the classes, and was greatly satisfied with them. Our meetings are lively; many are under deep convictions; and the divine presence is felt in our assemblies. I think a preacher, who could speak French, would be very acceptable in this Island, as the French inhabitants have shown me much kindness. It is a common saying among the

poor people, particularly the Negroes, that "since the preacher has come to our Island, the Lord has given us water to drink;" meaning, that they have been blessed with rain, which, for many years, they had not in such abundance. I have many things which I could wish to say, but the vessel sails directly, and I must conclude, begging to hear from you by the first opportunity.

I remain, Rev. Sir,

Your Servant in Christ Jesus,

WILLIAM TURTON."

In the month of December, Mr. Turton, in another letter, expresses himself in language which plainly intimates, that what he had previously anticipated had, in no small degree, been realized. "I am happy to inform you, (he observes) that the church in this place is in a very flourishing way. Our number is now about 130; of these, 109 are Blacks, 20 are people of colour, and one man is white. I have been constrained to put away some who walked disorderly, after ineffectually using every means I could think of with them."

That this success of the Gospel should be permitted to pass unmolested, is more than could be expected from human nature in its state of enmity towards God. Persecution had made its appearance; it had, however, made but a feeble opposition, because unsupported by power. It is a principle of the Swedish government to tolerate every sect, and to afford them protection in the exercise of all their religious rights. In this Island, the ministers of every denomination are permitted to baptize, marry, and bury, and to perform whatever belongs to their sacred office. The sentiments of the Governor were in unison with the tolerant spirit of his country, his disposition was amiable, and his friendship to the Methodist Missionaries has proved sincere. Under such auspicious circumstances, it is not to be expected, that persecution, unable to derive support from injustice, would be carried to any considerable extent, or would be of any long continuance. This was actually found to be the case. The persecution which had transiently taken place, originated with some inhabitants of St. Eustatia and St. Martin's, who had come hither to reside. These people, having imported the persecuting spirit of their native Islands, intimated to the Governor (as was reported) their intention to petition the court against the Mission, assigning



as a reason, that we were not permitted to preach in any of the Dutch Islands. Their attempts, however, proved abortive. His Excellency informed them, that "these were Swedish laws and not Dutch, and that every man was at liberty to worship God agreeably to the dictates of his conscience." A reply so pointed totally disconcerted their schemes; they found him invulnerable to their attacks; unsusceptible of the prejudices which they wished to infuse, and resolutely determined to set his face against their proceedings. Peace was the happy result. "I am still going on (Mr. Turton observes) with my school; but my abilities are so small, that I often wish my place was better filled. However, I do the best I can, and contrive, not only to support myself, but to contribute something towards the debt on the Chapel."

In the year 1799, the same pleasing prospect continued. Many, it is true, who once ran well, had turned again into the world; but God had so blessed the word delivered to others, that these vacancies were instantly supplied. The society on the whole, with some trifling variations, retained its original number of members, and both these, and those who occasionally attended, appeared to worship God in sincerity, and to aim, in no small degree, at the salvation of their souls. In some of the private means, God was pleased to pour out his Spirit in a most abundant manner; so that while many were constrained to roar aloud for the disquietude of their souls, others were urged to praise God for that deliverance which they had experienced. But in no instance was the outpouring of the Spirit more powerfully felt, than on the Easter Sunday of this year. While the sacrament was administering, the holy fire was kindled; many wept tears of gratitude; and others, in the language of the lips, gave glory to God. All felt their souls united to the source of mercy; they caught the sacred shower, and were unwilling either to separate from each other, or leave the throne of grace.

The school at this time consisted of about 30 scholars. Of these, five were on charity, and one third part of the remainder omitted to pay, which considerably reduced the income that might have been expected from the whole. The keeping of a school in this Island is a condition imposed by the Governor on the Missionary who resides in it. The benefits resulting from such an establishment were, without doubt, very great, in a moral

point of view; but the unremitted attention which it required, so confined the Missionary in the town, that he had little or no opportunity of extending his labours to the inhabitants of the country. In this department a large field lay open; the inhabitants of St. Martin's, St. Eustatia, and Anguilla, all felt the necessity of schools for the education of their children, and would in all probability have most readily sent them to this Island for instruction, if the Missionary could have devoted his time to their service. But as this must necessarily have drawn off his attention from the more immediate object of pursuit, a compliance could no farther be yielded than necessity compelled.

The three following years have presented us with nothing particularly remarkable in the conversion of souls; the society, subjected to common variations, continued to flourish, without increasing in number, and without suffering from the restraints of law. The private animosity of wicked men occasionally broke out with violence, but this being unsupported by power, soon subsided; the ravages which were made by death, were repaired by the acquisition of new converts; and a spirit of hearing was beyond what could have been expected, when the circumstances of the Island are properly considered. Originally peopled by France, and finally ceded to Sweden, most of its inhabitants speak the language of these two nations. That of the former is the only one known in the country; but in the town, both are promiscuously spoken. The English, and those who speak that language, being but few in number, form only an inconsiderable portion; yet it is to these that the society and congregation have been chiefly confined. This circumstance affords us a reason why neither the former nor the latter has been considerably enlarged.

By a letter, dated 1804, we learn, that when the British forces took possession of the Island, they also seized upon the chapel, which was occupied with their troops for several months: by these means both the society and school were nearly ruined. The chapel was also considerably damaged; and at the time the soldiers left it, was totally unfit for public worship, without undergoing a thorough repair. The Missionary residing on the Island, applied to the colonel of the troops for redress, and obtained from him a promise of thirty *joes*, or *johannes*, as a recompence; but this promise, like

many of our wishes, remains yet to be realized.\* Nor was it in this only that the evils resulting from the war, were felt. The failure of trade obliged many to remove from their residences, and reduced others to a state of poverty. The individuals who were admitted as members were frequently compelled to seek an asylum in other Islands, however contrary to their inclinations—a circumstance which threw the whole burden of expense on a few, who, by decreasing in number, as their poverty augmented, grew every day less capable of bearing it. The little flock, nevertheless, continued to unite together in brotherly affection, casting their burdens upon Him who had promised to yield them support in moments of extremity and danger.

In 1805, the same Missionary, Mr. Dobson, observes as follows: “Religion is flourishing in our little Island, and has flourished all the last year, but particularly so during the last two quarters. I never expected to see religion prosper as it does at present, especially considering how few English we have in this place. Few, however, as they are, the Lord has found out many of them, and brought them to the house of prayer. And such is their attachment to the truths delivered, that the chapel is so crowded, that we can hardly find room for the multitudes who assemble.

“With regard to the society, the members walk circumspectly, perhaps as much so as those of any society in the West Indies. In our private meetings and love-feasts, the power of God is visible among us. Many are in tears from a recollection of the divine mercy, and many are groaning for full redemption in the blood of Jesus. We have still before us a prospect of greater good, as the Lord is carrying on the work in an extensive manner. The increase of our congregations tends to increase our society: during the last two quarters we have joined fifty new members.

“When I first came to this Island, I found 100 in society; but, through the laxity of discipline, some among them were a disgrace to their profession. About

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\* We must here acknowledge, that notwithstanding the persecutions and inconveniences we may have met with, here and there, from some of the inferior powers of the vast British Empire, the Government at home has always protected us. It has manifested the most tolerant spirit upon every application, and afforded us, upon all occasions, the greatest relief in its power.

20 of these, after several ineffectual reproofs and admonitions, I was compelled to dismiss. I then began to read the rules of our society, and to point out their agreement with the sacred Scriptures. This has been regularly done every quarter, and we now find the happy effects which have resulted from our strict adherence to discipline. When the English took possession of this Island, many of the people were obliged to go to other places to procure a livelihood; by which means our society was reduced to about 50 or 60 members; but through the change which has since taken place, we are now increased to 140, and are still joining two or three almost every week."

Early in the year 1806, the society had gradually increased to 200 members, among whom the spirit and power of vital Christianity became more and more conspicuous in proportion to the augmentation of their numbers; but this will best appear in the following letter of the resident Missionary, Mr. Thomas Dobson, dated October 13, 1806.

"Some time ago, I wrote to you that we had about 200 in society. Glory be to God, we are still doing well in our Island. We have had another good year, although we have not added so many as we did in that which preceded it: but the society is much more established in the truth and grace of God, and there is hardly a week, but one at least joins us; and if the island was not in such a distressed state, we should soon have a much larger society. At present many are obliged to go to other Islands to seek bread. The work of God eats up all my soul and all my time. It is true I meet with many temptations and trials; but out of them all the Lord makes a way for my escape; glory be to his name.

"Some weeks ago we had a love-feast—such an one as I never attended before. The people began to speak with great order and regularity, and a particular unction attended what they said. A mulatto stood up about the middle of the love-feast, and told us a little of his experience; but he was so influenced by the love of God, that he could not contain himself, but began to praise God that he had brought him from that land of darkness (meaning St. Martin's, a neighbouring Island where they have not the gospel) into a land of gospel light, where he had learned that he was a sinner, and how, and upon

what terms, he might obtain mercy, and get to heaven. He then began to pray to God that he would bless every one present, and that he would bless us a church, and increase our graces. Then turning to me, he said, with a loud voice, "Rev. Sir, may God bless you, and make you a blessing more abundantly to us all." While he was thus praying, heaven seemed to be opened, and every heart to feel the love of God. Still all was order and solemnity; and as the time was come to conclude, I ordered the collection to be made for the poor, but permitted them to speak on for the present. At last I was obliged to give out the concluding hymn; but when we had sung a verse or two, such a wonderful divine influence descended on the people, that the house seemed to be filled with the presence of God. I suppose, in ten minutes, there were between twenty and thirty lying on the floor, some crying for mercy, and others praising God. I was obliged to cease singing, for I had very few to help me; and when I went to prayer, my voice could not be heard. I then rose from my knees, and would have gone out, but they lay in the passage like persons slain in the field of battle: however, at last I got out, and ordered the doors and windows to be opened, and in some time they all went quietly home. I believe there were about 150 present; and, what is very surprising, many who were so affected, were of those who were before prejudiced against every thing of the kind.

"Before I conclude, I must observe that trade has nearly forsaken us, and the Island is brought almost to a state of starvation. For two or three years we have had very little rain; so that the Island has not produced sufficient for the support of the inhabitants. Many hundreds of the people are gone away, having nothing to do. Our society is so poor, that many of the members cannot contribute any thing to the support of the Gospel, and sometimes I have hardly sufficient for the necessities of life. However, the Lord provided for us.

"Two years ago we had a violent hurricane, which shook the chapel very much indeed; and this year we have had the skirts of another, which has made dreadful havock in some of the Islands, and washed many of the inhabitants into the sea. The carpenters tell me, that the chapel and dwelling-house must be both repaired, otherwise the first gale of wind will blow them all to pieces. I am not able to do it myself, nor indeed can

the society afford adequate assistance. I am, therefore, under the necessity of drawing on the Mission Fund, as the work must be done. Since I wrote the above, I have been informed that two persons in the country have died with hunger. Our Island is in a very distressed state indeed. However, it is a means of awakening some to a concern for their souls."

Towards the close of the year, the accounts, though not altogether discouraging, were, by no means, so favourable as could be wished. The distresses which prevailed in the Island, having compelled many to abandon it, had obliged several to leave the society; so that on the whole it declined in number, without sinking in respectability. But amidst the calamities which afflicted the people, the same spirit of hearing continued, without the same number of hearers. The removals from the Island were indeed the great cause of defection; and the distress which caused them, operated very forcibly in a variety of manners. Even among those who were enabled to remain behind, the pressure of circumstances engrossed a more than usual share of their attention, and disabled them from contributing towards the support of the work. Through these operations of the same cause, the congregation was considerably lessened, and the society, from 200 members, was reduced to 117. The piety, however, of those who remained, appeared unshaken; and, indeed, the calamities with which they felt themselves encircled, tended to wean their affections, in no inconsiderable manner, from earthly things.

In the year 1807, a still further reduction of the society had taken place. The whole number, this year returned to Conference, did not exceed one hundred; all these were coloured people and blacks. Exemplary in their lives, they, however, though reduced in number, adorned those doctrines and that Gospel which they professed; and displayed, by these means, to those around them, some striking instances of the power of saving grace. If, therefore, as the number of professors has declined, it should be inferred, that religion itself is dwindling in the Island, it must not be forgotten that the fact must be attributed to those miseries which the war occasioned; and we have the greater reason to hope for a revival, whenever peace shall be restored to bless a distracted world. Thus far the government, though of a

foreign nation, has shown itself friendly towards the Missionaries, from their first introduction to the present hour. For this blessing we have reason to thank God. But even setting aside these calamities, which we hope are only temporary, it does not appear, from the mixed and various languages spoken in the Island, that we have much reason to expect the Gospel to take a general spread, even in proportion to the extent of the Colony. The great Head of the Church may, however, raise up instruments properly qualified for this peculiar embassy; or open a door, through which all may be enabled to hear in their native tongue. Under present circumstances we feel it our duty to persevere; to use such means as are placed within our power, and to leave events to God.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

## BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS.

*Situation, and Discovery.—Visited by Sir Francis Drake, and the Earl of Cumberland.—Tortola; how and when first inhabited.—Invaded, and seized upon by the English.—First cultivated.—Simple mode of Government; effects which resulted from it.—Experiences a calamity.—Happily relieved by some Liverpool Merchants.—Number of Inhabitants in 1756.—The Inhabitants petition for a Legislative Assembly, and obtain it at an exorbitant price.—Effects of these regulations.—Chief Justice appointed to counteract the influence of contending factions.—Condition of the Inhabitants, and of public affairs on his arrival. Prosperity succeeds to misfortune and faction.—Situation, extent, produce, and present number of Inhabitants of Tortola.—Injurious effects resulting from their established impost.*

THE Virgin Islands, including Islots and Keys, are about forty in number, and are at present divided between the English, the Spaniards, and the Danes. To the English belong Tortola, Virgin Gorda, or Spanish-town, Jostvan-Dykes, Guana Isle, Beef and Thatch Islands, Anegada, Nichar, Prickly Pear, Camana's Ginger, Cooper's, Salt Island, Peter's Island, with several others of inconsiderable value, being of little importance, either for commerce or war. Santa Cruz, or St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John's, together with about twelve others, too diminutive for description, belong to the Danes. Tropic Keys, Great and Little Passage, Serpent Island, and Crab Island, belong to the Spaniards.

This irregular group lies in about 18 deg. of North Latitude, and between 63 and 64 deg. of West Longitude from London, filling up that vacancy, which would otherwise have lain on the map between Porto Rica and the Leeward Caribbe Islands. Several of these insulated spots are no other than solitary rocks, presenting to the



spectator barren craggs, at once destitute of verdure, and unfit for cultivation. These continue to the present hour in their original condition, affording no temptation either to avarice or industry.

These Islands were discovered by Columbus, in the year 1493; and, from a well-known tale in the legends of Rome of 11,000 virgins, denominated *Las Virgines*; but, like many of the discoveries of that celebrated navigator, they were almost immediately abandoned. The Spaniards, with a new world before them, viewed them as an object too contemptible for serious notice. The attractions of gold were, at this period, exerting all their influence; and as they appeared to contain none of the precious metals, they were only examined to be consigned over to the adventurers of future years.

In the year 1580 they were visited by Sir Francis Drake, who sailed through them, while prosecuting one of those daring voyages, which will cause him to be long remembered both by England and Spain. Whether the original name given to this cluster by Columbus, had been forgotten by Drake, or whether he designed to transfer the appellation to the honour of his royal mistress, cannot, perhaps, with any degree of precision, be now ascertained. This much is certain, that as by their first discoverer they had been denominated *Las Virgines*, so by the British adventurer they were called the *Virgin Islands*. Distinct causes might thus, by a favourable concurrence, have conspired to give and establish a name which they still retain:—Columbus might have acted from motives of respect to the Romish ritual, and Drake from those of regard to his Virgin Sovereign.

About sixteen years after the transient visit which had been paid by Drake, the Earl of Cumberland, in his way to Porto-Rica, against which he commanded an expedition, touched at these Islands, but found them in much the same condition that they were in, when discovered by Columbus, and seen by Drake. They produced no wealth to tempt the invader; and, when compared with other Islands, no fertility that could excite allurements, or promise to repay exertion with reward. In the records of this voyage they are represented as “barren, craggy, and sandy, and wholly without inhabitants.”

The Caribs, who had peopled the neighbouring Islands, had fixed no habitations in these; they afforded neither extent nor game sufficient for their hunting ex-

cursions, and were but badly adapted for warlike preparations. Their modes of life required an enlargement of territory, through which they might range at large, unimpeded by barriers, and uncontrolled either by the impediments of nature or of art. The larger Islands were more suited to their roving inclinations; on these therefore they had established their residence, and if they touched at the Virgin Islands, it was only as transient visitors, to indulge an idle curiosity, by gratifying that novelty of disposition, which is alike an inhabitant of the bosom of the civilized and the savage.

Accident or necessity, however, sometimes accomplishes what deliberate calculation had pronounced impracticable or impossible, and gathers affluence, which occasionally excites envy without producing emulation. This was particularly the case with the first settlers of Tortola.

The wealth which had poured into old Spain from the western world, which Columbus had added to her dominions, stirred up an adventurous banditti of plunderers, who commenced pirates; and who, without justice or remorse, sallied forth from several nations in Europe, to ravage the American seas. A party of these Buccaneers, harassed with their own exploits, and with the armed ships that had been fitted out to prevent a continuance of their depredations, found it necessary to seek an asylum in some desert and unfrequented spot. This spot they found in the Island of Tortola. This party was chiefly composed of Dutch, who retired to this abode of solitude, rather to shelter themselves from the vigilance of their pursuers, and the evils of retaliation, than from a desire to derive their sustenance from the culture of the land, and the produce of the soil.

The first settlement of the Dutch Buccaneers on the Island of Tortola, was in the year 1648. where they erected a fort for their own protection against hostile assailants. Of this Island and this fort they held the undisturbed possession, about eighteen years, cultivating such parts as inclination dictated, and necessity compelled, for their own conveniency, without once attempting either to raise any article for exportation, or to introduce a traffic with other Islands, that were settled by the European nations. With the inhabitants of other Islands they studiously shunned all intercourse. Neither sociability nor commerce could draw them from the mode of life

which they had adopted; and being secure in their retreat, they wished to court no attention, but seemed anxious to remain forgotten and unknown.

Unhappily, the world is so constituted, that even peace invites disturbance; activity and sloth are alike the objects of depredation; nothing is safe within the reach of man.

It was in the year 1666, that another banditti, more powerful than the former, who had been engaged in the same employment, and were now impelled by the same motives that had actuated the Dutch, commenced an attack upon them, seized their possessions, and drove them from the Island. These adventurers were Englishmen, who pretended to secure the Island for the British Crown. How far they were legally authorised thus to act, remains a matter of doubt. This much, however, is certain, that England availed itself of the acquisition; and founding her right upon this conquest, annexed Tortola and all its dependencies to the government of the Leeward Islands. This was first granted to Sir William Stapleton, by Charles II; and undisturbed possession guaranteed the claim.

"The Dutch," says Mr. Suckling, who acted as Chief Justice of these Islands, and published his account of them in 1780, "made but little improvements in cultivating the country, before their expulsion from Tortola." And it is evident from his account, that the English, by whom they were expelled, permitted the Islands to continue in much the same condition. "The toil and merit (continues Mr. Suckling) of cultivating the country were reserved for some English planters at Anguilla, a neighbouring Island possessed by the English, French, and Dutch, who, about the year 1680, embarked with their families and fortunes, and settled in the Virgin Islands. This hardy and industrious race of men was not deterred, by beholding the amazing craggy rocks, and towering mountains in those Islands, without one river, and with but one spring of good water, from undertaking to clear and cultivate the lands. Their vicinity to St. Christopher's, Nevis, and several other flourishing *English* Islands; Santa Cruz, St. Thomas, and St. John, belonging to the *Danes*; and St. Eustatius, belonging to the *Dutch*, rendered their situation agreeable; and, in process of time, became very beneficial to the inhabitants.

In the early settlement of an infant colony, the tedious formalities of government and law are always injurious,

and sometimes they prove destructive to its welfare. From these impediments the inhabitants of Tortola were happily exempted; and, as a natural consequence, both the benefits and disadvantages resulting from expensive institutions were wholly unknown.

As the inhabitants were not numerous, their modes of traffic were simple. Luxury was a stranger to the Island. Their lives were abstemious, and their necessities were but few, and their time was chiefly divided between labour and repose. A simple interchange of property formed the basis of their individual rights; and this mode of dealing being conducted with honesty, and proving satisfactory to all parties, left no room for litigation or intrigue.

We must not, however, conceive that the inhabitants of Tortola lived at this time in a state of anarchy. The colony had been annexed to the government of the Leeward Islands, the governor of which appointed a deputy to reside among them; who, together with a council nominated from among themselves, exercised both the legislative and judicial functions, without any parade of ceremony, or enormity of expense.

On all disputable questions between man and man, this joint authority decided in a speedy and peremptory manner, without a jury, and from their decisions it was difficult, and even useless, to make any appeal. That this mode of proceeding would have been inconsistent with the welfare of civil society in any other condition, will be readily admitted. It was found, however, to be congenial to the interests of the present inhabitants, notwithstanding its inconveniences, because it was simple and unexpensive. Whenever injustice appeared, it was followed by complaint; complaint was succeeded by investigation; and this by the decision of their acknowledged tribunal: so that little time was taken from productive labour, to defend the property which industry had already acquired; and but few temptations were held out, through which injustice could hope, from past successes, to triumph with impunity, by covering its turpitude under the forms of law. Under this government, as their public expenses were inconsiderable, so their public burdens were not great. To taxes of all descriptions they were total strangers. The wants of their governors were seen by all, and these, in all probability, were supplied by voluntary contributions.

But this mode of government, which was adapted to the infant condition of the colony, tended also to confine the inhabitants to that infant state. Few among them were in a condition to advance such capitals, as the cultivation and improvement of their lands required. Many members of the council were in the same predicament; and monied men were too conversant with the world, to trust their property to the caprice of honour, when they could not enforce the repayment of it by law. Hence those circumstances which cherished the colony in its infancy, retarded its growth, and prevented it, for a considerable time, from reaching that state of maturity, which it has since acquired.

But the evils attending these summary proceedings did not terminate here. The promptitude of decision, which we have already noticed, frequently left the persons who were interested in it, in a dissatisfied state, and exposed various species of property to uncertainty and hazard, which required to have their boundaries described with the greatest accuracy. These evils, it is true, were not felt in the early periods of the colonial settlement, but they were increased by being concealed, and this rendered them more formidable in future years, when they were discovered to exist.

When the Island was first peopled, many portions of land were indefinitely granted, and inaccurately described. The unpromising appearance of the land for cultivation, gave indeed a sanction to this inattention, because land was considered, in point of value, too contemptible to occasion any dispute. It was sold as an article of indifference, or exchanged in traffic for such trifles as were of more immediate use. Neither deed nor writing was necessary to give legality to a transfer. It passed from hand to hand, and from family to family, like the moveable articles of commerce, without creating any solicitude for the past, or anxiety for the future.

Plantations, which have thus regularly descended from generation to generation, still pass onward, without any other mode of conveyance; so that many of the present proprietors can present no better claim to their estates, than that which they derive from the long possession of their ancestors. Original titles they have none, nor does the law require them to produce any. Possession supersedes all other right. An ancient Barbacue, and a long line of regular descent, will confer a title not now to be successfully controverted or done away.

As time advanced, and the inhabitants increased, the lands became more occupied; and, as a natural consequence, their value increased in proportion to the demands which were made for them. This circumstance imparted to those spots which had been deemed useless before, an importance, which induced each proprietor to examine the extent of his right. The result of this examination was, that no title whatever could be made out by the contending parties to several spots, which they respectively claimed. From this evil, another, not less hostile to the prosperity of the colony, almost instantly followed. The prospect of gain gave birth to avarice, and avarice, which rarely fails to become the parent of injustice, urged contending parties to extend those boundaries which custom and time had united to prescribe. These incroachments frequently involved other planters, who had no concern whatever in the first contention; so that even the most established property became questionable and insecure. These circumstances awakened a general apprehension, which relaxed the sinews of industry, and threatened the Island once more with that desolation, which had but just forsaken its shores.

To increase these evils, which we have transiently surveyed, the courts of judicature and legislation, which seem to have kept no regular journal of their proceedings, introduced others which were equally injurious, and even more unjustifiable. In the transactions of the island, many instances have occurred, in which whole tracts of land, and frequently some of their appendages, have been re-granted; while, under the sanction of the same authority, they have been held by former grantees. Errors like these, if persisted in, must have proved destructive to the prosperity of the Island, and ruinous to its most opulent inhabitants. For, in these cases, each of the contending parties must have derived from government a legal title which it could not guarantee to both, and have been unjustly furnished with those causes of litigation, which, in succeeding years, were warmly agitated in the court of chancery at Antigua.

It is, however, but just to observe, that as soon as these evils were discovered, a stop was put to their increase. But this was rather a preventive for the future, than a remedy for the past. To prevent a recurrence of these unhappy instances, it was particularly given in charge by the government general of the Leeward Islands,

to the council and deputy governor of the Virgin Islands, that "in case any petitions should be presented to them, in future, for new grants of land, proper persons should be appointed to examine, on the spot, the lands which were solicited in the petition; that, by this means, they might know with certainty, whether or not the whole, or any part, was included in any former grant." The fact itself was to direct them in their decision, and they were directed to make their report to the chief governor accordingly. These regulations were found productive of the most beneficial effects; and the colonial government began to acquire from them, that respectability which it had previously forfeited, through its past indiscretion.

Scarcely, however, had the inhabitants begun to act with that settled vigour, which the permanency that was given to their property, conferred, before a new train of disasters appeared, which threatened the colony with inevitable ruin. The slaves and cattle, that through extraordinary exertions they had brought from Anguilla, had been considerably reduced both in number and strength, and they had not yet obtained a sufficient capital to repurchase a fresh supply of either. Friendship and credit were both wanting to enable them to prosecute their plans with success; but, unfortunately, both appeared to be placed beyond their reach.

It was in this critical juncture, when the colony was brought to the verge of ruin, that the inhabitants were happily relieved from their embarrassments and impending fate, by the generous interpositions of some Liverpool merchants. These merchants, who so nobly espoused their cause, supplied them with slaves and other necessaries, and waited the returns of their produce, for a reimbursement of their expense. Relief, from an unexpected quarter, thus coming opportunely to their aid, soon changed the face of drooping colony, by reviving once more the languid exertions of the planters, and removing at a distance from them, those calamities which they feared.

In addition to this newly acquired source of vigour, other planters came over from the sister Islands to settle in Tortola, bringing with them their capitals and their slaves. Through this new influx of inhabitants, a considerable part of the land was soon taken up; industry exerted itself in every district, and the surface of the Island exhibited a scene of fertility and plenty.

The woods, which had hitherto bidden defiance to the feeble strokes of the axe, now surrendered their ancient honours, and were levelled with the ground. Stupendous rocks, which, projecting from the sides of the mountains, and hitherto obstructed cultivation, submitted to the energies of art; they were dislodged from those beds which they had occupied from the deluge, perhaps from the creation, and rolled into the vales which lay beneath.

“ In a few years, (says Mr. Suckling) from the incessant toil of these people, Cotton and Sugar Canes might be seen flourishing on the sides of the mountains; and in the low lands, Ginger was cultivated, and Indigo works appeared; and the mother country soon partook of the benefits arising from the labours of this industrious people. Their Sugar, Cotton, and great part of their Rum, they remitted to England, to the increase of the King's revenue, and of trade and navigation. The rest of their Rum and all their Molasses, before the American war, they bartered with the traders of that Continent, for provisions for their families and slaves.”

Such was the rise and progress of this Colony, and such was the condition of Tortola, with the variation of local circumstances, in the year 1756. At this period the inhabitants amounted to 1,263 Whites, and 6,121 Blacks.

Commerce naturally succeeded to the cultivation of the lands; this necessarily compelled property to assume many new appearances, and occasionally involved it in intricacies which afforded room for much dispute. Arbitrary decision now felt itself unequal to the complex cases which it was called upon to determine, and summary proceedings became a subject of much complaint. Individuals, against whom the decisions of the court were made, felt themselves aggrieved; and either saw, or thought they saw, a partiality which they could not reconcile with justice. “ This court, (observes Mr. Suckling) if we except some few matters, was of great benefit to the merchants, and the inhabitants in general, while they kept within the limits of their jurisdiction. But when they advanced beyond that line, and admitted of titles to lands and slaves being drawn in question before them, we are led to entertain no very favourable opinion of their decisions. Thus this provincial court, appointed for the ease and benefit of the merchants and the people in general, in process of time, by the management of



some few self-interested individuals, became an engine of injustice and oppression to the people, as may be collected from the minutes of their proceedings in the Secretary's office at Tortola."

In addition to these circumstances, the degree of opulence which the Island had acquired, was sufficient to invite invasion in times of war; while its contiguity to Porto Rica, would, in such a case, facilitate the enemy's descent. The old fort, which had been erected by the Dutch Bucanniers before they were driven from the Island, was much impaired, and scarcely promised them any defence in case of an attack. Two others had occasionally been erected for the safety of the Island, at a considerable expense, yet they had neither cannon nor carriages, which were fit to be mounted on the walls. Through these means, not only the produce of the plantations lay exposed to the ravages of every invader, but even their slaves were liable to be seized and carried off by the incursions of the crew of a privateer. A concurrence of circumstances had also involved them in some public debts, which, for want of a power to levy taxes, they were unable to discharge either in fact or calculation. The titles to most of their estates were doubtful, and consequently insecure; and they had no permanent laws to place their possessions beyond the artifices of litigation, oppression, injustice, and intrigue. Their friends in Liverpool, who, by a seasonable supply, had rescued the Colony from impending destruction, though reimbursed by some, were left unpaid by others; and, from the condition of the Island, they had no means to enforce their claims. This radical defect proved highly injurious to their public credit, and gave impunity to those, whose deeds must appear dishonourable, if exposed to public view. Every country has its questionable characters, which bring a tarnish over the brightest names. Credit is always suspicious, and watches with eyes of vigilance and circumspection the movements of those whom she suspects. Injured and defrauded, she has no time to discriminate, but too frequently while they live in the same community, views through the same medium, the friend of probity and the knave. In this light were the inhabitants of Tortola seen. The integrity of the upright was insufficient to counteract those impressions which the conduct of the worthless had made; and nothing appeared to be of sufficient importance to revive their sinking cre-

dit, but the establishment of some permanent laws, which should give at once security to property, and enable the creditor to recover his just demand, where honour and virtue had not a sufficient efficacy to discharge the obligation.

On these grounds, and on these considerations, the virtuous colonists began to entertain serious hopes that the British Government would place them on an equal footing with the neighbouring Islands, by establishing among them constitutional courts of Justice, and by giving them a civil government, which should rescue them from their dependent state, and a formal request was made accordingly. From a compliance with this request they promised themselves a revival of their wounded credit, and a discharge of their public debts. Through this power they hoped to provide for their public safety in times of danger, by the completion of those fortifications which were partially constructed, and for the equipment of those that were already finished.

These requests to the British Government were made so early as 1756; but intervening obstacles continued to defeat their purposes. Year after year passed by, and found and left them in the same condition. Either business of more importance occupied the attention of the mother country, or the application was so injudiciously framed, that it merited no other notice than that which was productive of neglect.

Thus things continued till the year 1773, in which the inhabitants hit upon an expedient, which, perhaps, suited the purposes of Government better than their own. In the beginning of the above year they presented a petition to his Excellency Sir Ralph Payne, his Majesty's Captain General of the Leeward Islands, in which they requested him to join with them in petitioning his Majesty in their behalf. In this Petition, which included not only *Tortola*, but *Spanish Town*, *Jostvan Dykes*, and all their British dependencies, after recounting the troubles through which they had passed, the expenses they had incurred, the improvements which they had made, and the dangers to which they were exposed, they proceeded to point out the necessity of an authority to enable them to raise taxes, for the purposes "*of building Churches, of paying stipends to clergymen, and erecting Jails; and also of forts and fortifications, for their defence in time of war.*"

"For these purposes the petitioners prayed, that a proper assembly might be summoned and called together

out of the freeholders and planters of the said respective Islands, in order that the said assembly, with the other branches of the legislature of the said Virgin Islands, might make and ordain proper laws for the public peace, welfare, and good government thereof, in the usual manner that laws are passed in the said Leeward Carribbee Islands. And the said Petitioners did by petition promise, that upon his Majesty's investing his said Governor with the powers and authorities for that purpose, the said Petitioners would most readily grant to his Majesty, his Heirs, and Successors, an aid or impost of *four and a half per centum in specie*, upon all goods, commodities of the said Islands, that shall be shipped therefrom, to be raised and paid in the same manner as the *four and a half per centum* is made payable in the other Leeward Carribbee Islands."

Their Petition, "thus sweetened," as Mr. Edwards happily expresses it, had the desired effect, and procured for them what they had so long solicited in vain. All impediments were now removed; all obstacles disappeared; their request was taken into immediate consideration; it was found highly reasonable; and they obtained liberty to impose the tax which they proposed, both upon themselves and their posterity for ever!

In reply to their petition it was stated, "That his Majesty, fully considering the persons, circumstances, and condition, of his said Virgin Islands, and the necessity there is, from the present state of their culture and inhabitaney, that some adequate and perfect form of civil government should be established therein; and finally trusting that his faithful subjects, in his said Virgin Islands, who should compose the new assembly, would, as the first act of legislation, cheerfully make good the engagement of granting to his Majesty, his Heirs, and Successors, the said impost of *four and a half per cent.* on all the produce of the said Virgin Islands, to be raised and paid in the same manner as the *four and a half* is paid or made payable in the Leeward Carribbee Islands, did cause his Royal pleasure to be signified to his said Governor in chief, that he should issue writs in his Majesty's name, for convening an assembly or house of representatives of the said Islands, who, together with a council to be composed of twelve persons, to be appointed by the Governor for that purpose, might frame and pass such laws, as should be necessary for the welfare and good government of the said Islands."

Pursuant to these directions, the Governor General of the Leeward Islands, in the month of November, 1773, issued a proclamation for convening an assembly agreeably to his Majesty's orders. These persons were to compose a house of representatives of the Virgin Islands. These met on the first of February following, and, consistently with their previous proposal, honourably complied with their engagement to the crown. By their first act they established the impost of *four and a half per centum* on the produce of the colony for ever; and by another, they granted an annual stipend of 400*l.* currency, as their quota towards the salary of the Governor General of all the Islands. "Such (says Mr. Edwards) was the price at which the Virgin Islands purchased the establishment of a constitutional legislature."

Thus far the tax which the inhabitants had imposed upon themselves was permanent and certain, and increased in an exact proportion to their own industry, because it attached itself immediately to its produce. What actual benefits were to accrue from the acquisition which they had made, remained yet to be determined; the expenses were inevitable, the advantages were doubtful and unknown.

It frequently happens that reflection comes too late to afford that assistance for which her aid is solicited, but sufficiently early to upbraid us with past folly. Error naturally begets error; and an increase of instances confers a sanction which holds delusion in disguise. The inhabitants of Tortola, with the Islands of *Barbadoes*, *Tobago*, *St. Vincent*, and *Dominica*, before them, aimed at nothing higher than to participate in their condition. The question of their constitutional rights seems never to have been agitated; for they were content to purchase at an exorbitant price, a liberty to which they were entitled as Britons, without any pecuniary compensation. In short, through this strange inconsideration, they made a most wretched bargain, and laid the foundation of internal dissensions and uneasiness, which continue in a partial manner to produce their unhappy effects even to the present day.

How far these men may be considered by future generations, as possessed of that right which they presumed to exercise on this occasion, when they granted the duty of *four and a half per cent. upon the produce of the Islands for ever*, is quite another question. Their children, or

children's children may perhaps view their conduct in a dubious light, and question both the authority which they exercised, and the use to which it was applied. This may probably lay a foundation for future evils, which cannot fail to be detrimental to their prosperity, and which may be attended with consequences that will prove ruinous to the colony. The weight of this impost is felt with peculiar force; and, although procured by their own voluntary offer, it operates as a check upon that spirit of enterprise on which success so generally awaits.

The legislative assemblies having been convened in their respective branches, it was expected by those who felt the welfare of the colony at heart, that such laws would be enacted as would secure that prosperity at which they aimed. But on the issue of their expectations, they were led, from many circumstances, to entertain considerable doubts. "The chances (says Mr. Suckling) rather militated against, than gave ground to hope for success, in their institution. The former manner of living of many of them, afforded but few, perhaps none, opportunities of acquiring a necessary knowledge of the *English Constitution* and laws, to qualify them for assembly men. It could be no object of many of them, involved in debt, to consent to the enacting of laws, which would enable their creditors to sue for and recover their long-standing debts. The self-interested views of the majority led them only to contrive delays and evasions, for still keeping what they possessed out of the reach of their creditors."

It is not, however, to be presumed that the shady picture which Mr. Suckling has thus drawn, was applicable to every character of which the House was composed. Individuals were to be found among them of liberal designs and well-directed intentions. These had the welfare of the colony at heart, and used every exertion to preserve its sinking credit from falling into utter contempt. The majority, however, according to Mr. Suckling, were men of a different complexion, and from these the virtuous and disinterested had every thing to fear. Calculating from appearances, they had but little reason to flatter themselves with any hope of success in their patriotic exertions, except in the choice of a Speaker. This choice fell upon James Dawson, Esq. and upon his knowledge and integrity the virtuous part of the assembly had alone to rely, for the preparing and zealously promoting

of such bills as the welfare of the Virgin Islands demanded; and finally, by his power and influence, they hoped that some would be established as permanent laws.

In this, however, their early hopes were completely disappointed. Delay succeeded to delay, and obstacle followed obstacle. Men in office, and men of influence, who were precluded, were split into contending parties, and domestic faction and discord prevailed. Each party aiming at a distinct object, contrived means to thwart that which was deemed a rival, till they became hostile and obnoxious to each other. The welfare of the Islands was lost in private feuds; so that public discord, and their public burthens, were the only things that could lay claim to permanency.

In the mean while, the British merchants, particularly those of Liverpool, who had lent their credit to the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands for the improvements of their lands, saw year succeed to year, without beholding any provision made for their reimbursement. They had waited with anxious expectation for the establishment of some law that might enable them to recover their debts, but unfortunately they had waited in vain. Wearied with these disappointments, and growing impatient with delays, to which they could see no end, they at length determined to lay their complaints at the foot of the throne, and appeal to the fountain head of justice for relief. His Majesty heard, and attended to their complaint: and ordered that constitutional courts of justice should be forthwith established in the Virgin Islands. The honour of the important office of Chief Justice was, by his Majesty's special direction, conferred upon George Suckling, Esq. on the first of June, 1776.

The want of a proper commission, however, detained Mr. Suckling from his office for a considerable time, so that he did not reach the Virgin Islands till the month of January, 1778. And even at this period, being obliged to embark without a commission, on his arrival he was only another witness of existing evils, which he beheld, without being able to apply an adequate remedy, since he could not act in that capacity for which he had quitted his native land.

On Mr. Suckling's arrival at Tortola, he found the inhabitants in a state of lawless ferment. Tumult and disorder almost every where prevailed; and contending factions, while they aimed at separate interests, had

established anarchy by their mutual co-operation, without the express design of either. By one of these parties a design had been formed of erecting the Virgin Islands into a distinct government; and their intrigues operated in no inconsiderable manner to defeat those intentions which were directed to the establishment of justice and the institution of law.

“Life, liberty, and property, (says Mr. Suckling) were hourly exposed to the insults and depredations of the riotous and lawless. The authority of his Majesty’s council, as conservators of the peace, was defied and ridiculed, for want of a proper prison in which to confine offenders.” A little walled cellar indeed had been appropriated to this office, but it was attended with nearly as much difficulty to deliver delinquents from confinement, as to commit them for offences. In this cellar two unhappy men had been confined for some years prior to this period, without bail, without trial, without condemnation, and without any hope of deliverance, either by acquittal or punishment.

In addition to this, the morals of the community had been shamefully neglected. Religion was a stranger to the Island. No ministers resided on the spot; and not one church had been erected for the public exercise of religious worship.

The condition of the civil department was closely allied to that of the religious. Confusion prevailed over every part. No court-house had been erected for the transaction of public business, or for the administration of justice. The ancient Provincial Council, and the Council and Assembly, that had been instituted of a later date, had usually met in a private house, which, for that purpose, they had hired of an elderly lady. For the use of this house, however, no rent had been paid; nor was there any method which the proprietor could adopt for the recovery of her due. Several hundreds of pounds had also been advanced by her to prop the premises, and prevent them from falling together; but for none of these expenses could she obtain any reimbursement. The house itself, which had been thus hired, was indeed but badly adapted to the purposes to which it was applied, even admitting that its strength had rendered it a place of safety. It contained no rooms to which the grand and petit juries could repair in cases of expediency, and, taken altogether, it was by no means suited to the tran-

saction of public business. In addition to these inconveniences, its tottering condition would scarcely justify an entrance into it. In many parts and places it stood upon crutches and trussels; and, while its floors trembled beneath the feet of those who trod them, on the assembling of a concourse of people, it threatened the whole with the most imminent danger of involving them in one common ruin.

In the mean while, the public demands were left unsatisfied; and public clamour became loud, in proportion to the lapse of time that should have discharged their obligations. Poverty could hardly be pleaded in extenuation of the charge, or be admitted as an apology for neglect; the radical evil was the want of an act to enable them to raise money for this and other purposes. At the same time, private credit sunk with the invasion of private property. The indolent and base preyed upon the vitals of the industrious and virtuous. Fraud was practised with impunity. There was no law to compel the payment of debts, and there was no place proper for the confinement of debtors. In fact, offenders and offences multiplied in the absence of justice, and insulted both probity and virtue, while destitute of the restraints of law.

In the midst of these evils, a general scarcity of provisions prevailed, the consequence of which was an excessive dearth. This pervaded every necessary article of life, and tended to aggravate the various evils which have been described. In short, to adopt Mr. Suckling's language on the occasion, "the Island presented a shocking scene of anarchy, miserable indeed, and disgraceful to government, not to be equalled in any other of his Majesty's dominions, or perhaps in any civilized country in the world." What tended to aggravate these misfortunes was, "that they were brought upon the inhabitants (about two-thirds of whom were perfectly loyal and disposed to peace) by a party association, who aimed at the establishment of a pernicious system of government for their own private ends only, while the inhabitants and merchants remained without any other hope of being relieved from the tyranny of their oppressors, than by a public enquiry being made into the state of public affairs in the Virgin Islands, from the time of the legislature being established in them to the present period."

Such was the condition of the Virgin Islands, and such



were the evils under which the inhabitants laboured, from the commencement of their prosperity, to the year 1780. From that period they began to advance in the scale of society. The calamities which they suffered, were gradually removed through the introduction of order; and impediments to justice and law gave place to happier days. Tranquillity followed as a necessary consequence, and gave new vigour to the enterprising and industrious, who found themselves protected in possessing the wealth they had acquired by unremitting application. Industry cannot flourish in a region where property is insecure; and we learn from the short history of these Islands, that without justice and law, civil society must lose its social cement; and, bereft of those reciprocal affections which bind man to man, dwindle into that anarchy and confusion which we behold in savage life.

Coercion is a necessary adjunct of social order; and the administration of justice, both in legal and criminal cases, is inseparable from the preservation of peace. Should these sentiments appear somewhat paradoxical, we must look for their solution, in the present moral condition of mankind. A strange intermixture of good and evil has blended itself with the constitution of our nature, and exhibited us to ourselves in a light more paradoxical than the sentiments which we survey. A being, that includes contradictory principles in his nature, can only be guided in all his actions by varied rules, which are capable of extending to every part. The moral condition of man, therefore, solves the problem, and perfectly reconciles the motley appearances of government and law.

Of the natural history of Tortola, but little can be said. Its latitude is about 18 deg. 20 min. North, and longitude about 63 deg. West from London, so that it is but eight in the morning in this Island, when it is twelve at noon in our metropolis. Tortola, which is fifteen miles in length, and six in breadth, is mountainous, and was originally covered with trees. On its first discovery it was pronounced barren; and adventurer taking up the report of adventurer, confirmed the prejudice that had first gained a footing in traditionary accounts. Latter years have, however, detected this fallacy, and proved that the deficiencies of nature may be supplied by the resources of art.

Sugar, rum, and cotton, are its stable commodities for

exportation; which, together with some dyeing woods, are carried to Great Britain, to the States of America, to the British colonies on the continent, and to the foreign Islands in the West Indies. These articles are transported annually to the different markets in about forty ships, which contain about 6,600 tons, varying in proportion to the productions of the year.

Taking the Island in one collective point of view, it may be said to be still in an infant state, notwithstanding the vast improvements which have been made in its cultivation. Considerable portions of land yet remain in a state of nature, which with the application of art, would considerably augment its commercial stores; while some spots, as in most other Islands, are incapable, from several causes, of any valuable improvements. The exact proportion between the improved, the improveable, and the barren, it is difficult with precision to ascertain. A sufficient quantity is in a state of cultivation to reward industrious labour; and a sufficiency remains to invite an increase of application; while the barren parts urge the necessity of speedy exertions, by fixing the boundaries of human actions and human hopes.

The whole extent of its population, including men of every colour and description, amounts at present to nearly 11,000. Of these, about 1800 are Whites, the rest are more or less of African colour, and are chiefly slaves. The number of inhabitants thus gradually increasing, is, however, no evidence of actual prosperity. Several reasons may be assigned which will discriminate between the two circumstances, and convince us that an augmentation of numbers is no infallible criterion of calculation. The heavy impost of *four and a half per cent.* operating upon every article which industry can raise, must make a considerable deduction from the general profits. On comparing the successive exports of articles from the different Islands in which this tax is paid, it has been found that they have been regularly on the decline for several years. Other Islands, that are happily exempt, have every advantage over them; they bring their produce to the same market, dispose of it at the same price, and, of course, add to their profits what the others must pay in taxes. An enlightened legislature may, perhaps, on some future occasion, recommend to his Majesty the propriety of relaxing what is at present demanded as a right. Such a relaxation is intimately connected with

the importance and preservation of these Islands, as appendages to the British empire; and probably the period is not remote, when nothing less will be able to preserve them from impending ruin.

A sudden depression in their leading articles of commerce would occasion a shock that must be most severely felt by all; a continuance of that depression, must deprive them of every hope of having their exertions rewarded; and a perpetuity of the evil must consign them to inevitable ruin. Whether this or similar causes may be near or distant in their operations, I take not upon me to determine; but the inference seems to be inevitable, that whensoever such a reduction of profits shall take place, through any given cause, as shall bring the disbursements and advantages in an equilibrium, then the *four and a half per cent.* must prove fatal, and turn the scale against these Islands.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

## BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS—CONTINUED.

*State of religion and morals.—Visited by the Author in 1789.—Disposition of the Inhabitants towards the Gospel.—Establishment of a Mission.—Early Successes.—Visited again by the Author in 1793.—Progress of the Gospel. The Work extends to different Islands.—History of a female slave.—Violent persecution.—Removal of Mr. Brownell, and death of Mr. Evans.—Island left without a Missionary.—Mr. Hodgson embarks for Tortola.—Touches at Barbadoes, Dominica, and Antigua.—Singular adventure at Monserrat.—Visits Nevis and St. Christopher's.—State of societies in each Island, excepting Montserrat.—Arrival and reception at Tortola.—General reformation among the Negroes.—Arrival of two additional Missionaries.—Statement of the Work at large.—Introduction and success of the Gospel in St. Thomas's, an Island lately captured from the Danes.—Total number in society in the Virgin Islands.*

IT was not to be expected, amidst that complication of anarchy and confusion which we have surveyed, that any considerable attention should have been paid to the morals of the people. But it is to be regretted, when social order was in a measure restored, that no regard was paid to the public worship of Almighty God. It is, however, an indisputable, though a melancholy fact, that nothing has ever been attempted by the government, in its legislative capacity, to instruct the people in the way to heaven. Not a single edifice has been appropriated to the purpose of divine worship, nor has a single minister ever been appointed, from the moment of its first settlement to the present hour. In consequence of this neglect, the Negroes remained in their primitive heathenish darkness, and most of their proprietors lived without hope and without God in the world.

But although, in a general sense, these observations

are but too true, it must not be concluded that all the inhabitants were enemies to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Many, on the contrary, perceived and deplored their awful condition. And since attempts have been made to introduce the Gospel among them, they have demonstrated the sincerity of their attachment to its doctrines, by the conformity of their lives to the purity of its precepts.

Convinced, by a variety of reports, that the moral condition of the inhabitants was truly deplorable, the Author of these volumes, when driven by a tempest to the West Indies in the year 1788, determined, if possible, to pay them a visit before his return, in order that a Missionary might be established on the Island. Agreeably to his wishes, a favourable opportunity presented itself in the beginning of the ensuing year. This he embraced; and, in company with other Missionaries, landed at Tortola, on the 17th of February, 1789. At this time the inhabitants amounted to 1000 whites, and 8000 coloured people and blacks. All these, from the causes that have been assigned, were wholly destitute of the public form of godliness; but, on serious inquiry, it was soon found that many among them were ripe for its power.

The Negroes, being informed of our design, seemed to unite in this general cry, "Let us, if possible, have a Methodist minister established among us." In Road Town, the principal town in the Island, the inhabitants had, at this time, an opportunity of hearing two sermons. Their attention appeared to be deeply engaged; and, either from novelty or attachment, no inconsiderable number flocked to hear. Our stay, however, was but short; for after having thus introduced ourselves to their notice, we took our departure for the present, intending to revisit the Island in the course of a few days.

The Island to which we immediately sailed was Santa Cruz, belonging to the crown of Denmark, the population of which was estimated to be 30,000 souls. These, though subject to a foreign power, in general speak the English language, and are not wholly unacquainted with English manners. Through the warm recommendation of a worthy and respectable friend in London, we were introduced to the Governor General, who received us with every mark of politeness and respect. To him also we communicated the purport of our visit, and were

assured in reply, that all the encouragement and protection which lay in his power, should be afforded us, to promote the end which we had in view.

From two gentlemen in the town we also received many civilities and marks of respect; and from an old Quaker lady we obtained permission to preach in her house, together with an assurance that it should be always open to us, and at our service on any future occasion. Thus in this Island also a loud call appeared to be given us to preach the Gospel, and to tread in those steps which the hand of Providence seemed evidently to have pointed out.\*

But here a new difficulty arose. We had aimed at success in our endeavours, and this success, the instant it was obtained, created an embarrassment, and pointed out, by the derangements which it could not but occasion, a disappointment which must ensue.

Mr. Hammett, at this time in company, had been destined by us for Jamaica, and notwithstanding the pleasing prospects which now lay before us in the Virgin Islands, we had no other Missionary that could be left behind, to secure the advantages which appeared. In the midst of these embarrassments it was, however, finally determined, that Mr. Hammett should remain on the spot for the present, and divide his labours between Tortola and Santa Cruz, till other Missionaries were sent from England to succeed him, and prosecute the openings which divine Providence had already made. In the mean while we had every reason to believe that during the interim, the word of God would run and be glorified, and that a society would be raised through his instrumentality; so that the young Missionaries, on their arrival, would not enter

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\* Should a visit to Santa Cruz be deemed irregularly introduced into an account which professedly speaks of the first establishment of the Gospel in Tortola, it may be necessary to assign the following reason. Though the visit, as it related to myself, was of a transient nature, yet our design in introducing the Gospel aimed at permanency; and consequently it became necessary that some Missionary should be established in the Virgin Islands. It was not, however, to be expected that Tortola, in which the sound of the Gospel had scarcely ever been heard, would in this infant state, yield him a sufficiency of employment. And, as idleness forms no part of our plan, it became necessary to seek an opening that would afford some additional labour in one of the neighbouring Islands. This we found in Santa Cruz. The prospect, however, after some time, disappointed our hopes: not indeed through any reluctance of the people to receive us, but from the intolerant spirit of the Danish laws. Of this disappointment, and our reasons for not establishing any societies, we shall give some account in the history of Santa Cruz.

among a people who knew nothing of God. At the same time, my designs were to pass onward to Jamaica, to communicate intelligence of our intentions,—to give information that Mr. Hammett would soon take up his abode among them, and to transmit to him such instructions and advice, as occasions might suggest, to facilitate the important objects at which we aimed.

Our mode of action being thus adjusted, from Santa Cruz we returned again to Tortola, and found that something more than mere curiosity had disposed the people to hear and receive the things of God. Prospects in both Islands appeared highly flattering; for the inhabitants seemed much inclined to favour the Gospel. The fields were white unto harvest, and a labourer was sent into the vineyard, who had before him a view of present reward. Subsequent events have justified our expectations, with regard to Tortola, and convinced us, that we have not laboured in vain. Multitudes of souls have been abundantly blessed, many have died in the full triumph of faith; and the bread, that has been cast upon the waters, has been found after many days.

At this period, a pleasing prospect was opened before us in no less than ten of the West India Islands. In these, collectively taken, perhaps not less than 260,000 souls resided, but few of whom knew any thing of God. About four-fifths of these upon a moderate computation, were lost in heathenish darkness, who, like the inhabitants of Nineveh, knew not their right hand from their left. Their condition became an imperious call from God upon us, and the success with which he has been pleased to crown our exertions, has left no room for reflection to become a painful sensation.

Satisfied that we were moving within the circle of our duties in these Islands, Mr. Hammett immediately proceeded to act in the division of his labours as circumstances might direct, while the Author took his leave, and departed to Jamaica. Immediately on his return to England, Missionaries were appointed to succeed Mr. Hammett, who, on their arrival at Tortola, found a large society in a flourishing condition. After preaching in this place for some time with considerable success, a door was also opened to them in Spanish Town, another of the Virgin Islands belonging to the British Government; and small societies were formed in several of the smaller Islands, as invitations offered, and as the Missionaries found oppor-

tunities to extend their labours among the inhabitants. But these circumstances will best appear, when we survey the various letters in which the Missionaries have given an account of their successes.

Early in the year 1793, the Author had another opportunity of visiting the Island of Tortola, in which he found that God, in a powerful manner, had acknowledged and blessed the labours of his servants. In this and the adjacent Isles, about 1400 souls had joined the society; these were evidently awakened, and many among them gave us reason to hope that they were joined also unto God. In addition to these who had joined our society, the congregations were both large and attentive. Many, from their conduct, induced us to believe that the awakening Spirit had been striving with them; they appeared like blossoms that promised a future harvest of many souls.

Success, however, rarely attends the ministrations of the word, without being accompanied with some impediment. The prince of darkness, finding his empire shaken, avails himself of that carnal mind which is enmity against God, and through the medium of its instrumentality, endeavours to obstruct the progress which the Gospel makes. This is sometimes attempted by bringing an evil report on the good land; at other times by injuring the reputation of the ministers of the Gospel; and not unfrequently by awakening a spirit of persecution.

This last had been attempted in the Island of Tortola. The multitudes that had been awakened to a view of their danger, had created among the thoughtless some alarm; and a warm persecution had ensued: but this was prior to the present period, for all now was peace. By the active address and prudent management of Mr. Owens, the resident Missionary at that period, its violence had soon abated, and it was finally extinguished. The providence of God, which ever watches over his church and people, interposed in this place in behalf of both, and ultimately caused his Gospel to triumph over every opposition.

After remaining on this Island three days, and carefully examining into the state of the classes; adjusting trifling irregularities, and advising what might be thought most advantageous to the general welfare, in company with some Missionaries, I took my leave of Tortola, and repaired to Antigua, where, in the month of February,



we held our infant conference. From the returns made at this annual meeting, we learned, that it was chiefly among the Negroes that God had poured out his Spirit in Tortola; for though the whole number in society amounted to 1,406, six only were whites, the remainder were partly coloured people and partly blacks. At this conference Mr. Owens and another were appointed to labour in the Virgin Islands the ensuing year, and to their letters we must refer for our next accounts of the progress of the work of God.

Mr. Owens, in his first letter, early in 1793, makes the following general observations. "In this Island the work of the Lord prospers. Backsliders are restored, sinners awakened, and God's children established; and what is equally matter of thanksgiving, some are safely and triumphantly removed to Abraham's bosom. The society increases in number and grace. We have peace in all our borders. There is not an individual on the Island with whom I am not on good terms, and I hope not to the dishonour of the cause I espouse."

The general sentiments of the preceding extract are both confirmed and illustrated by the following letter, which was written by his colleague; it is dated Tortola, July 3, 1794, and gives a most pleasing account of the amazing out-pouring of the Spirit of God.

"On the 7th ult. I received your favour of the 19th of February, and with a grateful heart, and with open arms, received and embraced the bearer, Brother Turner, whom I love, and have recommended as an ambassador of Christ, to the love, esteem, and prayers of our societies in Tortola and Spanish Town. There are but few, hardly any, Negroes at Spanish Town but what are in society; and in my opinion, in the opinion of Brother Turner, who spent nearly a week with them, and also in the judgment of the Tortola leaders, they appear to be trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, bring forth the fruits of the Spirit, and increasing in humility, faith, and love.

"A more peaceable and brotherly society is rarely to be found. The whites in Spanish Town are pretty attentive to preaching, and are very civil and friendly. To God alone be all the glory! May he be our help, our shield, and our friend, then are we blessed and secure. We have about 300 in society in Spanish Town, also a

small society in Anagada and Peter's Island; and in Tortola our numbers amount to about 1900."

When we pause for a moment, and take a survey of this amazing work, we may justly exclaim, that it is the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in our eyes. When we look back, only prior to the year 1789, we find these Islands presenting to us a race of human beings sitting in the valley of the shadow of death, and literally living without hope and without God in the world. And yet we perceive, that in the short space of five years, God has been pleased, through the foolishness of preaching in these insulated regions, to convert and awaken between two and three thousand souls. We therefore repeat with exultation, *What has God wrought!*

On July 31, 1794, Mr. Turner, to whom the preceding letter alludes, and of whom the writer has spoken in one of his paragraphs, wrote as follows from Tortola.

"For several years past, I have been led to adore the Divine Providence in suiting my station in life to my inclinations. My inclinations, under the direction of divine grace, have, for a long time, prompted me to desire the life of a preacher of the Gospel, beyond any other in the world, and in this I have been fully gratified.

"Nothing is so suitable to me as the dividing of my time between the mount and the multitude; and I am fully convinced, that unless I am found much in the former, I shall be of little service to the latter. But what most excites my wonder and gratitude at this time is, my appointment to Tortola. I believe no place is fitter for me; and if the Conference were to meet to-morrow, and I were asked what circuit I chose? my answer would be, 'Tortola.' In no period of my life have I experienced more of the power of godliness than I experience at the present. And, as from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, I never was enabled to deliver myself more plainly to the people respecting the things that make for their present and future happiness.

"Numbers of our people are truly alive to God, and earnestly desire the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom. Nevertheless, among so many, selected from an uncultivated race of men, unworthy members occasionally appear; nor is it to be expected that all should be sterling. Many are joining the society every week, so that I

am employed for some hours every Sunday in examining and taking in new members, many of whom are young, but promise fair."

In the month of November, in the same year, (1794) Mr. Turner wrote again from Tortola, and repeats his prospects, his experience, the success of the Gospel, and his hopes, in nearly the following language:

"About the middle of September I held a love-feast at Spanish Town, at which time I sensibly felt the divine presence in a lively manner. It was a glorious day. A considerable number, lately brought into liberty, spoke as clearly of their conversion, as our people speak of theirs in London. Indeed the Lord has condescended to teach them according to their capacity, and to lead them in a plain path.

"Not long afterward, we had a love-feast in Tortola, and here also the power of God was remarkably experienced in the hearts of hundreds. A relation of their experience would, however, have been more impressive, had the congregation been considerably less. Such numbers assembled, that some who spoke were so far distant from others, that their declarations for God could not be distinctly heard. Our chapel, indeed, is by far too small even for the society on such occasions. Seven Whites have joined us in this Island since I came hither, and two in Spanish Town. The number of Blacks and people of colour, I cannot precisely ascertain; but am inclined to think that they must exceed 100, as we have upwards of 2000 now in society in Tortola alone."

On December 13, 1794, Mr. Isham, at this time colleague with Mr. Turner, gave of the work of God the following account:

"Mr. Turner and myself spend our time chiefly between Spanish Town and Tortola. Glory be to God, we are now in a comfortable state, and his work prospers in our hands. We have glorious times. The work of the Lord appears to be breaking forth on the right hand and on the left. We have a small society at Anagada, a short way from Spanish Town; and also at some of the other little Islands, we have members who came to our chapels on Sundays, and also keep meetings among

themselves. A letter was lately sent to Mr. Turner from a Mr. Ordiorne, a goldsmith in St. Thomas, inviting us thither; but we have no time to attend to his invitation, We have, I think, above 2000 names on the class-papers in Tortola, and between two and three hundred in Spanish Town, many of whom are lively souls. I have spent about five weeks in Spanish Town with much satisfaction and comfort. Many give in their names, and are admitted into the visible church of Christ. O that they may experience the blessings of the Gospel, and be admitted to the church triumphant!"

Our next account is dated March 18, 1795. It was written by Mr. Turner, and closes with a statement of the Society.

"With regard to Tortola, (he observes) we still see that the Almighty is pleased to make use of the poorest instruments to effect his designs, and that he still *sends by whom he will send*. I believe that, for some months past, we have received more people into the society, than there have been days; and, what is still better, the society in general seems to be reviving. Many have of late found peace with God, and have joined the bands. In these meetings, the poor blacks speak with simplicity and wisdom of the things of God; indeed, I seldom meet them on these occasions without feeling a remarkable sense of the divine presence.

"Our congregations are so increased, that the chapel is too small every Sunday morning. As the number in society and of the communicants, is daily increasing, we find much to do every Sunday, especially when we baptize, administer the sacrament, or give out tickets; so that our people, who think on the occasion, conclude that there should be two ministers stationed on this Island; in fact I am proselyted to the same opinion. Brother Isham and myself divide our time betwixt Tortola and Spanish Town, so that all the work in this Island falls upon one of us at a time.

"I desire to bless God that I enjoy as good health both of body and mind as ever I did in England. I will give you the best account I am able of the numbers in society. In Tortola, including two adjacent quays, we have 12 Whites, and 2260 Mulattos and Blacks. In Spanish Town we have 2 Whites, and 260 Mulattos and Blacks;

and I have no doubt that we shall have one hundred more before the English conference."

Such, we may observe, were the out-pourings of the Spirit, and such are the wonderful works of God! The succession of days brought almost regularly an addition of numbers, and increased the total sum annually, notwithstanding the constant ravages of death. Two thousand five hundred and thirty-four souls, thus called from the shades of pagan idolatry, into the light and liberty of the sons of God, is a subject which calls aloud for our sincerest gratitude. To what cause can we possibly attribute such an amazing change as we are constrained thus to contemplate, but to the immediate efficacy of divine grace? In every other cause we behold an inefficiency, which forbids us to ascribe to it such an effect; folly, therefore, must mark our conduct, when we attempt to withhold that tribute of gratitude which such signal favours demand.

From Tortola and Spanish Town the work of God spread into the adjacent Islands; and, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants, many received the doctrines of the Gospel. In the month of May, 1796, the numbers in society in the British Virgin Islands were as follows. In Tortola, 2642; in Peter's Island, 49; in Jostvan Dykes, 76; in Spanish Town, 299; in Anagada, 82; amounting in the whole to more than 3000 souls. "In Spanish Town (says Mr. Isham, one of the Missionaries) there is no place of worship nor any minister but ours. Lately, the white people have attended our preaching; and, by their conduct, I hope some good is done among them; for they are desirous of having a chapel, and have subscribed upwards of 150*l.* towards it. Both in that place and Tortola we have made a public collection, so that near 300*l.* are promised, the greater part of which is collected. The week before last I paid 70*l.* for the frame of a house which was brought from America; it is 40 feet long and 20 wide. Most of the other materials being purchased for the completing of the work, we can form some estimate of the expense, which we conceive will amount to 300*l.* The ground on which we are about to erect the building, has been given to us by a Mr. Stephens. The house in which we have hitherto preached is at some distance from the spot on which the new chapel is to be built; this we have rented at 39*l.* 12*s.*

per annum." The society at large, the Missionaries describe, at this time, as being in a prosperous condition, though not increasing with so much rapidity as in months that were past. Some members, who walked disorderly, had been excluded, but those who had been added, more than supplied the defect; so that on the whole, from the numbers who were brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, it was plain that divine grace was taking a deeper root in the hearts of those who had received the word of eternal life.

From erecting a chapel in Spanish Town, they proceeded to build a dwelling-house on the same premises, and by this means, so far anticipated their resources, as to incur a debt which ultimately tended to impede the prosperity of the work. The effects of this indiscretion were forcibly felt in the year 1797, by deranging the plans which had been previously formed, by creating an obligation to pay in interest more than had been previously required in rent; and, by preventing the inhabitants of Tortola from mending their own chapel which was much out of repair; as it took from them the money which should have been applied to this purpose. To add to these pecuniary embarrassments, the vessel, in which Mr. Isham sailed from Tortola to Spanish Town, was pursued and taken by a French piccaroon. It is true, he providentially escaped on shore, but all his books and clothes were carried off with the vessel, leaving him not a single article besides what he had about him. This personal loss being of a serious nature, demanded an instant supply; he was, therefore, under the necessity of drawing immediately on the missionary fund, for a sum, which the society, from the reasons already stated, was totally unable to furnish.

With respect to the work of God, but little variation had taken place from that statement which has been already given. Many, during the year, had been admitted into the society; and many, for improper conduct, had been expelled; so that on the whole the society had rather decreased than augmented in its numbers. "I trust, however, (Mr. Isham observes) that God is carrying on his work in many souls, for there are some often giving an account of their having received pardon, and an increase of the peace and love of God to their souls. Therefore I trust, though our numbers have not increased, yet the work this year is deepened in many."

In a letter from Tortola, dated March 4, 1798, Mr. Isham observes as follows: "With respect to the work of God here at this time, there is nothing very particular. We have love and peace in our Zion, and I trust some are making a good progress in holiness: seldom a Sunday passes but some are added to our church." In another letter from Spanish Town, dated June 28, 1798, the same Missionary states that, from the different informations he had received, respecting the work of God in the Islands in which preaching had been established, he had reason to hope that the blessed Gospel was proving to many, the power of God to their salvation. "In this circuit, (he observes) we are not so many in number as we were, but I trust from what I see and hear, that the Lord is carrying on his work in a glorious manner in many souls. Brother Turner is at Tortola, and I expect he will send you an account of the numbers we have in the society through the circuit." By the account of Mr. Turner, to which the above letter refers, the whole number in the month of June, amounted to 2739; of these only 16 were Whites, the others were coloured People and Blacks.

Among those of the latter description, was a woman, the memorials of whose life furnish us with a few striking incidents, which we cannot in justice pass over in silence, as the detail affords us a more pointed comment on the situation of a slave, than a whole volume of abstract reasoning. We therefore make no apology for inserting the following biographical sketch in Mr. Turner's own words:

"Having frequently observed with pleasure the deep piety and good sense of one of our coloured sisters, *Cambric Dracott*, I felt a strong inclination to take down from her own mouth a few memoirs of her life; and I was the more inclined to do this, from observing her ill state of health; she seemed to be fast verging towards the grave. The account she gave, communicates the following information.

"*Cambric Dracott*, who was born a slave in the Island of Barbadoes about the year 1735, was the offspring of a Mulatto man and a Mestee woman, and was at her birth the property of Henry Evens Holdin, Esq. As soon as she became capable of labour she was employed in the house as a domestic servant, and was treated by the fa-

mily with great kindness, so that she felt tolerably happy in her condition. When very young, she was sent to school to learn to read and work; but making little proficiency in reading, and afterward having no opportunity of improvement, she intirely forgot the little she had acquired.

“About the age of seventeen she received the addresses of a White man, a smith by trade, to whom she was united for about four years in the character of a wife, though without the ceremony of marriage, for matrimony, in this sense, is universally denied to slaves. They may unite, but only by private contract. During their union she had two children, and was perfectly satisfied with the man whom she considered to be her husband. But this state did not last long. Through those vicissitudes which diversify human life, she fell into the hands of another owner, who soon put an end to the happiness she had enjoyed. For notwithstanding he was a married man, he used every exertion that fraud and force could suggest, to seduce his slave; and, on finding himself disappointed, had recourse to revenge, and determined to sell her off the Island, and thus burst for ever those tender ties which nature had formed. To effect his purpose he had her seized, put in irons, and closely confined till he could meet with a convenient opportunity to send her off. While thus confined, through the instigation of her master, a number of things were invented to blacken her character, of which no proof was either demanded or brought; this was done to give a sanction to the inhuman treatment she was destined to undergo. After remaining six weeks in this state of confinement, and living only on a small portion of the coarsest fare, the morning arrived on which she was to take her final departure from all that could endear her to the continuance of life. Amidst the pangs of agonizing nature, she solicited the favour of clasping her only child (for at this time only one was living) in a last embrace; but this favour was denied. She was sternly forbidden to see the child, neither did she ever behold it more. As to her husband, she was permitted to have with him an interview of about two minutes, but no longer; she was then torn from him by violence, hurried on board the vessel, and never beheld either him or the Island again. About thirty years elapsed from this shocking separation, before she could obtain any account of her child, when she received some intelligence of its death.



“ She left Barbadoes under convoy of the fleet which reduced Martinico in 1756, and soon found herself in the Island of Tortola, the property of Mr. William Dracott, who, together with his lady, treated her remarkably kindly in every respect, which tended greatly to alleviate the anguish of her soul, and to wear off those painful sensations which she felt, on account of leaving her child and all she had, in Barbadoes. With her new proprietors she was again employed in domestic concerns, and, from their confidence in her rectitude, was permitted to act without controul. In this station she became the wife of a Dutchman, with whom she lived sixteen years, but had no child after leaving Barbadoes. The Dutchman dying, she became the wife of another man, an enemy to godliness, with whom she lived, till by hearing the Methodists, she was convinced of sin, and induced to join the society. Exasperated at her conduct, he immediately became her enemy, stripped her of all she had, and, leaving her much in debt, finally abandoned her. Though grieved at this unmerited treatment, she rejoiced in being separated from a man to whom she was not lawfully married, and who was so great an enemy to all spiritual things. In this single state she has devoted her days to God, and bids fair to end her life in peace.”

In the month of May, 1799, the society on the little Island of Jostvan Dykes, amounted to nearly 300 souls. In Tortola and Spanish Town, the attachment of the people to the word of God continued without any diminution, though in neither of these places had the societies increased. The extraordinary spirit of hearing which prevailed in Jostvan Dykes, may be seen in its proper light, in the following extract of a letter written by Mr. Murdoch, from Tortola, May 4, 1779. “ Mr. Sturgeon and I have visited Mr. Wynne’s estate once a fortnight. The poor dear creatures pay great respect to the word of God. Mr. Skelton is enlarging the little thatched house in which we have usually preached, and proposes to have it covered with shingles. I was there last Sunday, and also visited Jostvan Dykes. Among the people who flocked to hear, were a great many of the genteel White people, some of whom, I believe, had never heard a Methodist preacher before. They all behaved well, and seemed to hear with very great attention. It being on Sunday, I read the morning service of the church, and then endeavoured to

explain to them the words of Christ, Matt. xviii. 3. On taking my leave of the people, I rode up a very steep hill, and dined with a Mr. G—y, an old planter. And though I had been absent from the congregation three hours, they continued still waiting, expecting another sermon; but, having previously appointed to preach on Mr. Wynne's estate the same evening, it was impossible for me to comply with their request. I therefore prayed with them, and was about to get into the boat, on which they gathered about me with such eagerness, that it was with the utmost difficulty I could get away. Even the white people were very friendly."

It was not long after the preceding letter was written, before both Mr. Murdoch and Mr. Sturgeon were taken severely ill with a fever. For some time their situations were extremely dangerous, but through the divine blessing they at length recovered. Being totally unable, while this affliction continued, to superintend the affairs of the society, some irregularities crept in, which, for a short season, put on a threatening aspect towards the mission at large. It so happened, that about this time a great number of slaves revolted from their masters, among whom were some who were members of the society. Through this circumstance the gentlemen on the Island became greatly alarmed, apprehending that the revolt which they beheld, had resulted from those principles which had been inculcated among their slaves. Full of this persuasion, the members of the public assembly sent for the Missionaries to appear before them, to undergo such interrogations as their apprehensions might suggest. They were, however, treated with much civility, and gave such satisfactory account of their own conduct, as to exempt themselves from the imputation of guilt. The assembly nevertheless passed a resolution, "That the slaves should not henceforth be permitted to assemble together on the estates, either to pray or exhort, by day or by night, either on week-days or Sundays, unless a preacher were with them, lest they should either form conspiracies, or lay plans for future revolts." They also required of the Missionaries, "that none in future should be admitted into the society, unless they had previously obtained a ticket from their respective owners, signifying their approbation." These were restrictions, which, on the whole, tended very much to impede the progress of the Gospel, and their effects were severely felt in the following years.

The society, through the whole of the Virgin Islands, about the time of these local commotions, amounted to 2646, of whom no more than 17 were Whites. Towards the close of the year, several more joined the connexion, and much of the prejudice, which had been excited, vanished away. But great numbers were obliged to leave the Islands, and take up their abode in Demarara, on the continental shores, so that, on the whole, a decrease in the society took place. As to those who remained, their conduct continued irreproachable. "I have (says Mr. Pattison, a Missionary, who had just reached Tortola,) already visited Peter Island since my arrival, and intend visiting all as soon as possible. There appears to be a very blessed prospect of an in-gathering to the church, as the whole society seems much stirred up, and the members are praying for a revival. I have now appointed a stewards' and leaders' meeting to be held every week, which I am fully persuaded was quite necessary, and will be productive of great good."

Nothing remarkable happened in the year 1800. In a general letter, written by the leaders of the society, they bear a strong testimony in favour of Mr. Murdock's piety and zeal, and sincerely regret his departure from them. They describe him as "a labourer that need not be ashamed of his work, and as being courageous in the cause of Christ." "Mr. Pattison and Mr. Sturgeon, who are at present with us, are both earnest (they say) in their duty. The work of God prospers in this Island, and we trust that it will continue to do so more and more, till sinners shall be brought to see the hideousness of sin, and the beauty of holiness and of Christ."

In 1801 and 1802, the Missionaries exerted themselves to liquidate those debts which had been contracted in former years; but through a combination of unpleasant circumstances, their efforts were only crowned with a partial success. The religious department presented little more than those common events which are inseparable from this transitory state. Death swept multitudes away, but, through the preaching of the Gospel, new converts were raised up to supply their places. The labours of the Missionaries were acknowledged of God by his adding seals to their ministry; but the numbers that were obliged to leave the Island, together with such as were expelled the connexion for improper conduct, and such as voluntarily abandoned it, reduced the society much below the aggregate amount which has occasionally given.

In 1803, Mr. Murdock, who had been stationed in Tortola the preceding year, gives the following statement of the society. "The Blacks and coloured people amount to 2070, and the Whites to 38. About 440 of these attend the supper of the Lord, and 345 meet in band as well as in class. Many have died this year, it having been a sickly season, and not a few of them happy in the Lord. Some have been removed to other Islands." By a letter from the stewards and leaders of the societies, which bears date May 10, 1803, the preceding account, as it respects the welfare of the society, has been both confirmed and enlarged. "We are happy (they say) to inform you, that pure religion seems to be spreading fast in this Island; the people are quite changed for the better; both rich and poor appear to receive the ingrafted word, which is able to save their souls. We trust to see Jerusalem in full prosperity in this land, and to hear of a glorious revival of the work of God in every other."

Mr. Murdock, who had been appointed from hence to St. Christopher's, was seized with a violent fever early in the month of January, 1804, and for some time was thought by all his friends to be past recovery. Mr. Thompson, who arrived nearly about the same time, was taken down with the same affliction, through which the former was detained in Tortola, and by which both were prevented from prosecuting their missionary labours in their different stations of appointment. Mr. Murdock, on recovering from his illness, departed from this Island, early in the month of June; and on the 24th, Mr. Brownell, his successor, reached Tortola; and on the 16th of July, 1804, after having taken a survey of the society, and of the condition of its various members, gave the following statement:

"I find religion has made a great alteration for the better among the poor Blacks in this Island, a larger proportion of them enjoying peace with God, than in most Islands to windward. But there are fewer coloured or white people, who attend even the preaching than in any Island that I have seen. The prospect of good among these is very small. Fornication, adultery, and neglect of all religion, are reigning sins in this region.\* There are, I sup-

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\* The publication of this letter occasioned a prosecution, as will be seen in a subsequent page.

pose fifteen or sixteen small Islands around this, but, even in the whole, there is not one place of worship besides our chapels; neither is there a beneficed clergyman to be found. Never did the Methodists undertake a mission, in a place that wanted it more. Yet, as God has blessed his word to the conversion of so many Blacks, we will not despair of his calling the coloured and white people also, from darkness to light, and of his turning them from Satan to himself.

“The labour of this circuit is not hard, for the Island is so mountainous, that we cannot go far from home on horseback. But visiting the little Islands and Quays is generally difficult, and sometimes dangerous. To be tossed about in a small open boat, while almost every wave threatens to overwhelm it, appears strange to those who have been accustomed to another mode of life; but the love of souls surmounts every difficulty.”

Nor was it to Tortola alone that the divine goodness was confined. In Spanish Town, and the adjacent Islands, the gracious work was carried on, as will appear from the following paragraph, taken from a letter written by Mr. Isham, dated June 11, 1804. “Since I came to this circuit, I have spent most of my time betwixt Spanish Town and the Island of Anagada, where we have a few people in society, who, I trust, are endeavouring to ornament the religion of Jesus, and preparing to meet him to their everlasting comfort. In the former of these Islands we enjoy the goodness of God, and have love and peace in our society. Several have lately been added to our church; and from what I have both heard and seen, I trust that our Immanuel is carrying on his work in a glorious manner, in the hearts of many in this and other Islands.”

In October Mr. Brownell observes, “I thank God that his cause continues to flourish, and, from the increasing number of people, who attend the chapel, I trust great good will be done. At present we are all in good health, and, on the whole, are going on tolerably well in the mission. There has of late been an increase of white people in the congregation, and one or two have lately joined the society. This I conceive is a matter of encouragement, as it will probably open the way for the appointing of stewards for the society. An increase of white people is always a desirable thing in these Islands,

because they can greatly assist the Missionary, and their appointment to offices in the society wipes away a great deal of reproach. We have also admitted lately about twenty Blacks."

Among the many who departed this life, and among those who continued to survive, a variety of instances might be selected, as comments on the promises of saving faith; but such details are somewhat foreign to the nature of the present work. There are, nevertheless, some memorable instances, which so conspicuously display the compassion of God, that they ought not to be passed over in perfect silence. As a living witness of the truth, we select the following memoir, which was communicated by Mr. Isham, in a letter from Spanish Town, which bears date the 17th of August, 1804.

"Isaac Vanterpool, a Negro, was born in this Island, and at his birth was the property of a Mr. Keturah, who made a present of him to Mr. H—, to whom he belonged between four and five years. On growing to maturity, he took a wife, by whom he had one child. Mr. H—, being much involved in his circumstances, and not having it in his power to satisfy the demands which were made upon him, poor Isaac was seized; and, contrary to his desire, being torn from his wife, child, and relations, was sent to the Island of Tortola, and sold for the benefit of his master's creditors. He was purchased by a person, who, about two years afterwards, carried him to St. Eustatius, and again sold him, contrary to his inclination, to a Mr. P— of that place. Being dissatisfied with his new master, he soon eloped, and embracing the first opportunity that offered, returned to his wife and child at Spanish Town. But whatever happiness he might have experienced on this account, it was of short duration, for being soon taken, he was sent back to St. Eustatius. Soon after this, Mr. P— sold him to one of this Island, in consequence of which he was again restored to his wife and connexions, which gave him no small joy.

"When the Methodist Missionaries visited Spanish Town, he attended their preaching, and was soon convinced of the sinfulness of his proceedings, having been fond of dancing, and of following the corrupt inclinations of his heart. He soon saw the necessity of abandoning these courses, and of so altering his conduct, that he might escape eternal punishment, and obtain the

blessings promised in the Gospel. In consequence of these convictions he began to depart from iniquity, and to seek for mercy; but in the pursuit of this he met with much opposition.

“ His mind at this time was much affected with alarming dreams, and he was greatly distressed on account of his ungodly behaviour. Being weary and heavy laden with his sins, he earnestly sought pardon and peace through faith in the blood of Jesus; and the Lord, who heard his cry, removed his trouble, spoke peace to his soul, and enabled him to rejoice in a present salvation. Some time after this, he was appointed to lead a class, and, from what I have seen and heard, has always been attentive to it, watching over the people with love, and earnestly exhorting them to a strict attention to the means of grace, and to a constant looking to God through the Saviour, for the blessings of the Gospel in time and eternity. In his deportment he appears to be very humble, and desirous of the salvation of his fellow-creatures; and when he hears of any in the society acting contrary to their profession, he appears to be deeply concerned respecting them. In short, he loves God, his cause, and his people, and longs for the destruction of sin, and the prosperity of the Redeemer's kingdom. I have known him (concludes Mr. Isham) between nine and ten years, and hope he will be one of that glorious company, to whom Jesus will say—Enter ye into the joy of your Lord.”

Mr. Isham continued to labour in the Virgin Islands in the year 1805, and in one of his letters he gives the following account of the society, of himself, and of the manner in which he employed his time. “ Since I received the circular letter, nothing particular has taken place among us, except that some persons have been excluded, and others admitted into society. My plan of proceeding is as follows. On Sunday morning before breakfast, I attend the classes which meet in the chapel. At ten I read morning prayers and preach, and afterwards catechise. At four in the afternoon I preach again. On Monday morning we have prayers, and at night I attend the classes. On Wednesday morning we have prayers, and at night I preach. On Thursday night I catechise. On Friday morning I read the litany, and at night attend a prayer-meeting. On Saturday night I

meet the bands and leaders. Once a month I administer the sacrament.

“When an opportunity offers, and it is convenient to go, I visit the Island of Anagada, on which we have a small society. These, I trust, are endeavouring to adorn the Gospel of Jesus, and preparing to meet him in glory. I have spent above ten years in the West Indies, and blessed be God, have enjoyed a good degree of health, and experienced much of the divine mercy and love. I have cause to praise the Lord for what is past, and to trust him for what is to come. May the Almighty crown with success your endeavours to promote his glory, and the salvation of sinners.” In another letter he adds, “I trust, from what I have both seen and heard, that my exertions to do good to my fellow-creatures have not been in vain.”

It happened on the 31st of December, 1805, as Mr. Brownell was walking through one of the public streets, that he was sternly accosted by a gentleman, who directed him to read a paper, which he then put into his hand. On stepping aside for that purpose, he was seized by the arm and dragged to the middle of the street, by the same person from whom he had just received the paper, who instantly put himself in an attitude to strike him. This strange behaviour was occasioned by a letter which had been just transmitted to the Island, containing an extract from the Methodist Magazine for July 1805, in which Mr. Brownell, in a letter, then published, had asserted, that “*Fornication, adultery, and neglect of all religion, were reigning sins in this region.*” This letter, the gentleman asserted, was “a libel on the public, and that he would hunt the writer out of the community.”

From the attitude in which he stood, he proceeded to bestow the epithets of rascal and scoundrel with no common liberality, and from thence to strike Mr. Brownell in the face, first with a stick, then with his fist, then to pull him by the nose, and then to kick him. In this career of madness he was instantly joined by another, equally furious and foolish with himself, who, after pouring forth more abusive language, struck him a violent blow on the breast. Scarcely had Mr. Brownell time to turn himself round, before a third struck him with the but-end of a loaded horsewhip, which cut his head most severely. “His hand was lifted up to give a second blow, but, providentially, (Mr. Brownell observes) he did not



strike, or it is highly probable that I should have been murdered in the open street and in the face of day.”\*

The treatment which Mr. Brownell thus received from gentlemen of apparent respectability, soon collected a mob; and while they were busily engaged in inquiring into the cause of the transactions which they had partially beheld, he retired to the house of a gentleman, and was thus preserved from their insatiable fury. They, however, no sooner found that he was gone, than they pursued, exhorting each other to persevere till they had “finished the business;” and he only escaped this second tempest of their vengeance, by prostrating himself on the floor while they passed by the widow. From this place he was conducted to his home by two gentlemen who became his guard, to prevent the consequences which they apprehended. Here he was confined for some time, through the wound on his head, and the bruises which he received, attended by two physicians.

On the 3d of March, 1806, Mr. Brownell brought the affair before the grand jury of the Virgin Islands, together with a number of competent witnesses, to attest the truth of his own allegations; but the grand jury, instead of finding the bill against the rioters, presented the plaintiff. An indictment was accordingly drawn up by the King’s council, and though not a shadow of evidence was brought, except a copy of a letter from England, which contained the extract from the magazine, a bill was readily found. He was then arraigned at the bar, and pleaded not guilty; but the King’s counsel not being prepared for such an unexpected trial, it was postponed to the ensuing Thursday.

On the arrival of this day, the same plea was again repeated, and the trial was again postponed, on the ground that nothing could be done without the original letter; for at present the whole charge rested on the evidence of a man, who averred that he had received a letter from a gentleman in England, in which the writer states, that he had read in a magazine the words which constituted the crime, and which were said to be in a letter sent by the defendant from Tortola. This became a

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\* The letter alluded to above, which these gentlemen declared to be libellous, and was made by them the ostensible occasion of their disturbance, we have given in a preceding page, (126). It is dated July 16, 1804. It is highly probable that they had either never seen, or had totally forgotten, the following observation of an elegant writer: “Forbidden writings are generally thought to be certain sparks of truth, which fly off in the faces of those who attempt to tread them out.”

specious pretence for committing him to prison till September, which they were the more eager to do, from a full conviction that he would not be able to obtain any bail, and that it would become a punishment which they were well aware the law could not inflict. In this, however, they were much deceived; and, an offer of bail being made from a quarter they least expected, induced them to bring the matter to an immediate issue. This, nevertheless, was an affair of some debate; but finding, after the usual pleadings, that five out of seven of the justices were of opinion that the trial ought not to be put off, the King's counsel quashed the indictment, to the no small mortification of those who sought revenge.

As to the charge itself, contained in the letter published in the magazines, not even the most violent among the prosecutors attempted to falsify it. They contended that the crimes were not of universal application, and to this no part of the letter extended. But the principal branch of the criminality of Mr. Brownell, it was plain, consisted in his publishing to the world those prevailing vices, which, though existing, they were ashamed publicly to avow. It must not, however, be understood, that all the principal inhabitants of Tortola gave countenance to the proceedings which we have detailed; any more that they were implicated in those vices which were said to prevail. On the contrary, vast numbers disapproved their conduct; and even the chief magistrate observed, that "as the grand jury did not think proper to find a bill for Mr. Brownell, they ought, in common justice, not to have found one against him." That the public mind was not incensed against the Missionaries by these events, we may gather from this circumstance, that the white part of the congregation visibly increased afterward; and even, during the whole of the transactions, no other branch of the society was exposed to any persecution. And, if actions may be permitted to declare the emotions of the soul, we have much reason to believe that those, who were most active in promoting the prosecution, reflect on what has taken place, rather with shame than exultation.

The appointed period of Mr. Brownell's continuance in the Virgin Islands having expired, he retired, towards the autumn of the year, from a place in which he had received a personal injury, which urged his departure—the wound on his head disabling him from bearing the heat of the sun. At this time Mr. Evans was left as a

solitary Missionary on the Islands. It was from him we learnt the mournful intelligence of the death of Mr. Sturgeon, one of our Missionaries, while on his passage from Grenada. In his letter, which is dated August 14, 1806, he observes, that Mr. Sturgeon was taken ill at Grenada, and gradually grew worse, till the homeward-bound fleet left that place. At this time he thought it best to attempt reaching the Virgin Islands, in which the relations of his wife resided. But all his efforts proved ineffectual. On the second morning after he left Grenada, he departed this life, and was committed to a watery grave. His disconsolate widow and only child, (a girl of about four years of age) after witnessing their misfortune, reached their friends in safety. Mrs. Sturgeon says, that her late husband was very happy in his mind during his sickness, and that his conversation was entirely on religious subjects. Departing this life under these circumstances, it is not to be supposed that we could be furnished with any documents relative to his death; but from the general tenor of his life and ministry, we have every reason to believe that he died in peace, and that his soul entered into the enjoyment of that rest which remaineth for the people of God.

With respect to the work at large in the Virgin Islands, Mr. Evans, in the same letter in which he gives an account of Mr. Sturgeon's death, observes as follows. "I am happy to inform you that things appear to be in the mending way here. People of all colours attend the chapel; and it is so much crowded, that I am grieved to see the people so incommoded. Many want pews, and say they are compelled to tarry away, because when they come they can get no seats; while those who have pews complain that they cannot get to them, the alleys and gallery stairs being so filled. And, I may add, this has not been the case for once only, but it is so every Sunday morning. On this account I am under the necessity of enlarging the chapel, and am encouraged herein by the willingness which the people show to lend every assistance in their power. I have added about thirty to the society in town, and about thirty more have given in their names to meet in class, to whom I have not yet given notes.

"I hope the preachers will cheerfully assist in this great work, for some of the missionaries being dead, and others gone home, things call aloud for all the attention which can possibly be given. Barbadoes and Grenada are now

without preachers, and this circuit has only one. I hope these considerations will stir up the minds of pious holy men, to cross the Atlantic to preach the Gospel. They may expect their trials, but I hope the expectation of a crown that never fades away, will be sufficient to induce them to encounter with resolution all the difficulties they may meet. Yesterday I added about ten to the society. 'The whole number' in Tortola, and the other Virgin Islands, is now about 2040, of whom no more than 38 are Whites."

The circuit being thus reduced to one preacher, a scarcity of preaching followed; and the effects of this unavoidable omission were almost immediately felt through the more distant societies, during the remaining part of the year 1806, and in a more general manner in 1807. In the month of April of this year, Mr. Evans observes, that from the preceding June to that period, he had joined about 450 to the society, but had been under the necessity of excluding for misconduct 130. Many others had been taken away by death, and many more in the forsaken places, had wandered from the fold which there was no shepherd to superintend; so that, on the whole, a considerable reduction had taken place. In Spanish Town Mr. Evans was unable to preach oftener than once a month; and some of the smaller Islands were abandoned altogether; while those places which still remained, required greater energies than one man was able to exert.

In Tortola, however, to which the labours of Mr. Evans were chiefly confined, the work assumed a more pleasant aspect. "With regard to the spiritual state of this Island, (he observes) if I may judge by those things which are generally taken as proofs of prosperity, I must conclude that the work is still owned of God. The congregations are frequently so large, that the chapel, though much enlarged, is still too small to contain the people. The classes are better attended. Many apply for admittance into the society. Thirty or forty are meeting on trial, and some profess to have obtained lately a sense of God's love to their souls. Several have died happy in the Lord, one of whom was a leader of Spanish Town. When I went to see him a little before his death, I found him delivered from all slavish fear, and waiting for the hour of his departure with joy and gladness in his soul. He told me that he wanted nothing but that God's will

should be done in him, and that the Lord would make him entirely ready, and then take him to himself.

“Another who died happy in the Lord, was a Miss Gordon, of Tortola. She had been careless about religion till a few months before her death, when it pleased the Lord to lay his afflicting hand upon her; she was then visited by one of our friends, who spoke to her respecting the salvation of her soul, and prayed with her: this he often did, and his labour was not lost. It pleased the Lord so far to restore her, that she frequently attended preaching and the private meetings. Her disorder, however, soon returned, and carried her to her resting place. I went to see her several times during her illness, and found her strong in faith, the fear of death being gone, and her soul waiting for the Lord to come and take her to himself.”

From the month of April to the middle of August, Mr. Evans continued his labours with unremitting assiduity, regarding the eternal welfare of the souls committed to his care, more than his own bodily health. These exertions being too great, in that warm climate, for his constitution, soon brought on an alarming fever, which, on the 19th of August, conducted him to those regions where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary find repose. Of this melancholy circumstance, the author of these pages received the painful intelligence, in a letter written by a gentleman of the faculty, who attended him in his illness; it was dated August 16, 1807, only three days prior to his departure, and couched in the following terms.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I write from the house at which Mr. Evans is, on a sick, and to all human appearance, a dying bed. He has been for thirteen days confined by a most alarming fever, which has for the last five days resisted every effort I could make to subdue it. Since Friday I have given him over; but, as while life remains, it is our duty to do all we can, I have continued my attendance. The fiat is, I fear, gone forth, and he will shortly receive the reward of his really uncommon exertions in the service of his master. I think it right to give you this information, as there is not another minister here to supply his place.

“Your's, very truly,

“G. R. PORTER.”

The society, at the time of this afflictive dispensation, amounted to 1808, of whom only 33 were Whites. These were scattered through the different Islands, and apparently forsaken in a wilderness, as sheep without a shepherd. In human assistance they had no inducement to put their trust; but the living God had promised to be their friend. Confiding in his promised protection, they were taught by experience the folly of trusting in an arm of flesh; and were led to rely alone for their safety on him who cannot change. Thus these gloomy dispensations of providence, having been rendered beneficial, will ultimately work together for good, and finally swell that song of joy which shall begin in eternity, but never end.

The afflicted societies and forlorn congregations in the Virgin Islands, did not long, however, continue to suffer, what they both felt and feared, from the death of Mr. Evans. An over-ruling Providence had provided against the effects of its own mysterious dispensations, by directing other labourers to fill the places of those who had just entered into the joy of their Lord.

Mr. Hodgson, ignorant of the death of Mr. Evans, had been appointed in England to repair to Tortola, to assist him in his labours. He accordingly embarked at Liverpool, (in company with another Missionary, who also was about to labour in the West Indies) on the 1st of October, 1807, on board the Venerable, a ship bound for Barbadoes. Nothing remarkable happened during the voyage that merits a distinct narration. Occasionally the appearance of a suspicious vessel alarmed their fears, and sometimes contrary winds retarded their progress; but every thing ultimately proving favourable, they landed at Barbadoes in safety, after a passage of forty-three days.

On making inquiries after the Methodist society on this island, and finding some of the members, he received the melancholy intelligence that Mr. Robinson, our Missionary in that place, had also departed into a world of spirits some time before his arrival. In consequence of his death they were left without any guide to instruct them either by his example or precepts; to warn them of their danger, or encourage them in the way of righteousness. Mr. Hodgson was received by them with open arms and tears of joy, from a full conviction that he had come on purpose to labour among them, and fill the station of the deceased. Great, therefore, was their disappointment.

when they were informed that he only came as a transient visitor among them, that his stay would be but short, that he was about to proceed to Tortola, and was under obligations which he had bound himself not to violate. He tarried with them eight days, preached several times, and seized the first favourable opportunity to proceed to the place of his destination. So urgent, however, were their solicitations, and so pressing were their necessities, that Mr. Willis, who had accompanied him from England, was prevailed upon to tarry in Barbadoes till he should receive orders to remove, or till another Missionary should be sent to labour among them.

On the 24th of November, Mr. Hodgson left Barbadoes, amidst the tears of those who solicited his stay. He sailed on board the Queen Charlotte packet, which, though about to visit other Islands, was ultimately bound for Tortola. The next day he landed at Dominica, and visited the society, and was kindly received both by them and by Mr. Pattison, the Missionary on the Island. In this place he also preached several times, to large and attentive congregations. The society at Roseau, the capital of the Island, he found, on the whole, in a flourishing condition; but their spirits were much depressed, in consequence of their chapel having been taken from them in a forcible manner, by some who manifested no solicitude for their welfare. At Prince Rupert's, a sickly part of the Island, the state of the society was, however, very different. He did not visit it, but learned from some individuals who came from that place to Roseau, that their condition was truly deplorable. No preacher had been among them for nearly two years, nor could any one venture thither but at the risk of his life, through the unwholesomeness of the place. In consequence of this omission, many had neglected the assembling of themselves together; the love of others was waxing cold; and in general their morals were rapidly on the decline. Such was respectively the state of the society, both in Roseau and Prince Rupert's.

From Dominica the packet sailed to Antigua, on which Island he also landed, and visited the Missionaries and society. These were in a prosperous state. The experience of such as he conversed with, he describes as rational and scriptural, and many among them were making pleasing advances in the divine life.

On the 6th of December he left Antigua, and sailed

for Montserrat, at which place the following adventure occurred, which for its singularity deserves to be recorded. The captain of the Lilly sloop of war, then lying in the harbour, learning, by some means, that a Methodist preacher was then on board the packet just come into port, instantly came on board, and after introducing himself very politely, requested him to come on board his ship to visit one of his officers, who was a dissenter, then lying at the point of death. Mr. Hodgson readily acceded to the proposal, and, in compliance with his earnest request, accompanied him on board the Lilly. He was received with the utmost respect by the officers, and soon conducted to the apartment of the gentleman, on whose account he had visited the ship. On entering the state-cabin, he found him lying on a sofa, and his brother officers, with dejected countenances and solemn aspects, sitting round him. Mr. Hodgson accosted him according to his appearance, as a man standing on the borders of eternity. He spoke to him of the heinous nature of sin, and set before him the justice and the mercy of God. He gave replies to various questions which were proposed, expatiated, with great plainness, on the necessity of being born again, and of preparing to meet our God; and indirectly warned those who witnessed the solemnity, to flee from the wrath to come. He continued thus conversing with him for some time, and, at length, when about to take his leave, the captain, in the name of himself and officers, thanked him for his kind attention to their dying friend.

Mr. Hodgson, on the following day, having been on shore viewing the town, was returning on board the packet, when the boat in which he was, had to pass close by the Lilly. The captain, seeing him in the boat, ordered her alongside, and once more invited him on board. Mr. H. went a second time to visit the dying man, whom he had seen on the preceding day. At this time the president of Montserrat, and all the principal magistrates were on board, where they had been dining. The captain, taking Mr. H. into the cabin, introduced him to the president, and to the other gentlemen present, who received him with much politeness and respect. The conversation immediately turned on the nature of missions, and many questions were proposed by the president, relative to those of the Methodists, which Mr. H. answered much to his apparent satisfaction. Among other things,



he asked why we had no Missionary in Montserrat as in other Islands? Mr. H. replied, that several attempts had been made in former years, which had been rendered ineffectual. That the magistrates had hitherto appeared hostile to the measure, and had actually driven Mr. Owens, one of our Missionaries, off the Island. He replied, that he did not recollect the circumstance, and that whatever might have been the case on former occasions, there was no such obstacle now. He then inquired into our means of support, our emoluments in the West Indies, was remarkably inquisitive, and seemed attentive to the replies which were given to each question. And after satisfying himself in numerous particulars, he turned to the company, observing, that he thought it a laudable undertaking, and one that ought to be encouraged. Mr. H. continued with them about two hours, but neither saw nor heard any thing about the sick man. At length, being about to retire, the captain, not willing for him to go away under a delusion, frankly confessed to him that the whole was nothing but a farce, and apologized for the joke that had been put upon him. He then ordered the jolly boat to be manned, which was instantly done, and Mr. H. returned in it to the packet, not a little surprised at these singular adventures.

From Montserrat the packet sailed to Nevis, where Mr. Hodgson had an opportunity of visiting the Missionaries, and society under their care in this Island. He continued in this place only a little while. He, however, preached once, but was obliged to follow the packet to St. Christopher's in a little boat, as she sailed before he could get on board.

At St. Christopher's Mr. Hodgson's stay was not much longer than it had been at Nevis. He preached at Old Road, spoke to the classes, and delivered an exhortation at Basse Terre; and after having conversed a little with the Missionaries on this Island, prepared to embark for Tortola, the place of his primary and ultimate destination. Being a perfect stranger in Tortola, and having no one to introduce him to the people, Mr. Isham, from Nevis, had agreed to accompany him thither. They accordingly sailed together in the packet, and on the 12th of December left St. Christopher's, and reached Tortola on the next day. On the morning of the 13th, being Sunday, Mr. H. was requested by the captain of the packet to perform the duty of chaplain on board the ship.

With this request he readily complied, as Mr. Isham was sick, and could not possibly have supplied his place, in case he had refused. The seamen attended, and behaved with the utmost decency; and after the service was ended, the captain thanked him for the duty he had performed, and seemed as ready, after the adventure at Montserrat, to treat him with respect, and to do him any little act of kindness, as he had been before to treat him with negligence and contempt. The manner in which he was received by the people on his arrival at Tortola, on the same day, the following extract from one of his letters, will fully describe:

“ I landed (he observes) safely, on Sunday afternoon, December 13, 1807. I found no preacher here, Mr. Evans having died some months previously to my arrival. And as there is no church or minister here of any kind, I have the whole Island to myself, until the other Missionary arrives, for the stay of Mr. Isham will be but short. The people, as soon as I landed, knew me to be the parson, for this is the name they give us here, and the news flew like lightning through the town. I soon heard the sound from all quarters, ‘The parson is come! The parson is come!’ The news soon reached the chapel, in which the people were assembled, and out they came. Three or four got hold on each arm, some behind and some before, and I was led in triumph through the streets that were in our way to the preacher’s house. And all the windows of the houses were filled with people to see the parson pass by. I cannot describe the joy which was manifested on my arrival. ‘Welcome to Tortola! Welcome to Tortola!’ resounded from all quarters, and the children danced for joy. You may perhaps anticipate my feelings. I was overcome with gratitude to that good Being, who had brought me through so many dangers to dwell with this affectionate people. At the prospect of what lay before me, I was also deeply humbled under a sense of my own unworthiness, and likewise of my own insufficiency for so great a work. For by the death of Mr. Evans, the superintendency of the whole of the Virgin Islands, at present, devolves on me. You see, therefore, that I have the care of some thousands of people. Lord, who is sufficient for these things! For not only the members of our own society, consider us as their Pastor, but all that attend on our preaching, for there is no other minister in all the Virgin Islands.”

On the following day Mr. Hodgson waited on the Governor, and presented to him his letters of orders. He was received with all the kindness of a brother. His hand was extended towards him in token of friendship. He then read his papers, and observed with the utmost satisfaction; "Sir, you are entitled to every privilege of your station. If any one disturb you, apply to me, and you shall have justice done you." "I am astonished," (says Mr. Hodgson) at the idea some people have entertained, that almost any person, in point of ability, will do for a Missionary in the West Indies. I can assure you, that the people here speak better English than the majority in similar walks of life do in London: and many of the negroes speak better than the English peasants; and not a few among them will talk and reason in a manner that would amaze you. You would be pleased to see our congregations, how neat they are; the women wearing plain Methodist bonnets. They are a credit to the connexion."

In a letter, dated January 22, 1808, Mr. Hodgson makes the following observations on the state of religion, and the success of their ministry. "Mr. Isbam and myself have now been here about six weeks, and the Lord has blessed our labours in a wonderful manner. We seldom preach but some are convinced of sin, and not a few, I have reason to believe, are truly converted to God. Our affairs, both spiritual and temporal, are in a flourishing state. We have visited several of the Islands adjoining; they all seem eager for the water of life. I have also visited with peculiar pleasure, the houses and places where Dr. Coke and Mr. Hammett first preached the word to this people; and have found a great many that were benefited by their preaching."

Prior to our attempts to introduce the Gospel into the Virgin Islands, almost every species of wickedness prevailed among the Negroes, but the general reformation which has been wrought, is now visible to all. Among other branches of iniquity to which they were addicted, there was one which they termed the *Camson*, a practice which at once gratified their sensual appetites, and indulged their native superstitions. The *Camson* was a filthy, lascivious dance, originally imported from Africa, in which every lustful inclination was indulged to excess. In the detestable delirium which the passions, when abandoned by all restraint, occasioned, they pretended to hold an

intercourse with their departed ancestors and relations, and to receive from them instructions, which they considered themselves religiously bound to obey. The advice communicated at these seasons, consisted frequently in a strict injunction to avenge some injury which the departed was supposed to have sustained while living, but which he had not an opportunity to revenge. The culprit was pointed out, and both the crime and vengeance were specified, so that the Camson frequently terminated in acts of the most ferocious brutality. The injunctions or responses by which they professed to be directed, were delivered by some persons, who, like the priests of the Delphic Oracle, or the Bohittos of the Caraihs, were concealed for that purpose. And what tended to produce the desired effect with greater certainty, the representative of the dead, divested his language of that ambiguity which wrought the downfall of Lydia. In vain had the magistrates endeavoured to suppress a practice which led to such savage barbarities. But the deluded creatures, satisfied of the reality of their oracle, and of their incantations, eluded the vigilance of law, and sought occasions to practise their abominations with an eagerness that was proportioned to the strictness of the prohibition.

This diabolical custom is now totally abandoned, through the preaching of the gospel. Many have exchanged it for the truth as it is in Jesus, and recount with horror the parts they have borne in these detestable transactions. The season of Christmas, which formerly was a time of ferocious riot, dissipation, and drunkenness, is now also rescued from the practice of exclusive wickedness, and is scarcely abused so much among the Negroes, as it is in England among many who disdain the name of slaves.

On the sabbath-day a reformation is also visible, but the change is less conspicuous than in those instances I have mentioned. This sacred day continues still to be profaned, but no such scenes of tumult and confusion now appear, as formerly disgraced the Islands. The violation of the sabbath altogether, it is not wholly in the power of the slaves to avoid, under the present system of laws. It is their market day; and the necessities of their families compel them to transact their domestic concerns at this time, as many among them have no other opportunities of buying what they want, or selling the produce of their gardens.

The domestic differences which arise among the members of society, if not amicably terminated between themselves, are brought before the preacher for his decision, and from his judgment they admit there is no appeal. Mr. Hodgson, soon after his arrival at Tortola, had to fill the combined offices of minister, magistrate, and judge, and to regulate in these capacities the affairs of nearly two thousand people.

“ An appeal to the minister (he observes in February, 1808,) is their dernier resort. Our society is large, and imitating the primitive Christians, we settle every thing among ourselves. No such thing is known here as brother going to law with brother. And such is the reverence that they have for our characters, and esteem for our persons, that they seldom refuse to abide by our determinations. I have seen the most resolute opponents reconciled together in our presence. For such is the respect which they have for our judgments, founded on a high opinion of our integrity, that, confiding in us, they think they cannot be wronged. And when any matter has once been settled in this manner, they will not presume to mention it again, for fear of an exclusion from the society, which they dread as much as an Englishman would standing in the pillory, or an Indian losing his caste. You would be astonished to see what blessed effects such proceedings produce. They tend to promote their attachment to each other, to stifle prejudices before they become inveterate, and to keep alive the spirit of peace and love in their souls. They are also a great means of rendering religion truly respectable in the sight of others.

“ My work, at present, is truly laborious, as I am quite alone. On Sunday morning at six, I meet the classes, at ten read prayers and preach, and conclude about twelve. From that time until four I am employed in settling disputes and reconciling differences, in marrying, baptising, admitting new members into society, and excluding such as walk disorderly. In the evening at six o'clock I preach again. On Monday morning at five I either preach, exhort, or read some portion of Scripture. In the afternoon I set out into the circuit, and at night preach on P. W.'s estate. On Tuesday morning I proceed to Frenchman's Quay, dine there, then take a row-boat and proceed to Jostvan Dykes, which lies to the north of Tortola. In this passage we have to encounter

many difficulties, arising from the heat of the sun, the rapidity of the current, and the roughness of the waves; the latter of which, when the wind blows, threatens to swamp us, and rarely fails in making us completely wet. We rarely finish this little passage till nearly the hour of preaching, when we have to scramble up the mountains one thousand feet from the level of the sea, before we reach the chapel. In this place there is not the least refreshment to be had, unless we clamber up another mountain; for this country is something like the Alps, mountains rising one above another. I have sometimes been almost parched with thirst in this place, without being able to obtain a drink of water. When the Negroes have done labouring in the plantations, which are here chiefly of cotton, they come from the different parts of the Island, and bring some refreshment with them, which generally consists of fish and yams. After preaching we sleep upon benches in the chapel. Yet, I bless the Lord, notwithstanding all this barrenness of outward things, we have some precious feasts of spiritual things. I have heard such sound Christian experience upon the top of this mountain, as I never expected to hear in these parts. On Wednesday we recross to Frenchman's Quay, experiencing the same disagreeables in our return, as I have already described. In this place we preach in the evening, and tarry all night. On Thursday morning we return to the head place in the circuit, and preach in the evening. On Friday we visit another part of the circuit called Fat Hog's Bay, and preach and sleep there, and return to town on Saturday, to prepare for the duties of the ensuing day. But the places I have mentioned do not make half the circuit. We have also to visit, occasionally, the whole group of Islands all round Tortola, so that what I have given is only the employment of one week.

“The Lord has been very gracious in raising up two white men, who take off some part of my labour. Several of the black people are also very useful, and contribute not a little by their advice and example, to harrow in the seed sown from the pulpit. And I have to bless God, that the little while I have been here I have not sowed in vain. Many have been awakened under the word, and some of them truly converted to God. In short, I believe I am just where the Lord would have me to be, and I rejoice that my labour is not in vain in the Lord.”

In another letter, dated only nine days after the preceding, Mr. Hodgson further observes, "Nearly 100 Blacks and coloured people have been added to the society since I came, and also four respectable white persons, so that I can rejoice in the prosperity of the work of God. Throughout the Island I have been treated with great attention and respect. I live in a wooden house, and sometimes eat almost wooden bread, yams, cocoa nuts, and Indian corn. But, I bless the Lord, I have the water of life. I little thought, when I left England, that the black people were so intelligible and affectionate as I have found them. They are certainly capable of great improvement, and are so far from being deficient, that they appear to excel many of the English.

"I cannot omit mentioning a circumstance that occurred since my arrival at this place. On looking over some books which I found in the house, to my great surprise I found them to be some volumes of the Cheap Repository, which Mr. G. took a great deal of pains to distribute some years ago. They contain several of Miss Hannah More's productions. But what most caused my surprise was, to find inscribed on the first leaf, 'The Gift of S. H. Esq. of Hull.' I dare say, that gentleman little thought what good these books might do, when he presented them. I can, however, assure you, they have done much already, for several of them suit the West Indies as well as England, and I take care to recommend them in every company I visit."

Mr. Hodgson continued his solitary labours with great success from the time of his arrival till the 1st of March, 1808, on which day Mr. Teland and Mr. Joseph Taylor reached the Island together. These Missionaries, having been unexpectedly detained in the course of their passage, prevented Mr. Hodgson from receiving that assistance in his ministerial labours, and the inhabitants that supply of preaching, which the situation of both required. Their arrival, however, though late, was announced with joy, and it imparted unspeakable pleasure to all. After resting and refreshing themselves, they immediately entered into their respective spheres of action, attending chiefly to those places which had been unavoidably neglected during their absence, when Mr. Hodgson was compelled to labour alone.

Of their prospects and success the latter thus expresses himself on the 15th of July: "Since my last we have

been going on gloriously. By comparing this year's account with the last, you will see the Lord has added to our number some hundreds. If you were to attend one of our love-feasts, you would be quite delighted to hear the poor Africans relate the goodness of God towards them, in their artless manner. The principal magistrates of this Island have sittings in our chapel, and constantly attend preaching. A few weeks since, the commander in chief of the Windward Islands, General W. and his staff, were here. They all attended the chapel, and we were afterwards informed, from unquestionable authority, that they were highly pleased with the service. Mr. Taylor and myself waited upon the General. He received us with great kindness, talked with us about an hour, on various branches of our mission, and declared himself quite satisfied with all our proceedings. We were invited to dine with him and his officers; we went accordingly; and were treated with all possible respect. We were desired to ask a blessing and return thanks, which we did, all standing up, the General himself setting the example. Our company consisted of all the principal officers, civil, naval, and military, then upon the Island.

“In one of my voyages to one of the neighbouring Islands, which form a part of our circuit, I lately had an opportunity of seeing an instance of the wonderful works of God in creation. Two large whales were sporting on the surface of the water, at a small distance from us, so that we could examine them attentively. They spouted water to a considerable height in the air, like an engine. Sometimes also in these passages, huge sharks will follow us and play about the boat. O Lord! great and marvellous are thy works!” The whole society throughout the Virgin Islands, about the time the preceding letter was written, amounted to 2173. Of these, 39 only were Whites, the remaining number being either coloured people or Blacks. On comparing this number with that which was taken about the time of Mr. Evans's death, we find an actual increase of nearly 400 members in one year, notwithstanding the gloomy dispensation through which they were compelled to pass.

In the month of May, 1809, Mr. Toland favoured us with a general statement of the work at large, in the various Islands which they visit in the vicinity of Tortola. “The classes at Guana Island and Camana, (he observes) are at present the least in number, but I have reason to



believe that some of the members are deeply pious. Brother Taylor has been in Spanish Town this last quarter. He says, that there has been no increase in number, but he believes that the work of grace is spreading its saving effects through the souls of those who have joined society, most of whom prove, by their exemplary deportment, that their lives are hid with Christ in God. Indeed, during the time I was among them, I was often led to admire the steadiness of their conduct; and I think the leaders in general appeared the most pious of any I have known. The class of white people is the same in number that it was, but I trust they are increasing in holiness. At Peter's Head the Lord blesses his work. The classes are increased much in number, and I think true simplicity and love abound in them more and more.

“In January last, I visited another little settlement, called Salt Island, and preached among the people for the first time. The same night I formed a class of 19 members. Since that time we visit it occasionally, and a few more have since been added. Those joined in society go on steadily.

“About a fortnight since I was at Jostvan Dykes, where we held a love-feast, and many found Christ precious to their souls. I have not seen so large a congregation as was then in the chapel, since the first time I was there. In the afternoon of the same day I came to the west end of Tortola, where the power of God has been greatly manifested for some time past. I also preached in our chapel at Carrot Bay, to a large congregation. After preaching, the leader told me that the friends wished to relate what God had done for them since I had been there last. But, as the time would not permit, I could only exhort them to hold fast what they had received, and express my thankfulness to God on their behalf. While I was thus speaking to them, the Lord showered down his blessings on us, and praises ascended to heaven, from almost every tongue of both young and old. So that we sung, prayed, and praised God together till a late hour. In this neighbourhood, God has blessed the exertions of three of our black brethren, on two estates, and there is every prospect of their further usefulness. They are pious, upright men, it does my soul good to be among them.

“At Fat Hog Bay the number is nearly doubled. They are in general a steady, pious people. We visit

them once a week, and at present the work of God among them appears to be genuine. They still continue to increase in number. In Road Town the Lord has given us success. Many of every colour have joined us, and our chapel is crowded every Sunday. I think through the whole circuit peace and harmony prevail, and the people readily contribute to promote the Gospel of peace."

It has happened, through the events of war, that the Island of St. Thomas, lately belonging to Denmark, has fallen into our hands. This lies in the vicinity of Tortola, and our Missionaries stationed here have taken an advantage of the occasion, to introduce among the inhabitants that Gospel, which they have long been desirous of hearing. While it remained in the hands of the Danes, many invitations were given to us to visit the people, and several efforts were made. But the intolerant spirit of the government threw many obstacles in our way, and prevented us from complying with their wishes. Since it has changed its masters, these obstacles have, in a certain measure, disappeared. But as they are still governed by Danish laws, though under the dominion of the British, the utmost we can hope is an exemption from persecution.

Happily, among the soldiers stationed in this Island for its defence since the capture, there are some who fear God. Among these is a corporal in the Royal Artillery, who occasionally preaches. His word has been attended with much success; and his public ministry has prepared the way for those visits which our Missionaries have now an opportunity of paying to the inhabitants. Mr. Toland spent a few days with them early in the month of May, 1809, and preached Christ crucified to large and attentive audiences. These visits, however, are transient, and can hardly be repeated within less than two months, without neglecting the societies and congregations more immediately under the care of our Missionaries. Early in the above year we had 65 members in society, who had been raised up, chiefly through the zeal and endeavours of the pious soldiers. These in the month of May were augmented to 80. They regard both the doctrines we preach, and the discipline we enforce, with peculiar veneration; and we hope we see in them the seed of a future church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail.

Referring to their newly acquired possession, Mr. Dace,

another of our Missionaries, writes as follows: "I have lately returned from a voyage to St. Thomas. This is an Island at some distance from Tortola, and was lately taken from the Danes by the English, but it is still under the Danish civil laws. The town is large and populous, and inhabited by people of many descriptions. There are various sects of religious professors; but there appears to be a great want of that faith which works by love, and purifies the heart.

"Soon after my arrival, I was informed that the judge desired to see me. I accordingly waited on him. Having informed him of my profession and design in coming to the Island, he told me that our sect was not tolerated to preach here, as the Danish laws forbade it. After spending about five minutes in conversation with him, I made my obeisance and departed. I immediately went to the General's house, which lies in another part of the town, and, on being admitted into his presence, informed him of my views and wishes with regard to preaching. He said many things which appeared friendly to the Gospel, but candidly told me, that as the Danish civil laws were in force, he did not wish to interfere with them. And perhaps, all circumstances considered, he acted with discretion, in refusing to take any decided part.

"Being thus rather refused protection than expressly forbidden to preach, I returned to my lodgings, determined to trust in that God who says, "Fear not them that can only kill the body," &c. and who hath declared that no weapon formed against thee shall prosper. We accordingly hired a room for the purpose of preaching, but it was so small, that it would not contain one half of the people who were desirous of hearing the word. The Moravian brethren have three chapels in the Island; two that are large and commodious in the country, and a small one in the town. The latter was built for the purpose of having the sacrament administered therein to the aged, the poor, and the sick of their flock. In the country there are several families, to whom I paid a visit on the Saturday, and I think it would be ungrateful not to mention the kindness with which I was received, and the affability and freedom they manifested to me, though a stranger. Having spent a part of the day with them, I took the liberty of asking the favour of the use of the small chapel in town, which they readily granted. I heartily thanked them and took my leave. On Sunday

forenoon, I preached in it to a considerable congregation, and in the afternoon the chapel was crowded. At each time I felt my heart drawn out in love to the people while I was speaking, and I believe the word was made a blessing to many precious souls. I continued to preach twice on the Sabbath, and once on a week night, besides holding other meetings for prayer, &c. for about a month, when the care of my circuit called me from them. And blessed be God, my labour was not in vain. Many were convinced of the error of their ways, and others were brought into the liberty of the children of God, and united hand and heart to seek the new Jerusalem above."

Early in the month of September, 1809, Mr. Dace returned from another visit which he had paid to St. Thomas, of which he gives the following account. "Previously to my going, (he observes) it was rumoured that the judge and some of the council had given out threatenings against us, and some of the people thought it would be dangerous to attempt to preach. But, going in the name of the Lord of Hosts, I was not much intimidated. I first paid a visit to our friends the Moravians in the country, who kindly received me; and having procured liberty to preach again in their chapel, I caused notice to be given for preaching on the next Sunday. The people assembled accordingly, and though my mind was a little exercised for a while, expecting some opposition, yet, having cried mightily unto God for strength proportioned to my day, I stood up and delivered my discourse without interruption. My heart was uncommonly enlarged, and I can scarcely remember the time when I have preached with so much light and liberty as at that time. And notwithstanding the congregation was large, and composed of people of all colours, yet all seemed to be serious and attentive.

"I continued to preach twice on the Sundays, and twice on the week nights, as long as I staid. My soul truly rejoiced to see such large congregations assemble, and to observe their attention and desire to hear the word of truth. Thanks be to God, the word was made quick and powerful to many, who became willing and desirous to take up their cross, and unite with the people of God. These were chiefly people of colour. But there are many white persons also, who are very kind and favourable to us; two families in particular, one of which lives near the chapel, and the other at the opposite end of the

town : indeed there are many white persons in this place and about it, who pay great attention to the word, and seem to be seriously inclined. And could we stay longer when here, and find a proper person for a leader, I am persuaded a class of Whites would soon be formed and established.

“ It is my daily prayer that the time may soon commence, when we shall have a mission established in all these West India Islands ; and when the heathen shall be given to Christ for his inheritance.”

Of their subsequent visits to this Island, we have no accounts transmitted to us, if any have been made. Thus far the evils with which they were threatened have not been permitted to overtake them, God having been better to them than all their fears. The success which has attended their occasional labours has been great, not less than 80 having been joined into a society, many of whom we trust are savingly converted to God. And if the largeness and attentiveness of the congregations may be considered as an index of the disposition of the inhabitants, we cannot but conclude that the fields are white already unto harvest, and only wait the arrival of ministerial reapers.

In Tortola, and the adjacent British Virgin Islands, prosperity seems to triumph without interruption. By our last accounts we learn that the numbers in society amounted to 2337, of whom 52 only are Whites ; the remainder being either coloured people or Blacks. This, during the preceding year, is an increase of 164 members ; and is, on the whole, since the death of Mr. Evans in August, 1807, an augmentation of 529, which have been added to the church militant, besides those who have joined the church triumphant above.

When we take a retrospective survey of the letters and accounts which are now before the reader, and, looking back on the years in which they have been transmitted, trace the progress of the work of God in these Islands, we cannot but perceive that he makes use of ordinary methods to accomplish his designs. And from hence we may infer the folly of suspending all our exertions, till some astonishing change in the affairs of the world, shall appear to us like a supernatural call from heaven. The vices which prevail, and the darkness which still covers a considerable portion of the globe, are calls sufficiently powerful to direct us in the paths of duty ; and the suc-

cesses with which God has been pleased to crown our past endeavours, operate at once both as incentives and rewards. Vast numbers in these Virgin Islands have departed in sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life; and thousands, still alive, have been induced to turn from iniquity to righteousness, and proclaim for God. But, alas! a far, far greater number still remains in the gall of bitterness, and the shadow of death. For these also the Saviour of the world shed his most precious blood; and to these also is the word of his salvation sent. Engaged in the work of the ministry, it is our duty to sound the alarm, and to give the people warning; but whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, are events that must be left to God. We hope he will enable us to persevere in that work, in which we trust he has called us to engage, till all shall know him from the least unto the greatest, and till the inhabitants of these rocks shall sing.

## CHAP. XL.

## DANISH VIRGIN ISLANDS.

*St. Thomas's, Crab Island, St. John, and Santa Cruz.*—*St. Thomas, first peopled by the Danes.—Right disputed by the English.—Benefitted by the Buccaneers.—Occasionally neutral.—Enriched by trading with the continent.—Situation, extent, soil, and probable condition in future. Crab Island; first attempted to be settled by the English; these murdered by the Spaniards.—Attempted by the Danes, who, compelled by the Spaniards to abandon it, take possession of St. John; this Island of no importance to any but the Danes.—Santa Cruz; inhabited by some English and Dutch.—These mutually destroy each other.—Dutch driven off the Island by the English—these driven off by the Spaniards—these expelled by the French, who set fire to the forests.—Abandoned by the French.—Purchased by the Danes.—Situation, extent, natural history, produce, &c.—Moravian Mission established.—Inhabitants suffer from drought.—Reason why the Methodists have not established any mission in these Islands.*

THE adventures of Columbus, and his consequent successes, must be admitted, by men of every nation, to have formed a most important epoch in the history of the world. The exploits of war, without doubt, have occasioned revolutions in states and empires, and awakened for a moment the attention of mankind; but the influence of these changes, being of local application, has only given a new turn to an established feature, without changing the countenance of the world, or putting a new aspect on the thoughts and actions of the human race.

But, this, and more than this, was effected by the genius and intrepidity of Columbus. Prior to his days, the extent of the human powers was not sufficiently known. The boundaries of the world had been circumscribed by the human intellect in its contracted state. Men were satisfied with what they knew, from a conviction that they

knew all; and therefore they aimed at nothing more. The daring and adventurous spirit of Columbus, however, expanded itself beyond the stupor of this enchantment, and in an astonishing instant dispelled the charm. The boundaries of science in several departments were instantly enlarged, and navigation in particular became an object of the last importance to the commercial and maritime nations of the earth.

England, France, and Spain, were soon awakened from the lethargy of inaction, when the discovery of the western world filled Europe with astonishment. These nations instantly launched their ships upon the ocean, and occasionally peopled the Islands which Columbus had found. The wealth which was poured into Europe through these mediums excited the attention of other nations, and Denmark and Holland equipped their vessels in pursuit of Islands, that were either unoccupied, uninhabited, or unclaimed.

It was not, however, till the year 1671, that the Danes, recovering from that stagnant calm into which the despotism of their government had thrown them, began to turn their views towards the newly discovered world. In ranging the American seas, they landed on a little Island, now known by the name of St. Thomas. It had long before been discovered, but it was left without any occupants. A multitude of more lucrative acquisitions had rendered it unimportant in the eyes of former adventurers; in consequence of which they landed without opposition, and appropriated to themselves the immediate and exclusive possession.

At this period St. Thomas was totally uninhabited; the Caraihs, that had escaped the butcheries of their former invaders, having either never taken up their abode upon it, or totally abandoned it, for reasons which are altogether unknown. In this Island the Danes first undertook a settlement.

Scarcely, however, had they begun to lay the foundation of their colony, before they were opposed by the English; who, under a pretence that some emigrants from their nation had previously taken it into their possession, and made some efforts towards clearing the land, thought this a favourable opportunity for disputing the rights of Denmark. They were, it is true, already possessed of much more than they could conveniently manage, but this was not deemed a sufficient reason to



prevent interference, or to suffer the new colony to repose in peace. Nevertheless, to prevent disturbances, which perhaps might ultimately have embroiled the mother countries in war, the British ministry interposed, and, by refusing to recognize those claims which had been made by the British subjects, gave a sanction to the conduct of Denmark, and eventually guaranteed her right to this desert spot. Thus secured in their possession, they began with forming some plantations, which sufficiently rewarded individual industry, but the Island itself was too small to enrich the nation with its productions and trade.

But although the Island was too small to afford riches to the mother country by the extent of its cultivation, it was not insignificant in every point of estimation. Nature had formed on its coasts an excellent harbour, in which about fifty ships of no inconsiderable burden, might ride with the utmost safety; a favour that she had denied to many Islands, which, in other respects, held out a more alluring invitation.

This singular advantage, which other nations seem to have totally overlooked, soon attracted the attention of all. The Buccaneers, both of England and France, were quickly enticed by it; and its conveniency rendered it a place of general rendezvous. Men who live by plunder are not very solicitous to pay the imposts which are levied upon merchandise of almost every description; and the temptation to avoid them becomes more forcible, in proportion to the richness of the booty. This was particularly the case with these free-booters. In the Island of St. Thomas they were sure to find safe anchorage; an exemption from heavy imposts; a sale for their prizes; and a region of comparative safety, because it was less publickly frequented, and less generally known. The peculiarity of its situation was admirably adapted to the wishes of these pirates, whenever they had made prizes in those latitudes from which they could not make the windward passage. Necessity and advantage thus united their influence, and St. Thomas was frequented by ships from different nations, through a combination of causes which but seldom occurs. In addition to these circumstances, in times of war between the hostile nations of Europe, this frequently remained a neutral port, and opened its harbour to every flag. To this, therefore, the merchant ships of the belligerent powers resorted, to transact in secret their domestic traffic, secure from the

storm that raged without, and unmindful that they were subjects of nations that were acknowledged foes. In this asylum, this residence of peace, they found a mart, in which the neighbouring colonies exchanged their respective productions and commodities, which they as respectively conveyed to those hostile Islands, that were guarded by the frowns of war.

The various productions of the different Islands thus occasionally centring in St. Thomas, speculative men found it a convenient place of residence. From this port, vessels richly laden were dispatched to the Spanish settlements on the continent, to facilitate a contraband trade, which the merchants of both places were eager to pursue, because it turned to the advantage of each party. These ships carried out such articles as were most in request upon the continent, and brought back vast quantities of the precious metals in return. Gold is in itself an article of no real value, only as a medium of exchange. Of this fact neither party needed any information. Gold was plentiful in Mexico and Peru, but European necessities were of infinitely greater value; so that those by whom such articles were imported, were sure to be exorbitantly paid. St. Thomas was the channel through which these articles ran in both directions, which rendered it, though contemptible in itself, a place of considerable consequence.

But, notwithstanding this influx of wealth, and this interchange of property, through which the veins of Mexico were drawn to St. Thomas, Denmark itself was scarcely a sharer in the common emolument. Foreign merchants had availed themselves of the sources of traffic, and by amassing the riches which resulted from their communications through the medium of this Island, they transmitted the wealth they had acquired, to their respective nations. The inhabitants indeed were benefitted by the strangers who resorted thither, and domestic trade increased in proportion to the influx; but, in the great objects of speculation, they had little or no concern. The cultivation of the land, which moved onward by slow but progressive degrees, chiefly engrossed their attention. With the mother country they held no other communication but through the medium of a single ship. This Denmark fitted out annually, and sent to Africa to purchase slaves. With this cargo of human flesh and blood, she sailed to America, and having consigned them to

perpetual servitude, returned to this colony, and took on board the productions and commodities of the year.

Such was the original settlement of the Danes in the West Indies; and such was the condition of the agriculture and commerce of St. Thomas, the Island on which they first settled. In this progressive state of improvement and domestic wealth, it is not to be expected that it should long remain without a multitude of inhabitants. It was resorted to by many, but its scanty domains would not admit of any considerable increase. This led them to attempt Crab Island, and to people St. John, to which Islands we will repair, after having taken a transient survey of St. Thomas; upon which, as we have just seen, they established their first settlement.

This Island lies in 19 deg. of Northern latitude, and about 67 deg. 30 min. West longitude from London. Of all the Carribees this is the farthest West; and from this circumstance it was so peculiarly adapted for the purposes of the Buccaniers, and for its early traffic with the Spanish main. Its utmost extent is but five leagues in length, and two and a half in breadth; the soil is sandy, but not badly adapted to the cultivation of sugar. Its principal excellency is its harbour. It is this that has secured its foreign connexions, and principally contributed towards that local prosperity which it has hitherto enjoyed. In the department of commerce, the scantiness of its limits must for ever prevent it from holding any exalted rank. But its natural advantages render it unlikely that it will ever be abandoned. Excellencies that are adventitious are always precarious, and on that account rank below their intrinsic value. But where they are permanent, like those in St. Thomas, the revolutions which change the face of the political and civil world, can only alter, but not destroy the sources of aggrandizement.

Unenvied by the eyes both of commerce and war, it may derive security from the narrowness of its confines, and even ambition and avarice may scorn so mean an object. The peaceable inhabitant, unobnoxious to the oppressors of mankind, may remain a stranger to the effusion of human blood and the desolations of hostilities; and, secure in his asylum, may derive from the cultivation of the soil, those necessaries which will afford him sustenance, and supply his wants. The changes of the world may seclude the inhabitants of this Island from its intercourse, and this may direct them to vary their mode

of cultivation; but such an event must circumscribe their wants, by banishing those which are only artificial, and enable them to draw their resources from themselves. Thus, secure in poverty and peace, they may listen to the storms of war, which spread devastation both on sea and land, with the same emotion that they now feel, when the waves, wrought into tempest, burst upon their shores.

It was in the year 1717, that the prosperity of the Danes in St. Thomas, induced them to extend their territories by the addition of Crab Island, which at that time lay uninhabited in their vicinity. But in this attempt they were as fatally disappointed, as the English had been in a similar attempt, towards the close of the preceding century.

Crab Island is about nine leagues in circumference; its surface is irregular, by being broken with a number of gentle acivities. These hills, being neither steep nor barren, diversify the prospects without offering any annoyances to the exertions of labour, which on every part might be attended with singular advantages. The soil is rich and admirably adapted to the productions of the climate, and prolific, well watered with numerous springs. One inconvenience indeed, which wears a forbidding aspect, is, that it has no harbour to which ships can resort, to transport its produce to distant markets; but it has commodious bays, in which they can ride without being exposed to imminent danger; which will, in a great measure, counterbalance the defect. On the whole, the Island cannot but be considered in the light of an important acquisition.

Prior to this period, the English had observed it with much attention, and finding it uninhabited and unimproved, attempted, about the year 1690, to establish a settlement upon it. On their arrival, they, however, found, on almost every portion, some remains of ancient plantations. Lemon and Orange trees had been visibly cultivated; in some places their rows remained unbroken; in others they were falling to decay, but some vestiges of art were visible in almost every part. Its vicinity to Porto Rica rendered it highly probable that it had been inhabited by the Spaniards from that Island, which is not more than six leagues distant; but from what cause it had been abandoned, it was then, and it is still, useless to inquire. To a legal right, the English adventurers did not pretend; they only attempted to raise a colony upon

an Island that had been wholly abandoned, and which lay at this time without cultivation and without inhabitant.

But in these calculations they were much deceived. They exerted their industry, but they were not permitted to enjoy, nor even to reap, the harvest for which they waited. The Spaniards of Porto Rica had watched their movements with eyes of vigilant malevolence. They had calculated upon their numbers, and at length, seizing the most favourable moment, sent forth a detachment, and inhumanly murdered every man. The women and children, it is true, escaped this barbarous carnage; but they were seized by the assassins and carried to Porto Rica.

The English, intimidated by these disasters, gave over all thoughts, for the present, of attempting an establishment upon an Island, which their countrymen had only cultivated to find a grave. The Spaniards had no design of reaping what their swords had forbidden the adventurers to enjoy. Massacre and blood appeared to be the objects of their pursuit; because they no sooner reduced the Island to a state of desolation, than they forsook it altogether, and retired to Porto Rica.

Nearly twenty years had elapsed from this period, during which the Island was abandoned to solitude. The Spaniards had neglected it, and the catastrophe of the English prevented others, during the interim, from renewing the attempt. The Danes, upon the Island of St. Thomas, engaged in domestic labour and foreign adventures, had heard of these disasters, but had not felt any of their horrors. The progress of years had also tended to obliterate the impression which the report had made; while that peace which accompanies solitude, held out a temptation for them to visit the Island, as the English had done before. With these views they embarked, in 1717, and attempted a settlement the same year. The English, anxious to recover what they now denominated their right, dispatched some adventurers, much about the same time, to rival, if not to oppose the Danes. Neither party had, however, much occasion to triumph. Both were beset with the Spaniards, who first plundered, and then drove them off the Island. "The jealousy of these American tyrants (says Raynal) extends even to the prohibiting of fishing boats to approach any shore where they have a right of possession, though they do not exer-

cise it. Too idle to prosecute cultivation, and too suspicious to admit industrious neighbours, they condemn the Crab Island to eternal solitude; they will neither inhabit it themselves, nor suffer any other nation to inhabit it."

Thus defeated in their attempt, while urged by necessity, the Danes were obliged, in 1719, to seek a temporary asylum in the Island of St. John. This little Island, which is not more than seven miles in length and four in breadth, lies contiguous to St. Thomas, and, to them, derived some importance from its proximity. Under any other circumstances, it was hardly to be expected that it should pay the expense of clearing; and this, in all probability, guaranteed the possession of Denmark, and prevented those claims which the European nations were, on all such occasions, ever forward to make. The Danes took possession of this little Island without opposition; they cleared and cultivated it, and no nation has hitherto manifested an inclination to dispute their right. This acquisition, though trifling in itself, became a means of augmenting their trade; but the narrowness of its confines only tended to widen their views, and to direct them in the pursuit of a territory, more extensive than either St. Thomas or St. John could possibly afford. This territory they at length found in Santa Cruz.

Of the early history of Santa Cruz scarcely any thing of importance is known. It came to notice in the general discoveries of Columbus; but like many other Islands of greater magnitude, it was thrown by, to occasion the shedding of blood in future ages of the world, when the devouring sword had dispatched the peaceful aborigines. It is not, however, to be understood, because this Island was left without European inhabitants, that it was left without European claimants. It was of too much consequence to permit us to suppose this; there were a sufficiency to render the right itself questionable, and to lay the foundation of those wars which stain the histories of nations with human blood.

In 1643, this Island was inhabited by some Dutch and English, who had either emigrated from their respective countries, or had been driven from some other insular possession by the force of Spanish arms. Their profession was trade; their motive, avarice; and their object, wealth. Men actuated by these principles are more likely to provoke each other to envy than to emula-

ism. Selfishness rarely aims at the general good; it studies only its own emolument, and makes pecuniary advantages the terms of peace.

The industry of both parties soon made them enemies to each other, and involved them, though few in number, in all the horrors of a civil war. Acts of depredation in the aggressor provoked the sufferer to retaliation; injustice succeeded to injustice, and blood produced blood. Three years had occasioned breaches which the moderate of both parties could not heal; so that in 1646 they collected their pigmy forces, and contended for exclusive sovereignty in an obstinate and bloody engagement. The English were victorious; and the Dutch were obliged to quit for ever those possessions, from which they had formed such vast expectations.

The English, exulting in their successes, were availing themselves of the advantages of victory, but their triumphs were of short duration. In 1750 they were attacked in their turn by 1200 Spaniards, and driven from the Island to return no more. The main body of these new conquerors soon afterward embarked on another expedition, leaving an inconsiderable number to guard the Island, and to prevent the English from returning. Victory, however, as inconstant as fortune, refused to guaranty the dominion she had given. The Spaniards had possessed themselves of the Island but a few months, before they were also attacked by 160 Frenchmen, who had sallied from St. Christopher's to make themselves, if possible, masters of the Island. The Spaniards, unequal to the contest, surrendered without resistance, and gave the dominion into the hands of the French.

Amidst these strange vicissitudes of possession and masters, little was done towards its general culture. Plans and arrangements were scarcely ever formed, before a new troop of invaders deranged every calculation, and dislodged those who wished to improve the soil.

The French, on taking possession, immediately began to explore the country; and found in it much to admire, and much to encounter. The Island, being nearly level, and covered with an immense number of aged trees, offered many impediments to the breezes, and prevented that free circulation, which, wherever vegetation is quick, is so conducive to health. The stagnant vapours, therefore, which exhaled from the swamps and morasses, tended much to pollute the atmosphere, and to impregnate it

with those subtle poisons which conduct mankind to death. To restore salubrity, the trees must be destroyed, but this was an herculean task. They therefore fixed a resolution to consume them by fire, which they effected by setting the whole Island on a blaze. Having accomplished this, they retired to their ships, and became spectators from the ocean of that conflagration, which they had occasioned upon the land. The forests continued burning for several months, during which time they durst not venture upon the shore. The destruction of all the fuel alone extinguished the flames; and presented to them, on their return, a naked surface, or one that was only covered with coals and ashes.

On examining the soil, they found it extremely fertile, capable of producing the various articles of West India produce, in plenty and perfection. The report of its fertility soon circulated, and drew adventurers from other Islands. The prospect of wealth became an incentive to industrious exertions, and these exertions were amply repaid. The influx of inhabitants about the year 1661, had increased the original number to 822 white persons, and these had brought with them a proportionable number of slaves. Such rapid advances promised to conduct it to a state of prosperity, which the most flourishing of the long established Islands belonging to France had never known.

But, unfortunately, these promises, though not delusive in themselves, were prevented from receiving an accomplishment, by a contraband traffic, into which the inhabitants entered with the Danes of St. Thomas. The farmers of the French revenue, under these circumstances, seeing but little hope of emolument, set their faces against the prosperity of this Island; in consequence of which it soon measured back its steps again to the condition from which it had so lately begun to emerge. Its passage to poverty was as speedy, as its approach to aggrandizement had been rapid. A few years removed from it many of its industrious inhabitants, who refused to labour under a government which had withdrawn its patronage and support, and which would promise them no protection, to secure the wealth which industry might acquire. In 1696 the number of its white inhabitants, including men, women, and children, amounted to no more than 147, who held the whip over 623 slaves.



These also soon took their leave of the Island, and removed from thence to St. Domingo.

From this period, Santa Cruz was once more consigned over to solitude and desolation; and, without inhabitant and without a plantation, doomed to exhibit to transient visitors, the scattered ashes of its native honours. In this condition it continued about 37 years; at the expiration of which, namely, in 1733, it was sold to the Danes, according to Edwards, for 75,000*l.* but, according to Raynal, for no more than 32,287*l.* 10*s.* and in their possession it has continued from that time to the present hour.

Such is the instability of human affairs! In the short space of 87 years, while it remained in the hands of France, its venerable forests were consumed in one tremendous conflagration; it was cultivated; it obtained an influx of inhabitants; it attained a pitch of exalted prosperity; it sunk into disrepute; it was neglected; it was abandoned; it was left without inhabitant! And, after experiencing these vicissitudes of fortune, and remaining the abode of solitude and desolation 37 years, it was sold to a foreign power! May those, who place confidence in any thing beneath the sun, contemplate the short history of Santa Cruz, and learn a lesson of moderation from its example.

Santa Cruz is situated in 17 deg. 30 min. North latitude, and 65 deg. West longitude from London. It is 18 leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth, varying according to the irregularity of its shores. The country itself, we have already observed, was originally covered with wood, and without inhabitants. Different from most other Islands, it is destitute of mountains; and every part, except those few which were swampy, seems adapted for cultivation.

The French, when exploring this newly acquired territory, found, however, but one river, which crept slowly through a flat country, in its journey towards the shore. The waters of this river, naturally brackish, were not improved by their exposure to the solar rays. This was an evil of no inconsiderable magnitude, against which it was impossible to guard, and for which it was not easy to provide a remedy. In the internal parts of the Island, a few springs were discovered, but these were too diminutive to afford a general supply; and the peculiarity of their situation rendered them inconvenient, admit-

ting that, in point of quantity, their waters had been sufficient.

To supply these deficiencies, the Danes found it necessary to construct reservoirs, to preserve the rains which descended from the skies. This, however, has been the work of time; but these cisterns have been found beneficial, as they have prevented the recurrence of early calamities, although at best, they can only be considered as a defective substitute for the perennial fountains of nature. The climate in early years was also found pernicious to the health of the settlers; and nothing, perhaps, but the bold measure which the French adopted, when the Island was in their possession, namely, that of burning all the woods, would have been a sufficient antidote against those pestilential effluvia, which floated in an atmosphere, that was partially deprived of circulation. This evil has, however, been removed by the above expedient, and Santa Cruz has no further occasion of complaint, than that which is general to all the Islands.

The vast consumption of the woods by fire must, nevertheless, have occasioned a loss, which even the present generation of inhabitants must feel, and which future ages may probably regret. But when we reflect, that this sacrifice was the price of salubrity and health, the decisions of our judgment, notice, with approbation, a deed, from which, at first view, we turn with indignity and disgust.

Of harbours, this Island has not much to boast; but its vicinity to St. Thomas, in the harbour of which vessels can ride with commodiousness and security, in a great measure counterbalances the evil. To this the inhabitants can transport the produce which is raised; from whence it can always be shipped to the port of its ultimate destination, so long as both Islands belong to the same power. Thus far the intercourse, which has been established, has not only surmounted past impediments, but it has increased to the mutual benefit of all.

Since this Island has been in possession of the industrious Danes, it has been rescued from that solitude and desolation to which it had been consigned. The fertility of the soil has been called into action, and it has amply repaid its possessors with his wealth. Denmark had long established a connexion with the African shores, and imported a considerable number of slaves to cultivate the

land. The increase of these labourers tended to enlarge the number of plantations; and these, by a natural reciprocity, tended to increase again the number of the slaves. Between thirty and forty thousand of these labourers, have been introduced into the Islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz, within about half a century from the period in which the latter was purchased from the French, as the regular number which was deemed necessary to manage the plantations, and raise that produce which the inhabitants export.

The produce of these Islands, taken collectively, consists principally in cotten and sugar. The annual amount of the former, is about eight hundred bales, and that of the latter, about fourteen millions weight. These, with some coffee, some ginger, and a little wood for inlaying, exported in about 40 vessels, from 120 to 300 tons burthen each, comprehend their chief articles of traffic. The Island of St. Thomas is small; that of St. John is less; so that Santa Cruz furnishes about five-sevenths of the whole amount.

Speaking from personal knowledge, the Island appeared in 1789 to be in a high state of cultivation; and Basse End, its capital, stands, perhaps, in point of beauty, unrivalled by any town in the Caribbee Islands. "Santa Cruz (says Raynal) is divided into 350 plantations, by lines which intersect each other at right angles. Each plantation contains 150 acres of 40,000 square feet each; so that it may occupy a space of 1200 feet in length by 800 in breadth. Two-thirds of this land are fit for the growth of sugar, and the proprietor may occupy fourscore acres at a time, each of which will yield, one year with another, sixteen quintals of sugar, without reckoning the molasses. The remainder may be employed in other less lucrative cultivations."

From the present condition of Europe, and the rank in it which Denmark sustains, it is not probable that her acquisitions in the West Indies will increase, unless it be by those equitable means through which she obtained Santa Cruz. Her force is insufficient to enlarge her insular possessions by conquest in the torrid zone; neither is it probable that she will have the temerity to attempt it. The tempests of war, through which so many Islands in the West Indies have changed their masters, have blown by, and left those of Denmark unmoved. Her rights to possession remain undisputed; and they grow

more and more unquestionable by the advance of years. Security stamps a value upon every blessing; it braces the nerves of industry, and enables both the planter and his slave to repose in peace.\*

In each of these Islands the Moravian brethren, from very early periods, have established missions; and in these, as well as in some others, their labours have been crowned with much success. Santa Cruz was purchased from the French in 1733, but even prior to that period their missionaries had gained a footing in Antigua. To these Danish Isles they waited a favourable opportunity to introduce themselves; and, if prosperity may be estimated from numbers, no foreign mission which they have established upon the earth, has more amply rewarded their endeavours. We will present the reader with a few extracts from their accounts, after having made the following observation on a subject to which they allude.

The inhabitants of Santa Cruz alone, amounting probably to more than 30,000 souls, cannot be supposed to live comfortably without a constant supply of water; but this, as we have already stated, the Island does not afford. When therefore the rains of heaven, which they collect in reservoirs, are with-holden for any considerable time, they are reduced to extremities which are distressing beyond all description. This calamity was felt in all its rigour in the year 1788-89, and 1790, to which years the following account alludes.

“ From the three Danish West India Islands we have again received very unfavourable accounts, as to the external concerns of the poor Negroes. The unusual drought which lasted near three years, with very little intermission, has brought great distress upon them, and our missions have had their share in the general calamity. The rains which they have received, proved but a temporary relief. The Missionaries, however, remark, that, amidst all their trouble and perplexity, the Lord is with them, and comforts them by many proofs of his grace, both to them and the believing Negroes.”

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\* Since the above account was written, the Danish Islands, through the events of war, have fallen into the hands of the English. But, as the Danish laws still continue in force, our Missionaries have not yet been able to gain an establishment among the inhabitants.—See the history of Tortola, in the preceding pages.

Their report in 1791 confirms the preceding account, with some additional instances of misery.

“ In the three Danish Islands (they say) the want of rain, which has prevailed there about four years, has brought great misery upon the poor Negroes, many of whom have died for want of the necessaries of life. This of course has had an influence upon the congregations of believing Negroes in all three Islands; and the latest accounts received from them, dated in June and July, 1791, contain many subjects for prayer and supplication to the Lord, who alone can strengthen his children and servants under their heavy trials, and grant relief to these afflicted Islands. The European brethren and sisters were well in health, and the grace of our Saviour comforts the poor Negroes amidst their present tribulations. A great number of them have departed, during this time of trial, out of a world of misery to eternal rest and happiness, rejoicing in God their Saviour.”

In their periodical number for 1792, their account is more favourable, rain having succeeded to the long drought, and watered the earth with fertilizing showers. Their account runs thus:

“ The great distress, mentioned to have taken place among the Negroes in the three Danish Islands, on account of an unusual drought, has been of late relieved by frequent rains and fruitful weather. During this time of affliction, the mission had many difficulties to encounter; but God has maintained and supported his cause in all these Islands. In our Danish and German congregations a collection was made, towards enabling the Missionaries to afford some small relief to the famishing Negroes; but this, though liberal, was far from being adequate to the wants of so many thousands.

“ Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the grace of God prevailed, and many a poor heathen, amidst external want and misery, found the way to salvation by faith in Jesus Christ. From Easter, 1790, to Easter, 1791, above 240 Negroes were baptised, and upwards of 200 were added to the communicants.

“ January 21, 1792, Brother John Christopher Auerbach, who had laboured twenty-five years in that mission with great zeal, faithfulness, and success, departed into

the joy of his Lord. Several of the Missionaries have of late suffered in their health; but, according to their last letters in 1791, they were again restored. Two of them have paid a visit to Tortola, some planters having expressed a wish that the brethren might begin a mission in that Island."

In a subsequent number they give a summary of their successes in the following paragraph, "From three Danish Islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, we have received lately more pleasing accounts than for some time past. The drought has ceased, and the state of the Negroes is thereby rendered more tolerable. They can again come to hear the word of God, which continues to shew its divine power, in calling sinners from darkness to light, and to a gracious and almighty Saviour, who is able to change their hearts, and to deliver them from the power of sin. In the year 1791, 222 adults have been baptised. The number of believing Negroes, under the care of the Brethren's Missionaries in all three Islands, is about 8000. The Missionaries are filled with renewed hope and confidence, that, by the powerful help and blessing of our Saviour, still many thousands more of these poor people will be gained, as the reward of the travail of His soul."

From the period in which they above letter was written to the present hour, their hopes have, in no small degree, continued to be realized. About 2000 more have since been given as seals to their ministry, so that at this time, according to their own accounts, they have scarcely less than 10,000 souls under their care. To dispense to these the words of eternal life, and to watch over them as those who must hereafter give an account of their stewardship, the United Brethren have fifteen Missionaries established in these three Islands; and it is, probably, to their endeavour, that, under God, the domestic tranquillity which prevails, may be attributed. Souls that are converted to God, are enabled to sustain the calamities of life with an holy fortitude, because they look not to those things which are seen, but to those which are unseen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but those which are not seen are eternal.

In these Danish Islands the Methodists have established no missions. An opening indeed might easily have been obtained for their temporary preaching, and many tran-

sient visits were actually paid, but as the law refused to sanction the formation of societies, the more urgent necessities of other Islands prevailed.

Mr. Hammett being established in Tortola early in the year 1789,\* repaired to Santa Cruz about the middle of June, and immediately applied to General Walterstorff, the then Governor, for liberty to instruct the slaves in the things of God. In reply to this request, he was desired to draw up a petition, that might be presented to his Danish Majesty, in order to obtain his approbation. While remaining on the Island, he was introduced to a Dr. Knox, a Presbyterian minister, from whom he received more than common civilities. Dr. Knox had been for some time established, and was therefore well acquainted with the ordeal through which Mr. Hammett had to pass. To the Governor he wrote a letter of recommendation in his behalf, instructed him how to proceed, and gave him the free use of his church during the ten days in which he continued on the Island. The people, who composed the congregation, seemed highly pleased with what they heard, and all anticipated with joy the favourable result of the petition which was about to be presented.

Mr. Hammett, on returning to Tortola, drew up the petition, which was forwarded to Dr. Knox for his examination, to be by him transmitted to the Governor, and by him to the Danish court. The Governor, on inspecting it, conceived some amendments necessary, which he pointed out; these were adopted accordingly; the whole was then again transmitted to Dr. Knox, who, having gotten it translated into the Danish language, got both that and the English copy sent to Copenhagen. On the presumption of the future success, both of the petition, and of the preaching, which would in consequence of it be established, Mr. Hammett provisionally engaged a spot of land on which to erect a chapel for public worship. This was the only step that could be prudently taken under present circumstances, at least till the result of the papers, which were now sent to Europe, was fully known, which could not be expected in less than ten or twelve months. Towards the close of the year Mr. Brazier, another Missionary, visited the Island, who was received with equal friendship by Dr. Knox, and equal politeness

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\* See History of Tortola, page 112.

by the Governor. He was also introduced to the minister of the Dutch Lutheran church of St. Thomas, and received from him a pressing invitation to visit that Island. He went accordingly, preached several times, was received with gladness, and fully expected in a short space of time to establish permanent worship in all the Danish settlements.

The ten months which had been allotted to the petition, soon passed away, but no answer was returned. The Missionaries waited with patient solicitude for several years, till the perpetual silence of the Danish court annihilated their hopes, and compelled them either to abandon their design, or renew their application. They preferred the latter, and, in the year 1795, prepared another petition, which, through the governor of Santa Cruz, was also forwarded to Copenhagen. From the late tolerant spirit of the government, they felt a renewal of their hopes on this second address; but they were obliged to wait with patience, till the lapse of time should give them reason to expect the result, which the concurrent opinion of all assured them would ultimately be favourable.

It was not till February, 1798, that an account was transmitted from Tortola, stating the result of the petition, which had been sent to the court of Denmark. By this reply we were given to understand, that, "as private individuals, or as ministers, on a visit to the Islands, the Methodist Missionaries were at liberty to preach occasionally as they had done before, but that no grant could be given, through which they might establish societies in any of the Danish territories." This, amounting nearly to a pointed refusal, compelled the preachers to abandon a design, which, from the year 1789, had continued to flatter their most sanguine expectation. For though they were permitted to preach in houses which had been previously licensed, provided those to whom they belonged would grant them liberty, yet as they were forbidden to build others, and to raise distinct societies, they could not but conclude that their time might be more advantageously employed, than in exercising labours, which must occasionally be subject to the controul and caprice of those who knew not God.

While the result of the former petition was pending, no doubt whatever was entertained of its success; and in the fullest persuasion of its certainty, local toleration had been obtained. Considerable congregations attended when the



Missionaries occasionally preached; and so well satisfied were they with the doctrines delivered, that many of the respectable inhabitants joined in the subsequent request which was made, and added their signatures to those of the real petitioners. The preaching of the Missionaries, as occasional visitors, seemed to be attended with peculiar power. The word appeared to distil upon their souls like dew upon the tender herb; many were deeply affected; and the tears which flowed in abundance demonstrated the sincerity of their contrition. The Missionaries who preached among the people were treated with the utmost respect, even by those from whom opposition might have been expected: while the repeated invitations which they received to return, after they had retired from among them, seemed to indicate that they were ripe for the Gospel, and that the bread which had been cast upon the waters would be found after many days.

But how pleasing soever the prospect, or promising the harvest, the negative which was put to the petition in the metropolis of Denmark blasted all their hopes, and totally forbad either the Missionaries or their friends to expect any establishment of Methodism among them. Private invitations indeed were made to the Missionaries after the law had refused its general sanction; and they might have found protection under this branch of its guaranty. In addition to this, the ministers, established on the Islands, who had been more successful in their application, were ready to offer the use of their chapels, being alike uninfluenced by the dread of introducing rivals, whose successes might lessen their honours, and by that spirit of bigotry, which like envy, "withers at another's joy, and hates that excellence it cannot reach."

Our aim, however, being to spread the Gospel, and not to aggrandize a sect, we were less solicitous to obtrude ourselves into places where the Gospel already flourished, than into regions where the inhabitants are still sitting in the shadow of death. In Tortola, Spanish Town, and the other British Virgin Islands, almost the whole work rested upon ourselves, as instruments in the hands of God; and in these Isles belonging to Denmark, the Great Head of the church had been pleased to bless the labours of our Moravian brethren. Here then we find an occasion of joy; for though these are now divided by shades less visible than those which mark the features of the human countenance, we trust they will be but one in

the great day of the Lord Jesus. In that important day the thousands that have been begotten again to a lively hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ, will swell the millions of Israel, redeemed out of every nation, and kindred, and people, and tongue, from whom shall be formed that innumerable host, which no man can number.

In this view the whole of the Christian world, who endeavour to lead souls to God through the atoning efficacy of Christ, are no more than so many distinct branches of one common family, which will hereafter unite together to crown the triumphs of the great Messiah. In that happy period, party distinctions shall be extinguished by the brighter beams of the Sun of Righteousness, as vapours vanish before the solar rays. Or perhaps we may observe with more accuracy, that infinite love, in those rapturous moments which we thus contemplate, bursting, in an instant, upon our ravished senses and intellectual powers with inconceivable glory, shall so far overwhelm and fill the soul, that every thing that can generate discord, must be expelled by a necessary exclusion.

But of the constitution of that future world our knowledge is both contracted and imperfect. And the reason is obvious; it is because we are called to walk by faith and not by sight. In our present condition we have a sufficiency of knowledge to satisfy us, that these things which lie beyond the grave are actual realities; "but shadows, clouds, and darkness," draw their curtains so closely round those secrets which eager inquiry attempts to penetrate, that we are compelled to acquiesce in this momentous truth, that the perfection of our knowledge is reserved for another world. When therefore the light of eternity shall dispel this twilight which associates with time, and unfold those faculties, which are already existing in an embryo state, an enlargement of our comprehension may enable us to grasp at once a larger empire than the soul of Newton was able to explore. Then, without doubt, those intricacies which now perplex us, when, in the kingdom of nature, of providence, and grace, we attempt to trace the incomprehensible economy of heaven, and upon which our brightest reasons are little better than hazardous conjectures, will lose their mazes, and order, harmony, and beauty shine forth on every

On the extent of our capacities we are not at present competent to decide; they are sufficiently expanded, however, to discover and declare their own incompetency. They even stretch already through distances which astonish; and when they pause, it is not because they are incapable of any further expansion, but because the materials, upon which they seem destined to operate, cannot be attained. Eternity will supply these defects, either by removing the impediments which lay an embargo on our researches, by placing us beyond their influence, or by directing the mind how to elude their force. In either case we shall be introduced to such things as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and which, in our present state, cannot enter into the heart of man to conceive, but which God hath prepared for those who love him.

Knowledge, however, unsanctified by grace, will only tend to enlarge our views of misery, and confirm the unhappy in that anguish, which results from remediless despair. It is only when knowledge leads to duty, is connected with love, and discovers the necessity of placing dependence on the divine compassions through Jesus Christ, that it may be denominated a pearl of great price. In this view its value is inestimable. It is one of those roots from whence imperishable flowers shall spring;—flowers, which may begin to bud on this side the grave, but which shall flourish with more genuine beauty through eternity. Here, it will lead us to the fountain which is open for sin and uncleanness, and there, to fountains of living waters. By applying to the former we shall be prepared for the latter, and through the efficacy of both shall have all tears for ever wiped from our eyes. May God grant us the qualifications which are necessary to prepare us for inheriting the reward!

## CHAP. XLI.

## PORTO RICA.

*Discovery, invasion by Ponce de Leon in 1509.—Dispositions and conduct of the natives.—Neglect the use of poisoned arrows.—Submit to their invaders, but soon raise an insurrection.—Anecdote of Broyo, a Cacique.—Reduced once more to servitude, and finally exterminated.—Unsuccessfully invaded by Sir Francis Drake.—Taken and plundered by the Earl of Cumberland, but abandoned through disease.—Remains unimproved to the present hour.—Reflections on its condition.—Situation, soil, adaptation for trade.—Observations on the poison of the Lianes, and on that of the Mancheneel.—Natural productions.—State of religion.*

**T**HE extensive Island of Porto Rica is more easily distinguishable upon the map, than known, either in the political or commercial world; and the reason of the latter is, because it has almost uniformly belonged to Spain. Its history can furnish but little variety; it has uniformly been the habitation of indolence, and on that account has been exempted from most of those vicissitudes, which furnish death with victims, the warrior with spoils, and the historian with materials.

It was discovered by Columbus in one of his early voyages in the year 1493; but, like many other Islands, was passed by for the present without further notice. Hispaniola, at that period, so far engrossed the attention of the Spaniards, that every thing but gold was treated with indifference and comparative neglect. The space of sixteen years, from the period in which Porto Rica was discovered, had, however, so far exhausted the ore, and exterminated the natives of Hispaniola, as to afford the invaders of that devoted Island, leisure to turn their thoughts to this, which had been neglected. To this,

therefore, they repaired, to act over the same detestable scenes of carnage, which had half depopulated that, and to commence a search for that subterranean wealth which they have not yet been able to find.

It was this inordinate thirst for gold which induced a banditti, in 1509, to embark from Hispaniola, under the direction of one Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard, to make a conquest of the country, which at that time was but thinly inhabited, in proportion to its extent; and, consequently, so far as its safety depended upon numbers, it was incapable of making any vigorous defence. This afforded to the invaders a temptation not to be resisted. Porto Rica was at this time peopled by some of the Apalachian Indians, who, as we have hinted in an early chapter, in all probability emigrated from the Florida shore. The character and manners of this inoffensive race, we have already endeavoured to delineate in the second chapter of this work. They were a people weak, indolent, and cheerful, equally averse to labour and to blood.

These peaceable inhabitants had heard of the calamities which had overtaken their countrymen in Hispaniola, and, without doubt, trembled for their approaching fate. But the preposterous notions which they had associated with the idea of the Spaniards, overpowered their reason, and bereft them of every hope. Instead therefore of attempting to oppose the landing of those who sought both their country and their lives, their only preparations were how to yield submissively to their yoke.

Though unaccustomed to the advantages of European arms, the Island which they inhabited, furnished them with a weapon equally fatal, which they might have easily employed in their own defence. Nature had supplied them with an acute poison, which they had learned to extract from the Manchencel tree. They had used it on former occasions with dreadful success, against the Caribbees, who had occasionally made incursions into their country, and they had seen and they well knew its fatal effects. Had they on this momentous occasion, employed this deadly weapon against the Spaniards, they might have successfully repelled them in their first attempts, or have strewed their carcasses on the soil. The rapidity of its influence, when communicated to their arrows, through which they could not fail to have wounded their assailants, must instantly have administered both terror and death;

especially as neither salt, nor the white fig, which grew near the poison, were then known to be an infallible antidote against its virulence. But, unfortunately, a strange fatality seems to have pursued them; to superstition they were perfect devotees; they wanted both fortitude and art; and therefore became an easy prey.

The glitter of Spanish arms; the effects which, in Hispaniola, these arms had produced; nay, even the Spaniards themselves, were to them all objects of so extraordinary a nature, that they were impressed with sensations which they had been unaccustomed to feel. They concluded that their invaders were a race of superior beings, against whom all resistance would be useless, if not criminal. And full of these persuasions, on the arrival of Ponce de Leon, they not only tamely submitted without a struggle, but voluntarily took upon themselves those chains, under which their countrymen in Hispaniola had been heard to groan.

But what views soever they might have had of that slavery which awaited them, they soon found, that servitude under such masters, was still more dreadful in practice than it had appeared in theory. Existence itself became an evil; the burdens, to which they had submitted, grew insupportable; and they began to detest as monsters, those tyrants whom they had before revered as gods.

Scarcely had they been initiated into their new mode of life, before they felt the pressure of their load. The yoke which they were doomed to bear became intolerable; they looked back on their days of departed indolence, with regret; and reflected with sorrow on the fatal surrender which they had made. Calamity, therefore, became the parent of discontent; and, grown desperate, through those sufferings to which they were doomed, they were induced to form resolutions secretly among themselves, to make an effort to recover, if possible, their original rights.

But on this point a new difficulty arose. The Spaniards, they believed, were a race of beings superior to themselves, though of their humanity and virtue they had but a mean opinion. Whether they were immortal, capable of dying, remained still a matter of considerable doubt; and they found it necessary to ascertain this fact, before they attempted an insurrection; because, with much prudence, they deemed it useless to rebel against

beings, who could administer death, while they themselves were exempted from its influence..

Broyo, one of their Caciques, was charged with this important commission. His directions were, to watch some favourable opportunity to see if it were possible, "*that a Spaniard could die.*" Broyo, attentive to his charge, suffered no promising moment to escape unnoticed; though to elude suspicion, and to escape detection in case of a discovery, required no small degree of dexterity and art. It was not long, however, before one of those fortunate junctures, which sometimes favour the wretched, became propitious to his designs, and he proceeded to execute his commission in the following manner.

Salzedo, a young Spaniard, solitary and alone, was one day travelling in those parts in which Broyo wished to intercept him; who, to avoid suspicion, in case his intended plan should prove unsuccessful, entertained him with every mark of civility and respect. The Spaniard was caressed so long as Broyo found it convenient for his purpose; and on his departure he sent with him a few Indians, to act in the character of escorts and guides. These Indians understood their business. They were therefore, unarmed, because an attempt to destroy him with weapons, if it should happen that "*Spaniards could not die*" would have betrayed the fatal secret, and have proved ruinous to the whole design.

These friendly guides conducted Salzedo to the side of a small river, through which they were obliged to pass; and to prevent him from being exposed to the water, one of the Indians kindly offered to take him on his shoulders, in order to land him safely on the opposite side. Tyrants and slaves, when accustomed to one another, quickly know their places. The Indian was to *carry*, and the Spaniard was to *ride*. Salzedo, mounted on his human horse, soon rode into the midst of the stream, when a doubtful accident caused the Indian with his cargo to fall into the water. To rescue from such imminent danger a person whom their Cacique had treated with much respect, the other Indians immediately rushed into the river; but contrived, while professing to afford him assistance, to keep his head constantly under water. In this state they continued to hold him, till every appearance of life was gone; after which, with

much apparent concern and trouble, they contrived to land him on the opposite bank.

Still, however, they were in considerable doubts whether he were dead or living. They were not without their hopes, but at the same time they had their fears. Here, therefore, a new farce began. They lamented over him; they attempted to recover him; they begged his pardon for the accident that had happened; and repeatedly assured him that they had no design. By this contrivance they endeavoured to furnish themselves with a plausible apology in case he should recover, and with a reasonable defence in case they should be detected in watching the possibility of returning life.

This strange medley of comic tragedy lasted no less than three days, during which time they could discover no symptoms of animation; but, on the contrary, they were rather more fully confirmed in what was rather an object of their wishes than their hopes. Though unacquainted with the name of putrefaction, these savages were not ignorant of its nature. The offensive smell which the body emitted, soon removed all their doubts on the fact which they wished to ascertain; and they at length retired from the scene, fully satisfied that it was *possible for Spaniards to die like other men.*

The intelligence of this fact was soon communicated to Broyo, who had waited with anxious expectation to know the issue of the experiment, and by him to the confederate Caciques who were deeply interested, and anxiously waiting the result. Satisfied with this information, their drooping spirits began once more to revive; and, in this paroxysm of joy, they mustered their forces, dropped the mask, threw off the yoke, and fell upon the Spaniards without hesitation or delay.

The Spaniards, having formed their calculations upon that timid submission which the Indians had yielded, were quite unprepared for such an unexpected event. This circumstance, while it tended to create confusion among the oppressors, facilitated the successes of the oppressed. Victory favoured them for a season, so that before the Spaniards had recovered from their panic and surprise, one hundred of their countrymen lay dead on the field.

But these advantages were of short duration. Ponce de Leon, recovering from his confusion, soon collected



the Castilians that had survived, and in his turn fell upon the Indians in a moment when they as little expected an attack. To oppose the Spaniards when they were in arms, with such weapons as they had been accustomed to use, was of no more avail than to remain idle and meet their fate. They found the Spaniards invulnerable, while death attended upon every flash of their guns.

Terrified therefore with the suddenness of the onset, and unable to withstand the weapons of their enemies, they fled in all directions, and sought that safety in flight which they had vainly flattered themselves with obtaining by force. This resource failing, they gave themselves over for lost; and abandoning all hopes of regaining that liberty which they had been struggling to recover, calculated upon a servitude that should end their days.

De Leon, considering his situation somewhat perilous, from the recent losses he had sustained, had dispatched a messenger to St. Domingo for reinforcements to assist him in quelling what the Spaniards termed an insurrection. These, on their arrival, became more terrible to the Indians from the suggestions of their own fancy, than from any addition that was thereby made to the forces of their invaders. They actually thought that they were the same men whom they had previously killed; who by some means which they could not comprehend, were once more restored to life, and were come forth in arms to avenge their former death. A persuasion so fatal could not fail to produce the most pernicious consequences. They naturally concluded that it was fruitless to persevere in a war with men, who could revive again after death, and renew those hostilities, to the ravages of which they had already seen so many victims. Once more therefore they submitted to their merciless conquerors, and soon realized that fate which their fears had anticipated. They were seized and condemned to the mines of Hispaniola, to finish their existence in those gloomy recesses where the light of heaven never shone.

The extirpation of the unfortunate natives gave to the Spaniards the sole possession of the Island, but not that of its advantages. Its only sources of wealth lay on the surface of the land, but to render these beneficial required labour, to the exercise of which the conquerors were averse. An extensive tract of country, overgrown with wild luxuriance, rewarded them for the blood they had wantonly wasted; but it stands to the present hour in

nearly its original condition, upbraiding the inhabitants with that neglect and indolence, which have invariably marked their national character.

In the year 1580, England, being involved in a war with Spain, an expedition of considerable importance was fitted out by Elizabeth, the command of which was given to Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake. The object which it had in view was, some of the most valuable territories on the Spanish American shores. The primary design was plunder; but these sources of unknown wealth were either to be kept or abandoned, as circumstances might direct, or as might appear most eligible, in the judgments of the respective commanders. The whole squadron consisted of twenty-six ships of different dimensions, on board of which were embarked 2500 troops, the command of which was given to Sir Thomas Baskerville. Six only of the above ships, however, were fitted out at the queen's expense, notwithstanding her name sanctioned the expedition. The others were supplied by private adventurers, who expected an ample reimbursement in that wealth which awaited them on the continental shores.

It was in advancing to the attack of Nombre de Dios, on the Isthmus of Darien, that Drake received certain intelligence that a carrack, richly laden, was at that time stationed and sheltered in the harbour of Porto Rica. The charms of gold are always irresistible to those who search for wealth, and this was the object which these adventurers had in view. The moment for securing it was now favourable, because their force was great; and they determined to make themselves masters of so rich a prize without delay.

Confident of success, their designs scarcely partook of the nature of secrecy; but, unfortunately, this want of precaution finally blasted all their hopes, and totally defeated their expectations. A pinnace, that had been detached upon an adventure, unfortunately straggled from the English fleet, and falling into the hands of the Spaniards, was carried by them into Porto Rica. By this accident the inhabitants obtained intelligence of the design that was meditated against them, and proceeded immediately to prepare for a vigorous defence.

The *admiral*, ignorant that the secret had been extorted, which the *prudence* of the *commander* should have concealed, proceeded to call a council of war to determine

upon the mode of attack. In this council it was resolved, that, as they had in view other objects on the continent which were yet unattempted, delays in the present case would be unjustifiable. And therefore, without attempting to land any troops, they resolved to commence a vigorous attack upon the shipping in the harbour. This resolution was carried into effect on the 13th of November. The assault was conducted with much bravery; but the resistance that was made, was still more formidable. The fortifications had been strengthened on purpose for their reception; and every preparation that time would admit had been made, to give the assailants the utmost annoyance. Nor were these preparations made in vain. The English, disappointed, as they had been at Nombre de Dios, were unable to obtain the carrack; so that, after suffering some damage, they were obliged to abandon their enterprise and retire. To the Spaniards, however, they did considerable mischief; but their own ships were soon repaired. From this fruitless attempt they sailed to the Spanish main, and burnt the town of Rio de la Hache.

In the year 1598 another expedition was fitted out in England, with an express design to subdue the Island of Porto Rica. The command of this armament, which consisted of nineteen ships and two barges, was given to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; who, authorised by her Majesty's letters patent, for raising forces to serve in the expedition, soon levied twelve companies of eighty men each; and with these and a proportionable number of seamen, sailed from Plymouth on the 5th of March. In the month of May they reached the West Indies, and in June passed through the Virgin Islands, at that time destitute of cultivation and inhabitants. On one of these Islands the Earl landed his troops to examine into their condition, and then informed them of the object of his destination. From thence he proceeded to Porto Rica, and landed about 1000 soldiers on the 6th of June, without meeting with any immediate opposition.

The town, which bore the name of the Island, was nearly insulated, from the peculiarity of its situation. To it there was but one passage, which was over a kind of beach which was defended by two forts, and was only to be crossed at low water. At its farthest end was a drawbridge, which, on the Earl's approach, was taken

up, and the pass strongly barricadoed; and, in addition to this, the road itself had been purposely so injured, as to render a passage over it extremely difficult and dangerous. On these accounts the assailants were under the necessity of quitting the road altogether, of seizing the favour of the tide, and of wading through the water. In this passage the Earl narrowly escaped drowning.

But notwithstanding all these advantages in favour of the enemy, the British accomplished their difficult passage; and, after two vigorous assaults, compelled the Spaniards to quit their forts, and to give them the possession of the town. His lordship entered on the 8th of June, only two days after he had effected his landing. Still, however, the principal fortress continued to hold out; but, finding that even delay could not insure their safety, after a few days the whole garrison, consisting of 400 soldiers, surrendered; in consequence of which, the strong fort of Moro fell into the hands of the English, and with it the whole Island. This fort was afterwards rased to the ground.

The Earl, thus in possession of Porto Rica, soon became sensible of its advantageous situation. And, viewing it in the light of a key to the West Indies, and to the gold and silver which were brought from the continent and carried to Europe, resolved to keep possession, and to fortify it in such a manner, as to place it beyond the reach of Spanish arms. Full of these resolutions, on the 7th of July he sent off the inhabitants to Carthageua. It was with much reluctance that they parted from their place of residence. This was manifest by the considerable sums which they offered for liberty to remain. But the Earl was inexorable, although, as himself expressed in one of his letters, he might have obtained *half a million sterling*, if he would have quitted the Island altogether.

But the greatness of their offers only tended to enhance the value of the Island in his view; and his opinion of its importance he thus expresses in the following figurative language: "This, whoever possesseth, may at his pleasure go into any chamber of the house, and see how they sleep, before he be either stopped or discried; so as that at every doore they must keepe so great a force to guard them, as will consume a great part of their yearly revenue; and send it from place to place with so great a wastage, as will cause them to curse their new porter. For when they have done what they can, they shall bear

this charge to their own destructions, and will be still losing places of strength and wealth."

To confirm him in his high opinion of the importance of his acquisition, a favourable circumstance almost immediately occurred. A Spanish vessel from Margarita, with pearls on board of considerable value, knowing nothing of the capture of the Island, came into port, and fell into the hands of the English. From this vessel they obtained also some information, that the pearl church in Margarita, belonging to the king of Spain, was not only exceedingly rich, but also very badly guarded, and unable, in case of an attack, to make any formidable defence. To seize this valuable booty, the Earl equipped three of his ships, and immediately sailed from the Island. The winds, however, proved unfavourable, and deterred him from his design, till a combination of other circumstances totally defeated the project.

But while these romantic dreams were feasting him with their idle visions, a dreadful malady was really sapping the foundation of his wealth. The Island, with all its advantages, and with all its prospects of aggrandizement, refused to give health; without which, no other blessing can be enjoyed. A bloody flux, that had seized upon the British troops, had already carried off between four and five hundred; the disease was spreading with rapidity among the survivors, and it threatened to accomplish what war had been too tardy to perform. The necessities of the Earl grew more and more urgent every day, till he began to entertain serious thoughts of abandoning, through necessity, an Island, that but a few weeks before, *half a million* was insufficient to ransom.

Previously, however, to his departure, he endeavoured to prevail on the few inhabitants, who still remained on the Island, to give him a sum to redeem their city; but these were as tardy as he was urgent. Determined, at all events, to sail for England, yet anxious to obtain a sum for the ransom of the Island, which necessity compelled him to leave; and hoping, at the same time, that if on his return he could reach the Azores sufficiently early, it was highly probable he might intercept the Spanish Mexican fleet, which he well knew must soon reach these latitudes, he divided his fleet and his surviving forces. With nine ships, including some that were found on the Island, he sailed from Porto Rica on the 14th of August,

but, unfortunately, reached the Azores too late for the capture he intended.

To Sir John Berkly, who succeeded him in command at Porto Rica, he gave full power to complete the negotiations which were pending, to secure what sums he could obtain, and to follow him as soon as convenient to the Azores. Nothing, however, was to be extorted from the inhabitants. They witnessed the dreadful mortality which continued to prevail, and reasonably calculated that it would be impossible for their invaders to hold a long possession of the Island. Berkly soon followed Cumberland, and joined him at the Azores, from which they set sail on the 16th of September, and reached England together.

In this adventure, (which both put the British in possession of Porto Rica, and deprived them of it,) from the beginning of June to the beginning of September, they lost about 700 men; exclusively of 40 that were drowned. Of those, 60 fell in the attack, so that upwards of 600 must have fallen a prey to the pestilence which raged; and which, in all probability, in a few months longer, would not have left enough living to bury the dead.

To reward the victors for this conquest, this disappointment, and this mortality, they brought from the Island articles, comparatively of little value. They consisted of some hides, some sugar, and some ginger. In addition to this, they took what ammunition they could find; about 80 pieces of brass cannon, together with the bells belonging to the churches; and about the value of 1000 ducats in pearl, which was found on board of the vessel, that had entered the port from Margarita through mistake.

Short, however, and unfortunate as this capture proved, it was of considerable service to Great Britain, by deranging the plans which the Spaniards had been pursuing. It created such a panic, as prevented their caracks from making their annual voyage to the East Indies, and totally obstructed the return of their plate-fleet from the continent of America. These derangements were felt in the mother country; and counteracted, by occasioning delays, the designs which she had meditated to carry into more immediate execution.

Such are the disappointments which are attendant upon human life! The riches, which, at a distance, had

tempted the Earl to invade the coast, were found, on his arrival, to be either imaginary, or to elude his grasp. The country afforded little or no plunder. Neither gold nor silver was extracted from its mines; and its extensive surface, covered with those forests which obstructed a free circulation of the air, afforded no productions that were sufficient, if health had permitted it, to court his stay. The poisons, on the contrary, arising from the Lianes and Mancheneel, had tainted the stagnant vapours with their destructive venom, and loaded the atmosphere with pestilence and death. In fact, his only rational calculation was, that the Island promised to all his men a coffin and a grave.

From that period, in which it was abandoned, to the present, the Island has remained in the hands of Spain, without feeling the changes of revolution, or the accidents of war.

Inhabited at present by no more than 1500 Mestees, Mulattoes, and Spaniards, and about 3000 Negroes, the Island itself is little better than the habitation of solitude. No arts have been introduced; and scarcely any commercial intercourse has been opened, either between it and the mother country, or those Islands where industry might excite emulation, or lay the foundation of a permanent trade. As an Island, it occupies a considerable portion on the map, but, in all other respects, it is little better than a dreary blank.

Sugar, tobacco, and cocoa, it is true, the inhabitants raise in small quantities; but these articles are not cultivated with an eye to commerce, but for their own consumption. Both planters and slaves subsist nearly alike, on maize, potatoes, and cassava, and waste their days in ignorance and inactivity. The chief employment of the slave is to indulge the master in his laziness and sloth;—the latter yawns upon his sofa, and the former basks occasionally in the sun.

The only articles which they attempt to export, are such as nature produces without their aid; they consist chiefly in hides and mules. Of the former, about 2000 are annually sent to the mother country, in vessels that occasionally touch upon their coasts; and the latter, as a contraband article, are clandestinely introduced into Jamaica, St. Domingo, and Santa Cruz. "This colony (says Raynal) is protected in its idleness, by a garrison of 200 men, who, with the clergy and civil officers, cost

government about 11,000*l.* per annum. This money, added to what they get for their cattle, is sufficient to pay the English, Dutch, French, and Danes, for the lincens and other merchandise they supply. All the advantage the metropolis derives from this settlement is, to take in water and fresh provisions for the fleets she sends to the new world."

Unhappily, the contracted policy of ancient days, which placed the early settlers under injurious restrictions, still continues, and cuts off all public communications with the enterprising inhabitants of other Islands. This circumstance has given birth to the smuggling, which they still practise;—a mode of traffic which will probably continue, till intercourse shall cease to be prohibited by law.

From a colony thus constituted, in which Spain has established no commerce herself, and in which she has refused to grant permission to others, it is not to be expected that she should derive any considerable advantage. A spirit of enterprise, if it had previously existed in the subject, must, under these circumstances, have been soon repressed: for such is the constitution of the human mind, that it either grows dissipated for want of proper exercise, or becomes enfeebled through mere inaction. In either case its usefulness is defeated, and the world at large deprived of those advantages which would otherwise have resulted from its well-directed energies.

Hereditary indolence has, without doubt, through a succession of ages attached itself to the Spanish character; this, however, is but an effect, the cause of which must be traced to a higher source. Hereditary indolence is but the offspring of established defect; and therefore nothing can obviate those consequences, which the enlightened deplore, but a radical reformation in the cause. Spain, unhappily duped by that ecclesiastical dominion which mistaken piety contributed to raise, and which ignorance and wickedness have since transformed into a most detestable monster, groans in almost every department, under those shackles which she has forged. They are felt in her capital; they are felt in her dependencies; and they are felt in her commerce, not only in Europe, but also in that world which Columbus added to her dominions. What then can be reasonably expected but such effects as we behold? Oppression invariably produces wretchedness, and relaxes those springs which call the energies into action. The



subjects of Spain may therefore appear as the subjects of reproach, while in reality they are objects of pity and compassion. A survey of their actions, when unconnected with their causes, may indeed give a superficial sanction to popular censure; but the radical evil cannot be concealed from inquiring minds.

An enlightened and patriotic monarch, aiming more to promote the welfare of his people, than to support the pompous insignificance of his predecessors, may, however, in an instant dissolve the charm, which the superstition of ages has attempted to render formidable. Whenever that period shall arrive, the political nutrition which is now wasted in the support of superstitious and visionary dignity, and unchristian parade, moving in a different channel, may awaken the nation from its long delirium, and cause it to sustain an exalted rank among the commercial kingdoms of the earth. Till this, or an event somewhat similar, shall take place, a solitary page must contain the civil history of Porto Rica. It may be indeed somewhat enlarged by having recourse to the registers of mortality; but even in this case, the names of those who might be deemed most conspicuous, would do but little more than inform us, that they were born, that they lived a certain number of years, and died. Its natural history will not furnish us with a much greater variety.

The Island of Porto Rica stretches from East to West about 40 leagues in length; its breadth is about 20. Its situation is nearly in the middle of the vast Archipelago, which gives it a decided superiority both for armaments and trade. Porto Rica might therefore be rendered valuable, both in times of peace and in times of war. The latitude of its centre is about 18 deg. 25 min. North, its longitude 67 deg. West from London.

The soil of this extensive Island varies in its quality, according to its situation, being in some places exceedingly rich, and in others comparatively poor. Every part, however, is capable of producing pasture, and that in such an abundance, that if no other traffic were pursued than that of breeding cattle, a sufficient quantity might be raised on its surface, to supply the consumption of all the Carribee Islands. Under such a regulation, which we may contemplate in theory, without ever hoping to behold it realized in practice, the whole might be made still more productive. In such a case, the smaller Islands, in which the land, by its peculiar richness, might be

appropriated wholly to the production of the more valuable articles, would be applied to the purposes of exportation, while Porto Rica would become the general provision ground of all. But we must not lose sight of what actually is, merely to contemplate what might be. To other purposes besides that of pasture, only some inconsiderable portions of land have hitherto been applied, but these portions have sufficiently proved their fertility. They have taught the possessors of the Island, that, independently of common pasturage, a large portion might be cultivated with considerable advantage, and be rendered a source of almost inexhaustible wealth.

In addition to its general fertility, the country is enriched with a great number of rivers; which, flowing in various directions, not only relieve the Island from the inconveniences of a drought, by yielding to the inhabitants a constant supply of water, but they are adapted to the working of such machinery, as must considerably lessen manual labour. The coasts also are capable of access, without exposing those who approach them to those dangers, which both the waves and rocks threaten, on the shores of other Islands. This circumstance must tend to facilitate the exportation of its commodities; while a capacious port, capable of admitting ships of any burden, in times of emergency, offers shelter to an extensive navy.

With all these advantages, which nature has bountifully bestowed, and which are capable of being greatly improved by art; advantages which may be considered as so many avenues to wealth, Porto Rica, languishing under restrictions and prohibitions, and inhabited by a people thus rendered naturally indolent, is consigned by the government of Spain, to increase the solitudes and deserts of the world. To the eye of the spectator it appears (with some few exceptions) in its original condition. It has indeed changed its masters, and it nourishes a breed of cattle which was formerly unknown; but the vigour of the soil, undirected by art, either languishes without disturbance, or wastes itself in poisonous vegetation.

The excessive heats which are to be found beneath an equinoctial sky, seem, in most longitudes, to have collected from nature these deleterious productions. The Islands in the East have their poisons; and Java and the Celebes in particular are encircled with a pestilential at-

mosphere. Vegetative poisons were known long before Columbus, and poisoned arrows were ranked among the most disastrous instruments of war. But the discovery of the Western continent brought to light some new species of this malignant instrument of death, and demonstrated, in the most unquestionable manner, that the earth, which supplies us with nutrition, produces also the bane of human life.

On the continent of South America, poisoned arrows were much in use among the natives, by which they destroyed each other in those early wars in which they frequently engaged. But by an unfortunate fatality which seemed to attend those generations whom Columbus discovered, and Cortez murdered, they never attempted by these means to annoy the public disturbers of their peace. In the fens and marshes of this extensive continent, there grew multitudes of a certain plant, which was denominated *Lianes*, from which the deadly juices were extracted. These plants, when necessity urged the natives, they collected together in such quantities as suited their purposes; and, cutting them into small pieces, boiled them in water till it became impregnated with the venom. To render it still more efficacious, they continued boiling the liquid till it was considerably reduced in quantity, so that what remained, acquiring the consistence of a syrup, might become still more deadly. They then dipped the points of their arrows in this fatal preparation, when they became immediately poisoned and fit for use.

To either man or beast, a wound, given by one of these instruments, was alike fatal; in both cases it ended in instant death. "Any animal (says Raynal) whose skin had been raised by one of these poisoned arrows, died a minute after, without any sign of convulsion or pain." During a succession of ages, these weapons were in use among the Indians for the destruction of one another, so that the devastation which was made became so great, that it threatened to depopulate the country. By the savage laws of savage nations it was then mutually agreed, that these instruments of destruction should either be entirely laid aside, or only employed against those beasts of the forests which they could not overtake. To such beasts, a puncture with one of these arrows administered instant death. Their flesh was nevertheless eaten without any apprehensions of danger, and indeed no fatal effects have ever been known to result from its use.

The Islands, whether detached from the continent by the slow movement of unknown causes, or torn from it by some violent shock of the warring elements, have retained among them this pernicious weed; and among other productions of nature, Porto Rica bears this bane of life. But its juices have given place to those which the original inhabitants extracted from the *Mancheneel*. This tree is also a native of the Island, and grows upon it in great abundance. Its poison is not less acute, nor less destructive, than that which was extracted from the American shrub, but it obtained the preference because it could be procured in greater quantities, and because the process was more simple.

The trunk of the *Mancheneel*, which rarely exceeds three feet in circumference, is covered with a moderate bark, which is both smooth and tender. Its leaves are fat and unctuous; they bear no small resemblance to those of the laurel, and when bruised they yield a milky fluid. Its flowers, which are vastly numerous, are of a reddish hue, and hold forth at a distance, an appearance that is very inviting. Nor is this invitation lessened on a nearer approach, by the fruit which is suspended on its boughs. In colour it strongly resembles the peach, and a stone which it encloses, adds a sanction to the deception.

When the sun, on the meridian, darts his rays with violence upon this fruit, it is attended with danger even to touch it, on account of the subtile moisture which issues from its insensible pores; it is needless to add, that eating it must be attended with the most fatal consequences. To tarry under these trees, at these seasons, is still more dangerous than to handle the fruit. The fine particles of dust, which then fly from the flowers in every direction, communicate to the atmosphere a pernicious taint, and enter the lungs with every breath we draw. The air itself becomes impregnated with floating poison, and offers hostility, in a greater or less degree, to the various species possessed of animal life.

The natives, in former years, to avail themselves of the poison of the *Mancheneel*, adopted the following simple method. They made an incision in the tree towards the bottom of the trunk, beneath which they placed shells to receive the descending juices. These juices, when collected, they exposed to the air, through which they acquired a gummy consistence; this was all the preparation that was necessary. In this gum they

dipped their arrows, which from that moment acquired a power of communicating death, with every wound inflicted by them. How slight soever the scar might be, which the arrow thus barbed with poison made, its malignity was certain to take effect. And just as in those cases where the arrow had been poisoned with the lianes, the victim fell without convulsion or agony.

Since the discovery of this fatal tree, it has been known from experience, that the poison, thus extracted from it, has preserved its noxious venom above a hundred years. Probably this venom is so interwoven with the nature of the juices which harden into a gum, that a separation of the one from the other is totally impossible; and if so, it cannot fail, in every stage of its existence, to produce those effects which have been described.

But in this as well as in other instances of Providence, we behold the wisdom of God in a most conspicuous manner, in providing the inferior animals with the instinctive powers, through which "they shun their poison, and select their food." Through this guide, they escape those dangers that await them as they prowze the desert; which would otherwise prove destructive to their lives. Thus from the pure impulses of nature they obtain a knowledge, which, while surrounded with death, directs them into those regions of safety, which man, with all his boasted wisdom and acquired art, without the assistance of experience could never know.

In common with other Islands of the West Indies, Porto Rica possesses those trees and plants, which are at once common and peculiar to the climate; but, as these have been already described in the history of Jamaica, it will be needless in this place to give them in detail. In these woods many of the native animals are still to be found. The *agaoti* in particular resides in this Island without much disturbance, and is plentiful in those parts which are most remote from the barbarous society of man.

The seas, which wash its shores, abound with fish of various descriptions, but in general with such as are common to most of the Islands. These being proper for food, would afford the inhabitants, if the Island were fully peopled, no inconsiderable supply. In fact, although the atmosphere, tainted with poison, breathes upon them the bane of life, both sea and land unite to mark it as a desirable residence for man: it has vast

sources of wealth, which at once invite him to industry, and encourage enterprise with the promises of reward.

A step, perhaps, equally bold and daring, as that which was taken by the French in Santa Cruz, might introduce purity into the air. The woods set on fire and wholly consumed in one devouring conflagration, would prepare the surface for cultivation, and render the atmosphere equally propitious with the ocean and the land. Such a measure would, without doubt, be at once bold and decisive, and the temporary losses which it might occasion would be considerable; but "life is dearer than the golden ore," and perhaps nothing less than this can confer general salubrity.

On the state of religion, from the history that has been given, it is not to be expected that any thing very favourable should be said. The Spaniards indeed, in most of their early settlements, were ever forward to introduce the ceremonies of the Romish church; and barbarous violence was frequently used to make converts. Such methods may indeed swell the numbers of that ceremonious communion, the banners of which have been polluted with human blood, but they never yet brought one soul to Jesus Christ.

"Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls, are but the sport of winds." It is therefore but a deplorable mark of ignorance, to place dependence upon "the weeds of Dominic, or in Franciscan, to think to pass disguised." The sacred volume uniformly teaches us,—

"That God attributes to place  
No sanctity, if none be thither brought  
By men, who there frequent or therein dwell."

On the whole, it may perhaps be sufficient to observe, that as this Island has almost uniformly belonged to Spain, the infallible church claims it as her exclusive right. Her authority she envelopes in awful mysteries; she requires submission, and prohibits all enquiries. This empire of spiritual darkness, she has established in Porto Rica, and as the natural consequences, superstition and ignorance prevail.

## CHAP. XLII.

## LUCAYOS, or BAHAMA ISLANDS.

*Reflections on the fate of the unhappy natives.—Peopled by the English.—These murdered by the Spaniards.—Settlement again attempted by the English.—These driven off the Island by the French and Spaniards.—Peopled by pirates, and formed into a colony by Wood Rogers.—Progress of the extending settlement.—General appearance of the whole.—Situation, soil, productions, inhabitants, and trade.—Missionaries first sent from the American continent.—Discarded through bad conduct.—Missionary solicited from England.—Mr. Turton sent thither in 1800.—State of religion on his arrival.—Success attending his preaching.—Gospel extended to some other Islands.—Condition of the people.—Overtaken by severe calamities.—Pleasing prospects of religion in 1807.*

THE Lucayos, or Bahama Islands, though unimportant in themselves, will ever be famous in the history of the new world. It was one of these Islands that was first descried by Roderic Triana, a seaman appointed by Columbus to ascend the mast, to look out for land; and it was one of these that first received the impression of European feet.

Of the discovery of these Islands, the manner in which Columbus was received by the natives, their customs and modes of life, and of the first landing of the great adventurer, we have already spoken in the first volume. And the important acquisitions to which that discovery led, we have partially traced through every succeeding chapter of the work.

With the natives of St. Salvador, the Island on which Columbus landed, he found some of that precious metal, to obtain which both avarice and injustice have united their efforts,—have shed rivers of blood,—filled empires

with groans,—and desolated the earth. By these inoffensive but unfortunate natives he was conducted to Hispaniola, on which Island he fixed his temporary residence; in consequence of which the Bahamas were soon forgotten, as objects unworthy any further notice.

At the time of their discovery they were peopled with some of the Apalachian tribe; who for several years were permitted, by the tyrants of the old world, to enjoy their native rocks in peace. But, unfortunately, neither riches nor poverty afford any lasting security to man; the former invites injustice and avarice, and the latter exposes to cruelty and oppression. The inhabitants were poor and defenceless, and this became the foundation of their wrongs.

The natives of Hispaniola, condemned to those mines which had been discovered in the Island, finally ended their days, without pity or remorse, in labours to which they had not been accustomed, and in obtaining treasures for those who delighted in blood. Excessive hardships very soon reduced their numbers; massacre and wanton barbarity destroyed multitudes; so that in a few years this once populous Island was reduced to a desert or a field of blood. To supply those deficiencies which inhumanity had occasioned, and to obtain that wealth which avarice demanded, expeditions were fitted out from Hispaniola to visit the Bahamas, to compel by force, or to decoy by stratagem, the unsuspecting natives to slavery and a grave.—They were taken from their native rocks in vast numbers, and found both in the fatal Island to which they were conveyed.

How long after the discovery of America in 1492, any of these natives continued to inhabit the Bahamas, has not been ascertained. The Spaniards were the early recorders of their own transactions and enormities; but, notwithstanding the numerous truths which they have occasionally committed to the world, many facts still remain wrapped up in those impenetrable shades, which no inquiry can possibly pierce. Their deeds of darkness soon deprived the Bahama Islands of their inhabitants. They were conducted in vessels fitted out on purpose, and only found their calamities terminated by death in the mines of Hispaniola, where they were doomed to perish.

At what period soever these Islands were depopulated, it is an unquestionable fact, that not one inhabitant remained on them in the year 1672. At this time they



were reduced to a state of perfect solitude; the natives had been destroyed, but no Europeans had supplied their place. It was this circumstance that induced a few English, in the above year, to attempt a settlement upon one of the most eligible, called Providence. This little settlement, however, soon awakened the jealousy and indignation of the Spaniards; who, about 1680, meditated and accomplished their destruction, leaving not a soul alive. The Island was then abandoned by them, and the Bahamas continued in this state of neglected solitude about ten years. In the year 1690, another party of Englishmen, more allured by hope and enterprise, than intimidated by fear, ventured to attempt a settlement once more upon the same spot, where their countrymen, about ten years before, had met their fate.

In this situation, these new adventurers continued without molestation about thirteen years; during which time they had imported slaves, begun cultivation, and had erected about 160 houses. Both French and Spaniards, envious of the prosperity of this little colony, though equally enemies to each other, united together on this occasion, fell upon them, and totally destroyed the plantations which they had cultivated, and the houses which they had erected, during the preceding thirteen years. In addition to this, they seized upon their slaves, and carried them off as a booty which rewarded their exploits; but, instead of putting their proprietors to the sword, they contented themselves with banishing them from the Island.

Scarcely, however, had these disappeared, before their place was supplied by some pirates, who, wearied with scouring the seas of almost every zone, without habitation, and without abode, at once dreading every force they could not conquer, and dreaded by those who knew their desperate intrepidity, fixed upon this Island as a convenient resting place, in which they might confer together, contemplate the future, and ruminate upon the past. Associating together on this Island, they renewed their former depredations more systematically than heretofore. Against the Spaniards and French, who had expelled the English, they committed no acts of hostility, and from them in return, they reasonably expected that they had nothing to fear. Nor were they deceived in this calculation; for, confining their robberies solely to the English, they were rather connived at than discouraged

by the Spaniards, who viewed them as enemies to the British, without looking upon them in the light of friends to themselves.

But these depredations, which were practised with impunity upon their ships which passed the Bahama Straits, caused the English to complain loudly of the injuries they sustained. It was, however, a subject of complaint which none but themselves were able or disposed to redress.

These pirates were a banditti, professedly of no nation; disowning and disowned by each, and yet in part belonging almost to all. Many among them were natives of Great Britain.

Sixteen years had elapsed, from the period of their first settlement, during which they had committed their depredations with impunity, without meeting with any molestation, either from those who suffered, or those, who, by private connivance, countenanced their deeds. The repeated insults which they continued to offer to the British flag, at length aroused the nation from its supineness; and in 1719 a force was fitted out to put an end to that depredatory mode of life, to which they had been so long accustomed. The command of this expedition was given to one Wood Rogers. Peace and not war was his object; necessity and humanity prompted the measures he was about to adopt; his aim being to civilize, but not destroy them.

Though armed with powers sufficient to subdue them, an appeal to force was his dernier resort. His Majesty, forgetting the evils they had committed, extended a general pardon to all the offenders, and the only restitution they were expected to make for the past, was, that they abandoned those crimes which had merited vengeance, and betook themselves in future to such modes of life as would prove beneficial to society, and entitle them to the protection of the laws.

To facilitate designs so worthy and benevolent, Wood Rogers had brought with him some inhabitants from Europe, who were to begin a colony of themselves, in case the pirates refused to accept of his Majesty's pardon and proposals, or to co-operate with them in case of their compliance. The general outline of his plan being communicated to these free-booters, the greater part availed themselves of its clemency, and proceeded to unite with the more peaceable inhabitants that were just imported.

Those who refused, were obliged to quit the Island, and seek an asylum in some less frequented spot, from whence they might, in company with new associates, renew their depredations.

An expedition and colony thus fitted out under the auspices of the British government, placed the inhabitants under its protection, and consequently, delivered them from an apprehension of those dangers to which former settlers had been exposed, and by which they had been either cut off or banished. By the establishment of this colony, the English avowed their claim to the Islands, so that henceforth all questions of right became points of national dispute. This, however, has excited no disturbance. The right of Great Britain to possession has remained undisputed, and the title becomes more unquestionable through the advance of years.

From these circumstances the British settlement on the Bahama Islands began to acquire a degree of stability, to which their preceding inhabitants had been perfect strangers. This begat confidence; confidence banished suspicion; and industry laid the foundation of that prosperity which the people now enjoy.

But this early settlement was confined to a single Island which had been denominated Providence. In this their town, named Nassau, was erected, and in this, their seat of government was afterward established. From Providence, as the number of inhabitants began to increase, they proceeded to people some of the adjacent Islands, just as they were impelled by necessity, or urged by choice, or allured by those prospects of fertility which appeared. Thus, in the progress of time the inhabitants and their industry extended from Providence to Bahama, and from them to Harbour Island, till Abaco, Exuma, St. Salvador, Long Island, and others, were more or less peopled, and partially brought into a state of cultivation. Providence, however, still continues the seat of superiority, its inhabitants being by far more numerous than those of any other, probably equal in point of number to all that are scattered through the rest.

The Bahama, or Lucayos Islands, as they have been generally denominated, are between four and five hundred in number, but by far the greater part are no more than solitary rocks, incapable of being inhabited, which just lift their barren heads above the surface of the waves. Many of these have no proper name, and on some, pro-

bably no European has ever yet trodden. They suggest, by their general appearance, the idea of an inundated territory, of which the vestiges are still visible, where lands and seas strangely intermingle with each other,

Taking these Islands in a collective view, they are scattered between the 22d and 27th deg. of North latitude, and between 75 and 79 deg. of West longitude from London, and, beyond this, they will hardly submit to any particular description. Providence Island, which is the largest, lies in 25 deg. North, and 78 deg. West. It is about 20 miles in length, and about 11 in breadth. The soil in general is rocky and barren, incapable of being rendered exceedingly prolific, and therefore unpromising to justify any expensive attempts. The principal article that is cultivated, with an eye to exportation, is cotton. Of this the inhabitants raise about 3000 weight per annum; this constitutes their labour, and this produces almost all their wealth.

The inhabitants of these Islands, in their early settlements, like those of others, were few in number; but natural population, and occasional inmates, created a gradual increase. In 1773, the Whites amounted to 2052, and the Blacks to 2241. The revolution in America, which gave independence to the United States, drove many from the continental shores; who, harassed and disturbed with those factions which deprive empires of their tranquillity, departed from those seats of discord, and found an asylum in foreign lands. Many of these sought a refuge in the West Indies; and of these, not a few took up their abode in the Bahamas. From this and different causes, the inhabitants of these Islands have considerably increased since the above period; but of their exact numbers no regular account has been lately obtained.

But, however despicable these Islands may appear in the eyes of commerce, they are far from being contemptible in those of war. Fortified with strength so as to resist the attacks of ordinary assailants, the peculiarity of their situation gives a commanding attitude, and enables them, through that shelter which they afford to privateers, to offer the ships of the enemy a considerable annoyance. Of this fact the French have not been without apprehensions and experience.

“The Lucayos, (says Raynal) which on one side are separated from Florida only by the channel of Bahama,

form, on the other; a long ridge, which terminates nearly at the point of Cuba. There some other Islands, called Caicos, or Turks, begin, lately brought under the yoke of the English Navy, which continue the chain as far as the middle of the Northern coast of St. Domingo. Between these several Islands, there are five passages for first-rate ships. Turk's Island and the great Caicos have lately been fortified by the English, so that they afford a good anchorage and a safe retreat to their privateers, and command the narrow channel, which divides them from St. Domingo. By this means most of the ships coming from that rich Island must fall into the hands of the English. If they have not built any forts on the other Islands at the mouth of the strait, it is because they think the superiority of their manœuvres is sufficient, without this assistance, to obstruct the navigation of their rivals."

Such is the opinion of Abbe Raynal on the importance of the Bahama Islands in times of war. An increase of their inhabitants will tend to render them still more formidable; so that, in process of time, we may find, in these long-forgotten spots, a tolerable substitute for Porto Rica, which the insalubrity of its atmosphere would not permit us to retain. Lying open to the vast Atlantic, and unincumbered with such forests as, in other Islands, forbid the winds to disperse their vapours, the Bahamas enjoy a free circulation, so that the inhabitants are happily exempted from those diseases which frequently prove so fatal in the torrid regions. The enjoyment of health is a blessing which compensates for the absence of that rank vegetation, which at once in other spots, produces wealth, and bears the baue of life.

It must not, however, be understood, that the Bahamas, because not covered with impenetrable forests, are destitute of trees. These are to be found in advantageous quantities on the larger Islands. With these, the inhabitants have endeavoured to build some vessels, in imitation of those that have been launched on the Islands of Bermuda, and which, for their peculiar beauty, swiftness, and durability, have been in almost universal request; but they have fallen considerably short of the pattern they intended to copy. Their woods and timbers they have nevertheless found essentially serviceable for domestic purposes, and the vessels they have built are not to be viewed with contempt.

On the whole, it may be said that the Bahama Islands

rather produce the necessaries, than the superfluities of life; and the articles which they yield, rather administer to the wants, than the luxuries of man. It is a region in which nature has been generous without prodigality, and in which she teaches ambition a lesson of moderation by her own example.

It frequently happens, in scientific pursuits, that the discordant opinions of men excite a spirit of deep investigation, which strikes out some latent truths, that prove of the utmost importance to mankind; but, with respect to theology, this principle can only be admitted with caution, and under many limitations. Religion is so immutable in its nature, that those deviations which result from discord, rarely fail, either to degenerate into error, or to detect a previous departure from the sacred standard, to which all profess to appeal. Subordinate particulars, the trappings of ceremony, and the modes of punctilios, in general occasion more local differences among professors, than the few fundamental principles which are clearly revealed as essentially necessary to salvation; and these differences too often destroy that humility of soul, that universal benevolence, and that love towards our fellow-creatures, which invariably result from the love of God shed abroad in the genuine Christian's heart. Variations in minute sentiments do not, however, always imply that those who adopt them, have abandoned their primary principles:—the object, at which we aim, may continue permanent, while we may select new modes of action in order to attain it. To this we may, in a certain degree, hold ourselves indebted for the early introduction of the gospel into the Bahama Islands.

Mr. William Hammett, who was among the first Missionaries that embarked for the West Indies, took his station in the island of Jamaica, in which place he was made instrumental in laying the foundation of a church which continues to flourish to the present hour. After some years' residence, he retired to the American continent, and quitted the Methodist connexion, without losing sight of his zeal for the propagation of the gospel in those places, where the people were sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death. In this state of separation he was joined by some men, who, though professionally actuated by laudable motives, finally proved unworthy of that confidence which they had obtained. Of these men, three were sent successively to the Bahama Islands, the inhabi-

tants of which, at this period, were living almost without hope and without God in the world. The first of these men reached Providence about the year 1794, and labouring with diligence and zeal for some time, was rendered a blessing to the people. Several were led through his ministry to forsake the vices to which they had been addicted, and to seek salvation in the blood of Christ. Unhappily, in the midst of his successes, he degenerated from his fidelity, and brought, through his misconduct, a disgrace on that profession which he had been endeavouring to rescue from contempt.

Rendered thus unworthy of that official station which he had occupied, the people forsook his ministry, and, as a natural consequence, confusion and disorder succeeded to the growing harmony of the society, which could only be considered as in an infant state. Mr. Hammett, on hearing of his apostacy, sent another to succeed him in his ministerial office; but such was his conduct, that, instead of restoring, by his unimpeachable rectitude, that peace which had been wounded, he trod in the steps of his predecessor, and increased that infamy, with which the vices of such characters invariably load the gospel.

This man was succeeded by a third, who, through his indiscreet behaviour, drew upon him the disapprobation of government. Persevering in his improper conduct, he was taken into custody, and was finally compelled to leave the Island, as the lenient condition of his escaping the awards of law. These were the only preachers whom Mr. Hammett sent to the Bahamas; and indeed such were the specimens which their conduct afforded, that the people, who had joined the society, were unwilling to make any further trials.

In the early period of these deplorable transactions, the members of society, who amounted to about 60, had exerted themselves to build a chapel for the purpose of permanent worship. It moved gradually onward towards completion, and finally became an object of contention among them, when the base conduct of these unworthy ministers, whose names we will consign to oblivion, split the whole into two parties. Of one of these it may be said that their charity exceeded their judgments, and of the other that their prudence was not equal to their zeal.

Towards the close of the year 1796, some pathetic letters were addressed to the author of this work, setting forth the deplorable condition of the now forsaken soci-

ety, and imploring him to send them a minister in whom they might confide, and on whose integrity they might rely. Four years, however, elapsed, before a compliance could be yielded to their wishes, during which time, the members of society, who had set their faces against what they termed Mr. Hammett's party, continued to unite together for the purposes of prayer, and to console each other with the glimmering hope, that the mountain of reproach under which they laboured, would hereafter be rolled away. To assist them in their forlorn condition, God was pleased to look upon them in mercy, and two or three were raised up from among themselves, to exhort their brethren to steadfastness, to look to the fountain of hope for consolation, and to hold fast their confidence, which had great recompence of reward.

It was in the year 1800 that Mr. William Turton, a native of the West Indies, was appointed to visit this afflicted and deserted people. He left Antigua on the last day of May, and reached Turk's Island on the 4th of June, with a full persuasion that from thence he should easily be able to obtain a passage to Providence, the place of his destination. Unfortunately, on his arrival at the former, he found that no communication was kept up between it and the latter; in consequence of which, after waiting two months, he found himself obliged to embark for New York, as the most expeditious way of arriving at an Island, the vicinity of which he had already reached. From New York he sailed in September, and reached Providence on the 22d of October, fatigued with his voyage, extremely ill of a fever and ague, and reduced to a mere skeleton.

"On my arrival (he observes) I waited on the governor for his permission to preach. He gave no positive answer, but desired I would call again two days after. Mr. Hammett has sent three different preachers hither, who behaved so badly, that the name of a Methodist is sufficient to disgust the inhabitants against him." The governor, on being waited on the second time, permitted Mr. Turton, on taking the oaths and procuring a licence, to preach to the people, notwithstanding a law had been previously enacted, which forbade the promulgation of the gospel among the slaves.

It was not long after Mr. Turton's arrival, before a black man, named Anthony Wallace, was introduced to him, while sick at the inn, who instantly procured for



him a more suitable habitation, because more peaceable, and attended with much less expense. Mr. Wallace, amidst the apostacy of the late preachers, and the obloquy to which he had been exposed, had contrived to keep together a greater number than could have been expected, under existing circumstances. About 60 had retained their professional integrity, whom he offered to give up immediately to the care of the Missionary, to hire for him a house in which to live, and also a convenient room in which to preach. As to the chapel which had been previously built, it was taken possession of by a Mr. Paul, who, during the interregnum, had separated from the deserted Methodists, and either joined himself to the minister of the parish, under whose sanction he acted, or assumed to himself a power of independence. The whole body of the professing people, Mr. Turton represents as being totally unacquainted with the doctrines and discipline of the Methodists, though they had retained the profession of both among them. To the 60 members who had been kept together by Mr. Wallace, he added about 20 more before the close of the year, and expressed his opinion of the prospects which lay before him in the following words: "After all the disadvantages before mentioned, I think a church will be raised up in this place. The congregations seem to increase, and I am about getting a place two miles from this in which I now preach, for a stated place of preaching. Twenty have joined since my arrival, and I am in good hopes in my next letter to be able to give you a better account."

In the month of January, 1801, Mr. Turton observes as follows: "On my taking the oaths and procuring a licence, I continued for two months after my arrival and recovery, to enjoy all the privileges of a dissenter; but, as the congregations grew larger, and our prospects began to brighten, the clergy objected to my administering the sacrament, and I was constrained to submit to their wishes, as I received a letter from the officer of the police to desist. Soon afterward another objection arose of a similar nature. A minister, on a visit to this Island, sent a messenger to direct me not to keep service in church hours. But to this mandate I have paid no attention. I have gone on just as before, without taking any notice of what he has said, as most of our people do not consider themselves under the direction of a stranger. I, however, think that all means will be used to root out

the Methodists from this place, and if we continue, it will be a mercy from God. The poor people seem very desirous to preserve the preaching, and are at this time very much distressed through different reports which are in circulation. It is my constant endeavour to buoy up their sinking spirits, and to inspire them with hopes of seeing better days."

Towards the middle of the year, the prospect which the conclusion of the preceding letter seemed to anticipate, began to appear. From many, the force of prejudice was evidently removed, and several gentlemen, of the highest respectability, afforded by their patronage, a protection more powerful than any efforts of Mr. Turton could have procured. Through the friendship of a Judge Kelsall, who resided on Providence, a way was opened to another of the Bahamas, named Exuma, on which he had large possessions, and a considerable number of slaves, whom he wished to have instructed in the duties and privileges of christianity. A Mr. Hart, who resided on the latter Island, and who transacted the affairs of Judge Kelsall, declared his sentiments to be in perfect unison with those of the proprietor, and generously offered to introduce Mr. Turton to the slaves on another plantation, belonging to the Honourable Thomas Forbes, whose affairs also were committed to his management. The sanction of these gentlemen, in conjunction with that of others of high respectability, awed into silence those who felt inclined to oppose, so that peace prevailed throughout their borders.

With respect to the number of members in society, little or no alteration had taken place. Many had been expelled for improper conduct, but others had been united to supply their places; so that, on the whole, the only diminution which the society sustained, was a diminution of unworthy members, while an increase of piety had visibly taken place. "Among these (Mr. Turton observes) we have some happy seasons. Our congregations are large, so that a room, 30 feet square, will not contain the people." The room indeed, which they thus occupied, was most inconveniently situated, being above stairs;—a circumstance which prevented many from attending, whose motives might probably be less impure than the motives of some by whom it was thronged.

Inconvenient, however, as this situation was, it was not the only difficulty against which they were compelled

to struggle. The rent which they paid for it was most exorbitant, being no less than twenty dollars and half per month. Not indeed that this price was to be regarded as an imposition; on the contrary, to such an extravagant pitch had house-rent risen, that this sum was not considered to be more than half its value. To lessen in part these enormous expenses, it became necessary to resort to some expedient. On the chapel which had been already built they had an unquestionable claim, by furnishing the sources through which it had been erected, and from a formal surrender of it which had previously been made. But it was held in possession by a theological usurper, who could only be dispossessed through the medium of the law, and not touched without a danger of contamination. Under these circumstances, it was thought most adviseable to erect a new one, as soon as the money could be procured; after which, the expenses that were now current, could be directed into a different channel for the support of another Missionary, who was immediately wanted to carry the gospel into the little Island of Exuma.

From the regulations which had been adopted in the society, the work of grace seemed to deepen in the hearts of many, towards the termination of the year. And though the number of members did not increase, it was not from an aversion which the people retained towards the name of Methodism, but because Mr. Turton would accept none, but those who were resolved to live in strict conformity to its rules. This resolution gave to the work a degree of respectability which previous circumstances had rendered absolutely necessary, and convinced gain-sayers that the principles which were professed, by no means countenanced those aberrations, which had loaded the gospel with disgrace.

About the month of November, an opening presented itself in the eastern district of the Island, among a multitude of poor people, who manifested earnest desires that the gospel might be preached among them. But how earnest soever their desires were, no house could be obtained, in which preaching could be established. To overcome this difficulty, the gentlemen, whose names we have already introduced, strongly recommended the building of a small chapel, that might be accommodated to the condition of the people. Mr. Forbes advanced the money to purchase the land, and others gave credit for such things as were wanted, so that the house went

on rapidly, and was ready for preaching in before Christmas. As it was not convenient for Mr. Turton to take up his abode in this place, he placed in it a serious white woman, whose heart was engaged in the work, to pray occasionally with those who might assemble in the intervals between preaching, and otherwise employ her time in keeping a school, to instruct the children of those who were unable to impart any valuable information, either by precept or example. Thus terminated this auspicious year, leaving the mission in possession of powerful friends, pleasing prospects, and actual prosperity.

About the middle of the year 1802, through the preaching of the word, a small but pious society, consisting of 17 members, was formed in this much neglected spot. Prior to the erection of the little chapel, the inhabitants had been living without hope and without God in the world; but now, in addition to those who had been turned to righteousness, a reformation became somewhat visible in many others; so that the evidence was convincing that Mr. Turton had not been labouring in vain.

But while the work thus prospered in the country, an indifference and languor prevailed through the town. The gentlemen, of whom we have already spoken, retained their friendship, and manifested their respect; but the established ministers had set their faces against the mission, and perhaps exerted themselves with more assiduity to prevent the spread of Methodism than the spread of vice. The occasional indisposition of Mr. Turton tended to favour their proceedings; for though he was not compelled to omit the duties of his station, yet he felt himself inadequate to those exertions which were necessary to defeat the purposes of his foes. The society at this time consisted of nearly 100 members, many of whom appeared to be actuated by the best of motives, while others, terrified with perpetual opposition, were as unstable as water. In addition to this, from the party spirit which was not yet extinguished, several hesitated on which side to declare themselves; and, from this state of indecision, they were not prepared cordially to embrace either. To complete their embarrassment, they were perplexed with fears that the mission would not be able to stand its ground; a circumstance which magnified the evils to which they were exposed, and deprived them of that energy which was necessary both to face them, and arrest their progress.

Towards the close of the year Mr. Turton writes, that his prospect of a work of God spreading among the people, notwithstanding all their fears, was greater than ever. "The people (he observes) seem much alive to God; others are coming in very fast; the congregations are likewise increasing, and the Lord seems to pour out his Spirit upon us. I see more fruit of my labour now, than at any prior time since my arrival." This circumstance, together with those already stated, respecting the encouragement held out at Exuma, had induced him to solicit another Missionary; and, in the prospect of obtaining some assistance, the languid hopes of the society began to revive; and, as a natural consequence, their dangers and difficulties were soon reduced to their native forms.

In 1803 they enjoyed peace, but the prospects of the preceding year were not realized. The short suspension of the war, had deranged the plans of the inhabitants, and introduced poverty among them, such as had not often been known before. In consequence of this, many were obliged to remove from their usual residences, to follow modes of employment to which they had not been accustomed. The members of the society felt their share in these derangements; and the poverty which followed, not only damped their ardour, but reduced their numbers, and in a certain degree blasted their pleasing hopes. Those, however, who remained, ornamented the profession which they made, by the rectitude of their conduct; so that, on the whole, they neither declined in respectability, nor forfeited the patronage of their friends. Under these local depressions, Mr. Turton established a school for the instruction of youth, and found in this a temporary resource to supply his wants; but all was insufficient to meet the heavy expenses, to which the hiring of a house to dwell in, and a room in which to preach, with other incidental circumstances, necessarily exposed him; in consequence of which the missionary fund in England was obliged to afford some temporary relief.

Scarcely had the inhabitants overcome the embarrassments which the sudden arrival of peace occasioned, before they were again alarmed with the sounds of war. In 1804 they were greatly terrified with a threatened invasion of the French; and although their apprehensions were not realized, it disturbed the tranquillity which had but just taken place, and spread confusion once more through

every department. However, amidst this general distraction, Mr. Turton writes respecting the society as follows: "Thanks be to God, prejudice is in a good degree removed, and people in general begin to respect the work, and seem willing it should go forward. Our society at present consists of 10 Whites, 10 coloured people, and 147 Blacks, among whom are several who enjoy the love of God in their hearts, while many others are hungering after it. Some, however, are unprofitable branches, with whom we must bear for a season, while we endeavour to bring them to a sense of themselves and of their Maker; but if these means prove unsuccessful, they must be cut off. Three, I believe, have died in the faith, two, after some time of sickness, evidencing their conversion by their patience and resignation to the will of God, and by their expressions of hope in a crucified Saviour."

Of the members in society, who, as we have seen by the preceding letter, amounted to 167, the greater part resided in the town and its vicinity; but, at the same time, the country produced many. In the eastern district, where the little chapel was erected, the work had so far prospered, that the number, in the month of May, amounted to 71. Thus had the Great Head of the church been pleased to bless his word, and crown the labours of his servant with much success. This increase of the work, and the prospect which encouraged them to hope that it would still take a wider spread into the adjacent Islands, induced Mr. Turton to renew his application for another Missionary. On this point he observes as follows: "We are surrounded with many Islands, and many of them are peopled, and I believe good might be done among the inhabitants; but, as they are very poor, it would be very expensive to have a preacher employed among them. But I am sure, if my brethren saw the people in their real situation, without any spiritual help, they would do all in their power to impart to them the knowledge of a Saviour."

In the autumn of 1804, Mr. Turton was seized with a violent fever, which compelled him to retire into the country to enjoy a change of air. During this illness he was confined eight weeks from his customary avocations, being unable either to preach to his flock, or superintend his school. His pious wife, however, as it respected the society, in some measure supplied his lack of service; and, in conjunction with the leaders, met the members

regularly; by which means they were kept together, and urged to press towards the mark for the prize of their high calling. On finding his disorder to abate, Mr. Turton returned to town on the 3d of November, but too much emaciated to resume his labours. His flock appeared disconsolate from an apprehension that he would be taken from them, and from a full conviction, that, under such a circumstance, they should be left for a considerable time without a guide. While they were thus melancholy in anticipating their fate, on the 5th of November, Mr. Rutledge, another Missionary, reached the Island, at a moment in which the Almighty kindly proved them with a want of confidence in his superintending providence, by proving to them that he was better than all their fears. "Brother Rutledge (says Mr. Turton) came at a very acceptable time; his services are much wanted indeed, as I cannot depend upon myself for one day; for such is the nature of my disorder, that, though I am something better for two or three days, I am subject to a relapse, which I have more than once experienced." Towards the close of the month, Mr. Turton again opened his school; but, through his long indisposition, the greater number of his pupils was lost. "However, (he observes) I am not able to attend many at this time. The society is still going on, and it appears to be with fresh life, since the arrival of Mr. Rutledge. As soon as I am perfectly restored, I intend trying what can be done in the other Islands, and have a good hope that the Lord will bless our labours in these parts. Our friend, the Hon. Thomas Forbes, has been exceedingly polite: he received my colleague with great civility, and gave us an invitation to dine at an appointed day; he is a gentleman of great respectability and has proved himself our sincere friend."

In the beginning of the year 1805, through the weakness of Mr. Turton, the labours of the ministry devolved chiefly on his associate, Mr. Rutledge. At this time they had two good preaching houses, one of which was in the country, the other in the town. Of these, the former had been built by contributions, but the latter was still rented at an enormous price. In these houses they preached regularly four times a week to attentive congregations, and God was pleased to bless their labours; but, through the cause which has been mentioned, they were

unable to extend their exertions beyond the Island ~~on~~ which they resided.

“ With regard to the society, (Mr. Turton observes in the month of February,) the work has been much hindered the last year, through my want of health, the fear and confusion we were in respecting an attack from the French, and several leaving this to go to other Islands. Since the arrival of Brother Rutledge and my recovery, we are going on with a little more zeal, in some measure like persons awakened out of sleep; and I pray the Lord to pour out his Spirit, and to revive his work among us. We are both in this Island at present, but as soon as I have made up my accounts and settled the business for the year, I intend visiting the neighbouring Island and giving them a trial. This, as I observed last year, will be attended with much expense, as the people are in general very poor; and it will be some time, in all probability, before I shall be able to form societies among them. Both white and black inhabitants are in a miserable situation, (very few excepted,) as to religion, being without light to shew them the way to happiness. I trust the Lord will work for his own glory.”

In the month of April, through a peculiar providence of God, the gospel was introduced into another of the Bahama Islands, by means of a renewed affliction of Mr. Turton's, which, according to all human calculations, would rather have deprived the Island on which they resided of it, than have imparted it to another. Of this happy event Mr. Turton gives the following account:

“ After the arrival of Brother Rutledge, and as soon as I got a little better, so as to assist in the work, the society began a little to revive. The congregations grew larger, and things were returning to their former order, until the beginning of February, when I was again taken ill with a complaint in my stomach, attended with a fever, which rendered me useless for some time. I then consulted one of our best physicians, and by his advice sailed to Harbour Island, a little healthy spot about eighteen leagues from New Providence. In this place I continued about a month, during which time I was almost continually sick; but I had some intervals, in which I preached to the inhabitants.



“ Harbour Island is little more than a small fishing town, containing about 2500 or 3000 souls, white and black. These were not only ignorant of God and religion, but on my first preaching, they were strangers to good behaviour; but after I had given them some directions how to conduct themselves in time of worship, the change was great, and they seemed to hear with much attention. Here a door is open for the preaching of the gospel; and from what I heard while there, and have learned since my return, it appears that some among them are willing to seek the favour of God. Indeed while I was preaching, they seemed to eat up the word, and shewed the impression which it made on their souls, by tears and other appearances of sorrow. I doubt not that we might soon have a society here, as well as at Eleuthera; for, on my voyage to Harbour Island, we were driven by a storm to one of the settlements called the Currant, where the people heard the word with gladness; and I have heard since, from one of our white sisters, that they very much wished for my return. On revisiting Providence, we stopped at another settlement, called the Spanish Wells, where I also preached to an attentive congregation, mostly white people; these also expressed their wishes that I would visit them often, as they were entirely prevented from hearing the word of God. Some indeed observed, that there never had been any divine service kept there before, and in general they seemed solicitous to have a preacher.

“ In the Island of Providence the congregations are very large, and the society is as follows: we have 11 Whites, 8 coloured people, and 120 Blacks, among whom I believe there are many precious souls. We have nothing to remark this year, with regard either to particular conversions or deaths. A few have been excluded, some have been added, and others have left the Island, but these are nothing more than common occurrences.”

After resting some time in New Providence, Mr. Turton, on finding his health somewhat established, determined to revisit the little Islands which he had just explored. The work indeed at this time, in Providence, was more than one Missionary could conveniently attend, its claims were therefore great, but the necessities of these adjacent Islands were still greater. In addition to this, the societies on the former Island were somewhat esta-

blished, so that the leaders, in conjunction with Mr. Rutledge, could, in a certain degree, on such an occasion, dispense with his labours for a season. Mr. Turton accordingly prepared for his temporary departure, and sailed for the first object of his visit early in May. Of his successes he gives the following account, in a letter dated Wreck Sound, Eleuthera, June, 1805 :

“ Since my last, I have got something better; and, thinking it my duty to extend the gospel, without loss of time, I ventured to make trial of this Island. Accordingly, on the 7th day of May, I set sail from New Providence, and arrived at one of the settlements called Tarpum Bay, on the 10th, and preached that night to a people apparently willing to receive the gospel. I set sail the next day for this settlement, and arrived about seven at night. The people had received notice of my coming, through some of the inhabitants who knew me at New Providence, on which account the landing-place was covered. I was immediately invited to preach, but, being fatigued with my journey, I only gave an exhortation, and dismissed the assembly. It appears the Lord has a people in this place; they are as loving as if we had had a society here for years. It gives me great pleasure to see both Blacks and Whites coming to prayer, early in the morning, to all appearance deeply affected with a sense of God's goodness, and it is delightful to hear them talk of their precious Saviour.

“ In this Island there is a married woman, named Hannali Sands, who has for a long time desired to be a Christian. She once laboured under great temptation, without being able to obtain any spiritual help, excepting once or twice that she spoke to Mrs. Turton and myself at New Providence. But now having grown stronger in the Lord, she is zealous for his glory, and the salvation of souls, and endeavours to become an example to others. From her friendship and piety we hope to obtain considerable assistance. There is a prospect of a work in this Island, but the settlements are so far from each other, that the whole will make but an inconvenient circuit. There are four settlements within thirty miles, and all of them might be visited by one preacher, if a boat were procured for the purpose, which would cost about 35 or 40*l.* sterling. The preacher could always get a person to go with him by this mode of conveyance; but, by land,

travelling is quite impracticable, as there are no roads cut through the woods.

“The inhabitants are mostly white and coloured people, the slaves are very few. In general they have had very little advantage from education, though lately government has allowed a school for 30 children; but, notwithstanding this provision, there are at least 100 children without the means of instruction, through the mere poverty of their parents. The magistrate, residing on this settlement, is a man who has earnest desires to serve God. Prior to my arrival, he used to read prayers on Sabbath-days, but he has given the office up to me, and invites the people to attend to what is said. His wife has joined Mrs. Turton in class. How delightful it is to see this poor people running to praise God! Their situation calls loudly for religion to sweeten life, and make them satisfied with their lot. Early in the mornings they filled my house for prayer, which was soon found too small to afford them accommodations. This the magistrate soon perceived, and offered a large house which had been built for a school, in which he used to read prayers, and thither they now resort, as though their delight was to do the will of God, and save their souls. The inhabitants at the other settlements are not less desirous. Whenever I have an opportunity, I pay them a visit: and, whether day or night, they readily attend divine service, and some seem to be in earnest for the crown of life.

“The Bahamas are very different from the Windward Islands. The land is very bad, and the natives in general are very poor. The soil produces so badly, that the men are under the necessity of going to one of the other Islands once or twice a year, to cut wood, such as *Lignum Vitæ*, Logwood, Brazilita, &c. which they carry to Providence and sell, to buy clothing for their families.”

On the further success of the preceding visit, Mr. Turton, in the month of September, writes as follows: “I wrote to you some time since respecting Wreck Sound and Tarpum Bay, two settlements on Eleuthera, with the prospect I had of gaining a people to serve the Lord. I think of continuing on that circuit till I hear from you. I never saw a poor people more ready to receive the gospel than this. I did not intend forming classes till I heard from England, but their continual coming to Mrs.

Turton and myself made it appear to me a duty with which I could not dispense. We have now 53 admitted into the society, among whom I believe are several persons converted to God. There are now three circuits open to receive the gospel;—New Providence, Harbour Island, and Wreck Sound and Tarpum Bay. These places will call for three preachers; Providence will nearly, if not quite, keep a preacher; but the other two must be dependent on the connexion.”

The happy effects which had resulted from the preaching of the gospel in these little Islands, became so conspicuous in the year 1806, that the vices which had been predominant, hid, in some measure, their diminished heads, and gave place to prayer and praise. In a letter from Mr. Turton, dated Wreck Sound, Eleuthera, March 18, 1806, we are informed, that prior to his arrival, though the worthy magistrate, of whom we have spoken, had exerted himself to work a reformation, cursing, swearing, drinking to excess, Sabbath-breaking, quarrelling, and every species of wickedness, prevailed. Scarcely, however, had he begun to preach unto them repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, before many received the word with all readiness of mind, and a remarkable reformation took place, which appeared evidently to have been wrought of God.

Nothing perhaps can more fully illustrate this truth than the following instance, which Mr. Turton adduces as a proof of the power of God. “The season of Christmas (he observes) was wont to exhibit a shocking scene of wickedness, such as gluttony, drunkenness, swearing, dancing, fighting, and gaming. But what a change! Instead of these vices, which had been practised ever since the place was inhabited, the greater part were employed, the preceding Christmas, in praising their Creator for bringing them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. When I heard of their former practices, and was informed how they had been habituated to them, I had great apprehensions that they would be led away at Christmas. But, blessed be God, it was quite otherwise, and my heart was lifted up to him in thankfulness, to hear them, one after another, describe their former wickedness, and praise God for the wonderful change.”

Mr. Turton at this time had taken up his residence in Wreck Sound, among the inhabitants who were thus

visibly reformed. The society that had been gathered in this place amounted, in March, 1806, to 72; of these, 46 were Whites; the rest were coloured people and Blacks. These members he had divided into classes, agreeably to the Methodist discipline, and placed them under leaders, of whom the magistrate we have already mentioned, was one. From this place he occasionally visited several other settlements, having procured the boat which he had recommended in the preceding year, as necessary to convey the Missionary, who might be stationed in these Islands, from place to place. In these remote settlements his labours were not in vain; several small societies were formed among the people, and the word seemed to be received with gratitude by all. The poverty, nevertheless, which prevailed, forbade him to live by that gospel which he preached; he therefore kept a school to prevent himself and wife from being burthensome to the fund in England, and to impart instruction to those, who, in all probability, would otherwise have grown to maturity, without hope and without God in the world. The people, on their parts, to manifest their gratitude, and their earnest solicitude for their continuance among them, united to assist with their labour in the erecting of a small house for Mr. Turton and his wife to reside in;—a donation as acceptable as money, which they had not in their power to bestow.

Mr. Rutledge, in the mean while, confined his labours entirely to New Providence during the year, and God was pleased to own and bless the word which he delivered. Both Whites and Blacks attended to hear, and the power of divine grace was visible with each. The chapels were crowded with sober and considerate hearers, many of whom gave such proofs of their sincerity, as to leave no doubt of their being in the way to the kingdom of glory. Of the powerful influence of divine grace among the Whites, Mr. Rutledge details the following instances:

“ Nov. 5, 1805, a white lady and her daughter, after attending preaching two months, came to me in tears, but although weeping, yet rejoicing in God. Another lady also of respectability sent me a note, saying she desired to be one of the grateful number to offer praises to God for mercies received. January 25, 1806, a merchant also came to me, but had no sooner sat down, than he burst into tears, being burthened with his sins. I was so

affected that I could say or do little else but weep with him. He was admitted into the society, and now goes on seeking the Lord. A lady advanced in years has also been brought to repentance, and I believe is savingly converted to God. Indeed she is one of the most lively members we have."

As the year advanced, the prosperity of the society continued. In the month of June Mr. Rutledge formed a class of white persons, which consisted of fifteen members, nine of whom had been added since his going thither. Of this class, he observes, he had made a young man the leader, who, prior to his conversion, had been remarkably gay; but having experienced a blessed change both in his spirit and conduct, so as to give satisfactory proof that he was become "an Israelite indeed;" he now assisted to hold up his hands in the Lord. This young man had come from an adjacent settlement, and Mr. Rutledge describes him as one who would do honour to any society. In New Providence alone the number of members amounted, about the middle of the year, to 170; of these 15 only were Whites, the others were partly coloured people, and partly Blacks. In the adjoining Islands, through the labours of Mr. Turton, 84 had been brought to seek the Lord, so that in the whole of the Bahamas, 254 had joined the Methodist connexion.

In the autumn of this year, these Islands suffered much from a severe visitation of God. This, together with the calamities of the inhabitants, will best appear from the following letter, written by Mr. Turton; it is dated Wreck Sound, Eleuthera, Oct. 20, 1806. "I have reason to think the society in this place is growing in grace, or, at least, a great part of them. I often find great comfort among them, notwithstanding they are in very great distress. The Lord has visited the Bahamas in a manner never known before by the oldest inhabitants; first by a great drought, and secondly by four dreadful gales of wind, more violent than I have language to express. August 30, a gale began about eight in the evening, and lasted till day-light the next morning; when it was discovered that the little prospect the poor inhabitants had had in their fields, was swept away in one night, and they were left destitute of any support. September 13th, another gale, still more dreadful, arose, which threw down houses, and tore up trees by the roots,

leaving almost every thing in a state of destruction. It then was, and still is, dreadful to think of the distresses of the people in different places. I am an eye and an ear witness to the cries of men, women, and children, who are without covering or food, and have no prospect of one morsel to satisfy their hunger, every one being in nearly the same situation. On the 27th, another gale arose, but not so violent as the two former; and October 5, we had another, with a dreadful thunder-storm, such as had not been witnessed for a long time. The times with us are awful indeed. We are continually hearing of vessels lost, and their crews perishing; but what number of persons is lost is not correctly known. Vessels are ordered by government to search among the Islands for those who are cast away.

“ I thank God, the little house I had built to live in, stood, and was a place of refuge for many. I had built it strong; but believe it was protected by a powerful hand. The people in this place seem much engaged with God: several have joined the society since the gales, notwithstanding we have little else than distress.

“ Soon after the first gale, finding there was no other prospect for the inhabitants of these Islands but starving, Mr. Hilton and myself concluded to petition government for relief for them, and the merchants of New Providence for credit. This we did, and received from the merchants a supply by way of charity, which has greatly relieved them, and indeed has been their only support for four weeks. We have not heard from the government as yet, but expect to hear in a few days. The inhabitants are this day almost in as great distress as ever. I thank God, I am as well in body as I could expect to be.”

In the beginning of the year 1807, Mr. Turton, who for some time past had resided in Eleuthera, paid a visit to New Providence for the purpose of holding a District Meeting, agreeably to the minutes of the British Conference. During this visit, Mrs. Turton was taken ill, which compelled him to remain much longer than he had at first intended, so that the people of Eleuthera were left for two months without any minister. His absence, however, though severely felt, did not prevent the work of God from going onward. The distresses, to which they had recently been exposed, had rather revived than damped their ardour in religious pursuits, in just the

same proportion that they were weaned from transitory things.

In a letter, which was written to him by a member of the society in the Island of Eleuthera, the author makes the following observations: "I am greatly pleased with our friends, for they appear to be more in earnest than ever. Surely the presence of the Lord is with us, which seems visible by the attention of the people, and by their growing in grace daily. It might have been thought that for want of your presence they would have grown careless, but I bless the Lord this is not the case. They are nevertheless, earnestly wishing for your return, and longing to see your face. As to myself, I find an earnest desire to serve the Lord, and work out the salvation of my precious soul. I must confess I find it hard work, but hope at the conclusion of my journey to be able to say, I have fought the good fight, and for the sake of my dear Redeemer, that I shall find mercy, and be finally accepted with God."

Mr. Turton, as soon as able, returned from Providence to Eleuthera, and found the inhabitants labouring under the effects of those calamities which have been described. The piety of the members in society continued steadfast, so far as could be ascertained; but many of them, in common with others, had been compelled to shift from Island to Island, to plant the future necessities of life, to counteract the desolation which the late storms had occasioned. This circumstance, if it had not lessened, had so far dispersed them, that their original number was considerably reduced, and the wretchedness, which every where prevailed, nearly blasted his future hopes.

The Island of Providence had been a sufferer in the common calamity, but the inhabitants had felt the affliction with less severity. Mr. Rutledge had laboured among them with much success, and many souls were added to his ministry. As a preacher, he was well received by all descriptions of persons, and God had raised up for him many valuable friends. A Mr. Wallace had given the use of a chapel free of rent; which, though less permanent than if it had been erected solely for the purpose, was a means of saving a considerable expence. The attachment of the people, the flourishing state of the society, the harmony which prevailed, and the largeness of the congregations that attended, were strong



of his poems, with all the enthusiasm and charms of indications of future prosperity. And though the society at large, through the Bahamas, had been reduced from 254 to 170 members, yet the cause was visible. And so far, in the estimation of Mr. Rutledge, did the pleasing prospects outweigh the temporary disadvantages, that he has given it as his opinion, that the cause of God will soon bear all before it, and place religion in the Island beyond the necessity of depending upon the missionary fund for assistance. In point of time this opinion may perhaps prove premature; but of this we are assured, that the period must arrive when all shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest, and the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ.

## CHAP. XLIII.

## BERMUDA ISLANDS.

*Singular situation.—Discovery.—First peopled by the English, after having been neglected nearly a century.—Salubrity of the climate exaggerated.—Inhabitants increased during the usurpation of Cromwell.—Why called Somer's Islands.—Geographical situation.—Soil.—Productions.—Employment of the inhabitants.—Benevolent Institution.—Humanity towards their slaves.—Poetical epistle descriptive of Bermuda.—Letter from a naval officer, soliciting a Missionary to be sent.—Mission first introduced by Mr. John Stephenson, in 1799.—Impression made on his arrival.—Early progress of the gospel.—Persecuting edict.—Mr. Stephenson committed to jail for preaching.—Liberated on bail.—Tried, found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine and suffer imprisonment.—Removes from the Island.—Consequent dispersion of the society.—Arrival of Mr. Marsden in 1808.—Unpromising appearances.—Re-establishment, progress, and present state of the mission.*

**T**HE Islands of Bermuda have a particular claim to attention from the singularity of their situation, being so completely insulated, that they are not less than 900 miles from any other land. It was this circumstance, in all probability, that prevented their early discovery, and this still contributes, in no small degree, to cut them off from all public intercourse with the rest of the world.

The Spaniards, after the discovery of America by Columbus, equipped the first ships that floated in these Western longitudes upon the Atlantic waves. Many, however, had passed and repassed from the Old world to the New, and traversed the ocean in various directions, before these Islands were known to exist. It was accident rather than design, that at length brought them into

notice, and they have been since peopled from sources of much the same nature.

It was in one of these voyages, that they were first discovered by one John Bermuda, a Spaniard, in the year 1527, while crossing the Atlantic; and from him they obtained their present name. This navigator, however, only surveyed them at a distance, while he pursued his voyage, but did not attempt to land upon their shores. Their latitude and longitude were merely ascertained; but the scantiness of their limits gave them an unpromising appearance in the eyes of a nation that was about to secure a continent: in consequence of which they were neglected, as unworthy of any further notice. Succeeding navigators viewed them with an eye of curiosity, but as they were destitute both of gold and inhabitants, they could furnish neither wealth nor slaves. Hence, affording no prey, either for avarice or inhumanity, there was nothing to induce either plunder or carnage, because there was nothing to bestow reward; and ambition scorned to make a conquest of so mean a prize.

In this age of wonders, a new species of chivalry had taken possession of the human mind, and nations were conducted by it into a strange captivity. The disease became contagious, and infected both the cottage and the throne. Columbus had opened a source of wealth that had been shut from the creation; and the nations of Europe, fascinated with the dazzling meteor, sallied forth upon adventure, to behold the plunder and to share in the spoils. Thus 85 years rolled on, before they awoke from that dream of hope which had deluded by its enchantments; and before any attempts were made by any, to people these Islands that Bermuda had discovered.

At length, in the year 1612, sixty Englishmen landed on their shores, and began a settlement without impediment or fear. These were the first human beings that were ever known to inhabit these Islands. Whether with a view to upbraid the folly of those who had suffered them to lie so long neglected, or to tempt other adventurers to join their party, to relieve them amidst the gloom of solitude which their situation compelled them to bear, cannot now be ascertained: certain, however, it is, that they contrived to spread a report so favourable to the Islands in which they resided, that their numbers soon increased both by occasional visitors and more permanent residents.

The climate, healthy in itself, was represented as salubrious beyond all example; in consequence of which, many flocked thither, as though it had the power, not merely of arresting the progress of time, but even of renovating departed youth. In short, these Islands were represented as a second Eden emerging from the waves.

In consequence of these favourable, but exaggerated reports, many retired from the Northern colonies with their families and fortunes, to enjoy, in secluded tranquillity, that property which they had earned by industry or enterprise, amidst the bustles of commerce or the storms of war. Valetudinarians, whose health had been impaired through the excesses of intemperance, or whose constitutions had been injured by a long residence in more unfavourable regions, repaired hither; and many came from the Leeward Islands to obtain recovery and rest. In these delightful solitudes, secluded from the tumults that had disturbed their peace, each party found an asylum, and the Islands insensibly acquired inhabitants, from visitors who came hither without any design to settle.

In addition to the above causes, the commotions which agitated England about the middle of the seventeenth century, contributed also to increase the population of these Islands. The failure of the royal cause, reduced many of the adherents of *Charles* to a state of danger and distress, and compelled them to seek a refuge in a foreign land. Several of these repaired to the Bermuda Islands, —a place remote from the clamours of contending faction, to wait those changes which could only be effected by the revolutions of time, and the arrival of more happy days. The successes of a prosperous usurper had deprived them of every hope during the life of Cromwell; it was, therefore, in his death alone that they could expect to find their wishes realised;—wishes, which were always predominant, and which induced them to hope, that they should be once more restored to their country, and should again behold the Stewarts established upon the British throne.

Among these loyal emigrants, Waller, the celebrated poet, ought not to be forgotten. He, influenced by principles, which scorned to yield submission to the mandate of miscreants, whose hands were embued in the blood of their sovereign, found, with others, an asylum in these Islands. Their beauties he has celebrated in one

poetic imagery. They have acquired no contemptible honours by affording to that genius a safe retreat in moments of danger, and their name will descend to posterity, associated with the most delicate painting, in the works of that immortal bard. "His enthusiasm (says Raynal) was imparted to the fair sex. The English ladies never thought themselves fine, or well-dressed, but in small *Bermuda hats* made of palm leaves."

The death of Cromwell, and the restoration of Charles II. concurring with other causes, at length recalled from these Islands, many of those inhabitants, who, through mere accident, had met together. External necessity no longer compelling them to continue a residence, which they had adopted for temporary convenience only, their removal was as sudden as their arrival had been unexpected; so that none remained as permanent inhabitants, but those who acted from interest or attachment. These immediately applied themselves to the exercises of industry; and, by cultivating the soil, and practising a few of the most useful arts, they have endeavoured to establish their own resources, and to derive much of their sustenance from themselves.

The Bermuda, or Somer Islands, are four in number, or rather they may be considered as only one, broken into four parts by narrow channels, which are filled with the waves. Around these, upwards of 300 diminutive islots, keys, and points of land appear; but far the greater number are nothing more than barren rocks, without verdure and without inhabitants. They are situated in 31 deg. 30 min. of Northern latitude, and in about 64 deg. West longitude from London; occupying a solitary situation in the vast Atlantic ocean. From the Leeward Islands their distance is about 300 leagues; they are much the same from the Carolina shores. These are the nearest land to which they can claim any neighbourhood, the Madeiras being still more distant, and from the Land's End they are about 1500 leagues. The whole of this cluster does not exceed seven or eight leagues in circumference. In a collective point of view they are long and narrow, being in some places not full three miles in breadth, surrounded by seas, and, as Waller has expressed it, "walled by rocks."

These rocks, which encircle the shores in various directions, are rendered extremely dangerous, by being concealed by the surface of the water. On this account

the Islands are rendered almost inaccessible to strangers, who, without a pilot or previous instructions, attempt to touch upon their coasts. Towards the West and North West, the North and North East, these dangerous reefs extend full ten miles from the visible land, and too frequently prove fatal to such navigators as are unacquainted with their situation. Almost every year vessels are wrecked upon them, and too often all their crews perish. In the year 1609, Sir George Somers, in his voyage to Virginia, was shipwrecked on these coasts, his vessels were destroyed, and a considerable part of his seamen lost. It is from this unhappy circumstance, that they have, since that period, been indifferently denominated Bermuda or Somer's Islands.

The waters of the sea which surround and intersect these Islands, are remarkably clear; disclosing, to an amazing depth, the fine white sand, the beds of shells, the groves of coral, the projecting rocks, and dreadful shelves, which occasionally appear through this limpid medium. Nothing can be more gratifying to a contemplative mind than to explore these hidden recesses of nature, and to behold these "gems of purest ray serene," (the coral) when no boistrous tempest agitates the waves.

These waters abound with fish of a most delicious flavour, which are singularly beautiful, both in colour and conformation. From this never-failing source, the inhabitants draw their most permanent supply of provisions; and the quantity and excellence of the fish tend, in a great measure, to check the enormous price which animal food would otherwise obtain. Some of these fish are common to most of the tropical regions, but others are peculiar to the situation of the Islands, and are rarely caught but on the Bermuda shores.

The air, with which the inhabitants are surrounded, is pure and balsamic, neither impregnated with the poisonous effluvia which arise from noxious vegetation, nor rendered stagnant by interminable and impenetrable forests. This renders it salubrious to those who breathe; and hence the earth itself derives assistance from the climate, so that many of its natural productions are ripened into full perfection, and rendered rich in quality and abundant in quantity.

Though not within the tropics, Bermuda enjoys the benefit of a constant summer. The sky is almost constantly serene; and the plants, shrubs, and trees, are

always green. The gentle gales, passing over groves of cedar, of which some parts of the island are full, diffuse a most fragrant and agreeable odour. Hence the poets have denominated it "Pure Bermuda;" and gentlemen of the faculty have recommended the situation to valetudinarians, as combining excellencies best adapted for the recovery of their health. Many have attended to these recommendations, and realized the blessings which other lands denied.

The soil in general has never been deemed remarkable for its fertility, though, perhaps, more may be attributed to the want of vigorous cultivation than to its native sterility. The vegetable productions, however, which have been raised, have always been held in high repute, and from hence it has been inferred that the soil is admirably adapted to the cultivation of the vine. "It has been wished (says Raynal) that they would try to raise silk, then cochineal, and lastly, that they would plant vineyards. But these schemes have only been thought of. These Islanders, consulting their own happiness, have confined their sedentary arts to the weaving of sails. This manufactory, so well adapted to plain and moderate men, grows daily more and more flourishing."

It is somewhat remarkable, that these Islands, situate so remote from all other land, have neither a river nor large spring upon them. Wells, however, may be found at no great depth from the surface of the ground, which are tolerably well supplied with water, but unfortunately in many it is rather brackish. But the rain water, which the inhabitants collect in cisterns, so far counterbalances the deficiency, that they rarely suffer any inconveniency from drought. Good water is, nevertheless, at certain times, exceedingly scarce, which, in this warm climate, whenever it happens, is peculiarly afflicting. Rain water, which is chiefly used for drinking, becomes, on these occasions, an article of domestic trade, and is sometimes sold at nine-pence per pail. These circumstances, taken collectively, have given rise to the Bermuda proverb—"No rain, no drink; no fish, no dinner." The brackish water has been found, by experience, to be rather pernicious in its effects, when used for any length of time for every purpose. It brings on dysenteries, with concomitant diseases, which too often terminate in death.

Through this great natural defect, the want of good water, spontaneous pasturage is not so so plentiful as

might be wished; and through these joint causes but few horned cattle are supported on the Island, and these few are generally in a meagre and miserable condition. On this account, beef, mutton, and veal, are both scarce and dear, sometimes two shillings and six-pence per pound. Goats are, however, very plentiful. They browse among the rocks, breed fast, and supply the inhabitants with milk. Salted provisions, particularly pork, are imported into the Islands in great quantities; these are generally drawn from the shores of the United States. On this account, during the late embargo which took place in America, the inhabitants suffered severely, through the interruption of their supplies. A similar cause must produce a similar effect; it is the natural consequence of a dependent state.

Fruits of various kinds are both plentiful and delicious. Lemons, oranges, and limes, grow wild in the woods, and require neither culture nor attention. Figs and pomegranates are also common. The principal trees are the cedar, the palmetto, the tamarind, and the banana. The Island also produces cassavi and arrow root. Sweet potatoes and onions are raised in great plenty; and indeed all the esculents common to an English garden will thrive here luxuriantly. Formerly Indian corn was attempted, but the inhabitants wanted perseverance, and it was afterwards abandoned. No grain is at present produced on the Islands, excepting a little barley.

Prior to the year 1785, a considerable quantity of vegetables was from hence sent to the West Indies, in the Islands of which, the planters, from the peculiar richness of the soil, attended chiefly to productions of greater value. Since that period, however, this branch of traffic has been considerably diminished, the inhabitants having attempted to cultivate the more important article of cotton. About 200 acres of land have been appropriated by them to the cultivation of this valuable commodity, but their exertions have been but partially repaid. The soil, rather sterile in itself, has only been aided by languid labour, and this has been insufficient to produce advantageous crops; so that we need not be surprised to find that reimbursement is yet considerably indebted to expenditure and expectation.

The inhabitants of this little cluster, including those of all ages, sexes, and conditions, according to a census taken in 1808, amount to 10,300; of these about 4500



are Whites, the rest are chiefly Blacks, who are in a state of slavery. It has but one town of any note, the name of which is St. George. This contains about 2000 inhabitants, consisting of Whites and Blacks, and has a proportionate number of houses. It is situated at the bottom of a haven, in one of the divisions, which is distinguished by the same appellation. In this town most of the principal people reside. The only public building is a church, which is badly constructed, rather carelessly attended, and discovers but little elegance or art.

It is in this place that the Islands are chiefly assailable, as in other parts they are defended by rocks, which, without an intimate acquaintance with their windings, nearly prohibit all access. Near the town, the deficiencies of nature have been supplied by the fortifications of art. Seven or eight forts have been built in its vicinity, to protect the inhabitants from plunder in case of an attack, and to afford protection to their shipping in times of war. Upon these batteries they keep mounted about 70 pieces of cannon, which, supplied with ammunition, and courage and strength to man the fortifications, must be capable of affording to the Islands a degree of protection superior to that wealth, which might be supposed to invite the assailants.

Besides the harbour of St. George, which lies to the Eastward, there is Castle harbour to the South, Hamilton to the West, and a Roadstead on the North, where ships of war, and other large vessels, frequently drop anchor. The men of war, on the Halifax station, generally winter in the Bermudas; and, by the sale of prizes, and the purchase of such articles as the people have to sell, revive the languid trade of the colonists. Besides St. George, which is the capital, there are a few villages which contain many inhabitants. Of these, Hamilton and Salt Kettle are the principal; but they have nothing remarkable which can entitle them to any particular description. The commercial intercourse which the people hold one with another is chiefly by water, as numbers of boats are continually sailing from cove to cove, and from island to island, with such merchandise as they wish to convey from place to place. Few carriages, of any description, are to be found, and hardly a single cart is to be seen on the whole cluster.

The Bermudas, when first discovered, like most of the Islands in the West Indies, were covered with trees.

Among these was a peculiar species of cedar, which flourished luxuriantly, and was to be found in abundance. Fortunately for the inhabitants, these trees were not destroyed; vast numbers still remain, and they have proved, for many years, the principal and almost only source of their wealth, by furnishing them with no small part of their employment and their trade.

The timber of these trees, remarkable for its durability, has been found to be particularly buoyant, and therefore admirably adapted to the purposes to which it has been applied. With this they build a number of small vessels, such as cutters, sloops, and brigantines, which for swiftness, strength, and beauty, will hardly admit of any rivals. These vessels the inhabitants occasionally navigate. In times of peace they are employed for commerce, and sometimes as privateers in times of war. On the former occasion, they trade, in general, between North America and the West Indies; and sometimes find in the latter place a market for their vegetables, particularly onions, which in a few vessels they continue still to export. On the latter occasion, they cruise against the enemies of the mother country, and submit to all the vicissitudes attendant on hostilities. Such vessels as are not thus taken up for domestic purposes, are built entirely for sale, and disposed of wheresoever they can find a market. In preparing the timber, and in the building and navigating of these vessels, most of the men find no inconsiderable share of their employment. Many also spend their time on Turk's Island, one of the Bahamas, in which they make salt, both for their own purposes and for sale. On these accounts, only a small proportion actually reside on the Islands; the others are only occasional visitants, when their commercial pursuits, or leisure hours permit them to call on their families.

Secure in poverty and sequestered solitude, the inhabitants of these Islands have been permitted to enjoy their lands and the scanty fruits of their industry, without experiencing the horrors of war, or those changes which war too often occasions. From the period of their first settlement to the present, the Bermudas have remained uniformly in the hands, and under the protection of Great Britain. Generation has succeeded to generation, while the people have enjoyed that tranquillity, to which the world at large has been so long a stranger. The intercourse which they hold with it is only remote and uncer-

tain; therefore they only hear at a distance the sound of those storms which contending nations raise at the call of ambition;—storms which break upon other shores, and involve both islands and continents in one general wreck. May these peaceable people long continue as remote from the intrigues of faction, the contentions of pride, and the clamours of war, as their habitations are removed from all visible connexion with other lands!

“The principal inhabitants of the Bermuda Islands (says Raynal) formed a society in 1765, the statutes of which are, perhaps, the most respectable that ever dignified humanity. These virtuous citizens have engaged themselves to form a library of all books of husbandry, in whatever language they have been written; to procure to all persons of both sexes, an employment suitable to their dispositions; to bestow a reward on every man who has introduced into the colony any new art, or contributed to the improvement of any one already known; to give a pension to every daily workman, who, having assiduously continued his labour, and maintained a good character for forty years, shall not have been able to lay up a stock, sufficient to allow him to pass his latter days in quiet; and lastly, to indemnify every inhabitant of Bermuda, who shall have been oppressed either by the minister or the magistrate.”

Actuated by these humane principles, mutually protecting and protected by each other, domestic discord, under this benevolent institution, can find no permanent residence in their peaceful habitations. The bond of social union forbids oppression to select a victim, because the whole community is engaged to espouse his cause. Thus an individual, though only a solitary link in society, is here connected with other parts of the chain; hence that act of injustice which would touch the extremity, communicates a shock that is felt to the centre, and an agitation is sensibly experienced in every part. Benevolence that is genuine is universal, and that which is universal extends to all.

Unhappily, however, this benevolent institution rather exists in theory than fact. Like many others, which are excellent in themselves, and appear so, when drawn on paper, and spread before the eye, it glitters with peculiar brilliancy, and captivates with its charms. But too often when the arm of oppression has been lifted up, and the voice of distress has been heard, it has been paralysed in all its parts. Blindness and deafness have seized it on a

sudden; and the suffering victim has found it, by experience, to be as tardy in the execution of its promises, as it had been voluntary and alert in making professions of benevolence. The subsequent pages will furnish us with a melancholy example of these truths.

Towards their slaves, admitting the previous principle, the humanity of the inhabitants is not denied. Uncontaminated by the influence of pernicious example, which not only gives a sanction to cruelty, but hardens the humane dictates of our nature into a stubbornness that approves of deeds which ought not to be mentioned without a blush, they view their African labourers as beings possessed of human feelings, which a variation in complexion never can destroy. This has induced them to soften the rigours of servitude; and by this means they attach their slaves to their interest more from principle than fear. This is evidently deducible from an appeal which Governor Brown made to facts about ten years since; and the instances which he has adduced, conclude more forcibly, than all the abstract reasoning which could be included in a volume.

“Nothing (says Mr. Brown) can better shew the state of slavery in Bermuda than the behaviour of the Blacks in the late war. There were at one time between fifteen and twenty privateers fitted out from hence, which were partly manned by slaves, who behaved both as sailors and marines irreproachably; and whenever they were captured, always returned if it was in their power. There were several instances wherein they had been condemned with the vessel, and sold, and afterwards found means to escape; and, through many difficulties and hardships, returned to their master’s service. In the ship *Regulator*, a privateer, there were seventy slaves. She was taken and carried into Boston. Sixty of them returned in a flag of truce directly to Bermudas. Nine others returned by way of New York. Only one was missing, who either died in the cruise or in captivity.”—*Report of the Privy Council on the Slave Trade*. Part III.

To assert that the inhabitants of these insulated abodes abound in riches, would neither be to pay them a compliment, nor to advance the cause of truth. But when we compare them with those of other regions, who hold a more public intercourse with the noisy world, it may be justly asserted that they are happy in the circumscription of their wants. To many of those luxuries,

which first excite appetite, and then pamper it with indulgence, they are comparatively strangers. The air, purified from noxious effluvia, and the skies, exhibiting a cloudless expanse, tend to cherish a serenity of mind, which, amidst the commotions that agitate and afflict human life, but rarely falls to the lot of man. "The rage of ambition and war (says Raynal) is extinguished upon their coasts, as the storms of the ocean that surround them are broken. The virtuous man would willingly cross the seas to enjoy the sight of their frugality. They are totally unacquainted with what passes in the part of the world we live in, and it will be happy for them to remain in their ignorance."

The following lines, descriptive of Bermudas, were written by a friend, who, residing a considerable time on the Islands, presented them to the author. As they were never before published, and perfectly coincide with the preceding and subsequent account, he makes no apology for inserting them in this place.

*An Epistle from Bermuda to the Rev. Dr. COKE.*

Deep in the bosom of Atlantic waves,  
 Whose snowy foam the rocky Island laves,  
 Far from my friends, on Western Scotia's shores,\*  
 But farther from the land my soul deplores,  
 I sit me down to muse an hour or two,  
 Ease my fond heart, and fill a page for you.

'Twas when the moon a slender crescent wore,  
 And seem'd to hover on the Western shore,  
 We sought the bark, unfurl'd the swelling sail,  
 Full to the impulse of the Northern gale.  
 And when night's orb her spacious horn had fill'd,  
 One globe of light, one pure refulgent shield,  
 We saw Bermuda's rock-encircled shore,  
 Her reefs extend, and heard her breakers roar;  
 Where gallant Somers, half the ocean cross'd,  
 His lofty ships and hardy seamen lost.

Here, while the seas a thousand rocks unfold,  
 More fatal far than Scylla fam'd of old,  
 Tho' needy Spaniards mourn'd its want of mines,  
 Where diamonds blaze, and virgin silver shines,

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\* The Author of these lines, though a native of England, had long resided at Nova Scotia, from which place he removed to Bermuda.

Delightful spring, in living verdure, deigns  
To crown its cedar hills, and sunny plains.  
Hence verdant beauties in profusion flow,  
And make these Isles a paradise below.

When on some little eminence I rise,  
And gaze with wonder and poetic eyes,  
Enchanting scenes with life and fragrance crown'd,  
Beam from the prospects, azure skies, and ground.  
Had ancient poets known this little spot,—  
Poets who form'd rich Eden's in their thought,  
Arcadia's vales, Calypso's verdant bowers,  
Hesperia's groves, and Tempe's gayest flowers,  
Had ne'er appear'd so beautiful and fair,  
As these gay rocks and em'rald Islands are.  
One robe of purest vegetable green,  
O'er hills, and dales, and woods, and fields, are seen ;  
While, interspers'd, the snowy mansions rise,  
Like bowers of bliss in fields of Paradise.

Nor should the ocean, with his restless waves,  
Which, vex'd with storms, the hardy sailor braves,  
Remain unnotic'd. Here its beauties rise,  
And spreads its charms to the expanded skies.  
Clear through the cluster'd Isles the water roves,  
Clasps their green skirts, and laves their coral groves ;  
And, like a mirror of the finest glass,  
Imparts new lustre to each rival grace.

Through all the year a rich nutritious store,  
The blooming trees, and cultur'd gardens pour.  
Here purple Grapes in swelling clusters glow,  
'There milk-white Arrow-root abounds below ;  
Here, rich in juice, the swelling Melon lies,  
And there the bread roots—green Cassadas rise ;  
The savoury Pumpkin, and the yellow Squash,  
And garden's pride, the ponderous Calabash.  
In the green woods how beauteous to behold,  
The yellow Orange pour his flaming gold.  
Enormous Shaddocks swell the loaded bough,  
Lemons and Limes unbid, spontaneous grow.  
These yield their juice the thirsty swain to cheer,  
And cool the fervours of the glowing year.  
Nor should my landscape-loving muse forget,  
The luscious Fig, and lovely Pomegranate.  
The Tam'rind tart, the Papaw deeply green,  
And Guava rich, diversify the scene.

Here is that fruit, whose branching leaf displays  
 A friendly shelter from the solar rays ;  
 This some Banana, others Plantian call,  
 Delicious gift, belov'd alike by all.  
 Here every taste a flavour finds to please,  
 Each eye a gay, a grateful colour sees ;  
 Each constitution feels a healthful gale,  
 And flowers and cedar gratify the smell.

Could happiness be found beneath the skies,  
 These lovely Islands might dispute the prize.  
 Sweet are the flowers, and fruits, and soft the breeze,  
 Serene the skies, and smooth the circling seas.  
 Temperate the clime, unless when solar rays,  
 From Leo or intenser Virgo blaze :  
 Then flaming heat with rage unrivall'd pours,  
 To tinge the vales, and scorch the burning shores.  
 And now unless the mellow clouds distil  
 Their humid stores on garden, grove, and hill,  
 Supplies of water instantly would fail,  
 And maddening thirst with man and beast prevail.  
 For here no rivers pour their crystal tides,  
 No fountains rise, no lucid current glides ;  
 No gushing waters through the rough rocks foam,  
 No silent brooks along the vallies roam.  
 Yet seldom here the bounteous skies refuse  
 Their grateful showers, or night refreshing dews.  
 Hence every season through the annual round,  
 Or loads the tree, or decorates the ground.

Yet 'midst thy beauties, most delightful Isle,  
 Where ceaseless spring, and constant summer smile,  
 Amidst thy healthful climes, and soften'd gales,  
 Thy cedar hills, and sun-illumin'd vales,  
 Abhorr'd Oppression, with his iron face,  
 The scourge and terror of the sable race,  
 Spurns at the native rights of freeborn man,  
 And binds the Negro with his heavy chain.  
 Here deathless essences, that shall survive  
 Sun, seas, and stars, and live while angels live,  
 Are vilely bought, and infamously sold,  
 And bones and muscles are exchange'd for gold ;  
 Like the dull ox that crops the flowery grass,  
 As though no soul informed the vital mass.

But this, alas ! is not the worst of ills,  
 This rocky Island to its centre feels.

For Piety, that richest, sweetest grant  
 Of purest love, bless'd superlunar plant,  
 Is here neglected for inferior good,  
 Torn by the root, or blasted in the bud.  
 Soft indolence her downy couch displays,  
 And lulls her victims in inglorious ease;  
 While guilty passions, to the foul embrace,  
 Seduce the daughters of the swarthy race.

What then are cedar hills, and skies serene,  
 Perrenial blooms, and gardens ever green;—  
 What boots the health which fragrant gales impart,  
 When peace and innocence forsake the heart?  
 If pure Religion fill'd thy groves and bow'rs,  
 And spread her charms on thy delightful shores,  
 If Liberty, throughout thy whole domain,  
 With all the virtues which adorn her reign,  
 On fell Oppression could erect their throne,  
 And raise thy climate's beauties by their own,  
 Then would I hail thee for my fix'd abode,  
 And from thy shores depart to meet my God.

It is obvious, from the preceding lines, which are more nearly allied to truth than fiction, as well as from the observations already made, that, what excellencies soever these Islanders or their habitation may be supposed to possess, they are not to be estimated absolutely, but only comparatively. Impediments, in some form or other, are more or less attached to every soil; and vice, in various shapes, is interwoven with human nature. Hence the inhabitants, both of islands and continents, while furnished with causes of complaint, afford awful proofs that the carnal mind is enmity against God. In all ages of the world, wherever the word of God has been preached in its purity, this melancholy truth has received a confirmation from the opposition that has been made to the gospel. Of this fact the West Indies have furnished us with many instances; and even the Bermuda Islands, with all their beauties, are not without some prominent examples, one of which I shall proceed to detail, in the missionary department which follows.

It was not till our missions were somewhat established in the West Indies, that we had any thoughts of attempting to introduce the gospel into the Bermudas; and indeed, the happy effects, which resulted from the former,



may, in no small degree, be considered as the primary cause of the latter, which was brought about in the following manner.

In the year 1798, when his Majesty's ship *Thetis*, was on the Halifax station, a letter was sent to our missionary society, by a gentleman on board, who was at that time master of her, requesting us to send, if possible, a Missionary to the Islands of Bermuda. The *Thetis*, during the preceding winter, had repaired from Halifax, during the inclement season, to Bermuda, and taken up her station in one of those harbours which have been already described. During her stay in these parts, Mr. M. the gentlemen alluded to, had frequent opportunities, while on shore, of making his observations on the state of religion and morals, which prevailed among the inhabitants. These, unhappily, presented a melancholy picture, and urged him to devise means for remedying the evils which he at once witnessed and deplored.

“Near the beginning of this unhappy war, (he observes) our ship was providentially stationed at Halifax, which occasioned us frequently to call at Bermuda. Within the last twelve months, I have been considerably exercised in my mind about the state of the inhabitants, with respect to religion. I procured some religious books from your friend Mr. Black, on purpose to circulate among the people, in hopes they might be the means, by the blessing of God, of bringing them to a more serious concern about their precious souls, and the souls of their relations and neighbours. On our arrival here, a few days ago, I sent the books to a Mr. Matson, with a letter, requesting him, that as he appeared to be the only minister on the Island, who regarded the souls of his flock, he would distribute them where he thought they would be most likely to do good; not only in his own parish, but throughout the Island, not forgetting the poor Negroes.

“For my own part, I believe that a good, judicious preacher might be the means, by the blessing of God, of doing much good here, not only among the Blacks, but among the white people also. Many thousands of souls are on the Island, but very few are found to instruct them, or give them advice concerning their salvation. Bermuda is divided into nine parishes, but, at present, there are only three clergymen, and one of these is a very bad character. Another is an old invalid, who has done

no duty for a considerable time; and the other is only a mere moral preacher. So that Mr. Matson (who is a Presbyterian) appears to stand alone in the important work of the ministry, and his constitution is so much impaired, that he can scarcely go through his own regular duties. From what I have seen of the dispositions of many of the people who attend Mr. Matson's meeting, I think a Missionary would be kindly received by many of them, provided he was a judicious and prudent man.

“ One instance I shall give you of the disposition of the people towards Methodism. There was a Captain Travise, of Baltimore, who had put in here several times; and being zealous for the cause of God, he used, Mr. Matson informed me, to go from house to house, and select a few friends, to give them a word of exhortation, and to hold prayer-meetings among them. This was much approved of by many, who found it a blessing to their souls.

“ Respecting the expenses of the mission I can say nothing; but, as a stranger, I have found great marks of friendship among the people, more so than in most other places which I have visited. Most of the white people can read, and many among them have had a good education. And as to singing, they are in general fond of church music, so that there will be very little trouble to lead them to this branch of worship. Should you be instrumental in spreading the gospel through these Islands, and in bringing sons and daughters to God, it will add lustre to that glorious crown, which is prepared for all the faithful servants of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

“ But probably you will now be ready to ask, Who am I, and to what sect or party do I belong? To be candid, I must confess, I never was joined to any particular party. Being a citizen of the world, and from my youth following a seafaring life, going from place to place, and from country to country, I have never been settled in any place to become a member of any particular society. But if I know any thing of my own heart, I can truly say, that I love and respect all the sincere followers of Jesus Christ of every denomination.

“ Should you be inclined to drop me a few lines, I shall be happy to hear from you, and may the Lord bless your endeavours to spread the gospel throughout the world. I hope you will not forget at the throne of grace a weak

and unprofitable creature, who is constrained to dwell with ungodly men, and frequently deprived of the means of grace, having but few to converse with about things pertaining to salvation.

*Bermuda,*  
Feb. 17, 1798.

I am, your's, &c.  
ANDREW MACKIE.

The above letter was accompanied with another from Mr. Matson, to whom it alludes, when it left Bermuda, but unfortunately the vessel which was to have brought it to England, being taken on her passage, both letters were lost. Mr. Mackie, hearing of the disaster, recopied it in the November following, when his ship arrived at Spithead, and forwarded it, with some additional remarks on the propriety, necessity, and importance of establishing a mission in Bermuda. During the interim, Mr. Matson had also written on the same business, and from a correspondence with him, to which this gave rise, it was thought advisable to send a Missionary to Bermuda as soon as possible, to embrace the opening which Providence seemed to have made.

A few months, however, elapsed, before a proper person, in every respect qualified for the important undertaking, could be found. At length, Mr. John Stephenson, a native of Ireland, whose piety, zeal, and prudence had long been tried, engaged to embark for Bermuda, to begin the mission which pleasing appearances so strongly invited. A sense of duty, and the prospect of doing good, stimulated his exertions to prepare for his departure; so that a readiness to sail soon followed his resolution to commence missionary.

He departed from Dublin early in the year 1799, and reached New York without meeting with any thing remarkable in the course of his voyage. In New York he continued several days, preaching occasionally in the city and its vicinity, making at the same time preparations for the remaining part of his voyage, and waiting for a favourable opportunity to reach the desired port. A vessel soon after sailing, he went on board, and after a short and pleasant passage, reached Bermuda, the place of his destination, on the 10th of May, 1799.

On his arrival it was quickly known that a Methodist Missionary, from Ireland, was in the harbour on board the American vessel. The circulation of this report soon made an impression, much to his disadvantage. Coming

from Ireland, it was concluded that he must be a rebel, and as such, coming in the character of a Missionary, it was instantly apprehended that he was about to introduce disaffection among the slaves. Full of these preposterous notions, many were not willing for him to come on shore, and most probably would have exerted themselves to prevent it, if an enlightened magistrate, then standing on the quay, had not prudently dispelled the gathering storm.

"Surely," said this magistrate, "you will not banish a man before you know who he is, and what is his crime?" "Oh," replied the mob, "he is an Irishman, a rebel, and a Methodist, and will put all kinds of evil into the heads of the Blacks." "There are many things imported into Bermuda," rejoined the magistrate, "that will put more evil into their heads than he will." "What is that?" it was asked. "Why one puncheon of rum," he replied, "will put more evil into their heads, than ever he will do all the days of his life. And if he has a good method with him, I am sure we want it here, and therefore we will not banish him till we hear him." This language, coming from a magistrate, soon disarmed their momentary prejudices, and Mr. Stephenson was permitted to come on shore, without further molestation. This gentleman afterwards continued Mr. Stephenson's sincere friend, and made use of his interest and influence to promote the cause of Christ.

Mr. Stephenson, prior to his preaching, waited on the governor a few days after his arrival, delivered to him his credentials, and informed his Excellency that he was appointed as a Missionary by the Methodist Society, late in connexion with the Rev. John Wesley, and that he came to the Island for the express purpose of preaching the gospel. At the same time he requested permission to take the oaths of allegiance, and furthermore to qualify himself as the laws required, that he might be protected from those insults to which he thought he might probably be exposed. To this request his Excellency replied, "There is no occasion, Mr. Stephenson. I know his Majesty allows liberty of conscience; and I know Mr. Wesley and his people were always peaceable and loyal subjects."

To convince his Excellency that he was not an impostor, he produced a certificate of his ordination, and several annual minutes of the Methodist Conference, in which his name had been enrolled as an itinerant preacher

for a series of years. He then shewed him his pass, which he received, prior to his leaving Dublin, from Alderman James, of that city, by the direction of Lord Castlereagh, then secretary of state, certifying that he was appointed as a Missionary for the Island of Bermuda. These papers his Excellency read, and seeming perfectly satisfied, observed, with respect to the latter, "This is a very important paper, Mr. Stephenson; keep it safely."

Encouraged by these interviews, and sanctioned by the apparent authority of the governor, Mr. Stephenson began his mission, in his own hired house. At first but few people attended, and some of these heard with a much worse spirit than that of indifference. But in a few months the edge of prejudice was considerably blunted; the most violent ceased to oppose; and the congregations visibly increased.

In the month of December, Mr. Stephenson wrote as follows: "Some time ago I met with every opposition except blows, so that I have found it to be no small undertaking to go alone, and carry the gospel into a strange Island. But, blessed be God, notwithstanding these oppositions, I have joined 59 members in society, all of whom are white people, and very shortly I hope to augment the number. I intend doing what I can among the Whites first, and I trust God has directed me. If I had begun to collect the Blacks when I first came to the Island, I should have raised the whole body of people against me; especially, as at these times they view me as a rebel. This suspicion, however, is wearing away fast. Many of the more respectable people are rising on my side, and the family of one magistrate have all joined the society. We already find it necessary to erect a chapel, and have taken some steps towards the accomplishment of our object. A subscription has been set on foot; the above family have subscribed 30*l.* towards it; a young gentleman has given us an acre of ground, with all the trees upon it; and others have come forward, with such liberality, that we have already the promise of 220*l.* and a prospect of getting more. In another part of the Island we rent another house, besides this which I occupy; in that we shall immediately fix the pulpit and the seats, so that very shortly I hope things will assume the appearance of order, and be kept in a state of actual regulation. In our class-meeting, several have declared what God has done for their souls, and expressed their

gratitude with tears of joy. Others are earnestly seeking the inestimable blessing which these have found, and are longing to rejoice in the salvation of God."

The early months of the following year, 1800, rather confirmed than blasted the hopes that had been entertained. Domestic enmity and local opposition, indeed, were but too visible; but, notwithstanding these, the work continued to flourish; the prospects of doing good were enlarged; and religion evidently gaining ground. In the month of April, 74 Whites and 30 Blacks had joined the society, the congregations were enlarged, and about 300*l.* had been subscribed towards the chapel which they had designed to erect, and which now became the more necessary in proportion to the numbers who attended preaching, and subscribed towards it.

This prosperity of the work of God could not well fail to awaken the enmity of those who secretly wished for its destruction. Men in power began to sanction those who were without it, and both parties co-operated together to raise a tempest, that should overthrow the infant church which was hardly established. All their efforts, however, to suppress religion, without the aids of law, were soon found ineffectual. Nothing, therefore, remained but for them to suffer it to prosper, or to induce the colonial legislature to interfere, and prevent the propagation of the gospel by some act which they might think proper to all into existence. These men resorted to the latter expedient; and on the 24th of May, 1800, the following edict was passed, to prevent Mr. Stephenson from any further preaching.

"An Act to prevent persons pretending, or having pretended to be ministers of the gospel, or missionaries from any religious society whatever, and not invested with holy orders according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, or the church of Scotland, from acting as preachers or schoolmasters." Such is the title of the law, and its contents by no means deviate from it, but rather confirm as well as develope its general character. The purport of this law runs thus: "That no man is to preach, exhort, lecture, write, speak, or in any wise propagate any doctrine to any collected audience, public or private, who is not ordained according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England or Scotland." The penalty annexed to the violation of this law was 50*l.* and six months' imprisonment for every offence;

which pains and penalties not only applied to the person who preached, but extended also to him or her in whose house preaching was held.

Mr. Stephenson, unable, by any exertions he could make, or friends he could procure, to prevent the passing of this law, continued his ministerial labours after it was enacted, in nearly the same manner that he had been engaged before. The law he justly considered as antichristian, and hostile to the spirit of toleration which prevails in the mother country; as an infringement upon the birth-right of every subject; and as diametrically opposite to the avowed sentiments of the monarch who fills the British throne. To obey this unconstitutional mandate was therefore no longer an act of duty. Hence, regardless of the consequences which were about to follow, he continued in the path which he had already trodden, and in which he had been blessed both in his labours and his soul.

He continued preaching without any interruption, except that which was local and common, till the 23d of June, on which day he was apprehended, carried before the magistrates, found guilty of breaking the new law, treated with contempt and insult, and on the 24th, committed to the public jail, to take his trial at the next assize, which did not come on till the following December. With Mr. Stephenson, Mr. Pallais, the person in whose house he preached, was also committed; for those who had enacted the law, were fully resolved that it should not remain a dead letter, while they could find victims on whom to inflict their vengeance, and instruments to execute their sanguinary designs. Against the prisoners no charge whatever was brought, besides that which the law created. Their jealousies and surmisings they did not even attempt to substantiate by any specific charges; so that every unprejudiced mind must view it as a persecution raised solely against religion, or on a religious account.

Mr. Stephenson and his companion in tribulation were no sooner lodged in jail, than the report of their imprisonment began to circulate. The crime and its punishment were contrasted with each other, and many, who prior to this time had viewed the mission with indifference, began to reflect on the unmerited severity with which they were treated, and espoused their cause. Memorials of the transactions were transmitted to the United States,

and the conduct of the colonial legislature became the subject of severe animadversions in the public prints. From a New York paper, called the Advertiser, dated August 25, 1800, we copy the following paragraph :

“ MR. PRINTER,

“ The Author of the following letter is a venerable gentleman nearly sixty years old. This man has been an acceptable minister of the Methodist Church in Europe, for many years. About two years since, he was appointed by the British Methodist Conference as a Missionary to the Island of Bermuda. After being properly ordained, and furnished with honourable letters of recommendation from public and private characters in England, he sailed in the British packet for New York, and after preaching a few sermons in this city, and staying several days among the people of his own denomination, he sailed for Bermuda, the place of his original destination. On his arrival at Bermuda, he waited on the governor of the Island, and informed him of his intention of preaching ; and, requesting his patronage, obtained his approbation, and promise of future protection.

“ It appears that his ministerial labours have had a good effect on the public mind and manners. But, strange and shameful to relate, a law is enacted purposely to prevent his preaching ;—a law only descriptive of the depravity of morals, and the despotism of the government under which it exists ; and under the operation of which, this aged, pious, zealous, and respectable minister of Jesus Christ now lies in a loathsome prison.”

The letter, to which the preceding paragraph alludes, is as follows. It was written by Mr. Stephenson to one of his friends on the continent, soon after his confinement.

“ *Bermuda Jail, June 26, 1800*”

“ I am now in bonds for preaching the gospel in Bermuda. They have made a law designedly to prevent me from preaching in this place. I was taken prisoner a few days ago, together with one of my friends at whose house I preached. When arrested we remonstrated on their conduct, but in vain ; to jail we must go. I thank God for his comfortable presence. I am unspeakably happy, in suffering for his sake ; he does not leave me in



the trying hour. Gratitude to him fills my soul, while tears of love overflow my eyes."

Mr. Stephenson, on being committed, intended continuing in jail till the December following, though unexceptionable bail was offered, but circumstances induced him to alter his prior resolution. On making the experiment for a short time, he found that confinement would prove injurious to his health, and that the expense, which amounted to 15 shillings per day, would be enormous in the course of five months. He also considered that during his confinement, the society which he had been made instrumental in raising, would be scattered abroad, and all his work defeated; while, if he obtained his liberty on bail, he might have an opportunity of visiting and conversing with them individually, though he could not collectively, and that he might thus be the means of keeping them together, until the storm should blow over. In addition to these reasons, it was resolved, to draw up a petition and present it to his Majesty, stating their grievance, and praying for redress. To sanction this petition it was necessary to procure a respectable number of signatures, and no person appeared so well adapted to promote this business as himself, which, while in a dungeon, it was impossible for him to accomplish. He accordingly procured bail, and obtained his liberation on the fifteenth day of his imprisonment, as his companion had done on the ninth.

On becoming a prisoner at large, he proceeded to draw up a memorial of the persecution he had suffered, and to procure signatures to a petition for the restoration of their rights, which he intended to transmit to England, that it might be laid at the foot of the throne. He was the more solicitous to expedite this business, that his Majesty's negative to the law might be obtained, if possible, prior to the impending trial, which would [at once exempt him from the threatened punishment, and the enormous expense which would attend a legal issue, however the affair might terminate. The petition was accordingly prepared, and nearly 500 signatures of respectable persons added to it. It was then consigned to the author of these pages, to be presented by him to his most gracious Majesty, who is at once the great supporter of justice, and the source of mercy.

On its arrival in England, a more particular memorial

was drawn up, and presented to his Majesty in council, setting forth the unjustifiable persecution under which Mr. Stephenson laboured in Bermuda, and pointing out the pernicious tendency of the colonial law. This was accompanied with a prayer for a redress of grievances, by his Majesty's disallowing the edict which had been enacted. Every mark of attention was paid to the supplication, and several polite letters were received on the occasion from the Right Hon. Henry Dundas. But the numerous and important branches of business, at that time before the cabinet, prevented that early attention to the petition which was so earnestly solicited, and which the interest of our mission in the Island so imperiously demanded. The affair, through a variety of delays, continued in an undecided state during the remaining part of 1800, and the year 1801. It was at length negatived by his most gracious Majesty in council; and the door by this means became open to the preaching of the gospel, as much so as it had been, prior to the existence of the law.

In the mean while, during the interim that passed from the enactment of the edict to its being finally disallowed, it continued to operate in all its force, so that it completely served the purposes of those by whom it was called into being. It was under its temporary existence, that Mr. Stephenson was called to take his trial, pursuant to his commitment in the month of June, for from that time he had stood out on bail. He was called to the bar early in the month of December, 1800, to answer for his violation of the law, the purport of which has been already stated. To establish his criminality, two evidences were procured at the trial, who swore to Mr. Stephenson's conviction. One of these men affirmed on oath, that, after the passing of the law, "the defendant was seen with a prayer-book in his hands, that he read prayers, and sung psalms to a congregation;" a mode of worship which he never practised while on the Island! The other swore, that "he had confessed that he had preached during the interdicted period;" a declaration which Mr. Stephenson affirms he never did make; so that both witnesses were perjured, as to the specific evidence which they gave, even admitting that Mr. Stephenson continued regularly to preach, in his usual way, from the first passing of the law to the time of his being apprehended.

But even granting that the two witnesses attested facts,

that Mr. S. had actually "read prayers, sung psalms, and afterwards confessed himself guilty of the offence," what are we to think of the law that could inflict a punishment on a man guilty of no other offence? And what are we to think of the dispositions of those men who enacted it, and transformed the worship of Almighty God into a crime? But I forbear to reflect on deeds of darkness, of which most of the inhabitants of Bermuda soon grew ashamed, and which the greater part in the present day wish to have buried in perpetual forgetfulness.

Mr. Stephenson, at the time of his trial, was permitted to have an attorney to plead in his behalf. This gentleman undertook his cause from principle as well as office, and pleaded in his behalf to the astonishment of all who heard him. But it was in vain for him to appeal to the constitution of the mother country, or to assert that liberty of conscience, which every British subject considers as his birth-right. No arguments, no eloquence, which he could use, no appeal which he could make, either to the judgments or the feelings of the judges and jury, were of any avail. No animadversions, which he could introduce on the deficiency of evidence, or on the disgrace of convicting the prisoner on it, admitting it to be perfect, could move them from their purpose, or induce them to change a resolution, which seemed to be already adopted. Only one of the jurors hesitated to convict the prisoner, but he wanted resolution to persevere, and was overpowered by the clamours of a majority that he could not withstand. Mr. Stephenson was therefore soon found guilty of "holding a prayer-book in his hands, of reading prayers to a congregation, and of confessing afterwards these actions to which such enormous guilt attached!" He was accordingly sentenced to "be confined six months in the common jail, to pay 50*l.* and to discharge all the fees of the court."

The trial of Mr. Pallais, in whose house preaching was committed, was postponed, through the excess of business, until the next assizes, in the month of June, 1801. He still, however, stood on bail, and could not procure his discharge, though it is not improbable that an indisposition, under which he laboured, prevented them from exacting with rigour that punishment which had been inflicted on his more guilty associate in crime. Contrivances, however, were made use of to keep him in a state of alarm, and to punish him by the secret operation

of suspended law. His person was at liberty, but his pocket was compelled to suffer, by his making preparations for the eventful day, which still frowned upon him at a distance.

Mr. Stephenson, having received his sentence, was committed to jail on the 6th of December. "On the 6th of June, 1801, (he observes) my six months will be ended. With the grief and trouble I have met with in Bermuda, and the heat of the climate, I think I shall not be able to travel long in this place, and I fear hardly in any one else. I have had some sorrowful times in prison, and some joyful ones; to God be all the glory for every blessing. I have gained more friends by this persecution in Bermuda, than I should ever have had without it. If God be pleased to work by my sufferings, I am thankful." The letter from which the preceding extract was taken, is dated Feb. 18, 1801.

Towards the close of April he wrote again as follows: "I have lain in jail now twenty-one weeks; two prior to my trial, and nineteen since. Here I must continue till my six months have expired, exposed to a heavy expense, to the enormous costs of the court, and a fine of 50*l*. When brought to the bar, I solicited to be tried by the laws of God and of Great Britain, but it was to no purpose. Indeed, the judge candidly acknowledged that I was liable to no prosecution, anterior to this new law; a trial therefore by any other would have terminated in my acquittal, and have defeated their designs. My various charges, including my heavy expenses in jail, will amount, I expect, to no less than 160*l*. The full period of my confinement it is probable I must continue to bear, though his Excellency, after I had been imprisoned five weeks, offered to liberate me, on condition of my quitting the Island within sixty days from that time. But as I thought this dishonourable to the cause for which I suffered, I declined to accept the offered mercy. I however proposed, in case of my liberation, to find bail for my not breaking the law while it continued in force, but this was refused, and here our communications ended."

Mr. Stephenson was liberated from his confinement in the month of June, 1801, at which time the period of his imprisonment expired. But his health was so much impaired, and his constitution so broken, that he was unfit for those active exertions which he had been accustomed to make, and which his scattered flock now par-

ticularly demanded. He continued on the Island during the remaining part of the year, languishing under a weight of bodily infirmity, and the interdictions of law. The members, who had joined his little society, kept together much better than might have been expected, during the heavy affliction through which they had passed. To this, perhaps, a consciousness of his suffering on their account in no small degree contributed. But even after his liberation, he was only permitted to visit them privately, and converse with them individually; so that they had no opportunity of profiting collectively by his discourses and exhortations.

But the time was fast approaching, when they were to be deprived of the private admonitions which they now occasionally heard, and to be left in the wilderness as sheep without a shepherd, surrounded with dangerous temptations, and exposed to powerful foes. Mr. Stephenson, disabled through bodily afflictions, and increasing infirmities, from discharging his duty as a Missionary, and still interdicted by law if he had been able, was recalled from the Island early in 1802. But his complicated afflictions increase with his years, and he will, in all probability, carry with him to the grave, some painful memorials of the persecuting spirit of Bermuda.

The removal of Mr. Stephenson from the Island, left the society without any guide, and the inhabitants without any one to reprove their vices in a pointed and energetic manner. To the former this was an occasion of much sorrow, and to the latter the cause of great joy. The former calculated upon the loss they were about to sustain, and the latter upon the liberty to sin, which, without interruption, they hoped to enjoy. They aimed at different objects; they were influenced by different motives; and exerted themselves to promote different interests; consequently their views and estimates were distinct, and we have little occasion to wonder that he left the Island amidst acclamations and tears.

Nearly three years elapsed before the law was repealed, and its repeal publicly announced. But the spirit which gave it birth did not expire with the edict. Many of those in power cherished their hostility, and held out a menacing aspect towards any who should attempt to preach among them the unsearchable riches of Christ. On these accounts a considerable time elapsed before any

Missionary could be induced to venture among the inhabitants. Each saw before him an apparent certainty of persecution, and but very little prospect of success. Mr. Black, from Nova Scotia, at length made an attempt; but some providential circumstances obstructing his way, he was obliged to relinquish his design, without visiting their shores, or exposing himself to the dangers which he feared.

A train of unfavourable circumstances continuing, no person made any further effort towards the re-establishment of the mission, till the beginning of the year 1808, when Mr. Joshua Marsden undertook the hazardous enterprise. He sailed from New Brunswick in the beginning of April, on board of a vessel bound for the Bahamas, the captain of which engaged to put him and his family on shore at Bermuda, for 30*l*. Their voyage, which lasted a fortnight, was in general extremely pleasant, as they were passing from the frigid regions of Nova Scotia, to the temperate climate of this salubrious Island. Towards the close of their voyage, they were, however, overtaken with a tremendous storm, and exposed to imminent hazard, but providentially escaped without danger. While on board, they were treated with every mark of attention and respect by the captain and sailors, and found their accommodations, on the whole, both pleasing and commodious. After having run down the latitude of the Island, as their longitudinal reckoning was suspected to be inaccurate, they were at a loss to know whether they were to the East or West of the land. On this account they always lay-to in the night, to avoid those rocks and shelves, which, at a considerable distance, surround the shores. By day they continued standing to the Eastward, and at length happily made the Island on the side least dangerous. And after lying-to another night, a pilot came off in the morning, and carried them safely into the harbour of St. George.

“After a passage of fourteen days, (says Mr. Marsden) we arrived at the little town of St. George, in peace and health; but, on landing, I could not find a single friend, nor any where to lay my head, or place my family. I had been led to suppose that there was a society on the Island, raised up by the labours of Mr. Stephenson, but in this I was altogether deceived. For, excepting Mr. Pallais, now aged, infirm, and reduced to poverty, I could not find a single person, who either wished me

well, or bid me good speed. This was a most critical exercise to my mind. My wife and child were still on board the vessel. We were all in a strange place; without friends; without a home; and without any one to countenance us; where every thing was extravagantly dear, and every one determined to oppose me. At first we were obliged to go to the inn, the charges of which, for myself and wife, amounted to four dollars and half per day. All to whom I spoke on the occasion of my visit, seemed to be of opinion, that I should not be able to obtain permission to preach, and their wishes appeared to be in unison with their opinion. Indeed they all seemed to be persuaded that the law, by which Mr. Stephenson had been imprisoned, was still in force, and that by virtue of it I should be prohibited.

“To bring this matter to an issue, I waited on the governor with a letter of introduction and recommendation, from my honoured friend, Colonel B. of Nova Scotia, and also a testimonial from the mayor of St. John, New Brunswick. The governor received me with much politeness, and after having made some inquiries respecting the object of my mission, and read the letters which I brought, said he would do all in his power to assist me, but begged I would wait upon him the next morning at nine o'clock. In the afternoon I visited Mr. Pallais, and learned from him the history of his own distresses during the time of the persecution and since. He also informed me of the falling off of the society, in consequence of the spirit of persecution which prevailed, of their final extirpation as a body, and of the ultimate triumphs of depravity.

“On the ensuing morning I waited upon his Excellency, according to appointment, and was received with much cordiality and respect. He spoke respectfully of the Methodists in England, and then sent for the Chief Justice and Attorney General, to consult them upon the legality of my preaching in the Island. The Chief Justice, on hearing the business, wished to demur, and raise obstacles, but the Attorney General gave it as his decided opinion, that there was no existing law, that could hinder me from the exercise of my ministry. He said, however, that it would be necessary for the governor to grant me a license, as a shield from persecution. To this the Chief Justice replied, that it would be necessary for his Excel-

lency to consult the council before that could be granted. Meanwhile, though his Excellency acceded to his measure, he gave me liberty to preach till the decision was known, and a promise of a licence, if the council approved the measure about to be laid before them.

“ My next great difficulty was to get a place in which I could reside and preach, as the expenses of the inn were enormous, and most of those who frequented it were hostile to my design. This was a work of no small trouble, as the town was full of soldiers and naval officers, so that scarcely a room remained unoccupied. Providence, however, at length opened the way, and provided for me two rooms in the house of a person of colour, which an officer of the army, then going to Halifax, had just quitted. But house-rent is so extravagantly high, that I am favoured in getting them for three dollars per week, which is one pound of this currency. In one of these rooms I began to preach to a few white and coloured people; but the consideration of having left a loving and flourishing society, and a crowded congregation, to preach to twenty or thirty persons in a persecuting Island, is very painful. However, if God would make me useful in this Island, I should think but little of what I suffer, or what I have sacrificed. But the inhabitants seem determined to prevent, as much as possible, their Negroes from coming to hear preaching; yet, amidst all my difficulties, my trust is in the Lord.”

Mr. Marsden, having taken possession of his rooms, felt comparatively happy in his retirement, and the next day being the Lord's-day, he began to preach to about twenty persons, chiefly Whites. These assembled in consequence of public notice, which had been given on the preceding day, by a black man, sent on purpose to publish his intention of preaching. These were, in general, satisfied with what they heard; behaved well; and, in company with many others, to whom they imparted the information, came again at the time appointed for public worship. It was not long before the congregations had so increased, that many complained they could find no entrance, on account of the Blacks, who were so numerous as to occupy almost all the room.

“ The people (says Mr. Marsden in June, 1808,) are very attentive, and all kneel at prayer. I think there is a prospect of good, admitting I am not persecuted from



the Island. Some have advised to begin a little meeting-house; but I wish to wait a little, to mark the dispositions of those in power, to see whether they will be friendly towards us or not. My mind has been deeply pained to see the wickedness of the place, and the sad want of means to stem the overflowing torrent. The Blacks are kind, polite, and much addicted to dress. I have made one tour through the Island, and have met with a few friendly people, who seem to wish me success in the name of the Lord. My prospect of doing good is much greater than when I first came. I have given away about a hundred little pamphlets since my arrival, which many seem to read with avidity; and, by the blessing of God, I hope pure religion will be established in St. George's and throughout the Islands. Yet for some time the mission will be expensive, every thing being so high, and house-rent so dear. Hitherto I have met with no molestation, while preaching, either in town or country, and I hope I shall not; but this I leave to the Lord."

On the 2d of September Mr. Marsden writes as follows: "In the town of St. George, I have united about 50 in society, most of whom are coloured people and Blacks. These are athirst for salvation and instruction, and thankful that God has sent among them a Missionary, to teach, as they say, 'such poor, blind creatures the way to life and happiness.' In the country, the scene of Mr. Stephenson's labours, I have not yet been able to form a society, except one small one at Sommerset. I have large congregations in the country, but they will not, in general, let their slaves come to hear. They entertain an idea that religion will make them proud and neglectful of their duty. Hitherto the governor has treated me kindly, and protected me from the remaining persecutors of Mr. Stephenson. He asked me, a short time since, if any person had attempted to disturb me; but of this I had nothing to complain. Religion, however, will not probably derive, in this place, much support from power, opulence, or office. It must stand upon its own legs, as it stood in the Apostolic times.

"Hitherto I have received nothing since I came, but 18 dollars towards paying for the hire of a room in which I preach at St. George's. This little society is very poor, but they have lately begun to subscribe five dollars per week to buy a piece of land, on which we wish to build

a chapel. But I despair of going forward with it, unless our friends in England can lend us a little assistance. With the sum or donation of 100*l.* we may be enabled to erect a little meeting-house, and give, by this means, a kind of establishment to the mission. On my application to his Excellency for the grant of a little lot of land, to build a meeting-house on at some future time, he handsomely replied, that if the land alluded to was not granted already, he would do all in his power to let us have it. He requested me to wait upon him again, and he would get more information respecting it, and let me know."

On the 26th of November, Mr. Marsden corroborated the preceding account, and made some additional observations on the state of the mission in Bermuda. "I still plainly see (he observes) the hand of Providence in sending me hither. For though as yet no rapid reformation has taken place, yet a dawning concern for religion appears visible in many minds; and, blessed be God, some are truly awakened out of the sleep of sin. Of these I have formed about 50 into a society; and have put them into two classes, the Whites into one, and the Blacks and coloured people into the other. You will be pleased to note a remarkable difference betwixt this and the West India Islands. Here there are no plantations, consequently no accumulation of Negroes on any particular spot. They live in private families, and are scattered up and down through the Islands; but many of their masters will not allow them any time to come to hear the word of God, or attend the meeting. They have not even the sabbath-day. And even if they could be permitted in the country parts, the white people would not allow them to come into the same house with them, so that those few who come are obliged to stand and hear without.

"Many of the respectable white people, however, allow me to visit them, and invite me to their houses. But I see so little fruit, that my expectations are not raised high from that quarter. Could I erect a little chapel, where one side, at least, could be set apart for the black and coloured people, then I should expect much greater success to arise from the mission. The Blacks, though very wicked, are not only willing but desirous to hear the gospel, and, as soon as things are placed on a proper footing, I expect there will be a flourishing society in the

Island of Bermuda. I think I can in a small degree see prejudice wearing away from the minds of some of the white people. Perhaps there is not an Island in the whole Western ocean, where the people have been more prejudiced against the Methodists than they have in this place. Nor is this a matter of surprise; for the Attorney General asserted, on Mr. Stephenson's trial, that the Methodists were the cause of the rebellion in America, the revolution in France, and the disturbances in Ireland. Now what kind of an idea the ignorant people must have had of us from this misrepresentation, it is not difficult to judge.

"It is somewhat remarkable, that the person chiefly concerned in making the penal statute against the Methodists, is now in jail; and what makes the event the more memorable is, a peculiar coincidence of circumstances. Mr. Stephenson was imprisoned for disobeying the law; this is precisely that for which this man is now confined; and what is more striking is, that he is lodged, not only in the same jail, but in the same room in it, in which the object of his unjust resentment was confined. Surely there is a God that judgeth in the earth, and who hath a retaliating providence in this world. The wicked do not always triumph even here, and what a book will be unfolded at the day of judgment!"

On the 13th of April, 1809, Mr. Marsden wrote again from Bermuda, and among other things, he speaks as follows of the state of the mission: "The prospect at present is not the most pleasing, and yet the Lord has wrought a great work on the minds of some in these Islands. I have formed 60 into a society, not one of whom was ever in any society before. And yet I believe the perfect establishment of a Methodist mission, will be a work of much time, difficulty, and expense. I have got a subscription set on foot, to build a small place of worship in the country at Hamilton. This is the more necessary, as there is no probability of any extensive good being done among the Blacks in this place, till one is erected; because the white people will not allow them to come to hear in those houses in which they themselves assemble.

"In Hamilton, the only town of note besides St. George's, God has raised up some who manifest their wishes to befriend me, but among many others there still appears a wonderful spirit of opposition. The inhabi-

tants, this last winter, have been almost in a state of actual famine. The American embargo having prevented supplies coming from that quarter, hundreds upon the Islands, as well as myself, have been obliged to live upon dried cod fish, frequently without a bit of butter to render it palatable. Yet, notwithstanding these severities, the people have not turned unto the Lord. If I could see the work of God prosper, I could cheerfully submit to these privations, and, I think, be contented with bread and water. I have a blessed hope that God will arise and plead his own cause.

“With regard to my situation in temporal matters, as yet I must be dependent upon the funds at home. The coloured people have it not in their power to assist me, and not many besides think much about the matter. I hope, however, in future, my expenses will be somewhat less, as my wife has begun to keep a school for girls, at the request of a number of people. The want of books is a serious difficulty under which I labour; for the people know nothing of the Methodists but by report, and that is of the most unfavourable nature. For it is an undoubted fact, that there were hardly any more traces of Methodism or heart religion when I came to this Island, than if no Missionary had ever set foot upon it. But the Lord hath begun a blessed work. May he carry it on in a glorious manner, for his mercy’s sake.”

Our last letter from Mr. Marsden is dated about a month after the preceding. By this we learn that he was not forsaken either by his hopes or fears. Sometimes the prospect of doing good was predominant; and at others, the prevailing vices, the contempt of sacred things, and the menaces of persecution, which he was compelled to witness, oppressed his spirits, and furnished him with an occasion for lamentation. Relying, however, on the promises of Him who has engaged never to leave nor forsake his children, his expectations of being rendered useful, more than counterbalanced the opposition which he anticipated, and the painful conflicts which he endured. This circumstance, confirmed by the good already done through his instrumentality, afforded, on the whole, much encouragement to his fluctuating spirits, and animated him with renewed confidence in God, to discharge with zeal and prudence, the important duties of his office. His views of religion, at this time, may be gathered from the following extract:

*“Bermuda, May 20, 1809.*

“WITH respect to the mission in this place, it does not as yet afford so pleasing a prospect as some of the transatlantic Isles. Yet, blessed be God, though one of the last in receiving the gospel, I hope it will not be the last in a moral point of view. It is true, the full establishment of a flourishing mission here will be a work of much time; and perhaps the principal end of my coming to the Island, will be to pluck up the hurtful weeds of prejudice, with which the place was completely overgrown. I may also collect together a small society of one or two hundred persons, and thus lay a foundation for those who may succeed me in the mission. I hope, through the divine blessing, I shall be enabled to finish the little chapel which I have already begun; for on this the favourable issue of my labours, at least among the coloured people and Blacks, will much depend. For the white people will not allow them to come into private houses in which I usually preach. That the pride of the human heart should swell to such a pitch, as to despise a fellow-creature for the colour of his skin, may seem strange; yet such is the case. The poor Blacks are not always treated as immortal intelligences, but in too many instances, as the tools of labour or the instruments of lust. I trust, nevertheless, that the religion of the cross will finally prevail, and triumph over all; and that many of the sons of Ham, in the great day of accounts, will make it evident by whose instrumentality they were brought into the family of God.

“Perhaps it is well for the Methodists that they never had any Right Reverend, Right Honourable, or Most Noble Patrons; as they are now brought back to the state of the primitive church, when religion stood on its own bottom. It is not patronage, it is not money, it is not titles, but genuine grace, holy zeal, and primitive simplicity, that must support and promote the work of God. May the Methodists be ever kept humble, and God will exalt them. May they ever continue united, and ignorance, bigotry, and prejudice will fall before them. I am sorry to find, by the last Minutes, that some of the West India Islands are without Missionaries. What! do our funds fail, or will none of our young men come forward in so noble and blessed a cause? Can we sing, “O for a trumpet’s voice, on all the world to call,” and yet not be willing to come and call the poor forlorn

Blacks from darkness to God's marvellous light? Shall we wish for "a thousand tongues to sing his praise," and yet refuse one tongue to promote his glory among our Ethiopian brethren? Shall the Moravian brethren in this respect take our crown? Shall the sailor, the merchant, the adventurer, the traveller, the soldier, do more for a living, for interest, speculation, knowledge, or honour, than we do for the glory of God? O that we might, more than ever, arise and shake ourselves from the dust, and go forth in the name of the Lord! Let me entreat you to do all you possibly can, to send me a few Testaments. Many of the Blacks and coloured people can read a little; and this Island abounds with extremely poor white people. The wants of these are inexpressibly great. May the Lord open the way for the streams that flow from the fountain of life and truth, to water this most barren Island. Let me entreat you also to grant us an interest in your most fervent prayers, that God would pour his Spirit upon this proud, worldly, and wicked place."

On the importance and utility of distributing religious publications, Mr. Marsden, in another letter, dated also in May, makes the following pertinent and forcible remarks: "You must be sensible, that the cause of God among the Methodists in England would never, in all probability, have come to its present happy and flourishing state, had it not been assisted by the circulation of moral and religious publications. Religious books are silent preachers. They edify in the closet, the parlour, the workshop, and the counting-house, and may be made the companions of a cheerful walk, or solemn seclusion. Their pure influence is like the gentle dew of heaven, which refreshes the ground without noise or disturbance. They inculcate truth effectually, and are useful to the reader, because they claim his undisturbed attention, understanding, and memory. Hence books are useful auxiliaries to a mission. They expel the poison of prejudice, recapitulate the labours of the pulpit, carry truth to the habitations of the opulent, and serve as excellent precursors to the ministry of the gospel. I do not expect to do much good in this Island without books. The majority of my hearers are white people, who know nothing of the Methodists, but what they hear through the channel of false report, or malicious misrepresentation.

For my own part, I have very few religious books in my possession, and cannot help regretting, that I am deprived of this useful handmaid of piety and the ministry. I want books to read, for my stock of knowledge is confined to a narrow circle; I also want books to lend, to give away, and to sell; for the white people, the coloured people, and the Blacks, all ask for books. Since I came to this Island, the application to me for hymn-books alone has been very great: and it is painful to have none wherewith to answer the demand. When in Nova Scotia, I made the few books I had in my possession suffice, borrowing whenever I had an occasion and an opportunity. But, alas! my borrowing faculty is of no service to me here; so that I must either get books from England, or do without them."

It happened, not long before the preceding account reached England, of the scarcity and necessity of books in Bermuda, that a providential occurrence favoured us with an opportunity of complying with the request with which the statement is accompanied. A pious and benevolent friend dying, bequeathed a sum of money to be expended in the purchase of Bibles and Testaments. As his object was the diffusion of sacred truth, and his design charitable, he directed that the sacred volumes purchased with his donation, should not be sold but given away. The case of Bermuda presented the trustees of this bequest with a favourable opportunity of fulfilling the wishes of the deceased. The books were accordingly purchased, and forwarded to the care of Mr. Marsden, to be distributed as his discretion should direct; and we have no doubt that they have already been, and will continue to be productive of happy effects which will be more durable than the present generation of men.

The last account, with which we have been favoured from Bermuda, is dated September 3, 1809. It was written by the leaders and stewards of the society, under an apprehension that Mr. Marsden was shortly about to leave them, while they had no assurance that another Missionary was appointed to supply his place. In this letter they bear an honourable testimony to Mr. Marsden's character, piety, zeal, and usefulness, during the time he had been established among them, and corroborate, by their united testimony, the preceding accounts which have been given.

“As Leaders and Stewards (they say) of the society, raised under God, by the labours of our Rev. Pastor, Mr. Joshua Marsden, who was sent by you to preach the gospel to us, we beg leave to address you, for the purpose of offering our unfeigned thanks for the regard you have had for the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of this place. We thank you for sending among us a minister of your connexion, who has faithfully preached the truth as it is in Jesus; and whose labours the Lord of the harvest has blessed, by raising up a goodly little number, even in ungodly Bermuda. In this place, before his arrival, the people were in as gross darkness as they possibly could be, with respect to religion, having their minds totally alienated from that gospel, which, through the instrumentality of your Missionary, has indeed begun to shine among us. This has been the case particularly at St. George's, where the society has chiefly been raised. In this place formerly nothing but vice abounded, and scarcely even a show of religion appeared, save a little formal worship, maintained during a small part of the forenoon of the Lord's day. So that Mr. Marsden might have complained, when viewing the state of religion in Bermuda on his arrival, ‘They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.’ But Jesus, who never forsakes his true servants, soon bore testimony to his faithful minister, by giving him to see the reward of his labour, and by plucking out of the burning, to be jewels in his crown, a few brands from that ungodly persecuting number, which so peculiarly distinguish this our native land; many of whom, it is to be feared, are awfully preparing themselves for that fire which shall never be quenched.

“In this place, even now, it requires our utmost diligence to persevere. May Jesus, the friend of all who cast their care upon him, enable all of us, who have attempted to stem the torrent, to go forward. O may we never suffer our wishes to look back upon Sodom, but may we endure to the end. May the promises encourage us, who are surrounded with persecuting enemies, to exercise faith and patience, and may the threatenings denounced on apostates, deter us from giving up our privileges.

“Surely you must see from the accounts which Mr. Marsden has given you, that the Lord has blessed the



mission to Bermuda. But what if on account of many urgent reasons, he should be obliged to leave us? What will then become of the souls of those who now call Jesus, Lord? What can the sheep do without the shepherd? The ill state of Mrs. Marsden's health, will, in all probability, compel them to leave us this summer. We hope, therefore, you will see the necessity of sending another Missionary over, and that soon, as we believe that Mr. Marsden intends going shortly. But we hope that another labourer will arrive to succeed him before he departs. We, therefore, in behalf of our little company, who are in number nearly ninety persons, beg that another minister may be sent as soon as possible, in order that the blessed work, which has been begun in this place by the Methodists, may not decline, and that our persecutors may not have occasion to triumph, in seeing their predictions of our downfall verified. And that we who profess to turn to God may be confirmed, and that many more may be enlisted under the banner of Jesus, which is already displayed in this ungodly place.

“ We hope that this our joint request will have its due weight, and that you will not be inattentive to the entreaties of a body of people, when the information communicated by an individual heretofore drew your attention. We, however, observe by the way, that as the members of society are poor, being two-thirds coloured people, it will be necessary, for a time, that the Missionary should be supported, in a great measure, from home; though every thing that can will be done to keep him from being burthensome to our friends in England.”

The preceding address concludes with an earnest solicitation for Bibles, Testaments, and religious tracts, that might be distributed among such as were disposed to read. It may, therefore, be inferred, that those books which were sent in compliance with Mr. Marsden's previous request, had not arrived at Bermuda in September, when the above address was dated. Long before this, however, we hope they have reached the Island, and, in a great measure, obtained a circulation among the more thoughtful part of the inhabitants. But the success resulting from the pious donation, we cannot expect immediately to know. Indeed the benefit, of which reading is productive, unfolds itself by slow and imperceptible degrees.

It is like the refreshing dew distilling on the tender herb ; and the cause which leads to this effect, may be compared to bread cast upon the waters, that shall be found after many days.

Mr. Marsden at present continues in Bermuda, to dispense among those, who are hungering and thirsting after righteousness, the bread and water of life ; and to warn those who are living without hope and without God in the world, of their impending ruin. It is not probable, however, that he will continue much longer in this place. The precarious state of his wife's health calls for a removal to a less relaxing climate, to which she had been long accustomed. But her necessities, not being extremely urgent, do not demand an immediate departure ; and her pious husband has too much the love of precious souls at heart, to suffer him to remove without some imperious occasion, till another suitable person can be procured to supply his place.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to trace the origin, disasters, suspension, and re-establishment of the mission. And it must be obvious to all, who cast their eyes over these pages, that though Mr. Stephenson was made the blessed instrument of introducing the sound of the gospel, as taught by us, into Bermuda, yet Mr. Marsden must be considered as the spiritual father of the little church that now appears. Of Mr. Stephenson's labours scarcely a vestige of fruit remained on his arrival, so that he had the foundation to lay anew. And though surrounded with hostility, and exposed to danger in a variety of forms, yet we behold a number of serious persons raised up by his instrumentality, but little inferior to that which the violence of persecution dispersed. Thus far the governor has really afforded that protection which he promised, when an application was first made to him. And without doubt his example and resolution have awed into silence many of those who disapprove of both. For this peace we desire to be grateful to God, who can turn and guide the hearts of men.

At present the mission may be considered as only in its infancy ; and the few, who have been induced to proclaim for God, we trust, are only the first-fruits of an approaching harvest. Wicked as many of the inhabitants are, they are not too bad for divine grace to purify and reclaim. The change, which shall be wrought in

their hearts and lives, when they turn unto the Lord, will be rendered the more conspicuous from the contrast which now appears. And we hope the time is not remote, when many, who now make light of the gospel, shall declare what the Lord has done for their souls, while their ungodly neighbours shall stand astonished, and say—"What hath God wrought.!"

## CHAP. XLIV.

## CUBA.

*Discovered by Columbus; explored by Sebastian; invaded by Velasquez; and defended by Hatuey, a Cacique.—Anecdotes of Hatuey and the Indians.—Hatuey defeated, and retires to the forests.—Taken, and burnt alive.—The Island subdued by Velasquez.—Unsuccessfully attacked by Admiral Vernon in 1741.—Settlement and wealth of the Havannah.—Expedition against it, under Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pococke.—Forces employed.—Progress of the expedition.—Commencement, progress, distresses attendant on, danger, and final termination of the siege.—Treasures found in the city, and importance of the acquisition.—Restored to Spain by treaty.—Subsequent state of defence.—Conjectures on its future destiny.—Extent, situation, natural advantages, harbours, towns, appearance, productions, and state of cultivation.—Number and complexion of the inhabitants.—Animals.—Bloodhounds; origin, mode of rearing, feeding, training, and exercising them.—Purposes to which they are professedly and actually applied.—Barbarities practised.—State of religion.*

SPAIN has had the honour of discovering the new world, and the disgrace of murdering its inhabitants. The former of these deeds she effected through the genius of a daring and enlightened foreigner; but the latter through her own native spirit, trammelled by intellectual fetters, and accustomed to human blood.

If this statement be just, it is easy to discover on which side the scale preponderates. On this point the impartial world has long since decided. We cannot therefore but join the common suffrage,—*that Spain has borrowed her glory, and merited the detestation of mankind.* That she has done the former, we need only advert to the history

of Columbus; and that she has done the latter, we need only survey the history of Cuba and St. Domingo, or to take into one view,—

“All Cortez murdered,—all Columbus found.”

The Island of Cuba was discovered by Columbus in the year 1492; and, from its vast extent, was deemed, by all, some part of a continent, which they had not leisure to explore. Columbus, intent upon finding something new, consigned this point over to future navigators, and finally died, without being able to ascertain the fact. The adventurers of Spain, and occasionally those of other nations, having traversed those seas, till no more land remained to be discovered, began, about the year 1508, to inform themselves of the extent of those dominions, of which they had obtained previous possession. St. Domingo, in consequence of its gold, claimed the first attention; and Cuba the second, because of its extent.

Of the aboriginal inhabitants of Jamaica, Hispaniola, Porto Rica, and Cuba, and of the conduct of the Spaniards towards them, we have already given an account in the second chapter of our first volume: and it is needless to repeat, in this place, those barbarous displays of wanton cruelty, which stamp human nature with an indelible disgrace. The prospect of gold which Hispaniola afforded, caused the inhabitants of that devoted Island, to feel, in the first instance, the merciless cruelty of their invaders. And when these had been considerably reduced in number, the same thirst for human blood endeavoured to quench itself in that of the unhappy victims, who, by escaping the first blast of Spanish fury, had found a temporary asylum among their devoted brethren in other Islands.

It was in the year 1511, that Diego de Velasquez sailed from Hispaniola, from which Cuba is divided by nothing but a narrow channel, to make a conquest of the latter. This was about three years after one Sebastian, by the orders of Nicholas Ovando, had sailed round it, and thereby ascertained, that what had hitherto been thought to be a part of some unexplored continent, was but an Island of considerable extent. Velasquez, when he set out on this expedition, had under his command four ships, on board of which were 300 men. These arrived safely at the desired spot, and landed on an

Eastern point on the South part of the Island, near a port, which, after his own name, he called Iago, a name which it still continues to bear, and which, for its extent, safe anchorage, depth of water, and universal security, has been justly esteemed one of the finest harbours in the world.

Over the district on which Velasquez landed, a Cacique, or chieftain, presided, whose name was Hatuey. He was one of those few that had found means to abandon Hispaniola, to escape the fury of the white men. His former residence had taught him enough of their dispositions, to excite within his bosom, on their first approaches, the mixed emotions of dread and detestation. The vast country of Cuba, on the arrival of Hatuey, was but thinly peopled; he therefore found no difficulty in obtaining a territory. Many of his former subjects, who had found an opportunity of escaping the slavery of their countrymen, followed him in this retreat. These were joined by others who had resided on Cuba, and agreeably to their simple notions of government and society, they formed a little state, relied for their sustenance on the bounties of nature, and lived in peace.

Hatuey, always fearful of a visit from the white men, was continually on the alert, and anxiously anticipating what he dreaded to witness. At length his apprehensions were realised. He beheld, at a distance, the Spanish ships approaching toward the shore, and instantly summoned the bravest of the Indians, both of his subjects, and of those who made the defence of the Island one common cause, and relating to them what he knew of their invaders, exhorted them to make a vigorous resistance. But at the same time, while he pressed them to use every exertion to repel their foes, he frankly told them, that all their efforts would be ineffectual, unless they could contrive to render "*the god of the white men*" propitious to their cause, either by sacrifices or invocations. *The god of the white men* was, however, a term which they did not understand; and this induced them to request an explanation. "Behold him there," replied Hatuey, pointing with his finger, at the same time, to a vessel filled with gold; "behold that mighty divinity; let us invoke his aid." At Hatuey's speech the Indians gazed upon each other with mute astonishment, equally at a loss to conceive how the metal could be a god, or if a god, how they and their forefathers could have lived so many

ages in ignorance of his divinity. But this was no time either to propose doubts or to expect a solution of them. They surveyed the metal with new attention; they sang and danced round it; they paid it homage; and resigned themselves wholly to its protection. Thus was the rude and unfashioned ore metamorphosed into a deity; and these unsuspecting children of nature were taught to believe, that gold was, in reality, the god of the Spaniards, on whose account so many inhumanities had been practised, and so much blood had been spilled.

But these marks of reverence did not satisfy the enlightened mind and restless suspicions of Hatuey; and therefore, after the first excesses of their devotion were over, he renewed his speech in the following language:

“We must not expect any happiness so long as the god of the Spaniards remains among us. He is no less our enemy than they. They seek him in every place, and establish themselves wherever they find him. Were he hidden in the cavities of the earth, they would discover him. Were we to swallow him, they would plunge their hands into our bowels and drag him out. There is no place but the bottom of the sea that can elude their search. When he is no longer among us, doubtless we shall be forgotten by them.” This speech had the desired effect. The Indians brought their gold, and after they had collected the whole together, they deliberately threw it into the sea.

In the mean while, the Spaniards, ignorant of these religious ceremonies, advanced to their shores; and “their musquets and cannons, (says Raynal) those tremendous deities, dispersed, with their thunder, the savages who endeavoured to resist.” Hatuey, finding himself abandoned, retired to the woods, in the hope of finding, among the beasts of the forest, that safety which was not to be obtained among his own species. But his flight was as vain as it was precipitate. The invaders of his territories, the dispersers of his subjects, and the murderers of his countrymen, soon learned the route he had taken. He was pursued, he was overtaken, and was condemned to be burned alive; because, if permitted to live at large, he *might*, on some future day, re-assemble the Indians, and incite them to rebel.”

Between his capture, his sentence, and the execution of it, the stages were but short. Hatuey was soon bound to the stake, and surrounded with fuel, which

waited only for the fire, before it encircled him in the flames. It was just at this moment, that one of the Catholic priests presented himself before the Cacique, offering him the rite of baptism here, and the felicities of Paradise hereafter! After having expatiated on the happiness which lay on the other side of the flames, which were, at that instant, about to be kindled, he was interrupted by the unfortunate victim, who wished to know "*whether there were any Spaniards in that happy place?*" "Yes," replied this branch of infallibility, "but there are none but good ones." "*The best of them, returned Hatuey, are good for nothing. I will not go to a place, where I should be in danger of meeting one of them. Talk no more to me of your religion, but leave me to die.*"

"The Cacique (says Raynal) was burned, the God of the Christians was dishonoured, and his cross was stained with human blood: but Velasquez found no more enemies to oppose him. All the Caciques hastened to do homage to him. After the mines had been opened, and it was found that they did not answer, the inhabitants of Cuba, becoming useless, were exterminated; for at that time to conquer was to destroy. One of the largest Islands in the world did not cost the Spaniards a single man; but what profit have they drawn from the conquest of Cuba?"

To answer this question, with which the Abbe Raynal closes his paragraph, is not an easy task. If their profits have been great, the Spaniards have kept them from the world; for, as the same author has observed, "it would be saying too much, to assert that the hundredth part of this Island is cleared."

More than two centuries elapsed from the conquest of the Island by Velasquez, before it became noted for any memorable transaction. During the above period, the Spaniards that settled on it gradually increased; but as they were chiefly employed in trafficking with those ships which were bound to, and returned from the Spanish settlements on the continent, agriculture became no more than an appendage, or a secondary consideration. The wealth, so far as gold and silver can constitute it, which naturally came from those vessels, which were laden with the spoils of the new world, tended to increase their habitual haughtiness; so that they cultivated no more land than necessity compelled them to cultivate, to supply their own demands, and to barter with those traders who



touched upon their shores, the necessaries of life for the gold of New Spain.

It was not long after Cuba was discovered to be an Island, that Ponce de Leon, who, in 1512, had made an attempt to ravage the Florida shores, became acquainted with the Bahama channel. The discovery of this passage, which lies to the North-west of Cuba, immediately led the Spaniards to conclude, that the advantageous route with which this would furnish them, would facilitate their expeditions to Mexico, and afford them shelter in case of disaster or danger. To confirm them in this opinion, a safe and capacious harbour presented itself on the North-west part of the Island, in which their ships were sure to find a refuge from impending storms. This harbour belonged to a part of the Island, now well known by the name of the Havannah. "This port (says Raynal) was afterwards found very convenient, for vessels dispatched from Carthagea and Porto Bello, which in a short time pursued the same course, always putting in there, and waiting for one another, that they might sail in greater pomp to old Spain."

The harbour of the Havannah being thus made a rendezvous for shipping, whose cargoes consisted of the richest treasures of the world, soon led to the establishment of a colony, and finally to the building of a city; which, through the vast sums expended by the sailors, abounded with money. In 1561, the number of its inhabitants amounted to 300 families; these were nearly doubled at the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, towards the middle of the seventeenth, they consisted of 10,000 souls.

In the year 1741, after an unsuccessful attempt had been made on Carthagea by Admiral Vernon, he directed the fragments of his sickly and dispirited followers against the Island of Cuba. But this expedition only tended to aggravate his past misfortunes, and to tarnish his former glory with a deeper stain.

"The miscarriage of this expedition against Carthagea, (says Hume) which had cost the nation an immense sum of money, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent; and the people were depressed in proportion to that sanguine hope by which they had been elevated. Admiral Vernon, instead of undertaking any enterprise which might have retrieved the honour of the British arms, set

sail from Jamaica with the forces, in July, and anchored in the South-east part of Cuba, in a bay, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cumberland harbour. The troops were landed, and encamped at the distance of 20 miles farther up the river, where they remained totally inactive, and subsisted chiefly on salt and damaged provisions, till the month of November; when, being considerably diminished by sickness, they were put on board again and reconveyed to Jamaica. He was afterward reinforced from England by four ships of war, and about 3000 soldiers; but he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired; and the people began to perceive that they had mistaken his character."

But although this foolish enterprise of Admiral Vernon accomplished nothing but the loss of many of his soldiers and his own disgrace, it was not sufficient to cause Great Britain to abandon, for ever, a project, which promised riches even beyond the reach of calculation. A favourable moment, and a happy coincidence of circumstances, were all that were wanted to encourage her to renew the attack. This happy coincidence did not occur till nearly eleven years afterwards.

The year 1762, so memorable in the naval annals of this country, for the conquest of Martinico, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago, was crowned also with the capture of the Havannah, under the direction of Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pococke. Whether the success of the expedition that had been fitted out against Martinico was known to the British ministry, at the time that this against the Havannah was planned, can hardly be ascertained; but if known, it was not made public. The British ministry, however, confident of success, issued directions for a considerable portion of those troops, that had been employed in its reduction, to reimbarc and repair immediately into a certain latitude, to join an armament about to sail from England; that, in case of a rupture with Spain, which was then expected, and which would be soon determined, the united forces, meeting in the given latitude, might make an immediate descent upon the Havannah.

The squadron from England sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March, and found, on their arrival at the North-west point of Hispaniola, the detachments which had been so successful in the reduction of Martinico. This was the given latitude in which both had been

directed to cruise, to wait the arrival of that which should happen to be absent. Their whole force, after this junction, amounted to 19 ships of the line, 18 smaller vessels of war, and 150 transports, on board of which were about 10,000 troops. These were expected to be reinforced, before they entered into actual service, with about 4000 more from the northern continent of America. The land forces were placed under the direction of Lord Albemarle, and those of the sea under that of Admiral Pococke.

As the season was far advanced, and they were still at a considerable distance from the place of their destination, not a moment of time was to be lost. The hurricane months were fast approaching; and their principal hope of obtaining a port of safety, depended upon the valour of their arms. The enemy, whom they were about to encounter, they treated with contempt; they considered them as enervated by sloth and luxury; as unaccustomed to the fatigues of war; and as totally unprepared to resist that force which they were about to bring against them. But the boisterous elements they surveyed in a very different light. A tremendous hurricane, should it overtake them on an enemy's coast, even after their troops had effected a landing, would prove fatal to the fleet, dispirit the soldiers on shore, and totally ruin the whole expedition.

To reach the object of their wishes there were two ways, the one on the South of Cuba, and the other on the North. The former was by far the safest, but it would require a considerably longer time; the latter was direct, but dangerous even in an extreme. The apprehension of approaching hurricanes determined this doubtful question, and directed the Admiral to take the shortest way to gold.

The passage, through which he undertook to steer his fleet, was extremely narrow, and so bounded on each side by sands and shoals, that even single vessels chose to pursue their voyages by a different route, rather than run the hazard of forcing a passage through the Bahama Straits. To increase the boldness of this adventure, not a single pilot was to be found on board of the fleet, on whose experience they could depend for safety. "The Admiral, however, (says Hume) being provided with a good chart of Lord Anson's, was determined to make the experiment, and to trust to his own sagacity, conduct,

and vigilance. So bold an attempt had never been made; but every precaution was taken to guard this boldness from the imputation of temerity. A vessel was sent to reconnoitre the passage, and, when returned, was ordered to take the lead; some frigates followed; sloops and boats were stationed on the shallows to the right and left, with well adapted signals, both for the day and the night. The fleet moved in seven divisions, and being favoured with pleasant weather, and secured by the admirable dispositions which were made, they without the smallest loss or interruption, got clear through this perilous passage, 700 miles in length, on the 5th of June, having entered it the 27th of May.

“The Havannah, the object of their long voyage, and of so many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. This place is not denominated the capital of Cuba; St. Iago, situated at the South-east part of the Island, has that title; but the Havannah, though the second in rank, is the first in wealth, size, and importance. The harbour, which is perhaps the best in the world, is entered by a narrow passage about half a mile long, and expands itself afterwards into a capacious basin, sufficient to contain a thousand sail of the largest ships, having almost throughout six fathoms of water, and being perfectly covered from every wind. Here the rich fleets from the several parts of the Spanish settlements rendezvous, before they finally set out on their voyage to Europe; a circumstance which has rendered the Havannah one of the most opulent, flourishing, and populous cities in the western world.

“Suitable to its importance was the care with which the narrow entrance into the bay was fortified. On a projecting point of land, to the East of the channel, stood the Moro, a very strong fort, having two bastions towards the sea, and two more on the land side, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. The opposite point to the Westward was secured by another fort called the Puntal, which was also surrounded by a ditch cut out in the same manner, and was every way well calculated for co-operating with the Moro in the defence of the harbour. It had likewise some batteries that opened upon the country, and flanked part of the town wall. But this wall, and the fortifications of the city itself, were not in a good condition. The wall and the bastions wanted repair: the ditch was dry, and of no considerable width;

and the covered way was almost in ruins. It has therefore been thought by some military men, that the operations ought to have been begun with the attack of the town by land; especially as it was utterly impossible to attack it by sea, the entrance of the harbour being not only defended by the forts, but by fourteen Spanish ships of the line, three of which were afterward sunk in the channel, and a boom laid across it."

"The Moro (says Raynal) is raised so high above the level of the sea, that even a first-rate ship of war could not batter it. But the Puntal has not the same advantages." It is, nevertheless, so situated, that it can only be attacked by a very narrow channel, in which the assailants must be exposed to such a tremendous fire from the heavy artillery of the Moro, as but few will be able to withstand. "The Havannah, therefore, (according to Raynal) can only be attacked with any hope of success on the land side, and even should such an attempt be made, the difficulties to which a besieging army would be exposed are almost insurmountable. Fifteen or sixteen thousand men, which are the most that could be employed in this expedition, would not be sufficient to invest the works, which are not only formidable, but cover a vast extent."

But whatever may have been the opinion of Raynal, or of any other writer on this side the question, it is evident that Lord Albemarle, either from his ignorance of the fortifications he was about to attack, or from his superior skill in military tactics, thought very differently upon the subject. He well knew that the reduction of the Moro must immediately be followed by the surrender of the city, and he well knew also that if he had directed his efforts, in the first place, against the town, his army would have been so much weakened, as to render his success doubtful, when he should direct the vigour of his troops against the Moro. It has, however, been asserted, that, by pursuing the plan which he adopted, he added considerably to the difficulties of an enterprise, extremely hazardous in its most inviting form; and that, after thus exposing his brave soldiers to unnecessary fatigues, and sacrificing many valuable lives which prudence might have preserved, he ran the dreadful risk of having his whole fleet destroyed by the approaching hurricanes.

But whatever may have been the merit or demerit of

Lord Albemarle on this occasion, the conduct of the Spanish governor admits of no apology. More than a month had elapsed from the time in which he knew that hostilities had commenced, and this in which the British forces appeared upon his shore, and yet nothing had been able to banish his supineness. It is true, no intimations might have reached him that an attack was meditated against the Havannah. But the richness and importance of the place should have instructed him to prepare for the events of war, to resist an attack, and to prevent a surprise. Instead of this, no preparations to meet the occasion had been made; they had no balls adapted to their cannon; they had no cartridges; nor had they a single gun or firelock fit for immediate use.

On the arrival of the English, all was confusion and alarm.—Every thing was wanted; but every thing remained to be done. Even the fleet that had been stationed in the harbour was unfit for action; their seamen were unaccustomed to any other duty than that of idle parade; and their officers, instead of stimulating them to exertions by their language and example, ingloriously shrunk from the danger which threatened the colony, acknowledged by their timid apprehensions how much they dreaded to face a British foe.

Common prudence, says Hume, would have suggested the propriety of keeping their fleet ready for action; and as theirs, and that of the English, were not far from an equality, and could be of very little service in the port, they should have put out to sea, and hazarded the issue of an engagement. A battle, maintained with spirit, though finally unsuccessful, might have so far disabled their opponents, as to unfit them for any further attempts, after a dear-bought naval victory. The loss of the whole Spanish fleet in this way might have saved the city; but the city once taken, nothing could save the fleet. Either through extreme cowardice or infatuation, the only use they made of their shipping was to sink three of them behind a strong boom at the mouth of the harbour.

“This precaution, (observes Raynal) has proved detrimental only to the Spaniards, who have not been able to weight up these large vessels; and there was the less reason for it, as the enemy would not have attempted to force their way into the harbour, which was defended by the Moro and the fort on the point.” The entrance, prior to this expedient, was very narrow, which being

guarded on both sides by rocks, obliged all ships to keep an exact course in order to avoid them. This very circumstance would have exposed them to the tremendous fire of the Moro; and the dread of its artillery would have been sufficient to deter the most daring.

The British commanders, not altogether ignorant of the confusion which prevailed within, hastened to avail themselves of the assistance which this opportunity afforded; and therefore, in a very short time, made every preparation necessary for the landing of the troops. When every thing was in order, the admiral, with a considerable part of the fleet, directed his course to a different part of the Island, putting on, at the same time, all the appearance of an intention to disembark the troops under his own eye. In the mean while, another detachment of the fleet, under the direction of Commodore Keppell and Captain Harvey, having the troops under their command, silently approached the shore to the Eastward, and effected a landing without the least opposition; while the attention of the inhabitants, pursuing Admiral Pocke in the feint which he was making to the Westward, on purpose to awaken their apprehension, scarcely allowed them time to suspect their real design.

“It was on this Eastern side that the principal army was destined to act. It was divided into two bodies, the one immediately occupied in the attack on fort Moro, and the other in covering the siege, and in protecting the parties employed in procuring water and provisions. The former corps was commanded by Major General Keppell, and the latter by Lieutenant General Elliott. A detachment under Colonel Howe, was encamped near the West side of the town, to cut off its communication with the country, and to keep the enemy’s attention divided.”—*Hume*.

In attacking the Moro, the want of water is a difficulty to which the besiegers must be invariably exposed. It may indeed be had in the neighbourhood of the camp, but that which they can take in this situation, instead of affording them relief, will prove mortal. The only river in which that is to be obtained, which is good, is at the distance of three leagues; this must be procured in boats; and the delay, which must invariably attend the constant voyages which they will be obliged to make to procure this necessary article, must eventually weaken the forces, and render them, in a considerable degree, unfit for

service. In addition to this, the inhabitants of the Havannah, apprised of the situation of their enemies, will use every exertion to cut off their supplies; and the besiegers, having no other way to procure relief, will be compelled to leave a strong detachment in intrenchments to protect the watering parties, and to prevent their communication with the camp from being interrupted.

These evils were felt in all their force, when the attack was made in 1762, which we are now describing. The hardships which the troops sustained from a scarcity of water in this burning climate, were at once excruciating and incredible. "The earth was every where so thin that they could with difficulty cover themselves in their approaches. The want of water was also very distressing. They were obliged to fetch it from a great distance, as there was not any spring or river near them, and so scanty and precarious was the supply, procured with much labour, that they often found it necessary to have recourse to what the ships could afford."—*Hume*.

Even in the commencement of the siege, the distresses to which the soldiers were exposed, were sufficient to damp the ardour of any but the bravest; their labours were excessive; and yet they only led to severer toils. Their roads of communication were to be cut through forests that were almost impenetrable; and their heavy artillery was to be dragged, for a vast way, over a rough and rocky shore. To many their exertions and sufferings were intolerable; the powerful co-operation of labour, thirst, and excessive heat, became insupportable; they sunk beneath the complicated burden, and expired amidst the violence of their fatigues.

Every obstacle was, however, at length, surmounted by the astonishing intrepidity and perseverance of the British troops; and batteries were erected on the ridge of a contiguous hill, which rose to a level with the fort. These were no sooner finished than opened; and the effects which they produced were great, even beyond calculation. The Spanish ships, within the harbour, were compelled to quit their stations, and to retire to a place in which they could neither offer nor receive any annoyance. The assistance, which these batteries afforded to the besiegers, enabled them afterwards to proceed with greater expedition in their works, and to repel, with considerable slaughter, a sally that was made by the garrison.



The Spaniards, in the mean while, roused from their native indolence, by seeing danger so near their gates, had made use of every exertion, that time and circumstances placed within their power, to defend their city and forts against the attacks of the besiegers. And whatever supineness they might have manifested while the enemy was at a distance, they now redoubled their activity to sustain the attack with the most heroic bravery. They plainly saw that both their public and private treasures were at stake; that no external succours were to be expected; and that their destiny depended upon their valour and perseverance. The Moro, in which consisted their chief defence, was most advantageously situated, and the resources of their extensive country furnished them with considerable supplies. Their confidence of ultimate success tended to increase their vigour and courage, and inspired them with that fortitude which is so necessary to insure conquest.

At the same time, as a constant communication was kept up between the British fleet and their land forces, a mutual co-operation gave them an opportunity of assisting each other, and of promoting the welfare of the common cause. It was on the 1st of July, that the batteries, which we have already mentioned, were opened. On the same day Captain Harvey brought three of the largest ships in the British fleet into a position that might most divert the enemy's attention; and, laying their broadsides against the fort, began a most terrible cannonade, which lasted for seven hours without the least intermission.

The fire which they kept up was returned by the Moro with equal constancy, and with much greater effect. Situated on a rock of considerable elevation, it was proof against all the efforts of the ships, the guns of which could with difficulty be brought to bear; and even those that could take the fairest aim were productive of little or no execution. At the same time, the artillery from the opposite fort of Puntal having them fully in view, and being kept in continual play, made a considerable havoc; and, in conjunction with the cannon of the Moro, reduced the vessels to a mere wreck. Finding their condition hazardous, and their exertions ineffectual, they found it necessary to retreat from the scene of action, to save the ships from absolute destruction. Even this was a work of no inconsiderable difficulty. They had

been so much shattered in the unequal contest, which they had voluntarily sustained, that they became almost ungovernable. This, however, by extraordinary exertions they at length effected, and the vessels were withdrawn from the reach of the enemy's cannonade.

But though they had been unable to make any impression upon the walls of the fort, and had suffered so severely in the contest, their exertions were far from having been made in vain. The attention of the besieged was so much engrossed by the attack from the ships, that they partially neglected the constant fire which had been kept up from the batteries. This gave the besiegers an opportunity of estimating the strength of the enemy, and of calculating upon the probable effects of a constant cannonade;—of enabling them to survey more at leisure the parts which appeared least invulnerable;—of observing the direction in which their future attacks should be made, in order to insure success;—and of securing themselves in the best manner possible from the effects of the enemy's artillery, when they should again be involved in a tremendous cloud of smoke and fire.

“As soon as the Spaniards (says Hume) were released from the ships of war, they returned to their duty on the land side, and revived their defence with great spirit. An unremitting cannonade was kept up by both parties for several days, with a fierce emulation; and the military skill and spirits of the assailants were put to the severest trial. In the midst of this sharp and doubtful contention, the capital battery against the fort took fire, and being chiefly constructed of timber and fascines dried by intense heat, the flames soon became too powerful for opposition. The battery was almost wholly consumed. The labour of 600 men for 17 days was destroyed in a few hours, and all was to be constructed anew.

“This stroke was the more severely felt, as it happened at a time when the other hardships of the siege were become almost intolerable. The diseases of the climate, increased by rigorous duty, had reduced the army to half its number. Five thousand soldiers were, at one time, unfit for service through various distempers, and 3000 sailors were in the same condition. The want of necessaries and refreshments aggravated their sufferings, and retarded their recovery. The provisions were bad; and the necessity of bringing from a distance a scanty supply

of water, exhausted all their force. Besides, as the season advanced, the prospect of succeeding grew fainter. The hearts of the most sanguine sunk within them, when they beheld this gallant army wasting away, and considered that the noble fleet, which had rode so long on an open shore, must be exposed to inevitable ruin, if the hurricane season should come on before the reduction of the place. A thousand languishing and impatient looks were cast out for the reinforcements, which were expected from North America, but none appeared; and the few, who still preserved some remains of strength, were obliged to bear up under the load of double duty, and of afflicting accidents. Another battery took fire before the former could be repaired; and the toil of the besiegers unfortunately increased in proportion as their strength diminished. Many fell into despair and died, overcome with fatigue, anguish, and disappointment."

But, notwithstanding these disasters—this complication of misfortunes,—and these hardships, no thoughts were entertained by them of abandoning their enterprise. Their numbers, though small, were resolute even beyond their strength; and the efforts which they made were such as would not have disgraced their whole army in all its vigour. The prowess of the whole seemed to be compressed into an essence; as though the dead and the disabled had bequeathed their strength and courage to those who had retained their health.

The riches which allured, and which nothing apparently but a wall separated from them, infused into their bosoms a resolution, which no danger could repress. This also was guarded by the disgrace of returning to their native land, baffled and disappointed. The resistance of the enemy became an incentive to urge them to superiority; so much so, that interest, pride, and honour, united their forces in this critical moment, when the reduction of their numbers wanted the joint influences of all these motives. It was the reinforcement of hope, united with the resolution of despair, that taught them to disregard alike the smallness of their own numbers, the calamities of their condition, and the strength of the enemy; and that filled them with a determination to know no medium between conquest and death.

Inspired with these enthusiastic resolutions, they began their work with redoubled ardour. The batteries which had been consumed with the enemy's fire, were speedily

replaced; their guns were remounted; a cannonade recommenced; their fire became equal to that of the fort; it soon rose to a superiority; they maintained it; they silenced the thunder of the fort; they dismantled its upper works; and, on the 20th of July, made a lodgement in the covered way.

It was just at this important crisis, that some merchant ships, by their fortunate arrival, afforded the besiegers some considerable assistance. Among other articles, they furnished them with some cotton bags, which were of the utmost service to the engineers, and greatly facilitated the approaches which they were carrying on; and which, without these, it is highly probable, they would have been obliged to abandon, as the earth was insufficient to cover them from the annoyance of the enemy.

Within a few days after the arrival of the above merchant ships, the long-expected reinforcements from America appeared in sight. Four of the transports had been wrecked in the straits of Bahama, but providentially the men had been saved on the neighbouring Islands. These were immediately taken to the Havannah by five vessels, which were instantly dispatched to conduct them thither. Thus the recent successes of the besiegers, the assistance they had derived from the merchant ships, and the arrival of the reinforcements, all tended to give fresh vigour to their operations, to inspire them with fresh confidence, and to fill the besieged with intimidating apprehensions.

“But a sudden difficulty appeared, just at the seeming accomplishment of the work. An immense ditch, cut in the solid rock, 80 feet deep, and 40 feet wide, yawned before them, and stopped their progress. To fill it up by any means appeared impossible. Difficult as the work of mining was in these circumstances, it was the only expedient. And even this might have proved impracticable, had not a thin ridge of rock been fortunately left to cover the ditch towards the sea. On this narrow ridge, the miners, though quite exposed, passed the gulf with very little loss, and buried themselves in the wall.”—*Hume*.

Affairs were now putting on a serious aspect to the besieged. Their assailants had already accomplished what they had thought impracticable; and they were now actually preparing to blow up the fort. The governor of the Havannah, marking the transactions of the siege, beheld their danger, and thought it high time to make

some powerful effort to afford them relief. The reduction of the Moro appeared inevitable, if left to its own strength; and the conquest of that fortress could hardly fail to involve it in the reduction of the town. But, unfortunately for him, his exertions came too late. The favourable moment in which they might have proved destructive to the besiegers was now past; and his endeavour to relieve a fortress that was doomed to submission, could only add to that carnage, which had already reigned too long. The British were now flushed with the assurance of conquest; their troops were on the recovery; they were reinforced; and their enemies were dispirited; so that scarcely any thing could either damp the ardour of the former, or revive that of the latter. The case, however, was grown urgent; it was the last resource; and the governor did what lay in his power to afford the Moro relief.

Having collected together about 1200 Negroes, Mulattoes, and some white men, belonging to the country militia, unacquainted with discipline, and ignorant of military subordination, he transported them across the harbour. On their landing, they immediately ascended the hills, and forming themselves into such order as might be expected from the description given of them, they attacked the English posts with a degree of courage that exceeded their prudence. Thrice did they renew the onset, and thrice were they repulsed with considerable loss. The British guards indeed, in the first instance, were taken by surprise; but they defended themselves with so much resolution, that the whole body of the besiegers received the alarm, before the new assailants could make any impression so as to injure their works.

The posts which the enemy attacked were reinforced in an instant, as soon as the alarm became general; this was succeeded by a sharp skirmish; and this by a total discomfiture of the newly raised forces. A disorderly rabble, commanded by officers at once ignorant of their duty, and destitute of authority, could not be expected to persevere in making a formidable resistance. They soon gave way; and terror and confusion were the immediate consequences. They hurried to the precipice of the hill, which they had ascended with so much difficulty and haste, and were precipitated over it with still greater speed. Numbers, who had survived the attack, were slaughtered in their disorderly retreat; and many even

of those who avoided the sword, were drowned in attempting to reach their boats. Some, however, escaped to convey the doleful tidings of their discomfiture, and of the loss of their companions in misfortune, to the city, which, at this moment, trembled for its fate.

The destiny of the Moro now became inevitable. The only method, which external assistance could adopt to afford it relief, had been attempted; and this had failed of success. The same action, which had defeated the rabble, had cut off the communication of the Moro with the city; and this afforded protection to those, who were at this instant undermining its walls. These were circumstances with which the besieged could not be unacquainted; they had therefore nothing further to hope, but every thing to fear. Still, however, they held out, with a resolution, which, though their danger might have shaken, it could not overcome. They made no proposals for capitulation, no overtures of compromise. Defiance seemed to have usurped the place of dismay; and their conduct indicated that they had formed a determination to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and to prefer death to submission.

It was on the 30th of July that the mines made their fatal explosion. They, however, did their business only in a partial manner; nevertheless, part of the wall was thrown down. This fell into the ditch, and left a small breach, which, though very narrow and difficult, was deemed practicable by the engineer for the men to enter. The troops ordered on this most important and dangerous service, undertook the enterprise more from choice than compulsion; from a confidence of ultimate success, though they could not but be fully assured that many lives would be sacrificed in the attempt. Nevertheless, the prospect of finding a termination of all their toils, either by death or immediate conquest, silenced every other consideration, and urged them forward with alacrity to mount the breach.

Headed by Lieutenant Forbes, and supported by Lieutenant Colonel Stewart, they entered the aperture, and prepared for the decisive assault. The issue did not long remain in suspense; for, on entering the works with an undaunted resolution, they entirely disconcerted the garrison, which, though desperate, was in the utmost confusion and disorder. During the first onset the conflict was sharp and bloody. About 400 of the Spanish soldiers

were instantly either cut to pieces, or perished in attempting to make their escape from a citadel, which was now no longer tenable. A great number threw down their arms and begged for quarter, which was instantly granted. The Marquis de Gonzalez, who was the second in command, beholding the flight of his countrymen, endeavoured to stop their departure, but his efforts were ineffectual, and he was killed in the attempt. The governor, Don Lewis de Valesco, having collected a small number of his most resolute soldiers, in an intrenchment round his flag-staff, fell nobly in defending his colours, which neither hope nor danger could induce him to strike. His death decided the fortune of the day. The brave soldiers, having no one to direct them, soon grew relaxed in their exertions, and relinquished the defence of a post which it was impossible to rescue; and their surrender immediately threw the whole fortress into the hands of the British. The assailants in this conflict had only two lieutenants, and twelve men killed: and one lieutenant, four serjeants, and twenty-four privates, wounded.

The Spaniards in the city, and in Fort Puntal, in the mean while, were distant spectators of the breach, and of the entrance of the British soldiers into the garrison; but as all communication had been cut off, they waited in gloomy suspense to learn the issue of the conflict. Of this, the British colours being hoisted in the room of the Spanish, soon gave the unpleasant information. No sooner did they perceive the British flag unfurled, than both from the city and the fort, they directed their cannon against the Moro. In this garrison many of the guns had been dismantled during the siege, and the conquerors, through the excess of fatigue which they had been obliged to endure, were in but a bad condition to sustain an attack. No choice, however, remained in their power. Their condition, though preferable to that which they had hitherto experienced, was not such as to exempt them from alarm. They had indeed but little to fear; but they had not reached the object of their wishes, and it was no time for them to suffer a relaxation of their vigour.

Their first step was to remount the cannon, and to repair those damages which their own guns had occasioned. Having completed this task, they proceeded to erect some batteries upon an eminence that commanded the city.

On these they mounted a number of cannon, bringing, in all, no less than threescore piece to bear at once upon the Havannah.

On the completion of these batteries, and prior to their being opened, Lord Albemarle, to put an end, as soon as possible, to the carnage which must otherwise ensue, dispatched his Aide-de-camp, on the 10th of August, with a flag of truce, to the governor of the city, giving him directions to summon him to surrender, and to explain to him the destruction that awaited them in case of a refusal. The governor, regardless of the summons and threatening, returned for an answer, "*That he was under no uneasy apprehensions, and that he would hold out to the last extremity.*" But he soon learned a very different lesson.

The governor's answer was no sooner received, than Lord Albemarle determined to bombard the town. The cannonade commenced with the next morning. It was heavy; it was tremendous; it was destructive. It continued without intermission for six hours, at the end of which all the guns of the city were silenced, and flags of truce were hung out on every quarter, soliciting that capitulation which had been rejected on the preceding day.

A cessation of hostilities took place immediately; and a deputy was sent from the city to the camp of the besiegers, to hear the conditions, which, on the preceding day they might in part have dictated; and to adjust measures for the surrender of the place. The Spaniards exerted themselves to the utmost to preserve the shipping, and to have the harbour declared neutral; but these exertions were unavailing. Two days were spent in altercations, and in transmitting messages from the camp to the city, and from the city to the camp. But Lord Albemarle was steady to his purpose; and the Spaniards, finding all their efforts ineffectual, at length consented to include both the shipping and the harbour in the common fate, which had overtaken both the Moro and the city.

It was therefore finally agreed;—"*That the city of Havannah, and a district of 180 miles to the Westward, included in its government, together with the Puntal Castle, and all the ships in the harbour, should be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty:—That the garrison should be allowed the honours of war, and be conveyed to Old Spain:*



—*That private property should be secured to the inhabitants, and that they should enjoy their former laws and religion, without infringement or molestation.*"

It was on the 14th of August that the conquerors took possession of the city; and though the booty they found there was not equal to their expectations, it was such as, in any other place besides the Havannah, would have been deemed immense. In silver and valuable merchandise, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, they found nearly to the amount of *three millions sterling*, besides a vast quantity of arms, artillery, ammunition, and military stores. Of private property no estimation can be made; it was secured by treaty, and the article was not violated. But forming our estimate of these treasures from the nature of those ships which had rendezvoused in the port, the amazing riches of their cargoes, the prodigality of seamen, and the length of time that the wealth had been accumulating, they must have been immense.

"The conquest of Havannah," says Hume, "was the most considerable, and, in its consequences, the most decisive blow that had been struck since the beginning of the war. It united in itself all the honours and advantages that can be acquired in hostile enterprises. It was a military triumph, that reflected the brightest lustre on the courage, steadiness, and perseverance of the British troops. Its effect on the enemy's marine made it equal to the greatest naval victory. Nine ships of the line and four frigates were taken: three of the former description had been sunk by the Spaniards, as has been already mentioned, at the beginning of the siege, to stop the entrance into the port; and two more, that were in forwardness on the stocks, were destroyed by the conquerors.

"The harbour itself was of still greater value than the fleet. It absolutely commanded the only speedy passage by which the Spanish ships could sail from the bay of Mexico to Europe; so that the court of Madrid could no longer receive any supplies from the West Indies, except by such routes as were equally tedious and uncertain. The reduction of the Havannah, therefore, not only distressed the enemy by stopping the sources of their wealth, but likewise opened to the English an easy avenue to the centre of their American treasures. The plunder found at this place should also be taken into the account. It impoverished Spain, and enriched the captors; and

though it contributed nothing directly to the public service, it might be said to increase the stock of the British nation, and to supply those prodigious drains of specie—foreign armies.”

But how advantageous soever the Havannah might have been, as to its internal resources, and as a path to future conquests on the Western continent, it was destined to remain but a short time in our possession. It afforded us barely time to survey its excellencies, and contemplate its connexions, before it reverted back to the Spaniards, its former possessors. It was captured in 1762, and was restored by treaty of peace in 1763. Since that time it has remained in the hands of the Spaniards, who, sensible of its importance, and profiting by the disasters of the above year, have not only repaired its former fortifications, but added new ones, which have nearly rendered the town and harbour inaccessible to all attacks.

Cuba is by far the largest Island in the American archipelago: it exceeds Hispaniola, which approaches nearest to it, by no less than 2400 square miles. It stretches from East to West about 700 miles in length, and is about 90 miles in breadth, containing, in the whole, 38,400 square miles. As its extremities are irregular, it engrosses various degrees of latitude, extending from the 20th to the 23d deg. North, and stretching from 74 to 87 deg. of longitude West from London. There is a range of hills, some of which are of considerable height, that runs through the middle of the Island. These, as they have never been cultivated, have afforded but a partial evidence of the nature of their soil. Their aspect, however, is not promising; and perhaps their most valuable production is the native forests, with which they are chiefly covered. Exclusively of the hills, the land is in general open, and nearly level; in many places extremely rich, and, in almost all, capable of a profitable cultivation.

But notwithstanding its vast extent, Cuba has very few rivers, and of these few, none of them are navigable for vessels of any considerable burden. They rise in general in the hills, and scarcely unite their streams in their descent, before they lose themselves in the ocean. But though large rivers are scarce, the defect is amply supplied with the numerous rivulets with which the Island abounds. In addition to these, the inhabitants have their periodical returns of rainy seasons. These tropical floods,

in conjunction with the springs and rivulets, preserve the lands in a state of prolific moisture, and supply the inhabitants, who are scattered over their surface, with an inexhaustible sufficiency of water.

Fertilized by these streams, which issue both from the earth and sky, the soil is capable of being rendered productive of the most valuable articles that any of the West India Islands can boast. Tobacco, sugar, cotton, indigo, maize, cassava root, ginger, aloes, long pepper, and coffee, might be raised in almost any quantities. The soil seems particularly adapted to their growth, and the extent of the country is such, that no limits could be set to the exports which might be made.

In different parts of the Island there are several excellent harbours. The principal of these are St. Iago, towards the East, which faces Jamaica; Cumberland harbour, which lies still further East; and the Havannah, on the North-west side, of which we have already spoken. This faces the Florida shore, from which it is distant about 100 miles. To these must be added the harbour of Santa Cruz, which lies about 30 miles East of the Havannah.

With these harbours are connected the principal towns of the Island. That of St. Iago is advantageously situated by nature, and is strongly fortified by art; but, having no internal trade, and being out of the tract of those ships which convey the gold of the new world into Europe, to pay for the blood, and bribe the justice of the old, it is neither rich nor populous. Of Cumberland but little is known; its harbour, to which ships occasionally resort, has rescued it from perfect obscurity, but even this has not been sufficient to preserve it from insignificance. Of the position, strength, and importance of the Havannah it will be needless to make repetitions. Its situation is delightful; its inhabitants are numerous; and its riches almost immense. It contains about 2000 houses, besides a vast number of convents and churches. The houses are inhabited by some of the descendants of the first settlers, who emigrated from Spain; and by other Europeans, who, from various causes, have taken up their abode among them. Their wealth depends upon their communication with the shipping. And their intercourse with men who visit various regions of the globe, has tended to curtail the dominion of superstition, and rendered them less its devotees, than might be expected,

where popery meets with no resistance from formal opposition. Santa Cruz is a town of some consideration; but its importance is of a secondary nature. Its vicinity to the Havannah is the primary cause of its prosperity; it shares in its fortunes, and can scarcely survive its fate.

In recording the real productions of Cuba, our account must fall considerably short of that which its fertility and extent might induce the reader to expect. "The only places (says Raynal) where there are any traces of cultivation to be seen, are, at St. Iago, a port to the windward of the colony, and at Matanga, or Mantaca, a safe and spacious bay at the mouth of the old canal, where the galleons usually take in water on their return to Spain. The few plantations are all confined to the beautiful plains of the Havannah, and even these are not what they ought to be."

Cuba may be considered, in real value, if properly cultivated, as equal to an empire. Its internal resources would have been so many fountains of wealth, which industry would continue to render inexhaustible; and the perfection, to which her articles for exportation might be brought, would at all times command a market. Instead of this, the whole territory is little better than an extensive forest, exhibiting to the observer, a frightful solitude, to which his imagination can scarcely set any bounds.

"Far from contributing," continues the author last quoted, "to the riches and strength of the kingdom to which they belong, the Islands belonging to Spain serve only to weaken and exhaust it, by the expenses required to maintain them. If Spain had attended properly to the political improvements of other nations, she would have discovered, that several of them owed their influence solely to the advantages they have drawn from Islands, in every respect inferior to those which have hitherto only served the ignominious purpose of swelling the list of her numberless and useless possessions. She would have learned that there is no other rational foundation of colonies, especially of those that have no mines, but agriculture."

The reputation, which the tobacco brought from the Havannah acquired at an early period, gave it a decided superiority over the same article, if produced in any other Island. And even that ancient reputation is not yet done away. This article, in former years, was one of its staple commodities. Vast quantities were carried

to Mexico and Peru, and the surplus afforded a supply for Spain. But the exorbitant weight of imposts, and the exercise of a venal authority, over the productions of industry, have long since destroyed that spirit of enterprise, which, if permitted to operate, would have taught the inhabitants of Cuba to vanquish all their rivals. Hence this species of traffic has almost totally disappeared; and the occasion of its failure may be justly attributed to the languor which the negligence of the Spanish government has infused into the Islanders, and to its carelessness in endeavouring to gratify Europe with this refined species of vulgar luxury—tobacco brought from the Havannah.

But sugar has still been more unproductive than tobacco. No one can doubt, that this article is by far the richest, and most lucrative production that the West Indies can boast. Most of the other Islands have attempted to cultivate this valuable cane, and but few have failed in their endeavours. Cuba may indeed be considered as an exception; although the amazing fertility of her lands invites to exertion with more ardency, and promises rewards with a greater degree of assurance, than that of any other Island. The canes which they cultivate are of the best quality, and the lands are peculiarly adapted to perfect their rich productions. Nevertheless, a general aversion to labour prevails, and all its consequences follow; so that the plantations are not only few, but badly attended. With some of the best canes, and in one of the finest climates on the earth, they make but a small quantity of sugar, and this is of the most inferior kind; with this they supply the markets of Mexico, and occasionally export the surplus to the mother country.

Cotton, when Cuba was first discovered by Columbus, and conquered by Velasquez, was found to be a native of the Island. The shrub grew spontaneously in almost all the parts which they explored. The preservation of its productions required but little attention and little labour, but unhappily it fell into the hands of those who thought it required too much of both. Instead of propagating, they have diminished it, although the general temperature of the soil is congenial to its increase. In many places on the Island not a shred of it is to be seen; and though, in former years, it was one considerable article of exportation, yet such a general scarcity has of late

prevailed, that several years elapse, between the times when any of it is sent to Europe.

In the article of coffee they have been a little more successful, and but a little. They had observed with some attention, the advantages derived from its cultivation in other Islands, and they determined upon an experiment, notwithstanding their dislike to imitation. But unfortunately, while they imported the article, they forgot to import that diligence and attention, which were so necessary to mature it to perfection, and to procure for them the advantages at which they aimed. Still, however, its cultivation was not wholly neglected. About 35,000 weight may be considered as their annual production, one-third of which they export to Vera Cruz, and the remaining part to old Spain, after deducting a sufficiency for their own consumption.

Their other articles are but trifling, even when compared with the former; and consequently, they can be entitled to no particular description. This, however, must be understood of vegetable productions only. The scantiness of the inhabitants, leaving almost the whole Island in a state of wild fertility, affords both protection and nourishment to innumerable herds of cattle. These, though constantly reduced by slaughter, increase with an uncommon degree of rapidity. The hides of these animals are, with the inhabitants, become a staple commodity, so that they annually export from ten to twelve thousand. This number might be easily increased to almost any amount, if either necessity or choice should stimulate the wealthy residents to exertion. For among those lands which are distributed into lots, and assigned over to proprietors, as they have no taste for extensive cultivations, thousands of acres can be applied to no other purpose, than that of affording herbage to cattle. This mode of traffic requires but little labour; in short none, till the beast is to be slaughtered, that its carcase may be conducted to the market, and its hide preserved for exportation.

The Island of Cuba, contains, according to the most recent account that can be obtained, about 55,000 souls, of all ages, sexes, complexions, and conditions. Of these about 25,000 are enslaved, while 30,000 Whites, Mestees, Mulattoes, and free Negroes, enjoy all the benefits of *Spanish freedom*. "The food of these different

species of inhabitants (says Raynal) consists of excellent pork, detestable beef, both in great plenty, and both exceedingly cheap, and Manioc. Even the troops have no other bread than the Cassava. The habit of seeing Europeans frequently at Cuba, has probably preserved the inhabitants from that totally languid state of inaction, which prevails in all the other Spanish colonies in the new world. It must be farther observed, that the people are less mixed, their dress more decent, and their manners better regulated than in the other Islands."

The seas, which wash the shores of Cuba, abound with a variety of fish, such as are common to the tropical waves, and of which we have given some account in our history of Jamaica. In these, the inhabitants, if urged by necessity, would find an inexhaustible source of provisions, in case the Island should ever be so thickly peopled, as to destroy the forests in which the herds of cattle now browse. At present, the finny tribes wanton on the coasts with little or no molestation; in much the same manner that they were permitted to do, when the subjects of Hatuey inhabited the land.

In this Island a variety of original land animals may be seen. These have escaped the exterminating hand of man; and have found protection in those vast wildernesses, which have not yet been thoroughly trodden by the foot of this general destroyer. Many of the species, which once inhabited these Islands, are now exterminated, but the greatest variety is to be found in Cuba. Of these animals we have also already spoken, in an early chapter of our first volume. Both these, and many of the feathered tribes, which are not to be found in other Islands, have here obtained an asylum in the woods of this, and will, in all probability, continue to make them their retreat, till Cuba shall change its masters, or till a spirit of industry, unknown at present to the inhabitants, shall induce them to adopt a system to which their ancestors have hitherto been strangers.

The timber of this Island is peculiarly adapted for the climate in which it grows; and hence the Spaniards have erected a dock-yard at the Havannah, for the building of ships of war, to add to the navy of Spain. Their masts, iron, and cables, are carried thither from Europe; but all the other materials are found in abundance upon the Island. "But that (says Raynal) which is most valuable is the timber, which, growing under the influence

of the hottest rays of the sun, lasts with moderate care for a whole century; whereas European ships dry and split under the torrid zone. This wood begins to grow scarce in the neighbourhood of the Havannah; but it is very plentiful on all the coasts, and the transportation of it is neither dear nor difficult. Spain is the more interested to multiply these docks, as the seas most frequented by its shipping all lie between the tropics."

In no portion of their insular possessions, besides the Island of Cuba, can the Spaniards assume such a commanding aspect; they have no place equal to it for strength and relative importance; and consequently have no place so well suited as the Havannah, to recruit their naval forces. It is from these considerations, that they have expended such a profusion of treasure, since its capture in 1762, to render the town and harbour proof against the attacks of all assailants. And it is highly probable, from the fortifications which they have erected; the precautions which they have taken; the difficulties which they have thrown in the way of all future invaders; and the ease with which they can defend themselves against their enemies, without even the most distant probability of having their supplies cut off, that they have nearly accomplished their purpose. Hence then the cultivation of the lands, notwithstanding their native richness, is with them but of remote consideration. The activity of the inhabitants is directed into a different channel,—into a communication with those of the new world. While this communication can be preserved, and while the wealth of both continents touches upon her coasts, Cuba must be expected to remain in its present uncultivated condition; and we shall have but little occasion of surprise, though we continue to learn, that the whole exports from Cuba, as at present, do not exceed those from the small Island of Antigua.

Among the various articles of traffic belonging to the productions of Cuba, there is one on which we have hitherto been silent. This is the *Blood-hound*, which, to the indelible infamy of Europe, has been employed by those who call themselves *Christians*, to hunt and devour those whom they have been pleased to denominate *Savages*. A respect for human nature might tempt us to draw a veil over these enormities, but truth has a superior claim upon mankind. The manner in which these dogs have been employed, we have already mentioned in the second



chapter of the first volume, page 127. These practices have covered the Spanish Islands with infamy, which nothing can expiate, and have exposed the proceedings of Spain to the detestation of the civilized world. Happy would it have been for the reputation of this nation, if Spain alone were guilty. Unfortunately, the annals of Jamaica\* will teach us a different lesson; and instruct us, while execrating the conduct of the Spaniards, to consider ourselves as partial imitators of their crimes.

The Blood-hound, according to Mr. Edwards, is in general, "nearly of the size of the sheep dog in England, to which it bears no small resemblance." But whether its antipathy to the human species be natural or only acquired, seems to be a point, on which those who have been accustomed to its ferocity, speak with hesitation. Many of those, who have given to the world accounts of these ferocious animals, have been evidently influenced by national partialities, or have been interested for the honour of human nature. These circumstances have induced them to view the introduction of blood-hounds as a measure, though not strictly justifiable in itself, yet as one, that, on the score of political expediency, and under existing circumstances, will admit of considerable palliation, if not defence.

These men have endeavoured to persuade the world, that the ferocity of these dogs is natural, and that their discipline only is acquired; thereby exculpating their *humane* employers from the origin of that odium which must otherwise be invariably attached to their conduct. Unfortunately, however, they can produce no instances in which these dogs pursue and devour men of a *white complexion*. Even the mode of training them discovers, that their habits of peculiar ferocity towards the human species are infused into them by discipline; and we are left in possession of a sufficiency of evidence to conclude that a similar mode of treatment from the Blacks, which they receive from the Whites, would give to their canine disposition a different turn; so that they might be directed with equal ease against those, who, to make them more savage, contrive to feed them with blood.

"The first particular mention of their use in acting with troops, (says Rainsford) is by Herera, the Spanish historian, when describing the first conflict of Columbus

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\* Vol. I. page 324.

with the Indians in 1492.\* The *Slute-hound* of the Scots was in much repute, as being early applied to discover the haunts of robbers; and Strabo is said to describe an attack upon the Gauls by dogs of the present description. The character of decided enmity to man, however, seems to have been preserved only in Spanish America, and the writer is induced, from many circumstances, to think, that the quadruped, which is the subject of this account, is, though of a similar species to the Irish wolf dog breed, a native of the South seas." (p. 424.)

In thus assigning the origin of the blood-hounds to Spanish America, some serious difficulties will arise. Columbus, at the time of the dogs mentioned by Herrera, had not even discovered the continent, much less could either he or any of his associates, have taken these animals from thence; and still less could they have trained them to act in concert with the Spanish troops, even admitting them to have been so found. Neither can we suppose that they found these dogs on the Islands, since the early historians assure us, that the *Alco*† was the only dog of the western world, of which the natives of the Leeward Islands were remarkably fond. Hence then we are compelled to conclude, that neither the western continent nor the islands could have given birth originally to these destructive animals. It could not be the continent, for, at the time of their use, it was not discovered; it could not be the Islands, because the *Alco* was of a different species, and of a more domestic and inoffensive nature. And in addition to these circumstances, no time could have elapsed, in which the Spaniards could have obtained a knowledge of their use, and have trained them to join in the detestable co-operation. Urged, therefore, by necessity, we are obliged to trace the origin of these dogs to Europe, and to conclude, that they must have been introduced by the Spaniards in their early voyages. On the motives which led them to import animals of this ferocious nature, we have no right to determine: but we have a right to observe, that, in the first battle which

\* The above date, mentioned by Mr. Rainsford, must evidently have been inserted by mistake. Columbus did not discover land till October, 1492, and no engagement took place till 1495.

† The *Alco* was the native dog of the New Hemisphere, nor does it seem to have differed greatly from that of the Old, except that it possessed not the power of barking. The natives of Hispaniola, like those of Otaheite, fattened them with care, and accounted their flesh a great delicacy.—B. Edwards, Vol. I. p. 116.

took place, the invaders appear to have been but too well acquainted with their fatal use.

Nor is the above inference that has been made, of a mere solitary nature. Acosta, an ancient Spanish historian, who wrote so early as 1587, has the following observations, which tend to corroborate the conclusions we have attempted to establish. In St. Domingo, the *dogs of Europe* have multiplied so exceedingly, that, at this time, they are a nuisance and a terror to the inhabitants, and a price is set on their heads as on those of wolves in old Spain. At first there were *no dogs* in the Island, but a small mute creature resembling a dog, with a nose like that of a fox, which the natives called *Alco*. The Indians were so fond of these little animals, that they carried them on their shoulders wherever they went, and nourished them in their bosoms."

Whatever might have been the natural antipathy of these dogs, this much is certain, that they have fallen into the hands of those who have contrived, by the education they have afforded them, to give a more savage turn to their ferocity. Their natural or acquired thirst for blood has been reduced to a regular system; for men have been employed to instruct them how to act in scenes of carnage, to increase the misery and destruction of man.

It is well known that the *Buccaniers* presented to the world a conspicuous feature in the early periods of the American and West Indian history. Of their depredations and character we have already spoken, in the sixth chapter of the first volume, to which the reader is referred for further information. These men, disdaining to submit to any sovereign authority, continued their pillage, till they spread terror over those seas which their ships were accustomed to traverse. Their depredations became at length an object of national consideration, and formidable forces were fitted out, to clear the seas of these daring pirates.

Many of these *Buccaniers*, who, grown weary with that toilsome and dangerous mode of life, endeavoured to escape the avenging sword, which they well knew pursued them, retired to the more inaccessible and uninhabited regions of the larger Islands. In these abodes, their dress was as savage as their employment was barbarous. A shirt, steeped in the blood of some animal which they had slaughtered, trowsers made from its skin, a pair

of shoes, and a hat, constituted the former; and the slaughter of wild bulls, which roamed through the forests, constituted the latter. Around their waists they fastened a girdle, from which hung a short sabre, and a family of knives; these, together with a gun, if they could obtain one, and about *twenty or thirty dogs*, which they contrived to enlist in their service, constituted their instruments of warfare, their protection, and defence.\*

The dogs they instructed so to pursue the bulls which they hunted, as to follow them in their inaccessible retreats,—to drive them through the forests,—and to bring them within the reach either of their guns or sabres. And so expert were these men in the management of the dogs, that even after the bulls were destroyed, and these desperadoes were reduced to a condition more bordering upon civilization, their mode of disciplining the dogs seems to have been retained, for the barbarous purpose of training them to hunt and devour men.

“Among the remains of the Buccaniers (says Rainsford) are the *costume* and mode of life in the Spanish *chasseurs*, who conduct the blood-hounds. The hog-skin trowsers, drawn on their limbs warm from the animal when shot wild in the woods, and the mode of preparing their food (*boucaner*, † a name at present synonymous with cooking) being common to both. And in fact, every part of their dress, their migratory life, power, and forbearance, and savage habits in the woods, all exhibit the *ancient Buccanier* in the *modern Chasseur*; and the portrait of the one, when young, robust, and daring, is a very complete resemblance of the other.” p. 426.

The mode which these chasseurs adopt, in training the young blood-hound for that inhuman practice, which, to the disgrace of human nature, it is designed to pursue, is nearly as follows:

The young puppy, when taken from its dam, is immediately confined in a kind of cage, fenced in the front with iron bars, at such a distance from each other, as barely to permit the young animal to thrust out his head or feet, without permitting it to escape. In this school of inhumanity it is always fed by white people, because

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\* See Vol. I. p. 262.

† The flesh of those Bulls, which were pursued by the ancient Buccaniers, was sometimes seasoned with Orange juice and Jamaica pepper. At other times it was dried in the smoke which their fires occasioned, in a place called *Buccans*, and hence the name *Buccaniers*.

the Blacks are those whom it is taught to consider as its prey. In the early periods of its discipline, it is fed with the *entrails* and *blood* of animals; and this in such a sparing manner, that the keenness of appetite, which hunger occasions, may give a more poignant relish to a species of food which even instinct urges the dog to prefer.

Initiated into this part of their discipline, and accustomed to food, which both hunger and their canine nature urge them to devour, as these dogs approach towards maturity, they are introduced to a new scene, which bears a sensible resemblance to the victims whom they are destined to destroy. The vessel in which their food was formerly brought, is now thrown aside, and a new one is substituted, which answers all the purposes of their preceptors.

A figure, appropriately formed, with suitable materials, bearing a strong resemblance to a Negroe, and painted black, to keep alive the deception, is introduced into the upper part of their cages. Within the body of this *artificial Negroe*, are deposited the blood and entrails of beasts, on which the dogs have been accustomed to feed. It is nevertheless placed in such a manner, as to allure the smell of the animals, rendered almost desperate through hunger; so that the dropping of the blood, and the hanging of a solitary entrail, may attract the sight, and kindle their desires, without easily satisfying the cravings of their appetites. After licking up the blood which occasionally falls, and waiting without satiety, their attention is naturally directed to the source of their food, which is not placed altogether beyond their reach. At length, encouraged by their keepers, and driven by the impulses of nature, they seize the artificial victim, rip it open with their teeth, and devour its contents with all that eagerness, which is more easily imagined than described.

A repetition of this mode of treatment soon familiarizes the dogs to the artificial African, and, in a little while, they expect food through no other channel. After a while these forms are made to bear a still stronger resemblance to the victims they are designed to represent. The dogs are taught to survey them at a distance, to behold them occasionally in an attitude of motion, and to contemplate the figure without having but little to allure the smell. Their attachment to these unnatural vehicles of food increases in proportion to the length of time they

have been accustomed to receive it through that medium; and their impatience becomes more visible, as the calls of hunger grow more imperious, and as the moving figure is made to approach towards them. At length, after they have been teased by hunger and their keepers, even to madness, they are permitted to seize the figure, as by accident, to overcome its apparently ineffectual struggles to disengage itself; to tear it open and devour the nauseous cargo; and to glut themselves with blood.

In the mean while, the Chasseurs, exhibiting signs of approbation at the conquest which their pupils have made, and being in reality delighted with their proficiency, contribute to their indulgence by every expression of encouragement. They are stroked; they are caressed; they are invited to renew their carnival; and taught, by every action, that this is the mode of life which they are both solicited and destined to pursue. It is obvious, that by these means, the Whites ingratiate themselves into their favour, while the Blacks are considered as objects of their prey. The former obtain a superiority over them, and the latter sink even beneath the blood-hounds, that are taught to devour them.

Instructed thus in the first rudiments of their barbarous employment, as soon as their knowledge in their business is deemed sufficiently forward, they are taken from their kennels or cages, and carried to places in which their proficiency may be demonstrated by actual experiment. The mind shudders at the recital of the horrors she contemplates, and veils in silence what no language has sufficient energy to express. "*In some instances (observes Mr. Rainsford) this is extended to a great length; but, in general, their discipline could not permanently retain them under the command of their leaders;—the consequence is obvious.*" p. 427.

These detestable scenes are, however, varnished over with the sympathetic terms of *melaucholy accidents, great misfortunes, or unaccountable disasters*. These, in a *tolerant* Spanish colony, are sufficient to silence future enquiries, but not to prevent a repetition of the enormities. Their occasional recurrence, is, however, cancelled with a repetition of regret, or defended on the score of political expediency,—as one of those partial evils, which is necessary to produce a public good.

The professed end which the Spaniards acknowledge to have in view, in thus training these dogs, is to pursue

fugitive Negroes; who, having escaped the tyranny of their masters, had sought and found an asylum in the mountains. With blood-hounds, sufficiently trained to answer their purposes, the Chasseurs, even more ferocious than the dogs they have instructed, traverse the suspicious parts of their secret haunts, encouraging the dogs to search every avenue, with nearly the same dexterity that a huntsman in Europe, uses to start a hare, or rouse a beast of prey. The dogs, soon initiated into the tactics of their masters, exert themselves till they catch a scent.

“When all the savage soul of game is up at once,” the unfortunate victims are then immediately pursued by these half-starved animals; and these again are followed by the Chasseurs,—

“Who joy at anguish, and delight in blood.”

Unfortunately, it frequently happens that the blood-hounds outstrip their companions, and overtake the unhappy fugitive, almost breathless with attempting to escape, and unable to make any resistance. In this case he submits to his fate; the dogs seize upon him in an instant, and devour his flesh, while he utters his unavailing shrieks. Under these circumstances, when the Chasseurs arrive at the fatal spot, they have nothing more to do than to select some part of the refuse of the dogs, as a trophy of their success, to exhibit, on their return, as a memorial of honour, and a title to reward.

Sometimes, however, it happens that the fugitive Negro, aware that the dogs are gaining upon him, in order to elude their search, ascends a tree; should the dogs in this case be so fortunate as to miss him, and to move elsewhere to recover the scent, he escapes their devouring jaws. But such instances rarely occur. The sagacious quadruped generally pursues the scent home to the foot of the tree, where he continues yelping, till he collects his companions. These all join in one dismal howl, which directs the Chasseurs to the spot, who, knowing the occasion, proceed to act as circumstances may direct. If the victim is not to be preserved alive for a public exhibition of wanton barbarity, he is obliged to descend, and either renew the chase, which soon terminates in his death, as already described, or die upon the spot. But if, on the contrary, he is to be made a public example among his former fellow-slaves, the dogs are collected

together and instantly muzzled; for without this it would be hardly possible even for the Chasseurs to restrain the ferocity with which they are inspired, while within sight of their prey.

As soon as the dogs are muzzled, the victim is obliged to descend from the tree in which he had found, rather a prolongation of his miserable fate, than a temporary rescue from danger. As soon as he is in the custody of his pursuers, an iron hoop is locked fast about his neck, and occasionally he is loaded with chains. At the extremities of this hoop, which is flattened in an horizontal direction, are placed several hooks, which are so contrived, that they may continually entangle the prisoner among the bushes, in case he should be so mad as to attempt an escape. In addition to this, on the flattened part of the hoop, which, while it is about his neck, rests upon his shoulders, they insert spikes, which thus become inverted, and press with their points upon his naked flesh, in which position he is obliged to bear the iron load.

It is obvious that in every step the victim takes, the motion of his body must communicate motion to the hoop that incloses his neck; and that the pressure of this hoop, now increased by motion, must force the spikes to enter his shoulders. And while thus marching, a prisoner both to dogs and men, if he study the ease of his movements, to soften the excruciating pains from which he cannot flee, the bushes, which will unavoidably fasten to the hooks, which extend from the extremities of the hoop, stopping him with a sudden jerk, must occasion pangs which cannot be contemplated without horror.

Still, however, these pangs are but a prelude to those which are still in reserve. Of this melancholy truth the prisoner is not insensible; he therefore sometimes outwalks his wearied tyrants, and, notwithstanding his situation, occasionally endeavours to run away. In this case the Chasseurs have a remedy at hand. The dogs are instantly unmuzzled, and directed to pursue him. Retarded in his progress, through the occasions which have been mentioned, it is impossible that he can either flee with speed, or secure himself in any safe retreat. The dogs, somewhat refreshed with easy travelling, renew the chase with fresh vigour; they instantly overtake the victim; and finding him, perhaps entangled in the bushes, exhausted with fatigue, fainting with hunger, loaded with irons, unable to make any resistance, and beyond the



reach of mercy, instantly tear him in pieces and devour him.

“With horrid delight (says Mr. Rainsford) the Chasseurs sometimes preserve the head, to expose at their homes as monuments of their barbarous prowess. Frequently, on a journey of any length, these causes were, it is much to be feared, feigned for the purpose of relieving the keepers of their prisoners; and the inhuman wretch who perpetrated the act, on his oath of having destroyed a fellow-creature, received the reward of ten dollars from the colony.”—*Hist. of Hayti*, p. 429.

These observations of Rainsford are applied by him solely to the Island of Hispansola, in which place, during the horrors of the late war, it is reasonable to conclude, that more actions of inhumanity have been performed by these dogs, than in the Island of Cuba, which has never exhibited to the world such a scene of carnage. It is not, however, of times of revolt and general insurrection that we have spoken. The acts of depravity committed in these seasons of warfare in St. Domingo have hitherto been, in a great measure, concealed from mankind; and if known, they would but wound the feelings, and add to the general stock of prejudice which subsists between nation and nation, and perhaps mature it to detestation. The inferences, however, to which the reasonings of Mr. Rainsford lead, are but natural consequences of an inhuman propensity, rendered still more ferocious by the excesses of war.

“If (says he) the most dreadful accidents among the Blacks were ascribed, and it is apprehended justly, to the troops of blood-hounds, in the very spots on which they were reared, what was not to be expected on the seat of war, amidst innumerable prejudices, and the powerful motive of self-preservation?—when every one conceived himself justified in contributing an act of barbarity to the common cause, while it arose, perhaps, out of his own cruel disposition. The writer shrinks from the task of description in this place; yet the concealment will not excite the detestation he urges against the very idea of ever again introducing these animals under any pretext whatever to the assistance of an army. But indifferently kept, the dogs frequently broke loose in the vicinity of the Cape, and infants were devoured in an instant from the public way. At other times they proceeded to the neighbouring woods, and surprised an harmless family of la-

bourers at their simple meal, tore the babe from the breast of the mother, or involved the whole party, and returned with their horrid jaws drenched in the gore of those who were acknowledged, even in the eyes of the French army, as innocent, and therefore permitted to furnish them with the produce of their labour. Huts were broken into by them, and

— but the picture becomes too dreadful even for the best of purposes." p. 429,

Such were the ravages, in St. Domingo, of these detestable auxiliaries, that were employed to assist the forces of Le Clerc, in his ineffectual attempts to subdue the Island, and to bring it once more under the dominion of France. It is melancholy to reflect, that, in an age which professes itself to be more enlightened than those which preceded it, and that boasts of advances in civilization which preceding generations never knew, such clouds should be permitted to darken the scene, and cover its pretensions with shade. Posterity will view these inconsistencies with astonishment, and hesitate to give credit to the accounts, which will be transmitted to them through the faithful page of history. And, forming their judgments from the scenes which these records must exhibit, they will be led to conclude, that our refinements in civil and social life are necessarily connected with refinements in inhumanity, which more than counteract the advantages of which we boast. The purity of their manners may indeed set aside these conclusions: in this case, these branches of our history will furnish them with materials for much painful reflection, and induce them to drop the tear of compassion upon the deeds of their degenerate ancestors, and to mourn over the depravity of the human heart.

Unhappily, it is not to France and Spain alone that the services of these dogs have been confined. A colony of Great Britain, though not a partaker of their turpitude, has adopted the same principle, and been a partial imitator of their conduct. In a war with the Maroons in the Island of Jamaica, which terminated in 1738, the Legislature of the Island directed, that barracks, fortified with bastions, should be erected in the vicinity of their most favourite haunts. And to render these the more effectual, *every barrack was also furnished with a pack of dogs*, to accomplish their subjugation. And, as though Christianity were to be amenable for this unwar-

rantable expedient, *these blood-hounds were to be provided by the church-wardens of the respective parishes*; "it being foreseen," says Mr. B. Edwards, "that these animals would prove extremely serviceable, not only in guarding against surprises in the night, *but in tracking the enemy.*" Vol. I. p. 529.

In the year 1795, during the Maroon war, of which we have given some account in the first volume, recourse was had to the previous example, which had been established in 1738. Cuba, it was well known, could furnish the article in a high state of discipline, and a messenger was instantly dispatched to procure *one hundred* of these ferocious animals to co-operate with the British troops.

Prior to the arrival of these canine auxiliaries, the war continued with such vicissitudes as are accustomed to attend such peculiar hostilities. The abilities and perseverance of Major General Walpole had, however, reduced the Maroons to great extremities, and but little doubt could be entertained as to the favourable issue of the conflict. These circumstances rendered the assistance of the dogs almost wholly unnecessary, so that on their arrival they were permitted to operate only in name.

"On the 14th of December," says Mr. Edwards, "the commissioners, who went to the Havannah for assistance, arrived at Montego Bay with 40 Chasseurs, or Spanish huntsmen, and about 100 Spanish dogs. Such extraordinary accounts were immediately spread of the terrific appearance of these animals, as made an impression on the minds of the Negroes that was equally surprising and unexpected.

"But, notwithstanding the reduced condition of the Maroons, they continued to hold out, so that on the 14th of January, 1796, orders were issued from the commander in chief to General Walpole, to march without further delay against the rebels. These orders were punctually obeyed; but, from regard to humanity, the Spanish dogs were ordered in the rear of the army. The effect, however, was immediate. General Walpole had advanced but a short way in the woods, when a supplication for mercy was brought him from the enemy, and 260 of them soon afterward surrendered, on no other condition than a promise of their lives. It is pleasing to observe, that *not a drop of blood was spilt after the dogs arrived in the Island.*"—Edwards, Vol. I. p. 568-9.

That no blood was shed after the arrival of these dogs,

is a point which hardly at present admits of any controversy; and that these dogs were never called into action, even the most violent opposers of their being procured have never presumed to prove. For this partial preservation of our national honour we are probably indebted to the personal humanity of General Walpole. But the measure, to which the colony resorted, has fixed a stain which time itself will hardly be able to efface. Most sincerely do we unite with Mr. Rainsford, in expressing our detestation of the principle; and our hopes, that, under the idea of assisting an army, these animals may never more be introduced, to increase the miseries of war.

But, notwithstanding the facts which have been related, it is evident, that in the British colonies, this inhumanity in war has not been matured into a system. Even the dogs were imported from a foreign Island, which affords a decisive proof that Jamaica could produce none. If resorted to, it was only from the momentary impulse of the most imminent danger, which may tend to palliate, though not to excuse the measure.

The case, however, is totally different with respect to St. Domingo and Cuba; in which places blood-hounds are bred and disciplined, for those purposes which we have already described. In the latter of these Islands, we learn, from the supply which it was able to afford Jamaica, that the Chasseurs and their detestable charge were to be obtained without difficulty, upon the first application. The number sent was suitable to the request; and without doubt, had the order been for double the quantity, it could have been furnished with equal ease. These circumstances induce us to view the inhabitants of Cuba as governed by a barbarous and inhuman policy. Particular instances of canine ferocity, nevertheless, can hardly be expected to transpire, because it is for the reputation of those who suffer them to be practised, to conceal them from the world.

Unhappily, the Romish religion, which has been uniformly established in this Island, has furnished us with too many evidences, both in the old world and the new, that restraints upon the lawless sallies of the vengeful passions, are what it is not very solicitous to impose. Attached to form and ceremony, and initiated into the principles of this implicit faith, the inhabitants of this vast, this insulated desert, are but too negligent in the

discharge of more important duties. The amiable feelings of the human heart grow callous by the influence of example, and harden by the repetition of barbarous actions, in a mind which is destitute of those principles which give being to remorse. The seeds of virtue languish in such a pernicious soil, and mercy soon becomes a stranger to the human bosom. The artificial refinements of justice too frequently destroy its nature, and spread a varnish over guilt. Delusion becomes venerable in proportion to its age, and bequeaths to posterity an inheritance, compounded of ignorance, interest, and crime.

## CHAP. XLV.

## HISPANIOLA.

*Retrospective survey of the adventures of Columbus, with additional observations on the discovery, and early settlement of this Island.—Hardships of Columbus.—Meets his brother Bartholomew.—Adventures of his brother.—Disasters attending the early settlement of the Colony.—Peculiar distresses of Columbus.—Progress of the Colony under Ovando.—Superseded by Diego Columbus.*

THE Island of *Hayti*, or *Hispaniola*, but now more generally known by the name of *St. Domingo*, though nearly the first in the discoveries of Columbus, happens to be the last in our description.

*Hayti*, was the ancient Indian name of the Island, of which we are now about to speak. It was denominated *Espagnola*, or *Hispaniola*, by Columbus, on its first discovery; and its more modern appellative arose from that of its chief city, the foundations of which were laid by Don Diego Columbus, brother to the illustrious adventurer, and which was called *St. Domingo*, or *Dominica*, in honour of the name of their father, which from pious gratitude they were solicitous to perpetuate.

Of the arrival of Columbus in the new world, his interview with the natives, their hospitality, simplicity, and numbers; and of the subsequent voyages, discoveries, reverses of fortune, calamities, and death, of a man whose name the world can never forget, and whose memory the remotest posterity must revere, we have already spoken in the first volume. We shall therefore recite in this place no more than is barely sufficient to account for the original settlement, and to introduce us to the progress of European power and arts.

From the Island of *St. Salvador*, on which Columbus first landed, he was directed by the natives to a larger Island that lay at no great distance from them. This Island

they denominated Hayti, and they represented it as a place abounding in gold. They were induced to give these directions from observing the strong attachment of the strangers to the precious metal, of which they had been able to furnish them with a few specimens. Columbus reached Hayti on the 6th of December, 1492, and landed in a small bay, to which he gave the name of St. Nicholas.

The natives, though affrighted at first, soon grew composed, and fear gave place to astonishment. Their affections were easily conciliated, so that a good understanding immediately took place. Traffic soon commenced. The Indians had gold, and the Spaniards had trifles. Both were willing to barter; the Indians wanted toys, and the Spaniards wanted the precious ore. An exchange was immediately made, and both parties were highly pleased with their bargains.

The Island at this time was divided into five districts, each of which was governed by a Cacique, or King, whose dominion was absolute, and whose will was law. One of these Caciques, notwithstanding the dignity of his person, paid a visit to Columbus. He was carried in great state, in a kind of palanquin, on men's shoulders, and was treated by his attendants with the utmost respect. His manners were affable and courteous; his appearance benignant and dignified; and his address far from being unpleasant. He presented Columbus with some articles of curious workmanship, for gold appeared beneath his station, and received some little toys in return.

Of the strange idea of value attached by their new visitors to gold, the natives were unable to form any conception. But finding that nothing ranked so highly in their estimation, they pointed them to the mountains, in which they presumed there were mines of this precious metal; as those pieces which they had been able to procure, had either been washed from their summits by violent torrents of rain, or picked from the beds of the rivers which flowed through the vallies. The name which the natives gave to these mountains was Cibao, a name which the Spaniards did not alter, and which they still retain.

In coasting this Island, Columbus, through the carelessness of one of his pilots, had the misfortune to lose one of his three vessels. At the same time one of the others had parted from him, and he laboured under the

greatest uncertainty of ever seeing her again. In preserving the stores from the wreck, he received a convincing proof of the friendly dispositions of the natives towards him. Through their assistance, but a small part was destroyed by the waters; and of those articles which reached the shore, not one was embezzled.

Having thus far been successful, though he had lost his ship, both necessity and choice induced him to leave part of his crew behind, while he returned to Spain to give an account of his discoveries, and to obtain more assistance to prosecute his vast undertaking.

In the course of his conversations with one of the Caciques, Columbus had learned that at some distance from the spot on which they then were, there were other Islands, inhabited by a ferocious race of men, who were restless and savage, delighting in war; and who occasionally visited their abode, spreading terror and alarm through their whole territory. These men, who were the Charaibees, the Cacique furthermore informed the admiral, were canibals; that the inhabitants of Hayti, though numerous, were unable to withstand their depredations; and that, in consequence of their apprehensions, they were kept in continual alarm.

Columbus, availing himself of this report, told the Cacique in reply, that in case he would put himself and his subjects under the dominion of the king of Spain, his master, he would engage to deliver them from the ferocious savages that had occasioned their fears. And that, as a proof of his sincerity, though he was about to return to his native country, he would leave a party of his men behind, to assist them, during his absence, in case of an attack.

The conditions thus proposed, adjusted, and accepted, both parties seemed highly pleased;—the Cacique with the prospect of protection, and Columbus with that of securing the Island. To render this mutual engagement more effectual, Columbus represented the necessity of erecting a fort, to defend them against the incursions of the canibals. This was immediately assented to; and the deluded Indians, though unaccustomed to labour, assisted without a murmur, in the erection of a fort, which was designed to accomplish their own subjugation.

Affairs being thus amicably adjusted, Columbus set sail for Europe, leaving behind him in the fort 38 men, under the command of Diego de Arado, a gentleman of



Cordova, who had accompanied him in the adventure. Prior to his departure, he transferred to De Arado, the power that he himself had exercised; charging both him and them, at the same time, to continue to cultivate the good opinion and affections of the Indians, and notwithstanding their seeming friendship, by no means whatever to wander from the fort, or put themselves in their power. Columbus departed from Hayti, on the 4th of January, 1493, and reached Spain the March following.

Scarcely had he departed from his infant colony, before they departed from the instructions which he had given, so that nothing but anarchy prevailed. The men threw off all subordination; and, neglectful of their own personal safety, occasionally wandered from the fort, plundered the Indians of their gold, destroyed their provisions through mere wanton barbarity, and seized and violated their women. The consequences of such conduct it is easy to foresee. Instead of viewing the Spaniards as supporting that dignified character, for which they had given them the fullest credit, they considered them as degraded below their own standard, and as being monsters in depravity.

The mountains of Cibao were those which the Spaniards most frequented, in hopes of obtaining gold; it was therefore in this district that they committed the greatest depredations. The Cacique of Cibao, irritated by such unprovoked aggressions, at length formed a design to make resistance. He accordingly surprised a party of the stragglers, and cut them off without ceremony. Animated with this success, and being fully convinced that the Spaniards were subject to mortality, he next prepared to attack the fort. The conquest of the remaining colonists was no difficult task, in their disordered state. This being accomplished, he set fire to the fort, and utterly exterminated this remnant of their invaders.

Columbus returned in the November following, and, to his great mortification, found the fort demolished, and his companions dead. The narration of their fate he learned from one of the Caciques, who had espoused their cause, without being able, either to justify their deeds, or preserve them from destruction.

Convinced that this was no time to revenge the injury, and confident that the Spaniards had merited their doom, Columbus found means to direct the attention of his new

adventurers into a different channel. In a spacious plain, adjoining to a commodious bay, he traced the outlines of a new town, of which he immediately laid the foundation. To this city, the first that ever was erected in the new world, in honour of his patroness, he gave the name of *Isabella*. Example has more influence than precept: of this Columbus was fully sensible; he therefore not only compelled every man in his suite, of whatever quality, to labour in so necessary a work, but exerted himself in promoting with all possible expedition, what he thought to be so essential to the general safety.

Unfortunately, many of his new associates, having been accustomed to a life of indolence, felt an aversion to labour; and the whole colony was upon the eve of a mutiny, when Columbus, to appease their clamours, conducted them in solemn pomp to the mountains of Cibao, to survey the prospect of gold, of which the Indians had before given him the information. This had the desired effect. The mines afforded them a prospect of wealth, and concord and subordination were once more restored.

Stimulated perpetually by a spirit of enterprise, which no disasters could repress, Columbus, availing himself of the tranquillity which had been established, embarked in pursuit of new discoveries. The care of his infant colony he committed to his brother Diego, who, with a council formed of his officers, was appointed to transact, during his absence, such business as might occur. For their protection they had a body of soldiers, commanded by Don Pedro Margarita; these, as occasion offered, were directed to traverse the Island,—to visit parts which had hitherto been unexplored,—to avail themselves of every species of useful information, and, above all, to establish the authority of the Spaniards.

During this voyage, which lasted five months, but which was attended with no advantage besides the discovery of Jamaica, the hardships which Columbus underwent were almost incredible. These had such an effect upon his constitution, as to bring on a disease which nearly cost him his life. In this condition he returned to the colony, in which the aspect of affairs was by no means favourable; but his spirits were somewhat relieved from meeting with his brother Bartholomew, from whom he had been separated about thirteen years.

Bartholomew, when Columbus first formed the design of discovering the new world, had been dispatched to the

court of England to make proposals to Henry VII. to induce that monarch to furnish him with ships and necessaries, to enable him to prosecute his projected discoveries, in case he should prove unsuccessful in his application to the court of Spain. Unfortunately, while on his voyage of negociation, he had fallen into the hands of pirates, who not only stripped him of all he possessed, but detained him a prisoner for several years. Liberated at length, after a long and painful confinement, Bartholomew reached London in a state of the most abject poverty. And being too meanly clothed to appear at court to communicate his mission, it has been said that he was under the necessity of drawing maps for sale, to procure for himself a more becoming dress, and a scanty subsistence, while he waited the issue of a negociation which terminated unsuccessfully. Ignorant of his brother's fortune, he left England as soon he found he had nothing to hope, and proceeded to Spain by the way of France. In Paris he received the first intelligence of his brother. With this he learned that his application to Spain had been ultimately successful;—that he had prosecuted his first voyage;—had astonished Europe with the discovery of another world, and that he was then in Spain, preparing to depart on his second voyage. Assured of these facts, he left Paris immediately, and pursued his journey to Spain with the utmost expedition; but unfortunately he did not reach it, till Columbus had departed. He was received in Spain with every mark of respect and honour, and was appointed to take upon him the command of three vessels which were then preparing to carry out provisions to the infant colony, and to join his brother in the exploring of seas and lands which were still unknown. His voyage was prosperous; and he reached the colony at a moment when both himself and his supplies were much wanted, and met Columbus as we have already described.

Prior to the arrival of Bartholomew, and while Columbus was suffering among the rocks of Cuba, the provisions which had been left at the colony were considerably diminished, while the remaining part had been so much damaged by the climate, as to become unfit for use. The Indians, though vastly numerous, were naturally indolent, and therefore cultivated no more land than was barely sufficient to afford them a scanty subsistence. They had therefore nothing to spare, to supply

the wants of voracious strangers, who had rendered themselves odious by their assumption of power, and by their crimes. The Spaniards, urged by hunger, and their own natural propensities, had entirely forgotten the injunctions of Columbus. They had renewed their depredations on the natives,—had plundered them of their scanty provisions,—had provoked them to retaliate some of the wrongs they had received; so that, on the arrival of Bartholomew, and the return of Columbus, the whole Island that had been the seat of tranquillity, wore the appearance of famine and war.

The supplies brought by Bartholomew afforded a temporary relief, and but little more. They were sufficient to soften the demands of appetite, but not to allay that ferment which had been raised, nor to repair those acts of injustice which had been wantonly committed. The Indians, averse to war, bore their sufferings with patience, so long as they could perceive any hope that their oppressors intended to depart. But when they painfully surveyed the rising town, and the ramparts which were designed to defend it;—the inclosure which they had sown with grain, and the forts which they had erected in the interior parts of their territory, all prospect of their departure vanished; in consequence of which their hopes and their patience expired together, and they flew to arms, determined either to exterminate or drive them from the lands of which they had so unjustly taken possession.

The Spaniards, although they had thrown off all subordination, on finding themselves about to be attacked by an enemy that became formidable from number, were obliged to unite their contending factions, to oppose with seriousness the savages, who were grown courageous through despair. Columbus, animated at the sight of his brother, and fostered by his care, soon recovered his health; and the danger, which threatened the colony, once more established his authority. The Indians assembled together in an open plain, the Vega Real, to the number of *one hundred thousand*. These were defeated without a blow, by the terrific appearance of *two hundred* foot, *twenty* horse, and *twenty large dogs*. The horse and his rider, they considered to be but one animal, the power of which was irresistible; while the gleam of swords and musquets diffused terror through their souls, as sudden and incomprehensible, as the artificial lightning which the beams of the sun upon these arms occasioned.

Multitudes of these self-defeated Indians threw down their weapons, acknowledged themselves prisoners, and submitted to servitude. Others, who were so fortunate as to escape the present calamity, abandoned themselves to despair; and, instead of attempting to declare open war against their invaders, considered both themselves and their country to be inevitably lost.

Columbus, after this easy conquest, employed several months in traversing the Island, and in completing the subjugation of the remaining natives. On these, as they were subdued, he levied a tax, obliging them to furnish him with a given quantity of gold every month, to gratify the avarice of the Spaniards, who, both at home and abroad, were basely attempting to undermine his reputation. This tax the Indians considered as an infringement upon their liberties, from which nothing but death could afford them any prospect of a release.

To be revenged on the Spaniards for the injuries they had received, they had recourse to another expedient, and attempted to subdue by famine those whom they were unable to conquer by arms. They pulled up the roots, and suspended most of their simple agricultural operations, and retiring into the inaccessible parts of the mountains, subsisted upon such wild productions of nature, as the season and the situation afforded. This method, however, operated contrary to their calculations, and brought upon themselves those very evils which they had been preparing for their enemies. Though their individual wants were small, the berries which grew wild were soon exhausted, and multitudes fell victims to that famine, which their improper policy had occasioned.

But although the Spaniards had nearly conquered all the Indians, they had by no means subdued the factious spirit which influenced many of their own actions, and which had, more than once, nearly proved fatal to their colony. Reports, injurious to the reputation of Columbus, had been repeatedly transmitted to Spain. These had found a favourable acceptance with his enemies at court; and, through their intrigues, one Aguado, a groom of the bedchamber, was sent out to inspect the conduct of the great adventurer. Prejudiced against him through the malicious misrepresentations of his foes, Aguado behaved with all that insolence peculiar to little minds, when a state of servility and degradation is succeeded by sudden elevation.

Columbus, who found a cloud gathering fast about him, which it became necessary for him to disperse, immediately embarked for Spain, leaving his brother Bartholomew to act during his absence, as *Adelantado*, or lieutenant-governor, while one Francis Roldan was appointed to act as chief justice. The latter was unfortunately a misplaced trust, which laid the foundation of new evils, and fostered them in the colony, while he went to Spain to remedy the old. Having access to Ferdinand and Isabella, he soon made his own integrity to appear, in a most satisfactory manner; while the calumnies that had been raised against him by his foes, were discountenanced as unmerited and malicious.

But it was not merely the reputation of Columbus, that this voyage was advantageous; it also produced some considerable acquisitions to the colony; a plan being established for its future management, on a more permanent and extensive scale. Still a great number of hands was wanted to work the mines, and cultivate the lands. To obtain these in sufficient numbers was attended with some difficulty. "Time, (says Raynal) which brings in reflection to counteract the magic of enthusiasm, had destroyed that fondness for expedition to the new world, which at first so strongly prevailed. The ostentatious display of the treasure brought from thence, ceased to be an incitement; on the contrary, the livid complexions of all the people who returned home, and the severe and disgraceful distempers under which the greater part laboured; the accounts of the unwholesomeness of the climate, of the numbers who had lost their lives, and the hardships they had undergone from the scarcity of provisions; an unwillingness to obey a foreigner, who was blamed for the severity of his discipline, and perhaps the jealousy they entertained of his growing reputation, all contributed to produce an insuperable prejudice against San Domingo, in the subjects of the province of Castile, the only Spaniards who were allowed to embark in that enterprise.

It was necessary however, to procure planters at any rate: the admiral, therefore, proposed to have recourse to the prisons; and, by rescuing the greatest malefactors from death and infamy, to make them the instruments of extending the power of their country, of which they had been the bane and disgrace; but, unfortunately, he soon experienced the ill effects of his injudicious proposal.

With this horde of miscreants, some artificers, some husbandmen, and some women, Columbus set sail from Spain, to revisit his colony, after an absence of two years. Three of the vessels which composed his little fleet, he dispatched to it from the Canaries, while, with the remainder, several months were taken up by him, in the performing of a circuitous voyage, in which he discovered the vast continent of America,—“the crown of all his enterprises and of all his sorrows.” Weary, sick, and emaciated, he reached Hispaniola, and found the colony, as he had always found it after his absence, in a state of confusion and disorder, that allowed him no repose after all his toils.

The colony during his absence, had been removed by Diego Columbus, through the advice of his brother Bartholomew, to a more eligible situation, in which, in 1498, was founded the city of St. Domingo, which was afterward to give its name to the whole Island. Several skirmishes had also taken place between the Indians and the Spaniards, in which the latter had been always victorious; and to complete the disasters which afflicted the colony, Roldan, who, prior to the admiral's departure, had been appointed chief justice, had formed a conspiracy; and, heading a considerable number of the Spaniards, had taken up arms against Diego and Bartholomew. In their depredations they had seized upon the king's magazine of provisions; they had even attempted to surprise the fort at St. Domingo, but in this they were defeated by the vigilance and courage of Diego.

These mutineers, having thrown off their allegiance to the governor, by opposing his legal representative; had retired in solemn independence to the province of Xaragua, in which place they had excited the Indians also to revolt.

When Columbus sailed from Spain, he had under his command six ships. These accompanied each other to the Canaries, from which place he had dispatched three, to proceed immediately to Hispaniola with supplies, while he conducted the others to the shores of the American continent, as has been described. On his arrival at St. Domingo he had the mortification to learn that these vessels had never yet been seen by the colonists. Through the violence of currents, and the bad management of their commanders, they had been carried about 160 miles to the West of the colony, and had taken

shelter in a harbour, in that province where Roldan had erected the standard of rebellion.

Ignorant of what had happened, and seduced by the insinuating address of Roldan, the captains were easily persuaded to put on shore a considerable number of their new recruits, under a pretence that they might travel over land to the new colony. These men, the refuse of the jails of Spain, were no sooner in his power, than they were easily persuaded to adhere to his party, and espouse his cause. The captains had discovered their error when it was too late to remedy it: they, nevertheless, stood away immediately for the colony; and having expended almost all the provisions which were destined for its relief, reached St. Domingo a few days after the arrival of Columbus.

In this critical and alarming crisis, the admiral was compelled immediately either to fight or to negotiate. He preferred the latter, and finally succeeded. "By a seasonable proclamation, (says Robertson) offering pardon to such as should merit it by returning to their duty, he made an impression upon some of the malecontents. By engaging to grant such as should desire it, the liberty of returning to Spain, he allured the unfortunate, who from sickness and disappointment were disgusted with the country. By promising to re-establish Roldan in his former office, he soothed his pride; and by complying with most of his demands in behalf of his followers, he satisfied his avarice. Thus gradually, and without bloodshed, but after many tedious negotiations, he dissolved this dangerous combination, which threatened the colony with ruin, and restored the appearance of order, regular government, and tranquillity."

Columbus, having thus, by making sacrifices which nothing but the exigency of the occasion could justify, reconciled the contending factions, enjoyed a momentary peace, but nothing more. Surrounded by wretches who had united together the villainies of both worlds, he had to contend with private conspiracies, and public opposition. "The malefactors (says Raynal) who accompanied Columbus, in conjunction with the freebooters in St. Domingo, formed a society the most abandoned that can be imagined. They were strangers to subordination, decency, and humanity. The admiral, in particular, was the object of their resentment, who saw too late the fatal error he had committed, or, into which, perhaps, he



had been betrayed by his enemies. This extraordinary man paid very dear for the fame which his genius and industry had procured him. His life exhibited a perpetual contrast, between those incidents which either elate or depress the mind of a conqueror. He was not only continually exposed to cabals, calumnies, and the ingratitude of individuals, but had the caprice of a haughty and suspicious court to encounter, which by turns rewarded or punished, caressed or disgraced him."

Columbus, by the ships that were passing from the colony to Europe, transmitted to the court of Spain an account of the late rebellion that had been raised by Roldan, prior to his arrival; while Roldan in his turn embraced the same mode of conveyance, to justify his own conduct, and to load with the severest reproaches that of Columbus, his brothers, and adherents. The accounts transmitted by Roldan, through the intrigues of the party which aimed at the disgrace of the discoverers, gained the ascendancy once more with the mean-spirited monarch; who, actuated by some of those reasons of state, which, Voltaire observes, "are mysteries to the vulgar," sent out Francis de Bovadillo, a knight of Calatravia, to supersede him, and to take upon himself that authority of which he was to deprive Columbus. This ambitious, this self-interested, this supercilious instrument of party, no sooner reached the Island than he seized Columbus, and putting him in irons, despatched him to Spain, degraded like a felon. This transaction, as disgraceful as it is memorable, took place in the year 1500.

Bovadillo, before the departure of Columbus, to render himself popular among his detestable countrymen, proceeded to gratify them at the expence of Indian blood. Multitudes of the miserable natives, who had hitherto escaped the blood-hounds, and the swords of their invaders, were immediately numbered and divided into classes. These were distributed among the Spaniards as their exclusive property, and were either doomed to cultivate the soil for their new masters, or condemned to the mines to ransack the bowels of the earth for gold, till death, their only consolation, should release them from their sufferings. "This regulation (says Robertson) introduced among the Spaniards the *Repartimientos*, or distribution of the Indians, established by them in all their settlements, which brought numberless calamities

upon that unhappy people, and subjected them to the most grievous oppression."

Ferdinand, on the arrival of Columbus in chains, was shocked at the light in which the world must survey his conduct, and instantly gave orders to release him from his fetters. But though he obtained his liberty, his wrongs were not redressed; nor was he restored to those employments of which he had been so unjustly robbed. The conduct of Bovadillo was, however, represented by him; and its effects and consequences upon the Indians and the infant colony, in such a perspicuous light, that it was plain the former must be wholly exterminated, and the latter ruined, if they continued to pursue the plan which he had adopted.

To prevent these calamities, which at once shocked their humanity and their avarice, and to rescue their reputation from the odium which began to cover it, the Spanish court issued an order to recal both Bovadillo and Roldan; and Nicholas Ovando was sent out to superintend the colony, and to institute such regulations as might controul the licentious spirit of the Spaniards, and preserve the blood of the Indians.

Ovando succeeded Bovadillo in the government of Hispaniola in 1501, at which time he conducted to the new world, an armament consisting of 32 ships, with 2500 settlers. These arrived at the port in safety, and infused new vigour into the infant settlement, that was languishing under injustice, and stained with blood.

Commissioned by his sovereign to supersede a man who was to be recalled for his injustice and oppression, his directions of course were more favourable to the cause of humanity, than those which had caused the actions of his predecessor. The numbers of new settlers that he had imported, afforded also considerable assistance to the growing colony; and yielded to the miserable Indians a temporary relief from their sufferings. This change tended, indeed, in a small measure, to retard the works which were going onward; but it gave a consistency to their proceedings, and introduced a mode of life that bore a nearer resemblance to regular society.

The Indians, discharged from their servitude, were strongly urged to unite with the Spaniards, and labour for an adequate reward. But nothing could induce them to accept the offer, or yield to the solicitation. Their disinclination to use exertions being heightened by their

detestation of their oppressors, they availed themselves of that gleam of hope which played around them for the moment, but which was about to take its everlasting departure, and consign them over to all the horrors of inhumanity and despair.

The Spaniards, though numerous at first, through the influence of the climate, the prevalence of disease, and their natural antipathy to labour, soon became insufficient of themselves to cultivate the soil, and work the mines; many fell victims to their own indiscretion, and some abandoned the Island when deprived of their slaves. To remedy these inconveniences, the humanity of Ovando gave way; and the sun, which had but just begun to shine upon the Indians, not only withdrew its lustre, but instantly set in everlasting darkness. They were once more dragged from their connexions and amusements, with all that rapacity with which a vulture pounces upon its prey, and condemned to drudgeries which terminated only with their lives. "No treachery (says Rainsford) was too gross, no violation of sex or dignity too painful for this unhappy people, in the hands of the Spaniards: all regulations tending to mitigate the rigour of their servitude were forgotten, while their labour was increased. Ferdinand conferred grants of them as rewards to his courtiers, who farmed them out, being no longer considered or treated but as beings of an inferior species, of no other use than as instruments of wealth, and I could almost say, subjects of oppression.\*

The blood of the natives was, however, transmuted into gold; and this circumstance, in the eyes of Spain, gave a sanction to the deeds of her subjects, and was thought an ample recompence for all the sufferings of humanity. Nearly half a million sterling was, for several years, extracted from the mines, and carried annually to the king's smelting-house, which had been erected to refine the precious metal. The sudden fortunes raised by individuals who had been remarkable only for their obscurity, held out an irresistible temptation to others in the mother country; and swarms removed to St. Domingo, to enrich themselves with gold at the expense of

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\* For a particular detail of these inhumanities, the reader is referred to the second chapter of our first volume. In this place we have no further design in introducing the mention of them, than to trace their connexion with the early settlement of this important colony.

human blood; and to add to those calamities of the natives, which were already become insupportable. Many of these adventurers, as it is natural to suppose, were dreadfully disappointed. The death of some of their countrymen had been eclipsed by the good fortune of others; and they were allured by visionary wealth, to enter a distant region, to find a grave.

But while the Spaniards were enriching themselves with the treasures of the mines, the instruments through whose exertions they were procured, daily diminished. The death of these unhappy beings, through fatigue, disease, famine, wanton barbarity, and suicide, reduced their numbers to such a scanty remnant, in 1507, that the most serious apprehensions were entertained for the future existence of the colony. "When Columbus discovered Hispaniola, (says Robertson) the number of its inhabitants was computed at least to be a *million*. They were now reduced to *sixty thousand* in fifteen years."

But notwithstanding the cruelty of Ovando towards the Indians, in refusing to soften the rigours of their servitude, and in conniving at every enormity; in his conduct towards the Spaniards, he has been represented as equitable and just. Many salutary laws were established under his administration, which gave consistency to their proceedings, and permanency to their measures. Several towns were founded by him in different parts of the Island, and such allurements were held out to settlers, as might induce them to fix their residence in these abodes, and add, by their joint exertions, to the welfare of the colony, which he seemed to have much at heart. The views of his sovereign coinciding with his own, produced a powerful co-operation, and a reciprocity of supplies. Ovando remitted gold, the lustre of which was too dazzling to permit the unfeeling monarch to behold the blood with which it was stained; and Ferdinand gave a sanction to his proceedings, and promoted emigration as an instrument of his own aggrandisement.

But these mutual endeavours of Ferdinand and Ovando were found unequal to the ravages made by death. "Many of the new settlers, who came over with Ovando, were seized with the distempers peculiar to the climate, and, in a short space, above a thousand of them died." The calamities brought upon the Indians by their inhuman tyrants, threatened the whole race with a speedy extermination; and the heterogenous mixture of policy and

injustice, which marked the conduct of the governor, threatened the colony, which only became profitable in proportion to the blood that was shed, with speedy desolation.

Ovando, alarmed at the impending fate of the new empire, through the destruction of the natives who had procured its riches, resorted to an expedient which more conspicuously marked the inhumanity of his character. A scheme was proposed by him to rob the Bahama or Lucayo Islands of their inhabitants. This scheme was sanctioned by his equally inhuman monarch, and unfortunately carried into execution. Under promises of the most deceiving and flagitious nature, about 40,000 of these unfortunate people were decoyed on board the Spanish ships, and carried to mingle their tears with the remaining inhabitants, and to perish in the mines of St. Domingo.

In the meanwhile, the Sugar-cane was cultivated with much success, and found productive even beyond calculation. Nothing seemed wanting to complete the glory of the settlement, but a competent number of industrious and hardy labourers, capable of bearing the violence of the climate, the fierceness of the sun, and the fatigues which their exertions must occasion. The inhabitants of the Bahamas had nearly perished in servitude; those of Porto Rica were nearly exterminated; and the survivors in Hispaniola were reduced to a miserable remnant. The discoveries which had been made on the continent, where the same detestable scenes which had disgraced this Island, were about to be acted in all their horrors, induced many of the settlers to turn their attention to this region, which seemed more favourable to their avarice. A suspension in the progressive prosperity of the Island was the natural consequence. Its mines and cultivation were indeed still carried on, but the continent had divided the public attention, and Hispaniola ceased to excite surprise.

On the death of Columbus, his son Diego, inheriting his father's rights, which were secured to him by a decision of the council of the Indies, and strengthening his interests by an honourable marriage alliance, contrived to procure the recal of Ovando, and to become his successor in the government. Having accomplished these purposes, "Don Diego quickly repaired to Hispaniola, attended by his brother, his uncles, his wife, whom the

courtesy of the Spaniards honoured with the title of vice-queen, and a numerous retinue of persons of both sexes, born of good families. He lived with a splendour and magnificence hitherto unknown in the new world; and the family of Columbus seemed now to enjoy the honours and rewards due to his inventive genius, of which he himself had been so cruelly defrauded. The colony itself acquired new lustre by the accession of so many inhabitants, of a different rank and character from most of those who had hitherto migrated to America; and many of the most illustrious families in the Spanish settlements, are descended from the persons who at that time accompanied Don Diego Columbus."—*Robertson*.

Diego reached Hispaniola in the year 1508, but though he carried splendour with him, yet he carried no relief to the Indians. A change in the governors only procured for them a change of masters, but no alleviation of their condition. By an edict of Ferdinand he was authorised to continue the Repartimientos, or distribution of the Indians; and even the number was specified which should be appropriated to the use of the different ranks, which were sustained in the colony. Of this authority Diego availed himself, and divided the remains of the Indians among his associates and followers.

The spirit of enterprise which had languished from the death of Columbus, began now to revive under his son Diego. Hispaniola was the spot from which the new adventurers sallied, and in which they found protection and relief, after having encountered difficulties which they could no longer withstand. In the same year that Diego reached his government, De Solis and Pinzon crossed the equator, and sailed so far as the fortieth degree of southern latitude, in which they found, to their utter amazement, that the continent on their right hand kept pace with their voyage, and extended to distances which exceeded their calculations.

The pearl fishery was also established this year in the seas which encircled the little Island of Cabagua. To fetch these valuable oysters from the bottom of the deep, they compelled the Indians, whom they had taken from the Bahamas, to dive. In this dangerous and unwholesome exercise many perished; which, in conjunction with the sufferings of their countrymen in the mines of Hispaniola, hastened on the utter extermination of their race.

On the continent, which had been almost neglected from the time in which it had been discovered by Columbus, about ten years before, they also attempted to establish a settlement. This attempt was, however, unfortunate in the highest degree. It was fitted out by private adventurers. Two expeditions were planned. The king had no share in either; but he gave his sanction to both. He supplied them with titles and patents, but would advance no money to defray the expense. The adventurers traversed the continental coasts; but, being opposed by a warlike people, they were repulsed with considerable loss, and compelled to retire with chagrin and disappointment. Nevertheless, these voyages were not altogether fruitless. They enabled the adventurers to estimate the strength and courage of the natives, and to calculate upon the forces which would be necessary to effect their subjugation. They also enabled them to obtain some knowledge of the country;—the nature of its soil and climate;—to obtain some assurance that the precious metals were to be found in the interior; and to calculate upon the most eligible mode of attack. But a detail of these discoveries and conquests comes not within our present province.

## CHAP. XLVI.

## HISPANIOLA CONTINUED.

*State of the Island under Diego Columbus, and fate of the Indians under Albuquerque.—Dominicans and Franciscans differ on account of the Indians.—Conduct of Ferdinand on the occasion.—Las Casas appears in their behalf, repairs to Europe, states their case to Ferdinand, and after his death appeals to Cardinal Ximenes.—Appointed protector of the Indians.—Description of St. Domingo by Oviedo.—The mines abandoned.—Inhumanity towards the slaves drives them to revolt.—Insurrection quelled, and the colony becomes partially prosperous.—Declines rapidly.—Attempts to prevent emigration ineffectual.—Pillaged and burnt by Sir Francis Drake in 1586.—Spain demolishes the sea ports to prevent an illicit trade.—Colony reduced to a most deplorable condition.*

**B**UT notwithstanding the discoveries and conquests which the Spaniards made upon the continent, they were not altogether negligent of Hispaniola. They considered this as the parent colony; as the seat of government; and as the residence of Diego Columbus, in whose favour the council of Seville had decided; and whose grants the king had partially sanctioned, though evidently with much reluctance.

Towards the Spaniards under his government, Diego was liberal and kind; and so far as his abilities and inclinations were permitted to operate, he caused their happiness to result from their prosperity. But his powers were circumscribed by the suspicions and injustice of his sovereign. His measures were frequently counteracted, through the intrigues of his inferior officers, and even the treasurer and judges were privately instructed to obstruct his designs, to curtail his dominion, and to



question his authority. Unhappily, towards the Indians where his dominion was most without controul, the *Spaniard* was more conspicuous than the *man*.

As the mines of Hispaniola could not be carried on without the labours of the Indians, the right of distributing them, gave to Diego a considerable degree of power among all ranks of people; because, by having the command of the instruments of labour, he became capable of controuling the springs of wealth. His influence over all the Spaniards was too visible to escape the notice of those who acted as spies upon his conduct, and too important to escape the injustice and avarice of Ferdinand.

To tear from Diego this last remnant of prerogative and riches, the distributing of the Indians, in 1517, was erected into an office, and bestowed upon one Roderigo Albuquerque. This man was a supple courtier, the relation of a minister, whose name was Zapeta, in whom the king placed the utmost confidence. This flagrant violation of his most indisputable rights, mortified Diego, and provoked his indignation to such a degree, that he formed the resolution of repairing to Europe to lay the cause of his complaint before the king, whose adherence to injustice was as immutable, as the complaints of Diego were unavailing.

Albuquerque, on his arrival at Hispaniola, began his career with an eye to his own ruined fortune, which a favourable opportunity now enabled him to repair. Rapacity, inspired by indigence and avarice, was the prevailing feature in his character, the concomitant vices associated, and so far filled his soul, as to leave no room for humanity. The Indians, who had escaped the Spaniards and their blood-hounds, amounted, in 1508, to 60,000; but, on his arrival, no more than 14,000 were to be found. Thus in nine years no less than 46,000 human beings were swept from this Island to people the territories of the dead. The 14,000 that remained were immediately divided into lots by Albuquerque, and disposed of by auction to the best bidder. As this was the last division, the lots ran rather high in price; many of the Indians were compelled to remove into distant parts of the Island, remote from their former companions in adversity, and all had additional burthens laid upon them to reimburse their new masters for their expense.

“ These additional calamities (says Robertson) completed the misery, and hastened on the extinction of this wretched and innocent race of men.”

Alarmed at finding the Indians so dreadfully reduced in number, the ecclesiastics, who had been sent to instruct them, espoused their cause, when they were nearly exterminated. The Dominicans, to their honour be it spoken, had uniformly borne their testimony against the repartimientos; and one of them, whose name was Montesino, had inveighed against the proceedings of the colonists, in the great church at St. Domingo, in presence of Diego and his abettors, in distributing the Indians. Diego complained of this liberty, which the monk had taken, to the superior of his order, who, instead of chiding him for his boldness, applauded his integrity, and openly espoused his cause.

In the present case, though it was nearly too late, they came forth as a body, and defended the cause of humanity. The Franciscans, on the contrary, took part with the oppressors of the Indians, and opposed the Dominicans, who had so warmly espoused the cause of the unhappy sufferers. The defence which was set up by the Franciscans, consisted rather of palliatives than of avowed approbation. “Necessity, the tyrant’s plea,” was urged in all its force; and the welfare of the colony was thought to be of sufficient weight to exempt the measure from reprehension.

Such interested arguments had but little weight with the Dominicans. They adhered to the cause of humanity which they had engaged to defend, and gathered strength from the contemptible opposition, with which their measures were opposed. Determined to persevere in behalf of the few Indians who were still alive, they appealed to those of their countrymen who held them in bondage; and when they found their arguments unavailable against the claims of interest and avarice, they even refused to absolve them of their sins, or to admit them to partake of the sacrament, till they renounced the iniquitous traffic.

The troubles which this controversy between the Franciscans and Dominicans occasioned, disturbed the tranquillity, and impeded the progress of the colony; and both parties found it high time to seek after some ultimate redress, or some decision from which there should be no appeal. Each party, in its turn, submitted its claims to

the tribunal of Ferdinand, who appointed a committee, consisting of some members of his privy council, and some of the most reputable divines, to examine into the merits of their respective pleas, and to give their decision agreeably to the dictates of truth and justice. Deputies were appointed by each party to state and support their arguments, and to furnish the commissioners with answers to such questions as might be proposed, to afford them satisfactory information.

Much time was necessarily taken up by both parties in preferring their claims,—in sending deputies from Hispaniola,—in the tedious forms of legal punctilios,—and in an irksome discussion, before a decision could be obtained. During this period, the Indians continued to suffer the same unexampled severities, under which their countrymen had both groaned and bled; and their numbers, continually growing less, were reduced to a solitary remnant. At length, the long-agitated question was decided in favour of the Dominicans; and the Indians were declared to be a free people, entitled to all the natural rights of men, over whom the Spaniards had no right to exercise an imperious dominion, that should compel them to labour.

This decision, which virtually impeached the conduct of the Spanish nation, and indirectly charged them with the blood of those thousands who had already perished, gave no small uneasiness to the Franciscans. And the event sufficiently proved, that the decision was no less displeasing to Ferdinand, who had countenanced and encouraged those excesses, which led to the enquiry, that produced this issue.

The repartimientos, the occasion of the complaint, were still continued with their primitive rigour, and the Indians, who had been relieved in *theory*, were still enslaved in *practice*. These circumstances awakened with fresh vigour the remonstrances of the Dominicans, who now found themselves entrenched behind the principles of justice, and the decisions of law. On these grounds they inveighed against the illegality and injustice of their countrymen, who were unable to vindicate their conduct on the score of equity, or to find redress by appealing to their country.

But avarice and inhumanity, when sanctioned by the connivance of power, were not to be subdued by argument, or reformed by reason. The consequence was,

that a general ferment prevailed throughout the colony; and those men who had shewn so much dexterity in murdering the natives, were nearly in readiness to murder one another. The disturbances of the colony reached the ears of Ferdinand, who, with a meanness that adds a new shade to the infamy of his character, instead of boldly enforcing the decision of his own committee, had recourse to a bull which his Holiness had published in 1513, which conferred upon him the possession of the new world.

The Dominicans, on the arrival of this intelligence, beheld their prospects blasted; and saw that all their future exertions must terminate ineffectually. They plainly perceived that the regulations which had been made in the behalf of the Indians, would only give a sanction to the deeds of their oppressors, and legalize that inhumanity which they were authorised to perpetrate. To preach the gospel to men who were broken by oppression, and even weeping tears of blood, they were fully satisfied was a hopeless undertaking; and they as plainly saw that the power, which should have protected them, had openly espoused the interest of their foes. Many amongst them finding themselves useless, as missionaries in the Island, solicited leave of their superiors to retire to the continent, where oppression, though it had begun its ravages, had not obtained a permanent establishment. Among these inhabitants they hoped to be more successful in their ministry, in proportion as they could find means to detach cruelty from the Spanish name, and impress the minds of the Indians with a conviction, that the religion which they taught discountenanced the inhumanities which their countrymen practised.

But while many of the Dominicans retired to the continent, many remained to bear their ineffectual testimony against the barbarities which they daily saw, and which always supplied them with new occasions of complaint. Among these was the great, the virtuous, the renowned Bartholomew de las Casas, who, like the Seraph Abdiel, stood

“ Among innumerable false, unmov’d,  
Unshaken, uneduc’d, unterrify’d,  
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal,  
Nor number nor example with him wrought  
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind.”

This man, whose writings have immortalized his own virtues, and the infamy of his countrymen, by endeavouring to counteract their enormities, cited them, as we have already observed, before the tribunal of the universe. He was a native of Seville, and was one of those clergymen who embarked with Columbus, when he undertook his second voyage, to take up his residence in the Island.

At an early period, when a division of the Indians first took place, a number of these unhappy victims fell to his share. But these he instantly set at liberty: an act, which, if insufficient to influence by example, was sufficient to demonstrate the sincerity of his profession, and the attachment which he felt towards that injured race of men, whose cause he so warmly espoused. His zeal, his courage, his abilities, became formidable to his adversaries, from that respect and veneration which had invariably been annexed to his character.

The violence which Albuquerque had used after the departure of Diego Columbus, filled his soul with indignation, and determined him to devote his talents to the service of the unhappy sufferers. While the dispute between the Franciscans and Dominicans remained in agitation, and when it was decided in favour of the latter, he continued to lift his powerful voice against the storm. But when the decree of the privy council reached the Island in which he had laboured, setting aside all previous determinations, he resolved to embark for Europe, to wait upon Ferdinand in person,—state to him the conduct of the governor and his dependents,—to point out the fatal consequences of the measures which had been recently adopted,—and to present him with such a picture of unexampled horror, as must be sufficient to soften the most obdurate soul.

The name of Las Casas was a sufficient passport, on his arrival, to gain for him an audience with his Majesty. His declining state of health favoured the representation of Las Casas, whose eloquence was equal to his zeal, and who exerted both on the present occasion in all their force. The deplorable condition of the surviving Indians formed but a part of his representations. With a faithfulness equal to his eloquence and zeal, he charged the king with being an accomplice in those murders which had been already committed, and with having authorised, by the late decree of his privy council, the impious mea-

tures which were, at that moment, practising in the Island.

Ferdinand listened with much attention to the representations of Las Casas; and standing, as he then was, on the borders of eternity, felt the charge of impiety with peculiar force. The faithfulness of Las Casas, however, awakened no resentment in his bosom; on the contrary, it seemed to produce a full persuasion that his conduct had been reprehensible; and induced him to promise that the case of the Indians should immediately occupy his most serious consideration; and that some means should be devised and adopted, to afford them effectual relief. Unhappily, these flattering promises went no further than resolution. The malady, under which the monarch laboured, grew more alarming, and finally brought him to the house appointed for all living.

On his demise, his crowns and kingdoms devolved on Charles of Austria, who at that time resided in the Low Countries. Las Casas immediately prepared to set out for Flanders, to lay before the young monarch the case of the Indians, and to state the promises and resolutions which had been made in their behalf by the deceased Ferdinand.

Cardinal Ximenes, who acted at this time in the character of regent, extended the sceptre over Castile. He had heard of the business of Las Casas; and, to prevent him from going into Flanders, dispatched to him a messenger, requesting his immediate attendance, promising, at the same time, to hear his complaint. Las Casas attended, and his representation proved partially successful. Equally regardless of the right of Columbus, and of the laws which had been made by Ferdinand, Ximenes determined to appoint men who should repair to the spot, examine impartially into the nature of existing circumstances, and finally decide as these circumstances might direct. As the Dominicans and Franciscans had already been at variance on the subject in question, he was fully convinced that they were improper characters to judge with impartiality. This, in conjunction with the opinions already delivered by the Spanish settlers, induced him to make his selection from among some respectable monks who were of the order of St. Jerome, at that time in high repute in Spain. Three of these were at length chosen, who, in company with Zuazo, a lawyer eminent for his talents and probity, and Las Casas, now entitled

*the protector of the Indians*, having received from him powers which were nearly unlimited, embarked for the new world, and arrived in safety at Hispaniola.

On the arrival of Las Casas and his associates in power, at Hispaniola, they instantly set at liberty all those victims who had been granted to the courtiers and creatures of Ferdinand; and to avoid the imputation of partiality, they extended the emancipation to all those who were held by persons not actual residents of America.

Powers so extensive, and so decidedly displayed in the cause of humanity, could not fail to create a general alarm among the colonists. Hitherto they had formed their calculations upon the labour of the Indians, and they now imagined that they saw ruin at their doors. The wisdom of the new commissioners, however, soon dissipated their fears; and the caution with which they proceeded in all their measures, gained for them the respect even of those who dreaded the effect of their power; and proved the prudence of that choice which Ximenes had made.

But while these men exerted themselves to reform abuses, and to revive forgotten institutions, they were fully convinced that without the assistance of the Indians it would be impossible to support the colony; and from the natural dispositions of these natives, it was morally impossible that they could be persuaded to labour by any reward which it was in their power to offer. From these considerations they were induced to tolerate the repartimientos, while they watched over the treatment of the Indians with respectful solicitude, and used every exertion, both by their authority and example, to soften the rigours of their servitude, and to reconcile them to their fate.

This temporizing prudence, however, which marked the conduct of the superintendants, was far from being satisfactory to the amiable Las Casas. He reprobated their departure from the principles which they had originally imported with them; and charged them with conniving at wickedness which their hearts condemned; and with adopting a spurious mode of conduct which tolerated injustice because it was advantageous. They heard his remonstrances and charges without emotion, and without regard; and rigorously adhered to the

system they had adopted, so that Las Casas became obnoxious to all those who felt an interest in counteracting his measures.

Determined to persevere in his original design, to obtain the complete emancipation of the Indians, and finding himself destitute of support in the Island, Las Casas once more resolved to return to Spain. On his arrival, he found Ximenes in nearly the same state that he had found Ferdinand in his former voyage, languishing under disease, and at the point of death. Charles arrived soon after from Flanders, and brought with him a number of Flemish nobility, who, having ingratiated themselves into his favour, contrived to fill the most important departments of administration. To these men Las Casas addressed himself with unremitting assiduity, representing, in the most moving terms, the situation of the Indians, and censuring the defects which he had discovered in the policy of Ferdinand, and the consequences which had resulted from the measures of Ximenes.

The representations of Las Casas were considerably strengthened by the interest of the Spanish nobility, who finding the Flemish ministry somewhat favourable to his cause, thought this an auspicious opportunity to revive their declining power. The friends of Diego Columbus also strengthened the party from still different motives; all were actuated by different views, but all found it convenient to urge the claims of Las Casas, to ensure their own success.

This union of interests became too formidable for resistance. The court gave way. Las Casas was once more triumphant. The superintendants appointed by Ximenes, together with Zuazo, were recalled, and one Roderigo de Figueroa was appointed chief justice of the Island. The impossibility of rendering the colony productive without the assistance of the Indians, was, however, still in sight, and the objection founded on it against the scheme of Las Casas, was such as he could not conveniently answer on the score of policy. Figueroa, therefore, prior to his departure, was requested to make enquiries into the state of the Indians, and to use every exertion in his power to prevent those cruelties which had given so much occasion of complaint.

Las Casas plainly perceived, from the cautious directions which were given to the new chief justice, that the repartimientos were still to be continued; and from hence



it was natural for his penetrating mind to infer, that the humanity with which the Indians were to be treated, depended upon that mercy of their masters, of which he had seen but too many reasons to entertain an unfavourable opinion. It was in this inauspicious moment, that he hit upon the fatal expedient of a traffic which had been already attempted and abandoned, *that of importing slaves from Africa*:—a traffic, which, to the dishonour of human nature, continues with some nations to the present moment. It is among the triumphs of England, that she has set her face against it.

We have already observed that, in the year 1517, Diego Columbus, in consequence of an invasion of his rights, retired to Spain, to lay the causes of his complaint before his sovereign. In what manner he employed himself, while these affairs were transacting in the Island and on the continent, of which we have spoken, or on what pretences he was detained in Spain, are circumstances which have never been made so public as to afford satisfaction to inquiry. Whatever the causes of his detention and silence might have been, we learn nothing more of his return to the new world, till the year 1523, at which time he was obliged to repair from Hispaniola to Jamaica, to quell an insurrection of the Indians. Mr. Edwards thinks that he came from Europe with an amplification of his powers in 1520, and that on this account he felt himself so particularly interested in the welfare of Jamaica, as to endeavour to suppress the insurrection in it, in 1523. Be this as it may, his continuance in his seat of government was of short duration; he returned to his native country soon after, and died, either in the latter end of 1525, or the beginning of 1526.\*

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\* Diego Columbus, on his death, left three sons and two daughters: his eldest son, whose name was Lewis, was, at that time, no more than six years of age; but he was uniformly considered by all, as hereditary viceroy and high admiral of the West Indies. During his minority he was treated by the king with singular respect, and his revenues were augmented in proportion to that exalted rank which he was supposed to hold. But on the expiration of his minority, the king absolutely refused to guarantee to him his father's rights. After much uneasiness a compromise took place, by which he transferred all his hereditary rights to the crown, and received, in lieu thereof, a grant of the Island of Jamaica and of the province of Veragua, with the title of Duke de Veragua, and Marquis de la Vega. Lewis and his brothers died without any male issue, in consequence of which, their eldest sister, whose name was Isabella, who had married the Count de Gelvez, a Portuguese nobleman of the house of Braganza, became sole heiress of the rights

His uncle, Bartholomew Columbus, died in the Island, in the year 1514, after having filled with integrity many important offices, and sustained an unblemished character, which even calumny has not attempted to pollute.

But whatever calamities the colony might have suffered, from the causes which have been mentioned, an external parade was visibly on the increase. The trappings of dignity, which occasionally indicate a falling state, and frequently conceal poverty, and display ambition, which ensure destruction, exhibited a gaudy appearance in the capital, the buildings of which had been uniformly carried on from the time that its foundation was laid by Bartholomew Columbus, in the year 1498. And indeed were we to estimate the wealth and prosperity of the colony, from the description given of it by Oviedo, about the year 1530, we should be induced to believe it to be one of the most flourishing places in existence.

“But now (says Oviedo, after having given an account of various other parts) to speak somewhat of the principal and chief place of the Island, which is the city of San Domenico. I say, that as touching the buildings, there is no city in Spain, so much (no not Barsalona, which I have oftentimes seen) to be preferred before this generally. For the houses of San Domenico are for the most part of stone, as are they of Barsalona. The situation is much better than that of Barsalona, by reason that the streets are much larger and plainer, and without comparison more direct and straight forth. For being builded now in our time, besides the commodity of the place of the foundation, the streets were also directed with cord, compass, and measure, wherein it excelleth all the cities that I have seen.

“It hath the sea so near it, that of one side there is no more space between the sea and the city than the walls. On the other part, hard by the side and at the foot of the houses, passeth the river Ozama, which is a marvellous port, wherein laden ships rise very near to the land, and in a manner under the house windows. In the

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and honours of the family of Columbus, and conveyed these rights and honours to the house of her husband. In this family “they continued, (says Mr. Edwards) I believe, till the year 1640, and then reverted back by forfeiture to the crown of Spain, in consequence of the revolution which placed John, Duke of Braganza, on the throne of Portugal.” For a further account of these transactions see our fifth chapter of volume the first.

midst of the city is the fortress and castle; the port or haven also is so fair and commodious to defreight or unlade ships, as the like is found in but few places of the world. The chimnies that are in this city are about 600 in number, and such houses as I have spoken of before; of the which some are so fair and large, that they may well receive and lodge any lord or nobleman of Spain, with his train and family; and especially that which Don Diego Colon, viceroy under your majesty, hath in this city, that I know no man in Spain that hath the like by a quarter in goodness, considering all the commodities of the same. Likewise the situation thereof, as being above the said port, and altogether of stone, and having many fair and large rooms, with as goodly a prospect of the land and sea as may be devised, seemeth unto me so magnificent and prince-like, that your majesty may be as well lodged therein as in any of the most exquisite builded houses of Spain.

“There is also a cathedral church builded of late, where, as well the bishop according to his dignity, as also the canons, are well indued. This church is well builded of stone and lime, and of good workmanship. There are furthermore three monasteries, bearing the names of St. Dominike, St. Frances, and St. Mary of Mercedes; which are well builded, although not so curiously as they of Spain. There is also a very good hospital for the aid and succour of poor people, which was founded by Michael Passamont, treasurer to your majesty. To conclude, this city from day to day increaseth in wealth and good order, as well for that the said admiral and viceroy, with the lord chancellor and council appointed there by your majesty, have their continual abiding here, as also that the richest men of the Island resort hither for their most commodious habitation, and trade of such merchandise as is either brought out of Spain, or sent thither from this Island, which now so aboundeth in many things, that it serveth Spain with many commodities as it were with usury, requiting such benefits as it first received from thence.”

How far the above account given by Oviedo, may be considered as giving a genuine picture of the city, we have no means of knowing with accuracy. Subsequent events have furnished cause for much suspicion; while they have given to us an *assurance*, that if the above

account was accurate as it respected the city, it was totally inapplicable to the colony at large.

The mines which had been wrought in the Island were four in number. These were gradually exhausted of their treasures; and they grew proportionably of less value as those of Mexico were opened, and as the ill-fated aborigines perished. These, in process of time, were totally deserted, and the inhabitants who remained upon the Island, after the emigrations to Mexico, employed their slaves in the cultivation of Cocoa, Ginger, and a little Sugar.

Besides the city of St. Domingo, there were several villages of inferior note. Punta Isabella, the foundation of which had been laid by Christopher Columbus, still retained a few inhabitants, though the seat of government was removed; while other places, from the convenience of their situations, exhibited a few scattered huts, which either increased or decreased in number, as circumstances directed the inhabitants.

The labours of the field, were at this time (1530) performed chiefly by the negroes, whom they had imported from Guinea, as those of the mines had been in former years by the Indians, whom they either found on this Island, seduced from others, or tore by violence from the continent, which they deemed it meritorious to ravage. On the African slaves the demands of avarice operated in a double manner; their proprietors had, through their labours, to reimburse themselves for the money they had advanced, and to acquire fortunes for themselves and families. The colour of these men became a sufficient argument against the feeble suggestions of humanity; and, as covetousness is frequently blind to its own interests, they calculated upon the produce of their exertions, but forgot the preservation of the slaves.

Degraded even below the beasts of the field, and urged to labours which human nature was unable to perform, the condition of the Africans became intolerable, and about the year 1550, they made a desperate effort to shake off the yoke, and recover the rights of freedom, to which most of them were born. The struggle was doubtful for some time, but it ultimately terminated to the disadvantage of the insurgents; but they were not, as is usually the case after unsuccessful revolts, surveyed with greater detestation, or laden with heavier chains.

From that moment their yoke became less insupportable; their tyrants relaxed in the rigours of their exactions, as soon as they found them capable of revenging the injuries they had received. This was the first time that humanity towards slaves seems to have entered the colony.

“This moderation, (says Raynal) if tyranny cramped by the apprehension of revolt can bear that name, was attended with good consequences. Cultivation was pursued with some degree of success. Soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, the metropolis drew annually, from this colony, ten million weight of sugar, a large quantity of wood for dyeing, tobacco, cocoa, cassia, ginger, cotton, and peltry, in abundance. One might imagine that such favourable beginnings would give both the desire and the means of carrying them farther, but a train of events more fatal each than the other, ruined these hopes.”—*Vol. IV. p. 101.*

The time to which Raynal alludes, seems to have been the period of its greatest prosperity. From that moment a variety of causes combined to complete its ruin; and so far did they operate to reduce it to a state of weakness, that the united force of the whole Island was unable, a few years afterward, to prevent the incursions of a daring invader. We have already stated, that the mines of Mexico, as soon as they were laid open, turned those of Hispaniola nearly idle; and that in consequence of the immense riches which were to be acquired in these regions, a considerable emigration took place. But it was not the inhabitants of the Island alone that were dazzled with the gold of the continent. Its lustre reached Spain; and so far fascinated the monarch, that Hispaniola became neglected by a kind of accident, arising from the superior attention which was paid by all to those beds of pernicious ore, which at once stimulated the ambition, and rewarded the murders of Cortez.

The Spanish government discovered, when it was too late, the folly of its own negligence. The increase of continental discoveries served but to unfold the importance of an Island, which, from its extent and situation, appeared to be marked out by nature, as the depot of all the merchandise of Mexico,—as the centre of all the operations of Spain,—and as the observatory of those conquests and dominions, which were daily emerging from the wastes of the continent. Fully impressed with the value of this insular possession, the Spanish govern-

ment endeavoured to suppress that spirit of emigration which its own imprudence hath excited. But it was in vain that inducements were held out to allure, or coercive laws made to threaten the inhabitants. Temptation and terror were alike ineffectual; the laws which enjoined their continuance, and prohibited their departure, were alike disregarded: the powerful set them at defiance, and the weak eluded their application. The wealth of Mexico operated more forcibly than the statutes of Castile, or the bulls of Italy; and the consequence was, that Hispaniola became half depopulated.

It was probably from a persuasion of its forlorn condition, that Sir Francis Drake was induced to invade it, and to this circumstance we may attribute his success. "This celebrated English sailor," as Raynal calls him, landed on the Island of Hispaniola, and began his attack on the capital, on the first of January, 1586. Its defenceless condition facilitated the conquest of this invader, and the whole city became an easy prey. At this time its extent and magnificence were considerable, and the pillage which it afforded clearly proved that it was not destitute of wealth. Drake held it in possession till the month of February; after which time, having taken from it such moveables as were deemed valuable, he thought himself authorised to consume the habitations with fire, and without ceremony carried his design into execution.

"We spent the early part of the mornings," says the recorder of the transactions, "in firing the outmost houses; but they being built very magnificently of stone with high lofts, gave us no small *travell* to ruin them. And albeit, for divers days together, we ordained each morning by day break, until the heat began at nine of the clock, that 200 mariners did nought else but labour to fire and burn the said houses, while the soldiers in 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 town; 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 picce*, for the ransom of the rest of the town."

While the English were in the possession of the city, their commander, having some occasion to confer with the Spanish governor, dispatched his message by a little negro boy with a white flag, a signal well known to the Spaniards, as indicating that he came with no hostile

intention. Before the boy could reach the governor's residence, he was met by some straggling Spanish officers, who had belonged to one of the king's galleys. These foolish ruffians, notwithstanding the town had surrendered, and though they were so far in the hands of Drake, that they were unable to provide for their own safety, with a degree of wantonness that could be only equalled by the barbarity of the deed, attacked the boy, and ran him through the body. The wound, though mortal, was not attended with instant death. He contrived to crawl towards his own party,—to reach the general who had employed him,—and to relate to him the occasion and manner of his misfortune: and having finished his mournful tale, expired in his presence. Exasperated with such an instance of insult and unprovoked barbarity, he immediately directed the Provost Marshal to bring forth two friars, who were then prisoners of war, and to conduct them to the spot where the boy had received his wound, and hang them without ceremony. At the same time he dispatched another messenger to the governor, giving him an account of the execution, and the occasion of it; telling him in the most express terms, “that until the person who had murdered the general's messenger, should be delivered into the hands of the English, to receive condign punishment for his offence, no day should pass in which two prisoners should not be hanged so long as any remained in their hands.” The day following the captain of the galley appeared at the end of the town with the offender, offering to deliver him into the hands of the English. “But it was thought (says the writer) to be a more honourable revenge to make them there in our sight to perform the execution, which was done accordingly.”\*

The pillage and destruction of the city by Drake, was followed by calamities which the remaining inhabitants brought upon themselves. The ships of Spain at this time were the richest, the most numerous, and the worst provided of any that sailed in these latitudes; and the temptations which they held out to any who were inclined to plunder, induced the more daring to turn pirates. The custom that prevailed among them of fitting

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\* For an account of this affair, and of Drake's expedition against Hispaniola, see Hakluyt's *Voyages*, as cited by Edwards, Vol. III. p. 195, and Rainsford, p. 26.

out vessels, in a clandestine manner, to procure slaves, gave a sanction to their expeditions, and prevented them from being detected in their robberies. The scarcity of labourers obliged them to have recourse to a foreign traffic, which, though highly lucrative, was illicit; and the wealth that the adventurers acquired, instead of enriching the colony, was squandered away in thoughtless prodigality, and in administering to the indulgence of those passions, which degrade human nature in proportion as they are permitted to triumph. Spain, though unable to detect the offenders, was not insensible to their practices; and to prevent the continuance of an evil, which she wanted ingenuity to cure, she had recourse to an expedient, which could only be tolerated in an enemy by the laws of war. Instead of attempting to revive the ancient prosperity of the colony, she meanly demolished the sea-ports in which they had been accustomed to rendezvous; and obliged the miserable inhabitants to retire into the inland parts of the Island, in which they could have no opportunity of holding a communication with the ocean or the shores.

In this state of action they sunk into dejection; this was succeeded by a general lethargy, which nourished old vices, and generated new ones, and reduced them to a condition more deplorable than that of the savages whom they had murdered. The Flemish subjects of Charles were not ignorant of his defective policy towards this important Island. They solicited grants that might enable them to cultivate the lands, which they well knew were naturally fertile; but their solicitations were urged in vain. That jealousy to which avarice and wealth had given birth, directed him to refuse their requests, from an apprehension, that, though their pretences were plausible, they amounted to nothing more than a favourable pretext for renewing that illicit traffic with the continent, and those piratical practices which had been but lately suppressed. By this timid policy, Charles consigned over to oblivion a colony that had dazzled Europe with its gold;—for the dominion of which the most powerful empires would have contended;—and which at this moment became doubly advantageous to Spain, from its relative situation and vicinity to her newly-acquired territories on the continent.

The neglect of agriculture; the ruin of the mines; the pillage of the capital; the demolition of the sea-ports;



and the driving of the remaining inhabitants who continued on the Island, merely because they were unable to get away, into the interior parts, reduced them to the lowest state of civilized degradation. The intercourse which they held with the mother country, was not much more than sufficient to keep them in remembrance of their origin. Once in three years a vessel of no considerable burden paid them a visit; but even then it was rather to survey their condition than to relieve their wants.

In the year 1517, the number of Colonists amounted to *eighteen thousand four hundred and ten souls*, including Spanish, Mestees, Mulattoes, and Negroes, but to what number they were reduced at the close of the sixteenth century, the period of which we now speak, we have not been able to determine. "The complexion and character of these people (says Raynal) differed according to the different proportions of American, European, and African blood, they had received from that natural and transient union, which restores all races and conditions to the same level."

After their sea-ports were demolished, and they were driven into the interior, "these demi-savages, plunged in the extreme of sloth, lived upon fruits and roots, dwelt in cottages without furniture, and most of them without clothes. The few among them, in whom indolence had not totally suppressed the sense of decency and taste for the conveniences of life, purchased clothes of their neighbours the French, in return for their cattle, and the money sent to them for the maintenance of 200 soldiers, the priests, and the government. It does not appear that the company formed at Barcelona, in 1757, with exclusive privileges, for the re-establishment of St. Domingo, hath as yet made any considerable progress. They only send out two small vessels annually, which are freighted back with 6000 hides, and some other commodities of little value."—*Raynal, Vol. IV. p. 103.*

How incredible soever the above character of Spanish Hispaniola may appear, it is not one that rests solely upon the solitary opinion of Raynal. The description given of it by Mr. Bryan Edwards, though differing in a few shades from that of Raynal, confirms the more important circumstances, and establishes the outline which has been given.

"Of the present condition of this ancient city, (he observes) 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 public 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 in Porto Rica, were suffragans. These circumstances have hitherto saved St. Domingo from *entire decay*, and may possibly continue to save it. 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 cocoa, 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 are annually slaughtered solely for their skins.

“It seems therefore 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 lands 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.”\*

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\* Edwards, Vol. III. p. 196, 197. See also Rainsford's History of St. Domingo, p. 57, 58. Both Edwards and Rainsford concur in stating the following extraordinary circumstance in the history of this Island. “The mines of Hispaniola, according to Robertson, continued to yield for several years, a revenue amounting to upwards of 100,000*l.* sterling. But at the time when St. Domingo was pillaged by Drake, so great was the contrast, that this Island, which had supplied Europe with gold, was destitute of the precious metal even as a circulating medium. And to supply this deficiency, to such a state of poverty were the inhabitants reduced, in less than a century, that they were obliged to substitute *pieces of leather*, which became their currency by being stamped with a nominal value.” We may learn from hence, that when the wealth of a nation consists in gold and silver, that nation cannot be far from the verge of ruin. If the source be *inexhaustible*, the article must sink in value, and become useless from its quantity; if *exhaustible*, its end must produce inevitable ruin.—See Rainsford and Edwards as above.

The Island of Hispaniola, extending nearly 400 miles in length, and 140 in breadth, could have been but thinly peopled with 18,410 souls, the number of its inhabitants in 1517. The deaths and emigrations which afterward took place, must have considerably reduced even these. Through every period of its ancient history, the cultivations of the Spaniards were confined to particular spots, so that the Island at large, left in a state of nature, invited the French to establish that colony on it, of which we shall next proceed to speak.

## CHAP. XLVII.

## HISPANIOLA CONTINUED.

*Origin of the French Colony.—Some fugitives settle on Tortuga.—Description of this Island.—Inhumanities of the Spaniards.—Revenge taken by the survivors of a massacre.—English expelled by the French.—French unsuccessfully attacked by the Spaniards.—Settlement first formed in Hispaniola under the auspices of D. Ogerton. Progress of the colony.—Slaves first introduced.—French invade Jamaica, and carry off a number of slaves.—Colony invaded by Jamaica, and Cape Francois burnt.—Right of the French acknowledged. Line of demarcation, indefinitely drawn.—Projects for extending the colony.—Suffers severe calamities.—Monopoly occasions an insurrection.—State of the Spanish colony.—Productions and population of the French colony in 1720–30, 1764 and 1767.—Exports in 1767.—Visited by an earthquake.—Spanish colony partially revives.—New line of demarcation, made in 1776, described.—Advantages of the Spanish division.—Actual condition in 1776.—Estimate of cattle and of inhabitants in 1780.—Fortifications of the frontier towards the French.—Finally ceded to France in 1795.*

**I**T frequently happens, that the origin, both of empires and colonies, is too contemptible to merit notice in its commencement, and, for the same reason, is too obscure afterwards to be traced. This observation will apply to some of the West India Islands, but not to that of Hispaniola. The origin of the Spanish settlement is interwoven with the history of Columbus, and of this we have spoken; that of the French, though marked by no such memorable epoch, can be traced with precision, and of this we proceed to speak.

In our history of St. Christopher's, we have observed, that some Englishmen, under the command of Warner,

and some Frenchmen, led by Desnambuc, landed on the Island in different parts, and took possession of it on the same day. As they were surrounded by savages, and had every thing to fear from Spain, the common enemy of all, policy taught them to lay aside these national prejudices and animosities, which the pride of kings keeps alive, and to unite together for their common safety and mutual defence.\*

Spain, though too indolent to improve the territories of which she claimed the possession, did not want vigilance to watch the movements of other nations. She saw with much uneasiness the little settlement which the subjects of these active powers had formed within the precincts of what she called her territories, and embraced the earliest opportunity to make them the objects of her vengeance.

Towards the close of the year 1629, she fitted out a large fleet, consisting of twenty-four ships of war and fifteen frigates, to scour the American seas, and also to expel the Dutch from their possessions in the Brazils. The command of this fleet was given to Don Frederic de Toledo; who, while he received public orders to direct his course to the continent, received private ones, to annihilate the little settlement which the English and French had formed in St. Christopher's. These colonists were quite unprepared for such an attack; and even if they had been apprised of the intention of their enemies, they were insufficient to withstand such a formidable force.

Finding themselves assailed by such powerful invaders, both parties instantly fled from their plantations; the French departed from the Island, and found a shelter in Antigua, while the English betook themselves to the mountains. From these heights, inaccessible to almost every thing but famine, they sent deputies to propose terms of capitulation, but the Spaniards would listen to none; and finally compelled them to an unconditional surrender. About 600 of the ablest men were then selected, and condemned to the mines for life, while the aged, and the infirm, with the women and children, were obliged, under pain of death, to quit the Island imme-

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\* For another view of these transactions, and a particular account of the exploits of the Buccaneers, see the first volume of this work, chap. vi. p. 261, &c.

diately in some vessels which had been seized at Nevis. Toledo then demolished their little settlement, to prevent their return; and, having reduced the whole country to a desert, sailed in pursuit of new objects to increase the desolation of the earth.

After this storm had blown aside, many of the French fugitives ventured to return to their former habitations; but others, who, to avoid the dreadful alternative of slavery or death, had departed with their families in open boats, and even without provisions, after traversing the ocean for some time, landed upon the little Island of Tortuga, at that time unoccupied. It is about six miles from the Northern coast of St. Domingo. These adventurers were soon joined by some of the English, who dreaded a return of that vengeance, from which they had so narrowly escaped. And shortly after, some Dutch, from Santa Cruz, to escape the cruelty and avarice of the Spaniards, joined these children of misfortune, and found a temporary asylum in Tortuga.

This little appendage of Hispaniola, of which these refugees from different nations were now completely masters, is about eight leagues in length, and two in breadth. Its hills were covered with timber; its vallies were somewhat fertile; and though it had no rivers, and but few springs, these adventurers found in it a pure air, with such conveniences as more than compensated for its natural defects. The Northern coast of this little spot they found protected by rocks, which rendered it inaccessible, while that of the South presented them with an excellent harbour, the mouth of which was guarded by a rock, which only wanted some cannon to render it respectable and even formidable.

Circumstances so favourable, soon collected together men of different nations, some of whom, actuated by the same dispositions, had been driven from island to island by the merciless Spaniards; while others had voluntarily wandered thither to escape justice,—to avoid their creditors,—to repair their desperate fortunes,—to flee from oppressive tyranny,—or to enjoy liberty. Such were the fugitives and adventurers who first found an asylum in Tortuga.

Established upon this neglected spot, in which they thought themselves secure, their modes of life were regulated by the objects of their pursuit. The more active and enterprising improved their courage by hunting wild

buffaloes among the forests of Hispaniola; while the more moderate contented themselves with the cultivation of tobacco. The success of these joint exertions procured them the means of improving their condition, and of rendering themselves formidable. The hides of the buffaloes, and the tobacco which they raised, which grew into high repute, they bartered with the Dutch for arms and ammunition. The warmth of the climate precluded the necessity of much clothing; but such trifling articles as they found necessary, the Dutch were ready to supply.

United by one common tie, these companions in present adventures, and joint sufferers in past distresses, could not be supposed to entertain any high opinion of the humanity of the Spaniards, who had murdered their parents, children, wives, or brothers, and driven them from the society of all but themselves, and that of the wild bulls, which procured them both a livelihood and a name. To any particular form of government these Buccaneers\* made no pretensions. Their interests were mutual;—their confidence in each other was entire;—their property was common;—they interested themselves in each other's welfare, like so many distinct branches of one common family;—considered an injury done to one as an insult offered to the whole community;—and when any one died, his arms, ammunition, knife, and trowsers, augmented the general stock.

The thousands, perhaps millions of cattle, which, without an owner, covered the unmeasurable forests of Hispaniola, furnished them with constant employment, whenever they were disposed to exercise. And this also inured them to those fatigues which they afterwards underwent, in accomplishing their future enterprizes; and inspired them with that contempt of death, which has caused their names to be transmitted to posterity, with all that renown and infamy, which embellish and disgrace the conquerors of the world. But though the deserts of Hispaniola furnished them with employment, Tortuga was their established home. On this spot they occasionally met together, to recount their past adventures, muster their numbers, or relate to each other the

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\* We have already observed, in a former chapter, that these men were called Buccaneers from their manner of drying their food by smoke, in places called Buccans. For an account of their dress and manner of life, see Vol. I. Chap. 6.

accidents that had befallen them in their various expeditions. In this lawless state, without government or prince, and without feeling a wish for either, this strange community contrived to preserve domestic tranquillity among themselves for several years. The petty differences which occurred, they soon terminated among themselves, by a summary decision, without passing through the tedious forms of captious litigation, or employing men to raise artificial doubts, where no real ones existed.

The court of Madrid, which could always supply with a surplus of jealousy and cruelty, its deficiency in policy and industry, watched these fugitives, whom its previous inhumanity had driven into one community, with eyes of bloody circumspection. And from the same motives which had induced them to expel and murder the settlers in St. Christopher's, and to destroy their plantations, the Spaniards proceeded to desolate the Island of Tortuga, by massacring its inhabitants, and demolishing their means of defence.

The execution of this barbarous project was consigned to the commander of the Spanish galleons, who selected, as the most favourable opportunity, a time when the bravest, and greatest part of the inhabitants, were engaged in their usual avocations on the larger Island. His commission was executed with dreadful fidelity. A body of soldiers landed on the Island when no one expected any danger, and, surrounding the inhabitants, which consisted of the aged, the infirm, the women, and the children, after making them prisoners, indiscriminately massacred all without any mercy.

“It does not appear, (says Mr. Edwards,) that the miserable people who were thus pursued to destruction like beasts of prey, had 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.” (Vol. III. p. 134.) Nor was this arrogance confined solely to the land. They ex-



tended their imaginary dominion over a certain portion of the ocean, to which their best title was the force of gunpowder, and an Italian bull; and those who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands, were almost sure of meeting either with immediate death, or slavery for life. On the defenceless inhabitants of Tortuga we have seen with what barbarity they executed their vengeance.

The commander of the galleons, having thus depopulated the Island, thought it quite needless to establish a garrison on a spot which they had no intention to occupy, and which was now covered with desolation. "But he soon found (says Raynal) that cruelty is not the way to secure dominion." The measure which was designed to intimidate the survivors, only filled their minds with horror, and exasperated them to seek revenge.

The intelligence of the disaster at Tortuga, reached the hunters in Hispaniola, while they were busily engaged in their customary avocation. They had been too much accustomed to misfortune, to waste their time in shedding unavailing tears; they therefore collected the scattered remnants of their community together, to meditate revenge; they swore perpetual enmity against the Spaniards, with more mature resolutions than actuated Hannibal when he vowed enmity to Rome; and events proved that they kept their word.

But though actuated by one common soul, and urged to deeds of vengeance by the same motives, they soon perceived that their present mode of life was incompatible with the success which they had anticipated, and which they were then beginning to exert themselves to ensure. About to drop the pursuit of buffaloes for that of men, they found it necessary to abandon anarchy, to concentrate their forces, and to elect a leader. Willis, an Englishman, whose valour and prudence had been rendered conspicuous on many important occasions, obtained the honour of their suffrages; in his integrity they resolved to place an unlimited confidence; and thus personal independence was, under his inspection, placed in one common stock.

The Spanish colony at this time, according to Raynal, though at first so considerable, was almost reduced to nothing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother country, it had not only sunk into obscurity, but even into a forgetfulness of its former greatness. The few inhabitants that remained, lived in such a state of unnatural

indolence, that the employment of their slaves was to swing them in hammocks, and administer to their pleasures and their wants.\* This state of the colony, and this natural sluggishness of its yawning inhabitants, afforded the new adventurers an imaginary security, which served to inflame their passions, and to inspire them with an assurance of future success.

The languid condition of the whole settlement alarmed the Spaniards for its future safety; and though the surviving Buccaneers were but few in number, they dreaded their incursions, from a conviction that they had provoked a retaliation. Five hundred men were therefore directed to be equipped in St. Domingo, on purpose to harass and disperse them; but, like the murders that had been perpetrated in Tortuga, the report of this armament operated quite contrarily to their design. The intelligence of their intention, confirmed the Buccaneers in their resolutions to obtain revenge or death; and established Willis in that power, which he had already derived from the general suffrage.

It was under this heroic leader, that they sailed from St. Domingo towards the end of 1638, and repossessed themselves of the Island of Tortuga, which they had held for eight years; and since they had determined upon war, they proceeded to fortify it, to prevent its recapture. These active adventurers, whose courage had been improved by their past mode of life, and who were now stimulated to revenge by the most unprovoked barbarity, began in open boats to attack vessels of a considerable size and force, and in these enterprizes they performed prodigies of valour. Their early successes, added to their subsequent power, and an augmentation of their strength, became the first rewards of their past exertions. Their conquests, first begun in open boats, soon procured them large vessels, already equipped and armed, insomuch that they became doubly terrible to the Spaniards, the objects of their depredations, both from their invincible courage, and the daily increase of their power.

“To such men, (says Mr. Edwards,) in such a cause, no dangers were too formidable, no obstacles were too great. Inured, by their mode of life, to the vicissitudes of the climate, united among themselves, and animated

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\* See Raynal, Vol. III. Page 288.

by all the motives and passions which can inflame the human mind to great exertions, 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.—If the justice of their cause be still a question, let the records of time be consulted; and let history and reason determine, whether any instance of hostility, in the annals of mankind, can be defended on better ground." (Vol. III. p. 135.)

Unfortunately, Willis, notwithstanding his valour and his prudence, was not blessed with much impartiality. His power, and the success of his party, soon spread among the Antilles; and the hope of casting off restraints which had become irksome, and of sharing in the plunder of this handful of ferocious warriors, drew the desperate and adventurous from other islands. Willis chiefly encouraged his countrymen; and contrived so to attach them to his person and his measures, as to give him an ascendancy over his former companions, and enabled him to enact such laws, as secured to himself that pinnacle of honour on which he was seated. "Such, (says Raynal,) is the natural progress of dominion; in this manner most monarchies have been founded. Companions in exile, war, or piracy, have chosen a leader, who usurps the authority of a master. At first he shares the power and the spoils with the strongest, till the multitude crushed by the few, embolden the chief to assume the whole power to himself, and then monarchy degenerates into despotism." (Vol. IV. p. 234.)

The injustice which thus insensibly associated with power, created dissensions in this infant state. The Frenchmen found themselves supplanted by favourites, who had merited nothing; some of whom had nothing to recommend them to notice but their crimes. They too plainly perceived that the fruits of their valour served but to entrench their commander in the possession of his power, and to forge for themselves those chains, which it had been the business of their lives to avoid and break.

De Toiney, the Governor General of the French Windward Islands, saw the unsettled state of this colony, which had started into being by mere accident, and rendered itself conspicuous by instances of valour, which had astonished all the nations of Europe; and, determined to profit by their folly, and to exert himself in behalf of his

injured countrymen, he seized this favourable opportunity of taking them by surprise. He immediately dispatched forty men from St. Christopher's, who, on their arrival at St. Domingo, collected fifty more on its coast. These effected a landing on Tortuga; and being joined by their countrymen on their arrival, they immediately summoned Willis to surrender his power. Quite disconcerted at this unexpected measure, the English had no time for reflection. In the tumult and confusion of the moment, they imagined themselves invaded by a force against which resistance would be unavailable, and consented to quit for ever an Island, in which their dominion was at an end.

But notwithstanding this domestic difference, both parties continued their depredations on the Spaniards; the French remained at Tortuga, and the English, after some time, found an asylum in Jamaica. The Spaniards who suffered from both, but thought it easier to crush the French than the English, because they were in the vicinity of their principal colony, determined to expel them from the Island of Tortuga. Their peace, their interest, and their honour, they considered to be alike embarked in the enterprize; and they resolved to wipe off the disgrace which the Buccaniers had brought upon them, by seizing their wealth, and dividing the spoils even at their doors. Three times they attacked the French, and three times they were successful in driving them off; and three times the French returned to the charge, dislodged them, and again recovered the Island. Thus French resolution finally prevailed over Spanish power. Their contentions terminated in 1659; and they held the Island in possession till they had so firmly established themselves on St. Domingo, as to entertain no apprehensions of a dislodgment, when they abandoned Tortuga as a settlement unworthy of further notice.

The Spaniards, finding themselves unable to dislodge from Tortuga their troublesome neighbours, who still persevered in retaliation, determined to cut off a considerable branch of their employment, by destroying all the wild bulls on the Island, in one general chase. This compelled them to change their mode of life; but it laid the foundation of a more permanent settlement among them, by turning their attention to the cultivation of the land. "France (says Raynal) who till that time had disclaimed these ruffians as subjects, whose successes were only

temporary, acknowledged them however, as soon as they formed themselves into settlements. In 1665 she sent them over an honest and sensible man to govern them." (Vol. III. p. 289.)

But though a settlement was then begun when the wild bulls were destroyed, it was only a small number of the confederated party that turned their attention to agriculture. These consisted chiefly of adventurers who had emigrated from Normandy, and who, through that inter-section of causes in their operations which cannot be traced, found means to join the Buccaneers. It was from this branch that the French colony in St. Domingo derived its origin. "By what means, (says Mr. Edwards,) 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.

The number of men who had turned their attention to the cultivation of the soil, did not at first exceed *four hundred*; the others, who consisted of huntsmen and pirates, and were composed of the most daring and the most profligate of the human race, were either engaged in some enterprize, or were seen hovering between St. Domingo, on which they had begun to lay some claim, and the Island of Tortuga, which they called their own.

But it was those who had attached themselves to the soil, and who hoped to become prosperous by the fruits of their labours, rather than by any adventitious success, that attracted the notice of government, and engrossed its attention. The court of Versailles beheld before it an Island, in value equal to an empire, of which some of its subjects had taken an actual, though accidental possession; and the first care of France was to select a governor, whose abilities should be equal to the difficult task of humanizing men who had become barbarians, and of adding to the number of those in whom the understanding appeared to have taken a favourable turn. This important charge was committed to the care of one Bertrand D'Ogerton, a gentleman of Anjou.

D'Ogerton had been a projector, had experienced both the smiles and frowns of fortunes, and had proved himself capable of bearing either with great magnanimity of soul. He had seen much service in both worlds, had served fifteen years in a regiment of marines, and had

been nine additional years in America. He had latterly been unfortunate, but not base; his calamities had given lustre to his virtues; and sufficiently shewn, by rendering them conspicuous, that no misfortune could shake his soul. During his stay in America, he had made himself acquainted with the dispositions of the Buccaneers; and so far had he gained the affection and esteem of the French, both at Tortuga and St. Domingo, that no man perhaps on earth could produce to the colonists a better recommendation.

On entering upon his government in 1665, he found his situation truly critical. In 1664 a grant of exclusive privileges had been made to a set of monopolists, that had already stagnated the rising trade through the French Islands, and withered those prospects which had promised to industry a reward. He had therefore to bring men, who had traded with the world, lived without restraint, and been exempted from imposts, to submit to a detestable monopoly, under which all the French colonies were doomed to languish. In addition to this, he had, under these disadvantageous circumstances, to inspire principles of moderation into the most profligate;—to make virtue appear amiable to the most abandoned of the human race;—to induce those to labour, who had spent their time in tumultuous idleness;—and to instruct, in the principles of justice, men, whose highest honour consisted in having lived upon the plunder of mankind. To allure new adventurers to reside in a climate, which had been represented as pernicious;—to cultivate a soil, the fertility of which was not yet fully known;—and to incline them to associate with men, who had become proverbial even through Europe for infamy, was another task which he had to accomplish. Under all these difficulties and disadvantages, D'Ogerton promised himself success, and what is more extraordinary, was scarcely disappointed.

Hunters and pirates are, above all men, accustomed to a roving kind of life, and for that reason are the most difficult to be induced to adopt a fixed residence; yet of such characters the new colonists chiefly consisted. The slaughter of the cattle had reduced the number of the former, but the same cause had proportionably augmented that of the latter: they had only changed their mode of life, by quitting the forest for the ocean, and quadrupeds for men. In times of hostility between France and

Spain, these men had contrived to obtain commissions from the court of Versailles against the common enemy; and by this means their depredations assumed a legal appearance: but they were not always ready to relinquish the object of their pursuit, when a termination of the war had rendered the commissions invalid.

To inspire such men with notions of justice and moderation, and to prevent them from seeking plunder in more promising latitudes, D'Ogerton procured for them commissions from such states as were at war with Spain, when she had made peace with France. And to convince them that the welfare of the colony, and not pecuniary emolument, was the point at which he aimed, he frequently relinquished his share of the lawful prizes which were made, to prevent secret discontents, and to silence murmurs which might lead to revolt. When any of these men, through misfortune or disappointment, grew disgusted with their dangerous avocation, he advanced them money without interest, to erect habitations, and occasionally risked his own credit, to remove obstacles to their industry.

Hitherto not a single female resided on the settlement. This was a deficiency which D'Ogerton wished to supply, well knowing that such a measure would introduce marriage;—that this would create an attachment in the men to the spot on which their wives resided;—that from this source would spring forth the various relations of social life;—an increase of natural population;—and with it innumerable ties, which could not easily be dissolved. With these views before him, he sent immediately to France, and many women of reputable characters were induced to embark.

“ Fifty (says Raynal) came over, and were soon disposed of to the best bidders. Soon after a like number arrived, and were obtained on still higher terms. This was the only way to gratify the most impetuous of all passions, without quarrels or bloodshed. The whole of the inhabitants expected to see helpmates come from their own country to soften and to share their fate; but they were disappointed. No more were sent over, except women of no character, who used to engage themselves for three years in the service of the men. This method of loading the colony with the refuse of the mother country, introduced such a profligacy of manners, that it became

necessary to put a stop to so dangerous an expedient; this was done, but without substituting a better. By this neglect, St. Domingo lost a great many honest men, who could not live happy there, and was deprived of an increase of population, which might have proceeded from the colonists, who still preserved their attachment to the Island. The colony has long felt, and perhaps feels to this day, the effects of so capital a fault." (Vol. IV. p. 237.)

But how great soever the attention of D'Ogerton might have been to the roving marauders, the colonists, who had settled, were the primary objects of his notice. To these he held out every encouragement, and made every exertion in his power to increase their number. Many he had allured to the colony from distant parts, and many more he had induced to relinquish their predatory mode of life. These had augmented the number of cultivators, and the effects of their industry were become conspicuous. On his arrival in the year 1665, the whole number of this description did not exceed *four hundred men*. These he contrived, in the short space of four years, to multiply into *one thousand five hundred*, whose lives were in general comfortable, and whose labours were productive.

Unhappily, the success of the colony invited the iron hand of rapacity, which in the year 1670 nearly proved its ruin. Through the address of D'Ogerton, the colonists had been induced to submit to the claims of the India Company, and to pay those imposts which had been demanded. But monopolists rarely know any bounds but those which necessity prescribe. Presuming upon the flourishing condition of the settlement, the India Company sent out European goods at a most exorbitant price, and charged about two thirds more for their articles, than the colonists had been accustomed to pay. Irritated at such a flagrant violation of justice, they first expostulated; but finding this of no avail, they flew to arms. During the whole year the whole colony was in a state of ferment, which nothing could appease but a compromise, which Ogerton effected. By this it was stipulated, that their ports should be open to all French ships, and that such ships should be at liberty to import the articles which were wanted, upon condition that the company should receive *five per cent.* upon their cargoes.

No sooner was this difference accommodated, than Ogerton, availing himself of the stipulation, procured



two ships to convey the produce of the colony to Europe, and to take back such articles as were most wanted to supply the general demand. On their return he caused their cargoes to be landed, and exposed to public view; then calling the injured colonists together, and acquainting them with his intentions, permitted each man to take what he wanted at prime cost; affording credit to such as requested it, without any other security than their bare words. Such lenitives supplied the balm, which till that time had been wanting. They found themselves delivered from the hand of oppression, and even rewarded for the exertions they had made in the defence of their invaded rights. These measures gave new life to the colony, which had begun to languish; the colonists renewed their exertions, and success rewarded their endeavours. Ogerton omitted no opportunity to display his paternal care, and he sat enthroned in the hearts of his subjects. But unfortunately, in the year 1675, he was cut off by death, while planning schemes for the public welfare; bequeathing to his successor, and to those whom he had both civilized and governed, the example of his life and conduct, which exhibited patriotism uncontaminated by faction;—justice unsullied by partiality and oppression;—humanity, which had not been polluted with a stain;—and virtues, which became lovely from their own intrinsic excellence, and from the man whose character had recommended them.

Pouancey, the nephew of D'Ogerton, succeeded him in the office of governor, and, by treading in those steps which had conducted his uncle to honour, he acquired the same reputation without the same merit. The plans which the uncle had laid out, the nephew adopted and contrived to execute. The welfare of the colony was the great object with both; and the unlimited confidence which the former had merited, and which the latter had obtained through his credit, gave them such an ascendancy over the people, as superseded, for a considerable time, the necessity of laws to regulate their conduct, and of soldiers to enforce obedience.

The progress of ten years had, however, introduced a considerable influx of people, and unfortunately, vice began to increase with numbers. The abandoned women, collected from the refuse of brothels, of whom we have already spoken, contributed not a little to establish the dissoluteness of manners which prevailed. Irregularities

were no longer solitary instances of depravity, which the general mass viewed with abhorrence, but the prevailing features of their lives; and this insubordination called aloud for legislative redress. Two commissioners were therefore sent from Martinico, to establish order in St. Domingo. These men appointed courts of judicature in several districts; and to ensure the impartiality of their administration, they became accountable for their own conduct to a superior council, which was at the same time established at a place called Little Goyave. This jurisdiction was afterward found to be too extensive, as the inhabitants increased; and to expedite the affairs of justice, a similar council was established at Cape Francois in 1702, to preside over the northern districts.

The establishment of law among men, who had hitherto lived without any, but whose excesses rendered it absolutely necessary, was viewed by them as another attempt to invade their rights, and serious apprehensions of a revolt were entertained. The more turbulent and piratical were, however, soothed into compliance by the force of persuasion; and the planters were in part relieved from their uneasiness, by the prospect of seeing better days.

The colonists of St. Domingo had hitherto traded only in hides and tobacco; but the destruction of the cattle, and the restrictions which imposed shackles upon the fashionable weed, which their industry had brought to perfection, obliged them to turn their attention to other articles of cultivation. Happily for them, they found a substitute in cherishing and propagating some cocoa-trees, which their common parent, D'Ogerton, had planted in the year 1665. These they multiplied to such an extent, that some plantations could produce nearly twenty thousand; so that though the article was sold at two-pence halfpenny per pound, it became a source of considerable wealth. To this they added the articles of indigo and cotton; the former became productive, but the latter they found reason to abandon, from causes which are not exactly known. The sugar-cane, which, as Raynal observes, "conveys the gold to Mexico, to nations whose only mines are fruitful lands," was rather contemplated at this time as a valuable commodity, than cultivated. They were not ignorant of its worth, but they wanted both labourers and money to erect their works, and carry the plantations to perfection. The labours of the field

had hitherto been performed by the poorest of the inhabitants, but the number that became necessary to carry on a sugar plantation, required a sum which none of the colonists were able to pay. They were therefore obliged to postpone it for the present; and for its subsequent establishment they were much indebted to the plunder of Jamaica.

With an eye constantly fixed upon the sugar-cane, they contrived to obtain some negroes at an early period by purchase, and these they increased by every means in their power. In the war of 1688, they took several prizes from the English, which furnished them with additional slaves; some successful expeditions against the Spaniards procured them more, and the arrival of two or three French ships augmented the general stock. Still their number was scarcely sufficient to justify the undertaking; but the fortune of war soon decided in their favour, and enabled them to begin.

Pouancey had been succeeded in the government of the colony by M. Du Casse, a man of enterprize and courage. The year 1694 furnished him with an opportunity of invading Jamaica, which, through a complication of causes, had been considerably reduced. "Whatever (says Raynsford) were the other motives that induced this expedition, Du Casse seems to have had an eye to the principal necessities of his colony, by including in his booty a considerable number of negroes, perhaps not less than *two thousand*.\* The other captured property, added to some of the private wealth of some of the remaining Buccaneers, (if those embarked in privateering could be still so called,) enabled them to employ those slaves, and furnish buildings and articles for the production of sugar. The year following, however, the English returned the compliment of Du Casse, by attacking the now flourishing settlement of Cape Francois, in conjunction with the forces of Spain, which they took, plundered, and reduced to ashes. It was soon, however, rebuilt on the same scite; and from this period no difficulty or misfortune to the colony, was sufficient to impede its gradual progress to that eminence, which obtained for it, in an-

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\* Mr. B. Edwards says, "They carried off about one thousand negroes." Vol. I. p. 232. Raynal says, "They brought away three thousand blacks," Vol. IV. p. 239.

other century, the appellation of the Garden of the West Indies."—*History of St. Domingo*, p. 57.

But notwithstanding the confidence with which the French held possession of part of St. Domingo, their right was by no means admitted by the Spaniards. War and peace had alternately succeeded each other between the parent states, but domestic hostilities always continued between the colonists. Neither the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1668, nor that of Nimeguen in 1678, put an end to their animosities. The Spaniards considered the French as intruders into their territories, and as invaders of their rights; while these in their turn, considered those as arrogating to themselves a dominion, of which they scarcely knew the extent;—of claiming what they knew not how to occupy;—of demanding territories which they could not people, and would not cultivate;—and as consigning for ever to forests, weeds, and solitude, some of the finest lands which were in the world. These opposite sentiments kept alive perpetual jealousies, antipathies, and quarrels, which were renewed by those acts of aggression and retaliation, which began in injustice, and frequently ended in blood.

The peace of Ryswick in 1695, however, in a great measure put an end to these domestic differences, by tacitly acknowledging, in one of its articles, the joint occupancy of the French; and by making to them a formal cession of that part of the Island which they then possessed. By this treaty a line of demarcation, founded upon customary acknowledgement, divided the respective rights of both parties. It extended in "an oblique direction, from the then Cape Francois on the North East, to Cape Rosa on the West, intersecting the towns of Isabella and Iago at the one point, and those of Petit Goave and Port Louis on the other."—*Rainsford*, p. 58.

But this line of demarcation, though accurate in itself, was founded upon a principle which was too indefinite to ensure constant tranquillity. *Customary acknowledgement* was too vague and inexpressive to prevent disputes. What had been admitted by one party was frequently denied by the other. This led to accusations of partiality and injustice, to the renewal of former feuds, and to the creation of new troubles; so that this line of demarcation did but little more than guarantee to the French a right to the Island, and lay a foundation for future evils.

The French, more industrious than the Spaniards,

less cruel, but equally unjust, found themselves, by the treaty of Ryswick, in possession of a territory, which admitted of vast improvements. Hitherto their plantations had chiefly extended towards the North and West; but on the southern part not less than one hundred and fifty miles of sea-coast, with its proportionable interior, remained with scarcely an hundred inhabitants. These were shut up from almost all intercourse with the other colonists, living in miserable hovels, in a state of the most abject wretchedness, in a country rich and fertile even beyond conception.

The French government saw its value, and hit upon an expedient to bring it into a state of cultivation. It was not the wretches who lived in hovels, but the extensive country which engrossed their attention. In 1698 they established another company, which assumed the name of St. Louis. To this company was granted the whole territory in question for the space of thirty years, upon condition that they should cause the land to be cleared and cultivated, and *that they should open a contraband trade with the Spanish settlements on the continent!* The latter, no doubt, was faithfully attempted, but there were already too many rivals in the market. Jamaica and Curassou had nearly engrossed the trade; and the riches which they were daily acquiring, gave a keener appetite to French desire, but deprived it of gratification.

The land, however, was cultivated with more success. The company of St. Louis granted portions to all who made an application for them. They procured slaves for them upon the credit of their future industry, and waited three years for payment. European merchandize they engaged to deliver at the market price; to give the same credit; and finally, to take in payment such articles as this semi-colony might raise, upon the same terms that similar articles were disposed of in other parts of the Island. The articles which the colonists were to take were such as, in their own judgments, they wanted; nothing was to be imposed upon them, but an obligation to deal exclusively with the company of St. Louis; this was the only means which they had of reimbursing their expences.

Terms so generous, so disinterested, and so advantageous to the planter, could not fail of inducing a number to accede to them. These adventurers soon found themselves rewarded with profitable crops, and a prolific soil. In the commencement of the eighteenth century this set-

tlement was in a most flourishing condition, and gave promises of prosperity which flattered the expectations of all. But these promises were found delusive. The agents, who were employed by the company to inspect the rights of both parties, and to administer justice, agreeably to the original stipulations, became oppressors; and finally ruined the little colony they were appointed to protect. Availing themselves of the exclusive privileges of the company, they abandoned their concern for the general good, and pushed their own private fortunes at the expence of the employer and the employed. Thus the best concerted scheme was frustrated through their injustice and rapacity, while the unhappy sufferers were incapacitated to redress their wrongs.

But it was not merely to this branch that the calamities of the colony were confined. It is true that in part they were of a different nature, and therefore might be considered as accidents, which no prudence could prevent. In 1715, through some unknown cause, all the cocoa-trees in the colony died. Fortunately the inhabitants had turned their attention to the cultivation of other productive articles, on which account the loss was felt with less severity; but still the accident deprived them of one important source of wealth. If the calamity had overtaken them at an earlier period, it is highly probable that it would have proved fatal. It would have been attributed to some malignant property either in the soil or climate, and they would have been deterred from attempting to re-establish the cultivation, from the dread of a periodical return. At present it stood in their estimation as an exempt case, which might never occur again, and subsequent years have confirmed the opinion.

It was not long after the destruction of the cocoa-trees, that many of the wealthy colonists were obliged to sustain a loss still more serious in its nature, and more fatal in its consequences, as it involved in one general ruin the earnings of their lives. Many, allured by the prospect of riches, had quitted Europe to make their fortunes in St. Domingo; but they had never abandoned the hope of finally revisiting their native land. They had laboured for twenty or thirty years in this burning climate, and had amassed considerable wealth. Advanced in years, and grown rich by their own industry, they disposed of their effects, and embarked for Europe, to spend the evening of their lives among their old acquaintances, in

their native land. On their arrival in France they disposed of the commodities in which their riches consisted, and received their payment in *bank notes*. These deceitful papers soon lost their nominal value, and the holders of them, through Law's fatal scheme of Finance, were hurled in a moment from the pinnacle of affluence to the depth of misery. They had no means of obtaining redress, and were under the necessity of returning in poverty, as solitary passengers, to an Island, from which but a short time before, they had departed with cargoes of immense value. In this forlorn condition they were obliged, while grey with age, to solicit places to earn a livelihood, of those men who had formerly been their servants. The fate of these unfortunate men spread a general gloom throughout the colony. The hand of industry let go its hold. Hope on a sudden disappeared. Nothing but complaints and murmurs were heard among all ranks; and the detestable authors of such abominable injustice were loaded with execration.

Happily for them they survived the shock. The beauty of the scenes with which they were encircled, operating upon their volatile dispositions, removed the temporary palsy with which they had been seized, while the condition of their Spanish neighbours, still more wretched without a calamity, than their own, with all they had suffered, afforded them an occasion of encouragement from the contrast. The flame, however, was rather smothered than destroyed; it still burnt at heart, and only waited a favourable opportunity to burst forth in all its rage.

In 1722, the conduct of the India Company furnished them with an occasion to testify their abhorrence, both of their past and present conduct. Some agents having obtained from the India Company, an exclusive grant of the African trade, on condition that they should supply St. Domingo annually with two thousand negroes, came over to reside upon the Island. The colonists quickly saw that this was an evil which operated in two directions. The number was not more than a fourth part of what they wanted, and the restriction would operate upon the price of those who were sold. Both these circumstances struck to the vitals of the colony, and pierced the inhabitants in the most tender parts.

The detestation which, on the former occasion, had been but partially smothered, began again to revive, at

the danger which now threatened them; and it was become more dreadful from the maturity of recollection. There are certain boundaries beyond which oppression dares not pass, without awakening the vengeance of the oppressed. These boundaries the monopolizers had passed, and the consequences followed. The ancient Buccaniering spirit had not yet departed from the colonists. Their grievances were become intolerable; and, as the only means that could promise them relief, they had recourse to arms. A general convulsion, like the shock of an earthquake, was felt in an instant through the colony, and nothing but ferment and anarchy prevailed. To appease this tumult, some commissioners, who acted for the India Company, had recourse to their authority, and the insurgents appealed to their power. The latter charged the former with aggravating their misfortunes by their insolence; and, to prevent them from repeating it, compelled them to recross the seas which had lately brought them thither. They then proceeded to demolish the buildings in which they had transacted their business, and finally reduced them to ashes. The ships which came from Africa with slaves, on the ground of the new arrangement, they forbade to dispose of their cargoes, and some of these they compelled to quit the harbour. The governor, attempting to interpose, was seized, and put under an arrest, and nothing but the clang of arms, and the horrors of insurrection prevailed. Government at length prudently gave way. The supplies of the colony were conducted on their ancient footing; and peace, after a ferment of two years, was happily restored. A state of unexampled prosperity was the immediate consequence of this well-timed lenity; Government, grown wise by experience, ceased to provoke, and the colonists ceased to rebel; success crowned their mutual endeavours, and disturbance was heard no more.

In the meanwhile, the Spanish colony was making a retrograde motion, and regularly going from bad to worse. It knew nothing of those vicissitudes which that of the French underwent, but slept in gloomy indolence, under the power of that opiate which has not yet withdrawn its influence. The scenes of industry which the French had raised around them, instead of inspiring them with a spirit of emulation, caused them to retire into a still deeper shade; and, to avoid holding any communications



with them, they apparently entrenched themselves among those weeds and bushes, which grew spontaneously from the earth. Herrera, who died in 1625, states, in his History of the West Indies, which extends from 1492 to 1554, that during this time the Island of Hispaniola contained no less than 14,000 Castilians, besides a proportionable number of inhabitants of various classes. These, through the different causes which have been mentioned, were so considerably reduced in number, that in the year 1717, no more than 18,410 souls, of every colour and description, were to be found in all their part of the Island. Such were the fatal effects of intolerance and inhumanity.

The French colony, on the contrary, which had been founded by a few miscreants, disowned by every country about the middle of the seventeenth century, presented a convincing proof of the effects of industry, and of the fertility of the land. Its produce in the year 1720, amounted to 1,200,000 pounds weight of Indigo, 1,400,000 pounds weight of white sugar, and 21,000,000 of brown; and from that period, its increase was equally rapid and successful. The commotions which followed were not sufficient to prevent the plantations from extending; the former articles were cultivated with still greater success, and in 1734 both cotton and coffee were added to its internal wealth.

In 1754, the produce of the year was sold upon the spot for £1,261,469, while the colony received from the mother country, goods to the amount of £1,777,509; but the debt which it thus contracted, was only a means to accelerate its future prosperity. At this time its population of whites, capable of bearing arms, amounted to 7,758 men; the women, either married or widows, were 2525; 781 marriageable persons; 1691 boys, and 1503 girls, under twelve years of age. The blacks or free Mulattoes, were reckoned at 1362 men, fit to bear arms; 1626 widows or married women; 1009 boys, and 864 girls, under twelve years of age. The manufactures were peopled with 79,785 negro men; 53,817 negro women; 20,518 negro boys, and 18,428 negro girls. Of sugar, they worked 599 plantations, and 3,379 of Indigo. The cocoa-trees amounted to 93,946, the cotton plants to 6,300,367, while the cassia trees were nearly 22,000,000. The provisions consisted of nearly 6,000,000 of Banana trees, upward of 1,000,000 plots of potatoes, 226,000

plots of yams, and nearly 3,000,000 trenches of manioc. The cattle at this time did not exceed 63,000 horses and mules, and 93,000 head of horned cattle.

In the course of ten years both the inhabitants, and the articles which their industry raised, were considerably augmented. In 1764 the French department could produce 8,786 white men, able to bear arms; the free men of colour were proportionably increased, while the number of negroes, of all ages and conditions, amounted to 206,000. From that year, about 15,000 negroes were annually imported in a public manner, besides a multitude which were smuggled into the Island. Of the latter description enough were imported to repair the ravages of death; the others, therefore, must have been added to the increase by natural population, and must have tended to augment the colony, which continued to extend its plantations with equal rapidity and success.

"We may affirm, from undoubted authority, (says Raynal,) that in the course of the year 1767, there have been exported from this colony, no less than 72,718,781 pounds weight of raw sugar; 51,562,013 pounds of white sugar; 1,769,562 pounds of Indigo; 150,000 pounds of cocoa; 12,197,977 pounds of coffee; 2,065,920 pounds of cotton; 8,470 hides in the hair; 10,350 tanned hides; 4,108 casks of rum; 21,104 casks of molasses. This is the sum total of the production entered at the custom-houses of St. Domingo in 1767, and exported on board of 347 ships sent from France. The goods taken in under sail, the overplus of the weight, the payment of the smuggled blacks, cannot have carried away less than a fourth part of the produce of the colony, which must be added to the known estimate of her wealth. Since that period all her plantations increased, and those of coffee trebled."\* The increase of which it is still capable is considerable; some think it may be doubled, others rate it only at one third; but all agree that culture will still admit of great improvements.

To teach the inhabitants of this splendid colony a lesson of humiliation, a dreadful earthquake was permitted to visit it. This calamity happened on the third day of

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\* Raynal, Vol. IV. p. 259. For an account of the preceding statements of the produce of St. Domingo, see Raynal, Vol. IV. p. 257—8; and Rainsford's History of St. Domingo, p. 60, 61.

June, 1770, and by the violence of its concussion, levelled Port au Prince with the ground. But the general prosperity of the colony prevented the inhabitants from being disheartened by this temporary, though severe affliction. It was soon after rebuilt in a more advantageous manner than before; the area of its situation was enlarged, and several new streets were raised upon the shore, by means of causeways, which have rendered it highly beneficial to commerce. But with all its additional advantages and conveniences, it still continued inferior to Cape Francois. Many of the newly erected houses were built of wood for the sake of immediate use, which detracted from the comparative elegance of the town, and rendered the buildings less durable.

The court of Madrid, raised from its lethargy by the brilliant successes of the French, lent a feeble hand in 1757 to its long-neglected colony, and seemed for a short season, solicitous that it might begin to imitate its more prosperous rival. Unfortunately, however, Spain began with adopting that plan, which had rather retarded than facilitated that prosperity of the French colony, which they hoped to enjoy by imitation. The first step which the Spanish ministry took, was to grant to a company, formed at Barcelona, a variety of exclusive privileges; and the primary object which this company had in view, was only to advance the welfare of the colony, so far as it promoted their own private interest. The industry which it promoted was, therefore, only the industry of avarice, and the diminutive advantages which followed, were swallowed up by those who watched to receive them. The utmost that seems to have been accomplished by this local and languid exertion, terminated in the equipment of two small vessels, which sailed annually from Spain with European merchandize, and brought back in return a few thousand hides, and some other trifling articles.

In 1765 the condition of this colony grew somewhat more prosperous, through a measure which was adopted by Charles III. This monarch, more enlightened, or less avaricious, than his predecessors, set aside the exclusive privileges, and opened a free trade to all the Windward Islands. The salutary effects of this measure were almost immediately felt; and even St. Domingo, liberated from that barbarous policy which had for so many years depressed the spirit of its inhabitants, appeared once more

to revive, and gave, for a short season, a gleam of hope to the cultivators of its land. From the year 1769 to 1774, the duties paid to the custom-houses were more than double, to what they had been from the period of its primitive prosperity. But this glory was of short duration. It was but little more than the faint efforts of an expiring colony;—it was the gleaming of an evening sun, which was soon to set in almost total darkness.

The languid state of the Spanish settlement, even in the height of its modern prosperity, and the flourishing condition of the French, induced the latter to encroach upon the territory of the former, and perhaps the reason was nearly as just, as that upon which they first attempted to plant a settlement in the Island. They then contended that the Spaniards were surrounded by lands, of which they made no use whatever; and from the condition of their extensive and unoccupied dominions, it was evident that the same observations would now hold equally good. It is true, that a line of demarcation had been drawn, but it rested on a vague foundation, which had but little influence upon those, whose interest and avarice tempted them to encroach upon their neighbours' rights. The violation of the general boundary by the French, however, afforded cause for much uneasiness with the Spaniards; animosities between the parties were revived, and quarrels frequently happened.

To put an end to these unhappy differences which had so long agitated both colonies, in 1776 a new line of demarcation was drawn, by which the boundaries of each nation became definite and fixed. This division, though not so favourable to the views of the French as they had been led to expect, were highly advantageous to both parties. The animosities which had so long prevailed, gradually wore away; and, in just the same proportion, an intercourse took place between them. The narrow limits to which the French were restricted, enhanced the value of their lands, which were chiefly devoted to the cultivation of those articles which found the most advantageous market in Europe. This led them to draw every description of cattle from the Spaniards, of whom they could purchase them upon much better terms, than they could propagate them upon their own grounds. The merchandize which they received from Europe passed over to the Spaniards by way of payment; and as these

had only an incidental connection with their mother country, they expended the monies remitted for the purposes of government, in the manufactures of France.

The Island of Hispaniola stretches nearly from East to West; and the last line of demarcation, after making several serpentine involutions, passes nearly from North to South, leaving the Spaniards in possession of about three fourths of the whole Island. The French were confined to the western district. Beginning on the North, this line, which divides the Island, enters into it with the river Du Massacre in a South Eastwardly direction; it then turns due South; from thence South West, intersecting the great roads from Fort Dauphin and Cape Francois, when it passes the great chain of hills which runs through the whole Island, at about thirty miles distant from the coast. From hence it proceeds in a direction nearly South West, till it approaches near the town of Gouaves, which is deeply embayed on the Western shore. From its vicinity to this town, it winds closely round the hills of Atalaye; enters into a rich savannah, following a course nearly South East, then verges somewhat more towards the South, crossing the great river Artibonite, by which the savannah is watered; recrosses the great road leading from Port au Prince to Fort Dauphin, nearly on the spot where it is intersected by the river Du Fer, which the line also crosses; and after winding round a single hill, enters into the little lake of Cul de Sac, from which it moves in a straight line about South South East, till it intercepts the river *a Pitres*, into which it enters, and with which it loses itself in the ocean on the South, and nearly opposite the mouth of the river Massacre, with which it commenced. In this irregular course, it forms an elipsis of nearly *one hundred and seventy* miles in length. Its authority was acknowledged by both parties; and though it made the division unequal, it put an end to private dissensions, and was admitted as a standard to decide all disputes.

The large proportion of territory, which this division of the Island put into the hands of the Spaniards, served scarcely any other purpose with them, than to render the effects of their indolence the more conspicuous. No portion, perhaps, of the habitable globe, could have furnished them with more powerful incentives to industry, than the region which they occupied, while the success of their neighbours seemed to excite emulation. This

extensive region secured to them no less than nearly *six hundred miles* of coast, opening towards the ocean in almost every direction, while seven large bays and numerous inlets, offered protection to such shipping as might have occasion to touch upon their shores. The mountains which rose in the interior, instead of proving injurious, tended to enhance the value of the whole district, by giving rise to no less than twenty large rivers, with a variety of tributary streams, which fertilized the rich savannahs through which they passed in their journies to the ocean. The valuable productions which were reared by their neighbours, were convincing evidences of what the soil was capable, even if they had forgot the history of its earlier days. Every thing, in short, invited to industry, and not only promised, but even insured an ample reward.

“ Nothing, (says Rainsford,) was wanting but the moderate labour of the cultivator, and a liberal policy, to render it the most desirable country in the world. In wanting these, however, it sunk into a beautiful wilderness, and its sullen shores repelled the eye which had been attracted by distant fertility. On scites that would have received and encouraged the population of cities, were placed the solitary huts of fishermen; whose miserable toils, perhaps, a melancholy monk was embittering by a thousand painful restrictions of his poverty-stricken career on earth, and dreadful views of eternity; the result of morbid intellects, nursed by the wild scene around him.”—*Rainsford, p. 66.*

The fragments of forgotten ruins, occasionally peeping through the wild luxuriance of nature, interspersed with plants of Indigo and cotton, that had outlived the hand of cultivation, and formed an alliance with weeds, served to increase the melancholy picture. In this view, a solitary cross starting upon the sight of the traveller, as he passes through the thickets, startles him for a moment, and he feels the influence of superstition, without enjoying the solemnity of devotion. In short, the recollection that these solitudes were once the delightful habitations of the murdered Indians, whose ghosts seem to haunt the glades;—that the mines of Cibio, Selle, and Hotte, which once furnished empires with gold, are now lodged in everlasting silence;—and that the whole country is little better than an extensive desert, cannot but fill the mind with pensive thoughts. And to finish the picture,

the relics of superstition, half-forgotten by its devotees, and rising among the wild productions of nature, like tomb-stones among the grass in a neglected church-yard,

“ Deepen the murmurs of the falling floods,  
And breathe a browner horror o’er the woods.”

POPE.

But though the desert condition of the country upbraided the Spaniards with their negligence of the soil, yet it proved congenial to the multiplication of cattle, which, as we have already observed, ran wild in the woods, and constituted the staple commodity of the inhabitants. In the year 1780 a general census was taken of them by order of the governor. The number stated in this account amounted to 200,000. These, so far as their owners could be ascertained, were subject to a small tribute; but about 50,000 more were even then supposed to have been passed by unnoticed. This statement was confined solely to horned cattle, without comprehending either horses, mules, or asses. These, with an augmentation of the above stock since the estimate of 1780, were supposed at the commencement of the Revolution, to give an aggregate, at the lowest computation, of 300,000, which yielded an annual production of 60,000 for slaughter and sale.

Of the sum total of its inhabitants, it is equally difficult to speak with accuracy. M. de Charmilly states the whole population to amount to 60,000, of which only 2000 were pure whites. The remaining number consisted of slaves and freemen, of almost every shade that can be supposed to exist between the Spaniard and the African. The licentious and promiscuous intercourse which subsisted between the proprietors and their female slaves, and the subsequent amours of this mixed progeny, sufficiently account for these gradations, and render it impossible for us to trace the various branches of these intermediate grades. The ecclesiastical offices were preserved among the whites, to which no people of colour were admitted; but in other departments they exhibited a strange intermixture, accompanied in all with haughtiness, indolence, and degradation.

The military force in Spanish St. Domingo consisted more in parade than power. A garrison was kept in the capital, and a few posts were established on those frontiers which divided their territories from those of their

neighbours; but, in other respects, the soldiery scattered through the Island were ineffective and inconsiderable. The posts which were chiefly occupied by them on the line of demarcation, were those of Verettes, St. Michael, and St. Raphael; but these were totally insufficient to check the inroads of the French, had they been disposed to make incursions. More jealous of their rights than solicitous to improve them, the time that these supercilious colonists should have devoted to the cultivation of the soil, was indolently wasted in watching the progress of French industry. And, if their conduct may be permitted to afford us a rule of judgment, they rather chose to exhibit a desert frontier, that should afford no temptation to their rivals, than to benefit themselves by preventing them from entering their territories.

But all their precautions were of little avail. It was easy to perceive that, sooner or later, either by fraud, negociation, or force, the whole Island would fall into the hands of the French, who were acquainted with its value, and knew how to turn that value to their advantage. In the year 1795 it was formally ceded to them by treaty, and in 1800 it was taken possession of by Toussaint Louverture. But before we enter upon the astonishing revolution which has taken place in this Island, it will be necessary to take a survey of its topography. We will begin with the Spanish territories, as bounded by the line of demarcation, which has been described.



## CHAP. XLVIII.

## HISPANIOLA CONTINUED.

*Topography.—Situation, extent, climate, soil, appearance, fertility, rivers, mountains, and towns.—SPANISH DEPARTMENT.—St. Domingo, Monte Christi, &c. &c.—Civil and ecclesiastical government.—Character and conduct of the priests.—Production and trade.—FRENCH DEPARTMENT.—Districts.—History and description of Cape Francois, and of the adjacent country.—Fort Dauphin.—Port Paix, and Cape St. Nicholas.—Population and productions of the NORTHERN DISTRICT.—Port au Prince, and adjacent country.—St. Marc, Leogane, Petit Goave, and Jeremie.—Population and trade of the WESTERN DISTRICT.—Cape Tiburon, Aux Cayes, St. Lewis, and Jacquemel.—Population and trade of the SOUTHERN DISTRICT.—Total amount of commercial establishments.—Of population and productions through the French colony in 1790.—Government, religion, forces of the colony, and morals of the inhabitants.—Animals, fish, fruits, and vegetables.*

THE Island of Hayti, Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, about 3,500 miles from the Land's End in England; it is about 60 miles N.W. by W. of Porto Rica; 69 S.E. of Cuba; and 135 E.N.E. of Jamaica. It lies between 17 deg. 55 min. and 20 deg. of North latitude, and between 67 deg. 35 min. and 74 deg. 15 min. West of London, Cap del Enganno, its Easternmost point, lies in latitude 18 deg. 20 min. and in longitude 68 deg. 40 min.; its Southernmost point is Petit Cap Mongon. It is surrounded by the little Islands of Samana, Gouave, Caimites, Heifer Island, Soane, Tortuga, and several others, which are mere appendages, and in general participate in its fate. Exclusively of these, its extent is estimated at 420 miles from East to

West, and 140 in breadth, in those places where it is broadest, from North to South.\*

The climate of this extensive Island, though towards the shores extremely warm, has not in general been reckoned unwholesome; and it frequently happens that such of the inhabitants as live with temperance and regularity, reach an advanced age. Some of robust constitutions have arrived at 120 years, an age but rarely known in the tropical regions. The intenseness of its heats, is occasionally relieved by refreshing breezes, and frequent showers; and the salubrity of the air is considerably increased by that happy intermixture of hills and vallies, woods and rivers, which diversify the scene. It is reckoned by far the finest and most pleasant of all the Antilles, being best adapted to all the conveniences of human life. On the plains, the heat, though violent, is nearly uniform, where no incidental causes occasion a dissimilarity; but it varies considerably in proportion to the distance from the mountains. The thermometer is sometimes at 99 deg. but in the mountains it rarely rises higher than 77 deg. and frequently not higher than 72. In these elevated regions the nights are sufficiently cool to render a blanket necessary; and occasionally, a fire in the evenings is particularly welcome.

The sudden transitions which take place, from excessive heats to violent and cooling rains, are felt with peculiar severity by weakly constitutions. This may perhaps be considered as the principal permanent evil, with which health is obliged to contend. The rains which fall give a peculiar humidity to the atmosphere, and hence all metals, however highly polished they may have been, receive an insensible, though visible tarnish, as soon as they are brought upon the Island. This is more particu-

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\* It is somewhat remarkable that in estimating this Island, there should be such a strange diversity of opinions as to its extent. Mr. B. Edwards states it to be 390 miles from East to West, and 140 from North to South in its broadest part. Dr. Morse, in his *American Gazetteer*, makes it 160 leagues in length, and from 60 to 70 leagues in breadth. Raynal supposes its length to be only 60 leagues, and its mean breadth to be about 30. The author of a *Geographical Dictionary*, published 1804, says it is about 400 miles East and West, and on the mean about 150 North and South. Mr. Rainsford states it to be in length, "according to the best accounts, more than 450 miles from East to West, and 150 in breadth. While the authors of the *Encyclopedia Perthensis*, differing from all the preceding, have given that account which we have adopted.

larly observable towards the shores, where the air is less salubrious than in the interior parts. On the Southern coasts the inhabitants are frequently visited with hurricanes, but they are less tremendous than those which ravage the Windward Islands. They are rarely productive of such dreadful consequences as we have had occasion to notice in those colonies, and hence they are in general denominated *Southern gales*.

To the salubrity of its climate, we may observe, that an indulgent Providence has added a fertility of soil, which has been denied to most other portions of the globe. Within a circuit of such vast extent, diversified with vallies, plains, and mountains, and refreshed with innumerable streams, it is natural, however, to suppose that it should be much varied. This is actually the case; and Hispaniola presents to the cultivator, perhaps, every species of soil which is to be found within the confines of the tropics, through all the ranges of longitude which encircle the earth.

The coasts are in many parts bold, broken, and abrupt, rising into cliffs and promontories, which cast a tremendous frown. In other places the ruggedness of nature softens into an easy smile, and the eye can wander over many leagues with the most exquisite delight. The variety of hills and vallies which nature thus presents, gives new graces to her charms; a principle of vegetative life works with unremitting vigour in every direction, and renders itself visible in the luxuriance of the trees and shrubs, which variegate the scene. Even the North East coast, which has, perhaps, been more neglected than any other part, discovers but few signs of sterility. The barrenness of a solitary spot only heightens the general beauty by the contrast which it creates; and rather courts the hand of industry, than disgraces the landscape with its diminutive deformity. The region in the Northern district, devoted to the innumerable herds of cattle which roam at large, affords a sufficient evidence of its fertility, by the constant pasturage which it yields; and no question can remain, but that the same innate vigour which diffuses itself through these almost unfrequented regions, and the extensive grass farms which approach nearer towards the river Massacre, might be turned to the production of those articles, which render the West Indies so valuable in the eyes of Europe.

On the Southern side of the Island, the lands are still

superior to those in the North. The vast plains of Los Llanos, which are well supplied with rivers, which issue from the mountains, are admirably adapted to ripen into perfection every tropical production. The Vega Real, which receives into its extensive bosom the rivers Yuna and Cotuy, offers an amazing field for commerce. These rivers, which fertilize it as they pass, flow through a region from sixty to a hundred miles, before they discharge their streams into the bay of Samana, a region which has been for ages soliciting the assistance of art. In short, the whole Island presents a surface of rich mould, which, if not in every spot capable of vast improvement, is capable of being turned to considerable advantage. The policy which would aim at the general cultivation of the Island, would direct such selections to be made, as would appropriate the various lands to those purposes for which they are respectively adapted. Every part will support cattle. These therefore would be confined to such spots as might refuse to yield to cultivation, while several of the wastes, over which they now rove without controul, would become some of the most productive portions of the globe.

The internal parts of the Island, as they approach towards the mountains, are less fertile than those which lie nearer the sea; but still they are far from being destitute of value. They are adapted to such articles as require a less luxuriant soil, and heats that are less intense; while the waters which descend continually from the hills, supply them with a constant moisture, sufficient to counteract whatever the sun exhales.

The mountains of Hispaniola may be considered as two great chains, which extend from East to West. These appearing first to seamen, give the Island, at a distance, an aspect much less favourable than it really possesses. On this account the spectator, on his near approach, is obliged to acknowledge his deception, and to change his mind. But even these mountains, though uncultivated, display in their interstices, the richest glades that can be well conceived; their summits are laden with timber, and their bosoms swell with the most luxuriant foliage. Independently of their own intrinsic excellencies, they rather increase the value of the Island than diminish it; and instead of obstructing cultivation, they accelerate it, by adding to the fertility of the soil. They give rise to innumerable rivers; repel the violence of the winds; vary

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the temperature of the air; break the fury of the tempests, which occasionally desolate other Islands; and multiply the sources of human industry. Their internal parts abound with mines of iron, lead, copper, silver, gold, and some precious stones. The mountains of Ciabao, Selle, and Hotte, are reckoned about a thousand fathoms above the surface of the sea. It was in the bowels of the first, that the merciless Spaniards condemned thousands of the natives to sacrifice their lives in searching for gold; and it was only in consequence of the want of hands, and the discoveries which were made in Mexico, that they were consigned to silence. Ages have passed away since they were wrought; but it is the general opinion that they might still be turned to considerable advantage.

The towns scattered through the Spanish territories, though some of them are hardly deserving of that name, may be considered ten in number, of which St. Domingo is the capital. This city, which is still the seat of ecclesiastical government, was once the capital, and residence of power both civil and religious, which extended its dominion over all the new world. But though subsequent discoveries curtailed its influence, it still continued to be an Archiepiscopal see, to which all the bishops of the other Islands were suffragans.

It is situated on the Southern side of the Island, in latitude 18 deg. 20 min. North, and in longitude 70 deg. 27 min. West of London, near the mouth of the large navigable river Ozama, on the margin of an extensive plain, at once fertile and delightful. The plain, on the borders of which it is situated, extends about ninety miles in length, and about thirty in breadth; and, in conjunction with the harbour, in which vessels may ride with the greatest safety, renders the situation as eligible as can be well conceived. It formerly consisted of twenty streets, which crossed each other at right angles; ten of them running from North to South, and ten from East to West. The ancient houses were built of a species of marble, found in the neighbourhood, and in the style of those which compose the ancient towns in Spain and Italy. Its port or harbour is magnificent in every respect; being a natural basin, which affords complete shelter to such vessels as enter. There are also a number of careening places for those of light burden, and the anchorage is good in all parts.

The harbour, formed by nature, and somewhat improved by art, continues to retain its excellencies to the present time, but the city itself is much fallen to decay. In 1789 the ancient cathedral, and a few other public buildings, were in a condition to command respect. The marks of age and infirmity were nevertheless visible in many parts; but their antiquity procured for them a degree of veneration, which their mouldering elegance could only in part command. Some remains of the ancient citadel, and of the palace of Diego, the first Viceroy, were still to be seen; but they amounted to little more than the sad memorials of departed grandeur, remaining to shew magnificence in ruins. Still, however, the town itself was far from being contemptible; many houses of a more modern date were not destitute of elegance; and though built with stone, with brick, and with wood, their want of uniformity might be reckoned as the chief cause which rendered them unworthy of a place in this once flourishing capital, even in the zenith of its primitive glory. The streets in general continued broad, and retained, towards the central parts of the town, their original form and position. They were both enlightened and enlivened by three squares, which were at once extensive and handsome; and the decency which the whole exhibited, surpassed the expectation which was excited by the state of the colony.

The town of Monte Christi, which may be estimated the second in importance, holds itself indebted in a great measure, for its scanty traffic, to the wars which embroil England and France. When Spain can disengage herself from the troubles of her neighbours, this port is much frequented by the English traders; and from its vicinity to some of the French plantations, it contrives to hold a correspondence with the planters, to the mutual employment and advantage of both parties. Besides this, it traffics with the United States of America, while the kingdoms of Europe are desolating each other with perpetual wars. Thus it preserves an appearance of considerable business, and assumes an air of importance from the intercourse which it holds with these foreign nations; an importance which, under a more auspicious policy, and a more enterprising people, it might have drawn from itself, or have commanded from others, without depending upon those accidental causes, which are both transitory and uncertain in their operations.

The town of St. Jago is of more antiquity than importance. A miserable monastery of Franciscans contains almost all its inhabitants, who pass their days in the performance of superstitious rites, amidst surrounding desolation. The little grandeur which this town once possessed, has departed with its inhabitants; and the ruins which are still visible among the grass, are hardly sufficient to inform the traveller of its former extent. To the monastery are attached some of the most fertile lands in the vicinity; and these are cultivated by a few slaves, not more degraded than their masters who hold the whip. A species of compact seems to subsist between them; the slaves deal in *temporals*, and the Franciscans in *spirituals*, by which means they supply each other. The appearance of both parties affords a strong indication that in each case they have most shamefully neglected their business.

La Vega, a town situated in the Vega Real, a plain nearly half the Island in length, is prevented from being in a similar condition, from its vicinity to a few excellent sugar walks, and an extensive range of pasturage. But its trade is both local and diminutive; its inhabitants few; its buildings but indifferent; its situation neither pleasing nor convenient. Those who reside in it, are bound by interest, and by that attachment which interest begets; they feel not their degradation, and shew no desire to benefit their condition.

St. Thomas, a town in the centre of the Island, among the mountains of Ciabao, though apparently more dreary in its situation, enjoys some natural advantages, to which La Vega is a stranger. Its elevation secures to it the invigorating spirit of the breezes, which blow in a variety of directions, so that it may be considered as a favourable spot, on which health might have erected her temple, in the Western Archipelago. The lands which encircle it, though "lifted to the storms," are capable of much improvement; and those who wish to live retired from the "circling haunts of noisy men," to recover their health when it has been impaired, or to preserve it free from injury, may find in the town of St. Thomas, an undisturbed retreat. Its central situation to the scattered inhabitants of the forests, and their distance from other towns, are the principal causes of its present importance; and the promise of health, which it almost

insures, may be considered as its principal recommendation.

Zeibo, a town towards the Eastern coast, has solitude to recommend it, without the promise of bestowing health. Men who occasionally wander through tractless deserts, either on business or pleasure, are happy in finding some refreshment when they reach the extremity of their journey; and while they have an opportunity of conversing with their own species, and of supplying their temporary wants, the village which they enter with no other motives, is forsaken by them without the least regret. It is from such characters that the town of Zeibo derives its subsistence, because it is by such characters that it is chiefly visited.

Agua, a little town on the Southern coast, derives the little importance which it has, from nearly the same causes with Zeibo; namely, from the distance of its situation to other towns, and the inhabitants which frequent its neighbourhood. Its relative situation is more eligible than that of Zeibo; but the advantages which this superiority affords, are too minute for discrimination. Both of these towns bear evident marks of having seen better days; but the activity of commerce has given place to solitude and desolation. Unhappily, they both border on extensive swamps, which confine a vast body of stagnant waters, and impregnate the air with unwholesome vapours. In short, their situations may be deemed unhealthy. Which is the most so, it is difficult to say; and it is needless to inquire, when neither is of sufficient importance to merit further notice.

Small as these towns are, Isabella, the first city which was ever erected by the Europeans in the new world, is still less. The circumstance of its antiquity is almost the only reason for which it is remembered. A few solitary houses are still to be seen; but they are hardly sufficient to denominate it a village. Even its ruins are gone to decay; and a sufficiency are hardly to be found, to point out its ancient extent, or to afford us a specimen of the architecture which was to grace the Western world. A few memorials of superstition have survived the wastes of time; these are the chief relics of ancient Isabella which are now to be seen. A murmuring rivulet breaks upon the silence of the scene, as we approach its scite; and a few solitary crosses, to which the bushes nod, inform us



that we have reached the spot. The eye gazes for a few moments upon a spectacle which affords a melancholy pleasure, and fills the imagination with a train of reflections, which can hardly be described. Columbus and his first adventurers seem to pass in review before us, and we catch a faint glimpse of those feelings which must have warmed his bosom.

Besides the capital, and other towns which we have mentioned, there are several villages, if such they may be termed, that exhibit an appearance still more despicable. They are about sixteen in number; are scattered through different parts of the Island; but are so insignificant, as to merit no distinct notice. Their situations are in general adapted to the local conveniences of the inhabitants; and the most respectable lie towards the territories of the French. The scites on which some of them stand, are eligible, and the lands which encircle them are capable of much improvement. Unfortunately, however, they only serve to give a more striking feature to the wild fertility which is every where conspicuous; and appear like hovels of wretchedness huddled together in a group by mere accident, amidst some of the finest lands in the world.

The causes of so much indolence and wretchedness may, perhaps, be traced to the civil and ecclesiastical government which Spain has established in all her dominions. Either civil or religious despotism, when it operates separately, has a natural tendency to degrade a people; but when they unite together, they cannot fail to prove destructive to prosperity. The fatal effects of these pernicious principles, have been felt in Spanish Hispaniola in all their force.

In its civil department, the towns were nominally governed by a local municipality, which became inefficient through its inherent weakness, and the constant interference of the clergy. The privileges either granted to the latter, or arrogated by them, were such as obliged the civil officers to confine their power to the regulations of some inferior branches of commerce; while even this contracted sphere of their jurisdiction, was subjected to the controul of the governor of the colony.

“The more important ends of general justice, were administered by six more respectable judges, severally appointed for civil and criminal jurisdiction, who formed one of the eleven courts of audience, distributed among the colonies,

and which are a model of the Spanish Chancery. The decisions of these courts were subject to an appeal to the Council of the Indies in Spain, except in civil cases, where the object of litigation did not amount in value to a sum near fifteen hundred pounds. The viceroy of New Spain represents the head of the government. The council over-ruled every department, civil and ecclesiastical, military and commercial; and has always preserved its dignity. With it originates every ordinance relative to the government of the colonies, which must be passed by the majority of a third of its members. At the head of this council the king is always understood to preside. There is also a commercial assembly, for the purposes of an immediate attention to all its objects, which could not be effected by any other means. The local officers immediately below the whole of these, consist of the different commandants, and a variety of inferior officers of almost every description; many of whose situations were sinecures, as valuable as the proprietors of the Island were depreciated." *Rainsford's History of St. Domingo*, p. 72.

In its ecclesiastical department, the mode of government was much worse than in that of its civil. The reader will have but little reason to expect a favourable account, when he is informed that in Hispaniola, as well as in other parts of the new world, the *holy inquisition* was established in all its horrors. The excesses of the clergy had compelled the legislature to adopt some measures for the regulation of their conduct in the mother country, but in these remote appendages of the empire, both power and enormity continued to prevail. Almost every class of the community was subjected to their dominion, and scarcely any transaction, of whatever nature, could escape their interference. Exempted from the dominion of Italy, by the grants of Alexander VI. and Julius II. to Ferdinand, they were under the controul of no superior; and, availing themselves of this immunity, they swarmed in numbers to this prolific region. Their revenues, which were in themselves immense, were afterward augmented by the generosity with which they contrived to inspire their devotees. Their primary stipends were established in the early periods of their history, when the mines of Ciaboa poured forth their gold. Their established stipends became a temptation to others, and the number of priests increased in proportion to the increase of that poverty, which their presence in part

treated. When the mines became exhausted, these locusts still remained, and continued to fatten in the midst of that desolation, which their rapacity had occasioned.

But though these clergymen had been exempted from the jurisdiction of the holy see, through the solicitations of Ferdinand, his successors were obliged to interpose, to counteract the corruptions which every where prevailed. "Many of the benefices (says Rainsford) were, however, now filled by the secular clergy, according to an effort of Ferdinand VI. to remedy the vicious and abominable abuses of the regulars. It has been already stated to have been honoured with the seat of the Archiepiscopal see; it had also all the minor dignities, while the *curas*, or parish priests, were to be found in all the sacerdotal dignity throughout the country."—Page 71.

It is not, however, to be understood, that the dissoluteness of manners of which we have spoken, was absolutely universal. Some were to be found, amidst this general depravity, who still felt an attachment to the cause of virtue, and who had not forgotten that rewards and punishments awaited mankind beyond the grave. But it is to be regretted, that their numbers were very few. The instructions which they were able to impart, must have been swallowed in the vortex of iniquity, which overwhelmed the inhabitants, and prevailed in a more particular manner among their nominal brethren. Their sensuality degraded the profession of the whole body, and counteracted the influence of solitary example. Few among the inhabitants could be induced to rest satisfied with the expectations of another life, while they saw their priests enjoying the pleasures of this, in the same moment that they recommended self-denial as necessary to salvation. The ascendancy which they had attained over the minds of their deluded devotees, forbade them indeed to inveigh openly against their conduct; but this silence could not destroy their internal convictions. The languor which followed these convictions, which they durst not express, became visible in their whole deportment, and disseminated itself through the common avocations of life. Indolence became preferable to labour in their estimation, when they found themselves plundered of the fruits of their industry; and perhaps it will be difficult to find a nation upon earth, whose inhabitants would continue to persevere, when they found

their robbers to multiply in proportion to their own exertions, and themselves compelled to sustain the evil, without the hope or even the possibility of redress.

Through these and similar causes, the Spanish colony of St. Domingo, which in early years was in a most flourishing condition, sunk gradually into decay. The lands which had once been cultivated, were neglected, and plantations which had been prosperous, were consigned over to the wild luxuriance of nature. Poverty, the natural consequence of sloth, soon overtook the inhabitants; and ignorance, its concomitant, only prepared them for further impositions. Their spiritual tyrants availed themselves of the advantages which these circumstances gave them, and embittered their lives with a train of ceremonies, which were at once irritating and unmeaning. Life, under such impostors, becomes doubly insupportable; they rob their victims of what might render the present state comfortable, and afford them no light that can guide them with safety to the felicities of another.

Of the extent of the population, and the different shades which they exhibit, we have already spoken; and it is needless now to enter into a minute detail of the different names by which the grades have been distinguished. Of the herds of cattle we have also spoken, so far as their numbers could be ascertained with accuracy. Their articles of modern produce were sugar, ginger, cocoa, tobacco, indigo, and maze, with some cassava root, and dye woods. But even these articles were raised more with a design to supply their own consumption, than to establish any trade. It is true, such of the above commodities as were not wanted by themselves, were exported to the mother country; but they are too insignificant to merit distinct notice. Hides constituted their principal article of exportation; and the beasts, in former years, were slaughtered for no other purpose than to obtain their skins. Of late years, however, as the French colony increased in population, they found the carcasses also to be a valuable resource. This therefore they contrived to rescue from the vultures, to which they had heretofore been consigned. The French received them gladly, and both parties were mutually benefitted by the intercourse. But it is time to quit the Spanish territories, to take a survey of the French division of the Island.

By the line of demarcation, of which we have already

spoken in the preceding chapter, the French were placed in the undisturbed possession of the Western part. The natural advantages of their territory were much inferior to those of the Spanish division; but the activity of its inhabitants not only surmounted these inconveniences, but raised their colony to a state of splendour, which formed one of the greatest contrasts to the Spanish part of the Island, that can be well conceived. Their whole portion, being highly cultivated and thickly peopled, was too extensive to be placed under one common jurisdiction; it was therefore divided into three distinct districts or provinces,—the *Northern*, *Western*, and *Southern*. In the Northern district was included the Island of Tortuga. It began at the river Massacre, and extended on the Northern coast about forty leagues, to Cape St. Nicholas, the North West extremity of the Island. This district contained twenty-six parishes, and the towns and harbours of Cape Francois, Fort Dauphin, Port Paix, and Cape St. Nicholas.

The Western district begins where the Northern ends, and extends from Cape St. Nicholas to Cape Tiburon, the Western extremity of the Island, including the vast bay which lies between these two capes. This district contained fourteen parishes, and several towns of considerable importance. The principal of these were Port au Prince, St. Mark, Leogane, Petit Goave, Jeremie, Gonawes, and Arcahaye. Within this district there are several harbours, but those only of Port au Prince and Gonawes can be entered with safety; though it occupies an extent of coast, from one cape to the other, not less than one hundred leagues. There are a variety of bays and inlets, in which vessels may find shelter from particular winds; but on other occasions these open roads are much exposed, and the ships which lie at anchor are in the most imminent danger, when the winds set in from different points of the compass.

The Southern district commencing at Cape Tiburon, stretches due East between sixty and seventy leagues, and terminates at the river *a Pitres*, which divides the French from the Spanish territories on the South. In this district there are twelve parishes and two towns; but unfortunately, it possesses not a single harbour, and its roads and bays are dangerous in a high degree. The names of its towns are Les Cayes, and Jacmel. The want of safety for shipping renders these towns of com-

paratively small importance, and tends perhaps to aggrandize the others, which have been erected in more fortunate situations. The difficulty of removing the produce of this district to a more convenient port, obliges vessels occasionally to load at Les Cayes; but they dare not encounter a storm in this situation. In the hurricane seasons they are obliged to quit this dangerous port altogether, to seek, in the Baye des Flamands, a safety which Les Cayes does not afford.

Of these three districts, the towns, plantations, population, and productions, we shall take some notice, beginning with the Northern district, which includes the capital, Cape Francois, the origin of which was somewhat singular.

When the Buccaneers had formed themselves into a colony on this Island, their government, as we have already noticed, devolved, in 1665, on D'Ogerton, whose personal fame drew many who had been persecuted at home, to flee for safety to the asylum which his lenient measures had established in St. Domingo. Among these adventurers was one Gobin, a Calvinist, who, on his arrival at the infant colony, erected a house on the cape in 1680, and prevailed on others to join him in his retreat. Time added to their numbers, and the conveniencies of their situation justified their choice. As the lands became cleared, and the value of its commodious bay became known, both inhabitants and shipping resorted to the spot, and raised the town of Cape Francois to that elegance, wealth, and commercial importance, which it exhibited in 1790.

Its situation, nevertheless, when considered in itself, is not to be commended. It stands at the foot of a very high mountain, called Le Morne du Cap, which prevents the inhabitants from enjoying those refreshing land breezes which are so necessary to health; and by obstructing the rays of the sun, causes them to reverberate in such a manner, as sometimes to render the heat almost insupportable. The winds which reach the inhabitants are those that blow from the coast; but being obliged to pass over some extensive marshes, they become impregnated with stagnant vapours, which render them unwholesome.

The year 1695 furnished them with a melancholy opportunity of changing their situation. The town at this time, after having enjoyed the advantages, and suf-

ferred the inconveniences of its situation, from the period of its first establishment, was attacked by the Spaniards and the British in conjunction, both by sea and land; it was taken, plundered, and reduced to ashes.

But notwithstanding this calamity, which compelled them to begin the town anew, they once more permitted its relative advantages to outweigh its local inconveniences; and Cape Francois sprang up from the site of its desolation. In 1790 it contained between eight and nine hundred houses, which were built of stone and brick, and exhibited a scene of elegance which scarcely any town in the West Indies could presume to rival. These houses were arranged in thirty streets, which crossed each other at right angles, and were ornamented with squares and public buildings. The shops and warehouses were both numerous and extensive, stored with the riches of Europe, and the productions of the new world.

The church was a superb and stately edifice, erected at a vast expence, and was only finished within a few years prior to the time of which we speak. The government house, the barracks, the royal arsenal, the theatre, and the prison, were edifices which could not fail to excite the notice of the traveller. The magnificent squares of Notre Dame, and Clugny, each of which was embellished with a fountain, added greatly to the beauty of the place, and contributed much to counteract the unwholesomeness of the air. To these public buildings and conveniences, they had added some that were of a humane nature. These were the houses which provided for the sick and indigent, who, without friends and without resources, must otherwise have perished in a foreign land.

But notwithstanding the superior elegance of Cape Francois, the streets in general were rather too narrow; and lying upon a foundation which is destitute of declivity, they were almost always dirty. Their pavement was only partial, being wholly confined to the middle; on this account the filth which naturally collects, could not fail to stagnate in the kennels, which became more and more unequal from the attrition of those puddle waters and impurities, which were left undrained.

But for these local disadvantages, the excellencies of the harbour were supposed to make the inhabitants a more than adequate restitution. The ships which arrive

from Europe, find it admirably adapted for their admission; and the safety which it affords, though not infallible, is not unworthy of regard. The only wind that can prove injurious to ships which have taken refuge in it, must blow from the North East; and even with this, the sea must be wrought into a most violent tempest before they can suffer considerably. The entrance into the harbour, though not dangerous, is full of reefs, which, when the sea is agitated by the violence of a tempest, break the fury of its waves. From this harbour a ship departs with the greatest ease; she quits the head lands in an instant, and launches immediately into the open sea.

The town, which is situated at the foot of a mountain, is closely united on one side with an extensive plain, which contains, perhaps, without any exception, some of the richest lands in the world. This plain is about four leagues in breadth, and twenty leagues in length; and of late years it has been wholly devoted to the cultivation of sugar; from which the inhabitants have drawn a greater quantity, than any other portion of the earth, of the same extent, was ever known to produce. Though not a single river of any considerable dimensions ran through it, yet the planters contrived to get it well watered, from the various streams which descended from the mountains, and from the numerous springs which arose in the plain. This, without doubt, has added to the fertility of the soil, and has amply repaid the husbandman for all his expences and his toils.

Through this extensive garden the planters have cut a variety of roads for their own conveniency, the margins of which are ornamented with limes and citron trees. Individual property is divided by the same materials; and so closely are the limes and citrons planted together, that they serve for fences against the encroachment of animals.

The French colonists began to cultivate this delightful spot in the year 1670, when their numbers were augmented by the fugitives of St. Christopher's and Santa Cruz. They had long fixed their eyes upon this desirable plain prior to the above period; but they dreaded the incursions of the Spaniards, with whom they were in a state of hostility, as their principal force could easily be drawn into that neighbourhood. The augmentation of their numbers, however, banished their apprehensions,



and the Spaniards retired with their fears. From that time, till the commencement of the Revolution, which filled the Island with the most inexpressible horrors, it afforded them an inexhaustible mine of wealth, to which the mountains of Cibao could produce no rival.

This plain, which is bounded on the North by the ocean, is terminated on the South by a ridge of mountains, which runs through the whole Island; and which varies in distance across this plain, from the Northern shore, from four to eight leagues. In this part their acclivities are gentle, their height is not excessive, and their sides have been cultivated with considerable success. Towards their summits they are broken into a variety of interstices or vallies, in which indigo and coffee have been planted, and they have been found productive even beyond calculation.

“ In these delightful vales (says Raynal) all the sweets of spring are enjoyed, without either winter or summer. There are but two seasons in the year, and they are equally fine. The ground, always laden with fruits, and covered with flowers, realizes the delights and riches of poetical descriptions. Wherever we turn our eyes we are enchanted with a variety of objects, coloured and reflected by the purest light. The air is temperate in the day time, and the nights are constantly cool. The inhabitants of the plain, upon whom the sun darts his most powerful rays, repair to these mountains to breathe a cooler air, and allay their thirst with wholesome water. Happy the mortal who first taught the French to settle on this delicious spot.”—Vol. IV. p. 254.

The inhabitants of Cape Francois, exclusively of troops and sailors, were estimated, in 1790, at 20,000: of these 12,000 were enslaved, and 8000 were free. Among the latter description are included the whites, and people of colour, together with such negroes as had obtained their freedom. The former were chiefly employed in domestic purposes; so that the whole number is to be understood as belonging exclusively to the town.\*

Fort Dauphin, on the Northern coast of the Island, lies about forty miles East of Cape Francois, at no great distance from the river Massacre, which divided the

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\* See Edwards, Vol. III. p. 139. Rainsford, p. 79; and Raynal, Vol. IV. p. 255.

French from the Spanish territories. Not far from the place where it now stands, was formerly a town called Bayaha, which was situated at a still greater distance from the coast than Fort Dauphin. It was this inconvenience which induced the colonists to change the situation, and with it they changed the name. The present situation of this town is on the interior margin of a spacious harbour, which communicates with the ocean through a narrow channel about 1500 fathoms long, and 100 broad. This is the only outlet through which merchandize can be conveyed, and through which vessels can enter. On a small peninsula to the North stands a small fort; on the West the town is encircled by a river, which flows by the village Trou, while it is bounded on the East by the shores of Manchenillo Bay. On its Southern side is a part of that luxuriant and extensive plain, which yielded its riches to the inhabitants of Cape Francois.

The houses in this town did not exceed seventy in number, but it had its theatrical amusements, assemblies, and concerts. Its fortifications were adapted to the importance of the place, capable of repelling a plundering banditti, and of withstanding the attacks of a more formidable squadron for several days. The atmosphere which the inhabitants are compelled to breathe, is generally thought to be rather unwholesome; for though it is so far removed from the mountains, as to escape the reverberation of the solar rays, yet the fens and morasses with which it is annoyed, prevent the air from circulating without a taint. But the harbour, with all its excellencies, has not been able to secure to Fort Dauphin any considerable trade. The great mass of produce was in general carried to the Cape, from whence it found its way into Europe. Yet even this circumstance rendered it some advantages, by leaving it to prosecute a contraband trade with the forlorn dominion of the Spaniards, for which its proximity gave it an adaptation.

On the Northern coast, about forty miles West of Cape Francois, stands the town of Port Paix. This was the earliest settlement of the Buccaneers, when they began to abandon their depredatory mode of life, and to forsake the Island of Tortuga, which lies directly opposite. The situation of this town is less commodious than that either of Cape Francois, or Fort Dauphin; but its vicinity to Tortuga induced the early inhabitants to over-

look what they deemed inferior considerations. On the North East lies an extensive swamp, but the grounds in the adjacent country, having been cleared, and the lands cultivated with the utmost industry and care, have not only counteracted the pestilential effluvia, but rendered the spot remarkably healthy, by opening a free passage to the circulating breezes. The town itself is not large, but the inhabitants, in proportion to its size, were numerous in the year 1790. Indigo, coffee, and cotton, were the principal articles which they cultivated; but its peculiar situation, which in a manner cut it off from an intercourse with other parts of the colony, secured to it a considerable contraband trade with the Americans, by which both parties were greatly enriched. It was from this traffic that the inhabitants principally drew their wealth, though the lands were highly productive by nature, and their fertility was considerably improved by art.

The town of Cape St. Nicholas, which forms the Western boundary of the Northern district, contained in 1790 about two hundred and fifty houses, built chiefly of wood, which had been imported from the continent. It has an excellent harbour, which is both safe and extensive, and so advantageously situated, that it has been justly denominated the Key of the Windward Passage. This spacious inlet forms a bay of nearly six miles long, which is at once strongly fortified, and sheltered from every wind. This harbour was much frequented by the ships from Europe, but more particularly so by those of America, which were at liberty to enter and traffic without danger, as it was a free port.

It was the excellencies of the harbour that induced the French to erect the town, which is situated on a sterile spot, overlooked from behind with the aspiring mountains of the Cape, which command both it and a part of the harbour, and invariably wear a tremendous frown. These mountains, together with the fortifications, lodge Cape St. Nicholas in a place of greater security than most other places in the West Indies; and present to an invading foe, a more formidable front than the most courageous assailants are willing to attack. The sterility of the lands adjacent to the town, compelled the French government to make it a free port, since nothing less, in a country so abounding with internal riches, could induce the inhabitants to take up their residence on so forlorn a spot.

But even this temptation was found an insufficient allure-ment to stock it with a proper complement of inhabitants. The French ministry were therefore obliged to strengthen the residents with a small colony of Arcadians and Germans, many of whom died on their first arrival, and many more departed from the place. The trade which they have is chiefly with the Americans, who resort thither for the purposes of traffic; the only article which they cultivate with an eye to exportation is cotton.

This Northern district, which, we have already observed, comprehended about fifty leagues of sea coast, beginning at the river Massacre, and ending at Cape St. Nicholas; and, including Tortuga, was divided into twenty-six parishes. This territory, in the year 1790, contained 11,996 white inhabitants of all ages, and 164,656 negroes in a state of slavery; of the people of colour no accurate account has been given. At that time it reckoned 288 plantations of sugar, 2,009 plantations of coffee, 443 of Indigo, 66 of cotton, and between two and three hundred establishments of an inferior nature.

The *Western district* contained still more plantations of every kind except coffee, and more inhabitants than the *Northern*, which we have just surveyed. Of this district Port au Prince was the capital. Before any part of this Island was ceded by the Spaniards to the French, the latter confined their labours chiefly to the Western part, it being most remote from those enemies whose forces they had chiefly to dread. The first settlement of their government was at Petit Goaves; but the unhealthiness of the spot induced them to transfer it to Leogane. As their territories became enlarged, they found this place inconvenient also; in consequence of which, in 1750, they removed the seat of government to Port au Prince, from whence it was always removed in times of war to Cape Francois, as being a place of greater security. But when hostilities were at an end, it returned to Port au Prince with returning peace.

The situation of this town seems to have been injudiciously selected. It is low and marshy; and the air, impregnated with noxious vapours, renders it extremely unwholesome. In addition to this, the water is brackish and disagreeable, so that the inhabitants are obliged to send at a considerable distance for that which is good. The rains which fall on the hills, descend to the inhabitants by numberless drains, but they answer no other

purpose than to incommode them; they suffer the inconveniencies of the torrents, without enjoying their benefits. The dreadful earthquake which happened in 1770, was not sufficient to induce them to seek after a more eligible situation, though it was fully sufficient to convince them that it stood on precarious ground. It was afterwards much enlarged, though not rendered much more commodious. In 1790 it contained about 600 houses; these were laid out in twenty-nine streets, which were long and populous, but not handsome. Its inhabitants were then estimated at 14,754. Of these 2,754 were whites, 4,000 were free people of colour, and 8,000 were slaves.

In the neighbourhood of Port au Prince lies the rich plain of Cul de Sac; which, preserving a breadth of nine miles, extends about forty miles in length towards the East. This plain is enriched with water, carried to it through canals, even in times of excessive drought, and covered with the most valuable plantations of sugar. The mountains which rise around this damp and unhealthy town, are covered with verdure, and cultivated even to their summits. The coffee plantations extended along their ridges even to the line of demarcation at Riquille, and the cultivators found that every spot possessed a grateful soil.

The scite of this capital (says Raynal) is "an opening about 1400 toises long, in a direct line, and commanded on both sides. Two harbours, formed by some little Islands, have afforded a pretence for this injudicious choice. The harbour intended for trading vessels, being now almost choaked up, can no longer admit ships of war with safety; and the great harbour designed for these, being as unwholesome as the other, from the exhalations of the small Islands, neither is nor can be defended by any thing against a superior enemy. A single frigate might safely come and bid defiance to the French squadrons in the harbour, and would be sufficient to intercept any trading ships that should attempt to go in or out without a convoy. Even the small Islands which divide the harbours, so far from defending the town from an invasion, would only serve to cover the landing."—Vol. IV. p. 250, 251.

The town of St. Mark, though less embayed, is not much more advantageously situated. It lies on the Northern shore of the bay, on the point of an obtuse angle, formed by the margin of the rocks and waves. "Nature

(says Raynal) has left this little interval of life and cultivation, between the aridity of the mountains, and the abyss of the waters." This town consisted of about one hundred and fifty houses, all built of free stone, which the inhabitants raised without much expence or labour, in the neighbouring hills. These hills encircle it in the form of a crescent, the points of which unite with the sea; and while they afford it shelter, they leave it open to the breezes of the ocean, which become the springs of health.

About ten miles to the North of St. Mark is the mouth of the great river Artibonite, which gives its name to an extensive plain through which it flows. The fertility which its streams imparted, was a source of wealth to the inhabitants, by watering their lands and plantation in times of drought.

Though the town was not large, yet its trade was far from being inconsiderable. The produce of the whole country between this town and that of Cape St. Nicholas, was brought to it for exportation, and from thence it found its way into Europe. Such articles as could not conveniently be conveyed to Port au Prince, found their way also to St. Mark, from the village of Tapion, and the hills of Mirebalais, and conferred upon it a degree of relative respectability, to which its intrinsic excellencies could give it no title.

The town of Leogane, on the Southern side of Port au Prince, is much more respectable than that of St. Mark. In 1790 it contained between three and four hundred houses; these were distributed into fifteen streets, which were wide and well laid out, and arranged in such a manner as to give the town a rectangular appearance. By these arrangements it was not only spacious, but handsome; and to add to its importance, it was seated in the midst of a fertile plain, which, though narrow, was highly productive, being at once well cultivated, and supplied with water from a great many rivulets. It stands about a mile and a half from the sea; a circumstance which, while it places it beyond the reach of the bombardment of an enemy's squadron, subjects the inhabitants to many local inconveniences. Its situation, however, is far from being ineligible. The soil is grateful even to an extreme; the climate healthy, and the water both plentiful and good. Commanded by no heights, and placed beyond the annoyances of ships, it might easily be ren-

dered secure against a powerful enemy. This could be effected with a trifling expence. A mound of earth would furnish it with a rampart, and the cavity from whence it was taken, would become a ditch, which might be constantly filled with water. But the removal of the seat of government from this place to Port au Prince, in 1750, caused the French to abandon all thoughts of fortifying it; and since that period, subsequent events have put it out of their power.

Petit Goave, which lies still farther West, has been of late years of far less consequence than Leogane. In the days of the Buccaneers it was of considerable importance, which it derived from a famous road, where ships of all burdens found safe anchorage, conveniencies for repairing damages, and a shelter from almost every wind. But as its prosperity depended upon the ravages of the free-booters, so its destiny followed their decline. "This place, (says Raynal,) so famous in the time of the free-booters, is now a heap of ruins." Having nothing but the anchorage and safety which it afforded to vessels, to recommend it, it can excite no surprise that it should sink into decay, as soon as these vessels withdrew. The excellencies of this rendezvous for shipping still remain, but the air is rendered so unwholesome by a morass in its vicinity, in which the river Abaret is completely lost; so that it is now no longer a place of resort. The same inconveniencies existed, indeed, in the early period of its history; but the Buccaneers, who braved every danger, had not the power of choice. Since that time other harbours have been opened, and other towns have been built, in situations more healthful, the consequence of which has been, that Petit Goave retains but little more than a forsaken harbour, a pestilential air, a neighbouring morass, some ruinous buildings, a few scattered inhabitants, and a name.

The town of Jeremie, or La Grande Anse, enjoys a much more fortunate situation than Petit Goave. It is far advanced on the Western part of the Island, and is blessed with a salubrious air. It is fixed on a rising ground, and is not surrounded with those morasses, which in other parts prove so injurious to the life of man. In 1790 it was in a thriving condition; and though not large, could boast of many well-built houses. The adjacent lands produced cotton and cocoa in great abundance, which induced many merchants of considerable opulence

to fix their residence in it; and in time of hostilities, the privateers which rendezvoused in the port, and brought their prizes thither, tended much to enliven the scene, and to enrich the inhabitants with the spoils of war.

Gonaives and Arcahaye are villages of no considerable extent, though the former has an excellent harbour, which, with that of Port au Prince, is considered the most convenient in the colony.

The whole population of this Western district, including those of all ages and both sexes, amounted, in 1790, to 205,759. Of these 12,798 were whites, and 192,961 were slaves. Their sugar plantations were 357; those of cotton 489; of Indigo 1,952; of coffee 894; besides 343 establishments of an inferior nature.

Cape Tiberon begins the *Southern district*; it is the Western extremity of the Island directly facing Jamaica, from which it is distant no more than twenty-five leagues. At this place there was a small settlement; a road which afforded shelter to vessels, which had been buffeted by the stormy seas they were obliged to encounter in these parts; and there were some fortifications, capable of affording them a temporary protection.

Aux Cayes, the principal town in this district, has but one advantage to recommend it,—the extreme fertility of the adjacent country. In all other respects it wears a most forbidding aspect; having no harbour, and being completely sunk in bogs and swamps, and encircled with a polluted air. The extreme fertility of the soil, however, appears to have more than counterbalanced all these natural disadvantages, in the estimation of those who have hunted after gold, and found a grave. The new settlers who came from Europe to reside in St. Domingo, lured by the prospect of sudden riches, were always fond of making their first attempts on the swampy banks of its ponds and morasses; and the death of their predecessors in general provided them with habitations. In its vicinity are a variety of villages, which tend to its aggrandizement; and the extensive bays which are in its neighbourhood, are an allurement to ships, which risk their safety upon the same luerative principle. Many of these have been wrecked on this open coast, but their numbers have not been sufficient to deter from the same risks, those that have been so fortunate as to escape.

The town itself contained about 280 houses, a considerable number of inhabitants, much mud, and much



stagnant water. It was destitute of fortifications, nor did its condition scarcely admit of any. Still, however, according to Raynal, it was possible both to fortify and to cleanse this place. "Both, (he observes,) might be effected by digging a ditch all round the town, and the rubbish would serve to fill up the marshes within. The ground, being raised higher by this contrivance, would of course grow drier; the water which would be brought down from the river into this deep ditch, would, with the help of some fortifications, secure the town from the attacks of corsairs, and would even afford a temporary defence, and allow time to capitulate with a squadron." Vol. IV. p. 246.

But these fortifications, and this draining, were only thought of, not accomplished, nor even attempted. On the contrary, it has been more strongly recommended to the French government to remove the trade which was carried on with the mother country, to the little town of St. Lewis; but the fertility of the country in the vicinity of Les Cayes uniformly predominated, and defeated every intention which menaced it with opposition.

St. Lewis is a small town at no great distance from the former, lying at the bottom of a bay, which, when compared with other places of safety in the neighbourhood, makes a tolerable harbour. The number of its houses did not exceed forty in 1790; and the inhabitants, by no means numerous, though exempted from some of those inconveniencies to which their neighbours were exposed, felt the calamity of having no fresh water. Some Jews at length, at their own expence, undertook to form an aqueduct, which they so far accomplished, as to remove the evil. After some time this little place became the seat of government for the district, while its bay received the few ships of war which cast anchor on the coast. From these circumstances it obtained the appellation of "The Defence of the Island."

Jaquemel, a town which lies considerably further to the East, in point of size is much upon a par with St. Lewis. St. Lewis was erected about the beginning of the eighteenth century, but Jaquemel claims a much earlier origin. But age added nothing to its importance. It contained, in 1790, not more than forty houses; and its inhabitants were in a due proportion. Surrounded by hills on every side, excepting that which faces the sea, it stands on a little excavation, which nature seems to have

provided rather for its security than its support. The soil within the excavation, though fertile, is too contracted to be publickly advantageous; and the hills with which the town is overlooked, are too forbidding to invite the husbandman to labour. Jaquemel, therefore, considered in itself, is both small and unimportant. There is a relative point of view, however, in which its aspect appears very different.

The Bight of Leogane, which extends from this place to Cape Tiburon and to Port au Prince, is but little more than twenty miles across, from Jaquemel to Petit Goave, from whence to Port au Prince, both provisions and stores might be conveyed without an exposure to the danger of being intercepted by an invading foe. The advantage of such a situation in time of war must be obvious to all. To cut off supplies from Port au Prince must be to blockade the whole Island, which would require more ships than an enemy could spare for such a tedious enterprise, in which the hazard must greatly exceed the prospect of success. The stores which the mother country might send out to support her colony, could hardly fail to effect a landing on one side or the other, if the vessels which conveyed them could be so fortunate as to reach the shores of the Island, and which in either case would enable the capital to sustain a siege. The stores which have found their way into the colony from the Dutch Island of Carassou, through this channel, in times of hostilities, have sufficiently proved the importance of this place. And even though it should be captured by an exasperated enemy, yet the hills which rise above it, would render it impossible for them to reap the advantage of the acquisition. From these circumstances, Jaquemel has been denominated the Storehouse of the Island, as St. Lewis, from considerations which have been mentioned, has been denominated its defence.

The population of this district, which is the least of the three, has been estimated at 82,849 souls: 6,037 of these were white, and 76,812 were enslaved negroes. Its sugar plantations amounted to 148, those of Indigo to 765, those of cotton to 234, and those of coffee to 214; while the inferior establishments amounted to 119.

Besides the towns which have been already mentioned and briefly described, there were many villages scattered through the colony, of considerable local importance. These were Baynette, about fifteen miles from Jaquemel;

and Acul, still less distant from Aux Cayes: these may be considered as belonging to the Southern coast. On the opposite side of the Island stood Miragoane, and Nipes; and, in the interior of the country, Plaisan, Cul de Sac, and Petit Fond, became the mediums of traffic to those inhabitants, who found it inconvenient to visit the towns on the shores. The shops in these interior villages were well supplied with the articles which were wanted by the inhabitants, from the maritime towns. The wealth arising from this important colony prior to the Revolution, may be considered as almost immense: but this will best appear from the following aggregate statement; which, at one glance, affords a striking contrast to the territories of the Spaniards, and shews us what industry may achieve.

The land which the French had brought into a state of cultivation, amounted, in the year 1790, to 2,289,480 English acres, through all their districts. Their sugar plantations amounted to 793; those of coffee to 3,117; those of cotton to 789; those of Indigo to 3,160; those of chocolate or cocoa to 54; and those of an inferior nature, for raising various kinds of vegetable necessaries, and for conducting the manufacture of articles for domestic use to 623; so that on the whole, they had no less than 8,536 distinct establishments scattered throughout the colony.\*

Nor did either the population or the produce of the Island fall short of what the cultivation would teach us to expect. The inhabitants of the different districts, in 1790, amounted to 30,831 whites, of both sexes and every age, and 434,429 negro slaves. But in this account neither the soldiers nor sailors among the whites, nor the servants employed in domestic purposes among the blacks, are included. Those of the latter description were estimated at 46,000, which, added to the former number, must swell the complement to nearly 480,000.

Of the free people of colour the accounts have been variously estimated; in 1787 they were stated at 20,000; but in 1790 the general suffrage fixed them at 24,000. If therefore we unite the whites, the coloured people, and the slaves together, we shall find the population of

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\* See B. Edwards, Vol. III. p. 143; and Rainsford's History of St. Domingo, p. 85

the French colony in St. Domingo to have amounted, in 1790, to more than *five hundred and forty-four thousand* *uls*; exclusively of the troops appointed to defend the territory, and the sea-faring men engaged in conveying the produce to the different markets.\*

It has been said, that prior to the war, St. Domingo produced as much sugar alone, as all the British West India possessions united, besides immense quantities of coffee, cotton, and Indigo. The exports from the French colony in this Island in the year 1789 were as follows.

White sugar,		47,516,531 pounds
Brown ditto,	-	93,773,300
Coffee,	- -	76,835,219
Cotton,	- -	7,004,274
Indigo,	- -	758,628

To this must be added tanned hides, molasses, spirits, &c to the amount in value of 46,873 livres.

Great as this produce of 1789 may appear, it is by no means equal to the average of this and the two preceding years. By this average the white sugar alone amounted to 58,642,214 pounds; the raw hides were in number 6,500, and those that were tanned 7,900; while other articles kept nearly the same proportion. In 1787, the produce of the colony freighted, for Europe alone, 470 ships, which contained 112,253 tons, and employed in their navigation 11,220 seamen. These statements are founded upon legal returns. The articles which were smuggled out of the colony, though considerable in amount, can afford no grounds for an accurate estimation. But as the productions of 1787, 1788, and 1789, amounted on an average to £4,956,780 sterling, it cannot be judged unreasonable to conclude, that with the

\* The above statement of the population of French St. Domingo, corresponds with that given by Mr. Edwards; but that given by Mr. Rainsford is somewhat different. He supposes that the inhabitants should be stated in the following numbers and proportions: whites 40,000, negro slaves 500,000, coloured people 24,000, making in all 564,000 souls.

Extensive as this population may appear, the account is by no means equal to that given by the authors of the Encyclopedia Perthensis. Their words are as follows: "Before the Revolution the population of the French part of St. Domingo was estimated at 42,000 white people, 44,000 free people of colour, and 600,000 slaves;" amounting in all to 686,000 souls. "Of these, two thirds have lost their lives during the dreadful convulsions which have taken place."—See "Hispaniola, population of."

addition of contraband traffic, mahogany, and other woods, the colony produced annually more than *five millions sterling*. In 1791 the exports still exceeded the above average calculations, both in quantities and value; and perhaps in no portion of the globe, has its surface, in proportion to its dimensions, yielded so much wealth as the colony of St. Domingo.\*

The qualities of these rich productions will no more leave room for doubt than their quantities. The excellency of its sugar is admitted by all; which, as well as the quantities, may be attributed in part to the extraordinary fertility of the lands, and to an opportunity which the French planters have had of watering their canes. "The coffee is excellent; each tree in a state of bearing will produce on an average a pound weight, and is sometimes equal to that of Mocha. Cotton grows naturally, of an excellent quality, even without care, in stony land, and in the crevices of the rocks. The numerous roots of Indigo are the only obstacle to the cultivation of the fields where it grows spontaneously. Tobacco, says Valverde, has here a larger leaf than in any other part of America; it grows every where, and equals sometimes that of Cuba or the Havannah. The kernel of the cocoa nut of St. Domingo is more acidulated than that of the cocoa nut of Venezuela and Caraca, to which it is not inferior; and experience proves, that the chocolate made of the two cocoas has a more delicate flavour than that made of the cocoa of Caraca alone."†

The government of French St. Domingo was nearly despotic: a governor general, and an intendant, directed the movements of the political machine; and the inferior officers of state were but little more than mere instruments of uncontrolled power, who were employed as mediums of communications. The power of the governor and intendant lasted for three years, during which time they appointed such men as suited their own purposes, to compose their nominal councils, and to fill what they termed the courts of justice, over which in fact they always presided.

But it was not in all cases that these officers were

\* See Edwards, Vol. III. pages 142—145. See also Rainsford and Raynal.

† Encyclopedia Perthensis, "Hispaniola, produce of."

obliged to act in concert; they had also their distinct departments of power. The whole naval and military force of the colony was under the entire direction of the governor, and the personal liberty of every individual was at his disposal. Arrests arising from legal proceedings, it was in his power either to promote or nullify; and by the use of impediments which he had always at command, to divert the course of justice, and even to prevent its progress.

The power of the intendant was confined to the revenue department; and in this his authority was nearly as absolute, as that of the governor in his spheres of action. A court, denominated the Colonial Assembly, was supposed to afford him assistance; but it served rather to confirm his predeterminations, than to correct his errors. To oppose his schemes, was to terminate their own power, and to resign their seats to those who were the mere tools of dominion.

In like manner some courts of justice were established, both at Cape Francois and at Port au Prince, in which were registered both the royal edicts and the decisions of what they termed the Colonial Government. It is evident from the constitution of such a government, that power so unbounded would be sometimes abused; instances of this kind, however, occurred but rarely. Those who were installed in these exalted offices, were in general men of considerable distinction; and though appointed by the marine minister, as an appeal from their decisions lay open always to the king, their conduct received a restraint from the dread of disgrace. The happiness and misery of the colonists must however have depended, in a considerable degree, upon the personal qualifications and integrity of the governor and his associate. The fountain head of justice was at too great a distance to admit of an appeal in all cases; while in some, the avenues which led to redress were so blocked up, as to intercept the complaint. The success of the colony proves that power was used with moderation.

In the article of religion, the Islanders found but little to cement them together, or to create dissensions. The forms of the Romish communion were in general adopted, both by the French and Spaniards, where any adoption was made; but the former were happily exempted from its iron hand, and both were unhappily destitute of the efficacy of divine grace. The French colonists rather

acknowledged than admitted the authority of the distant pontiff, by voluntarily conforming to the usages of their progenitors. Religious rites were adopted on the score of conveniency, and a few superb edifices constituted the chief memorials of their piety.

The forces of the Island consisted of regular troops and militia; the former were sent from Europe, and the latter were raised in the colony. The regular troops rarely exceeded three thousand, the militia was raised in companies, from one to three in a parish, in proportion to the extent of its population. This is to be understood of the whites only. In addition to this, they were obliged to raise one company of free blacks, and one company of Mulattoes.

Of the state of morals which prevailed through the colony, nothing favourable can be said. The observations which have been made on their indifference to religion, must have led the reader to anticipate this article; and the remarks we have to make will rather confirm his opinion, than remove his suspicions. Nursed in a country, the productions of which invite to sensuality, voluptuousness was the prevailing feature in the character of the planter. His imperiousness kept pace with his mercantile successes, and received a stimulus from the indulgence which he cherished. Licentiousness prevailed through every class, and pleasure, wealth, and power, were the deities that were principally adored. As the means of gratification were within the reach of all, in proportion to their conditions, they were seized with avidity, and awfully improved. The fruits of debauchery were visible in the different grades of colour, which it is almost impossible to trace, but which were even less complex in the French than in the Spanish territories. The same sexual passion operating in different degrees, became the cause of these in both; and the shades which discriminate between the two characters, are those which separate between the debauchee and the brute.

A principle of hospitality, however, interwove itself with this excess of character; and whether it sprang from ambition or benevolence, its effects were much the same. The soil and climate of the West Indies are congenial to this species of generosity. Men of all nations adopt it as soon as they begin to reside between the tropics; but in no Island did it appear more conspicuously than in the French colony of St. Domingo.

But among the vices which were permitted to hold dominion, sloth by no means constituted an ingredient. Every department was a scene of active life. "The Mole of Cape St. Nicholas, (says Rainsford,) which is justly considered as the key to the windward passage, presents an appearance, such as it should, to the ocean, sterile and commanding. The South peninsula resounded with the language of trade, and the Northern coast with arms and with agriculture." Nothing perhaps could have placed the beneficial effects of industry in a stronger light, than the striking contrast which the French and Spanish colonies exhibited, as they approached each other at the line of demarcation. The French had cultivated their lands even to the summits of the mountains, while the Spaniards had abandoned to weeds and reptiles the most luxuriant vales.

"Unlike their neighbours, the French colonists had caused their land to be cultivated up to the very mountain tops, from which the cane-grounds appeared as so many thickets; while every invention that could be applied to their purposes, was readily encouraged. Their roads were in general excellent, being made and kept in repair by the contributions of every planter, who sent a proportionate number of his slaves to work upon them. This voluntary impost was entitled the *Corvees*.\*" These roads, which were occasionally overflowed with water in the mornings, were covered with dust before night, though shaded by lime-trees on each side. The umbrageous passages which led towards the dwellings of the planters, were through piazzas of limes and citrons. The pimento and palm occasionally lent their aid to give variety to the scenery, to ornament the prospect, and to convey to the European traveller an exalted idea of a terrestrial paradise.

The natural history of this Island would furnish us with materials for volumes; but our limits are prescribed. What Sloane and Brown have written on Jamaica, may be considered as applicable to this. Both animals and fruits are in some instances diversified, but the general character is the same.

The Alco, the Racoon, the Armadillo, the Pecary, and the Agouti, with several other species of animals,

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\* Rainsford, p. 90.



were once plentiful in this Island, but of those which have been named, nothing but the Agouti at present survives.\* The woods in the Spanish territories afforded it a safe retreat, when the indolence of the Spaniards succeeded that devastation of their forefathers, which the other species were not so fortunate as to escape. The quadrupeds imported from Europe, have supplied the vacancy which the hand of extermination occasioned; and the increase which has taken place among them, has yielded to the colonists a sufficiency for labour, for commerce, and for food. The land-crab and the ortolan, with a variety of other delicacies, may be rather reckoned among the luxuries than conveniencies of life.

The fish which still continue to crowd its shores, have always been both numerous and various, from the earliest periods. They are in general such as encircle the shores of Jamaica, and to our account of that Island we refer the reader.

Among the fruits which unfold their beauties, and ripen beneath the fervent rays of a tropical sun, few are to be found in this Island which Jamaica does not afford. But all that the West Indies can boast, may be found in St. Domingo in the highest state of perfection. Those which are most entitled to notice are oranges, lemons, the cashew, pine apples, melons, peaches, apples, pears, plums, nuts, and strawberries. These form but a small number of the variety which it yields. The West Indies appear to be compressed into this single Island, in which nature exhibits some specimens of all her tropical productions.

The vegetables appropriated to culinary purposes, are, many of them, natives of the Island, and many others have been imported from Europe. Among the former are included plantains, yams, potatoes, Indian wheat, cassava, cabbage, and a species of spinach. These still continue to flourish, and prior to the commotions which of late years deluged this colony with blood, and covered it with ashes, they constituted the principal food of the negro slaves. To these the colonists have added a variety of European roots, pulse, and herbs; such as turnips, cabbage, carrots, parsnips, beans, peas, artichokes, &c. &c. These articles flourish as well in these regions as in

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\* For a description of these animals, see our history of Jamaica

their native soil; and, in addition to the indigenous productions of nature, furnish the inhabitants with the delicacies of both worlds.

But these scenes of natural beauty, embellished with all the decorations of art, and improved by the hand of industry, have been deformed by the horrors of war. The torch of conflagration, and the sword of destruction, have marched in dreadful union through the land, and covered the hills and plains with desolation. The sighs of the injured, the groans of the suffering, and the agonies of the dying, have presented to earth and heaven such spectacles of horror, as to cause even Europe, accustomed as it has been to blood and fire, to stand aghast, and gaze with astonishment upon devastations which are unparalleled in the page of history, when surveyed in all their circumstances. Both tyranny and retaliating vengeance, have displayed their utmost rage; and in the result have given birth to an empire, which has already hurled its thunderbolts on its assailants, and at this moment bids defiance to the world.

## CHAP. XLIX.

## HISPANIOLA CONTINUED.

*State of the whites, mulattoes, and negroes, at the commencement of the French Revolution.—Effects of the Revolution on the mulattoes.—Origin and progress of the calamities of St. Domingo.—Conduct of the Society of Amis des Noirs.—Bill of rights.—Effects produced by it in the colony.—Mulattoes, on this ground, assert their rights, and resort to arms.—Defeated.—Cause espoused by a white gentleman, who was afterwards murdered by the whites.—Bill of rights nullified by a decree of March 8, 1790.—Effects of this decree.—Conduct of the Colonial Assembly, of the governor, of Colonel Mauduit, and of the crew of the ship Leopard.—Members of the Assembly embark for Europe.—Insurrection raised by James Oge.—Treatment of the members of the Assembly on their arrival at France.—Miserable fate of James Oge, of Chavane, and of Colonel Mauduit.*

**T**HE inhabitants of St. Domingo, at the commencement of the French Revolution, might be divided into three distinct classes;—the whites,—the mulattoes or people of colour, and free blacks,—and the negroes in a state of slavery: all the intermediate shades between whites and negroes, were comprehended under the term *mulattoes*. The whites conducted themselves as if born to give command; the blacks, awed into submission, yielded obedience to their imperious mandates; while the mulattoes were despised by both parties. Even the freedom which they enjoyed, was rather nominal than real; they were still considered as the property of the Public; and the legal restrictions under which they were placed, rendered their situation in many cases more degrading, than that of the enslaved negroes. The master, from motives of interest, appears in the behalf of his slave, and provides

for his wants, and protects him from insult, upon the same principle that a native of England provides for his horse; while he secures himself from injury and insult by an appeal to the laws. But with the mulattoes of St. Domingo the case was far otherwise. They were released from the tyranny of an individual master, to be seized by the state, and to be directed in their movements as the caprice of the governor or intendant should think proper to direct.

On reaching a state of manhood, each individual became liable to serve three years in a military establishment, called the *marechaussee*. The office of this establishment was to arrest fugitive negroes, wandering without their passports;—to protect travellers on the public roads;—to seize such as had rendered themselves obnoxious to the laws;—to assist in the collection of the public taxes;—and to be rendered instrumental in the hands of the magistracy in carrying into execution the decisions of the law. In short, it was to mount a three years guard on the public tranquillity. At the expiration of this term, they were compelled to enroll themselves in the militia of the parish to which they respectively belonged; to serve without pay or any provision whatsoever; and to provide for themselves arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, so long as the commanding officer should think proper to detain them in his service.

To complete their degradation, they were utterly disqualified from holding any public office or place of trust, that should give them importance; they were excluded from the naval and military departments;—from law, physic, and divinity; and were not permitted to exercise even the right of keeping a public school. No mulatto durst assume the surname even of his father; his children, and his children's children inherited his degradation; neither time nor descent, however remote, could wear out the stain, or eradicate the taint, which it was presumed had entered into the blood. In cases of litigation, the decisions of the law were very rarely in their favour, when their contests were with white men; and to prevent the revenge which such flagrant acts of injustice could hardly fail to excite, the law had enacted, that if a free man of colour presumed, on any pretence whatever, to strike a white man, however low his condition in life, his right arm should be cut off.

It is true this law was not often carried into execution,

but its nature still remained the same. The exemptions from punishment which they enjoyed, arose from the lenity of individuals, and so far they were to be considered as acts of mercy; but others, who thought proper to gratify private revenge, had only to wait an opportunity after they had given provocations, and the law was open to espouse their unrighteous cause.

They were not however forbidden to hold property even to any amount; probably from a full conviction that in their condition of enslaved freedom, the acquirement of any thing considerable was not in their power. Several among them had, nevertheless, obtained considerable estates; and as wealth confers power, by assisting their white neighbours, they obtained from these causes, that local security and protection, which the law refused to grant.

Under circumstances so degrading to human nature, it is not to be expected that their attachment, as a body, either to the whites, who sported with their feelings, or to the laws of the colony, which armed their enemies with such an inordinate share of power, should be either lasting or sincere. The individuals indeed who treated them with lenity, had a claim upon their confidence and regard; but the suspicions which their condition could not fail to excite in their bosoms, must have destroyed that tranquillity, which is necessary to render life comfortable.

On the condition of the slaves it is needless to make many remarks. Mr. Edwards, who will hardly be accused of viewing it with an eye of favourable partiality, delivers his sentiments in the following language: "In countries where slavery is established, the leading principle upon which government is supported is *fear*, or a sense of that absolute coercive necessity, which, leaving no choice of action, supersedes 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 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 the colonies, to whatever nation they belong, is, I believe, nearly the same. I have therefore only to observe, 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."—Vol. III. p. 13.

On comparing these two descriptions of men together, it is hard to say which of their situations was the most degraded. The local difference, without doubt, was great; but the aggregate of their conditions must have been nearly the same. The whip of terror, may in certain cases, deter men from being *avowed* enemies, but it never yet made a friend. The lash in general makes a deeper impression upon the heart than upon the skin, and leaves indelible marks. It is nearer the seat of recollection, and will stimulate to revenge, when the hand that inflicted the wound, is unprepared to receive a retaliation.

Privileges bestowed upon one branch of the community are a robbery of the rest. Yet it is to this measure that power frequently resorts, sometimes in its infancy, and sometimes in its dotage; in both cases it rarely fails to degenerate into despotism. The oppressed watch the movements of their oppressors, and anxiously wait the first favourable moment to cast off the yoke, and administer requitals. When this moment arrives, they rarely know where to stop; in their turns they become equally criminal with those whom they attempted to punish, and thus lay the foundation of future revenge. Thus aggression awakens vengeance, vengeance becomes criminal by exceeding the limits of justice, and this criminality once more changes the order of things, and completes the revolution of power and of injustice.

The Revolution which took place in France in 1789, furnished the mulattoes, and finally the negro slaves, with an opportunity, which was rather an object of their wishes than their expectations, of uttering their complaints with voices that must be heard. The events which followed are horrible beyond all example: to descend to minute particulars would exceed our limits; we shall therefore only trace the outlines of their progress, and mark some of their prominent features.

It was towards the close of the year 1788, that the revolutionary spirit, which had been fermenting among the French people from the conclusion of the American war, first publickly manifested itself in the mother country. This was on the 27th of December, when the court issued an order to summon the States General, which had been long neglected; and resolved that the Commons should be equal in representation to that of the other two orders in the kingdom.

An event so extraordinary soon reached the extremities of the empire; and though it convulsed it in every part, in no place was the shock more sensibly felt than in the Island of St. Domingo.

The governor at this time was Mon. Duchilleau, a gentleman of no inconsiderable talents, though by no means properly qualified to direct the tempest that was about to rise. His establishment had taken place under the ancient despotism, but such was the moderation with which he had conducted himself, that he contrived to conciliate the affections of both parties, and retained his station notwithstanding the change that had taken place.

But though his title remained, yet his power was curtailed, and nearly abolished. The white inhabitants, availing themselves of the intelligence they had received from the mother country, immediately summoned, without any authority, provincial and parochial meetings.— Their first step was to declare themselves a branch of the empire, and to assert their right to send deputies to the States General as their legal representatives. The governor, though secretly attached to the revolutionary cause, saw the consequences which would result from these injudicious proceedings; and therefore endeavoured by proclamation to put a stop to their assemblies, till the determinations of the mother country relative to the colonies, should be officially announced.

But the interference of the governor only served to convince him that his power was at an end. His proclamation was treated with contempt; the assemblies continued to meet as before; and they finally elected six deputies from each of the three provinces, to represent them in the mother country. As nothing, under existing circumstances, could deter them from prosecuting their intentions, they embarked for France as much without molestation as without authority. They reached the

place of their destination in the month of June, 1789, and were received at Versailles by the National Assembly, rather with surprise than disapprobation. Their number, not the principle upon which they had acted, became the subject of animadversion; and it was finally resolved, that out of the eighteen who had come in the character of representatives, six only could be admitted. These took their seats accordingly, and joined the National Assembly.

The popularity which liberty had at this time acquired in France, was accompanied with strong marks of indignation against those who were presumed to favour the pretensions of despotism. The slavery of the negroes served to point out the representatives of St. Domingo, and of the other Islands, as obnoxious to public censure, and as being but hypocrites in their attachment to the principles which they openly espoused. Against such a charge it was difficult for them to defend themselves. They were anxious to enjoy freedom, but not to impart it; to contend for their own rights, while they were robbing others, without once suspecting the inconsistency of their conduct.

To foment a general detestation against despotism in all its forms, a society, which called itself *Amis des Noirs*, or *Friends of the Blacks*, seized every opportunity to declaim against the conduct of the planters, and the principles on which the slave trade was conducted; to expatiate on the sufferings of the slaves in the colonies, and to urge the necessity of a general abolition of the traffic, and emancipation of the slaves.

The case of the mulattoes became also a subject of general observation, and their cause was warmly espoused by the society of *Amis des Noirs*. It has been already observed, that notwithstanding their oppressions and degradation, they were permitted to enjoy property to any amount, and that many among them actually had acquired considerable estates. By these means the most wealthy had sent their children to France for education, in which place they supported them with no small degree of grandeur. It happened about this time that a considerable number of these young mulattoes, both from St. Domingo and other French Islands, were in Paris. These finding their cause so pathetically represented, so warmly espoused, and so ably defended by the society, soon contracted an intimacy with its members. The personal appearance of



these men, co-operating with arguments which no man in Europe could satisfactorily answer, excited a general sympathy in their behalf, which produced an effect at once powerful and instantaneous. Petitions and remonstrances were presented to the assembly in their behalf; appeals and addresses were made to the people; all France seemed interested in their welfare; and the authors of their wrongs were loaded with execration.

The National Assembly, which first met in May, 1789, had probably received some impressions from the general clamour, which might have influenced them in framing the Bill of Rights. This was published on the 20th of August following; one article of which declared, "*That all men are born free, and continue free and equal, as to their rights.*" The proprietors of the West India plantations surveyed this declaration with astonishment; they considered it as a measure calculated to rob them of their slaves, by instructing them to renounce their accustomed obedience, and to assert their rights.

The proceedings of the mother country,—of the Society of *Amis des Noirs*,—the conduct of the mulattoes in the metropolis,—and the general ferment that had been raised against the planters, were regularly transmitted from the capital to the inhabitants of St. Domingo, and nothing but confusion, consternation, and apprehension prevailed. The arrival of the *Declaration of Rights* fully informed them that the nation had in reality adopted the measure which they had anticipated, so that they found their fears realized by fact. The scenes of horror which they were afterward compelled to witness, they already beheld in anticipation; the mulattoes and negroes they fancied already in arms, and their territories appeared as consumed with fire, and covered with desolation.

The National Assembly, alarmed at the consequences which were likely to result from their own proceedings, dispatched to the governor of St. Domingo instructions, directing him to form, from among the inhabitants, a legislative assembly, to provide for the internal tranquillity of the Island, and to regulate its affairs. The inhabitants, however, did not wait the arrival of these instructions; they saw the peril of their situation, and to provide against contingencies, had anticipated the measure. The Northern district led the way, and appointed a provincial assembly, which met at Cape Francois; this was succeeded, in the month of November, by one from

the Western province, which met at Port au Prince, and one from the Southern, which met at Aux Cayes. Besides these assemblies, they had established parochial committees, through whom communication between the representatives and the people at large was kept up, and a strict watch observed over the movements and conversation of the mulattoes and slaves.

But though the instructions from France had by some means or other been delayed, in a most unaccountable manner, they reached the Island before the self-constituted assemblies had brought their deliberations to any important issue. They had discovered, in most of their proceedings, a want of unanimity; all acknowledged that their situation was critical, and that since the Bill of Rights had been published, their only resource lay in a full and immediate colonial representation.

It was at this juncture, in the month of January, 1790, that the instructions from France superseded their farther deliberations, by directing the governor to call that colonial representation, which they had declared necessary for the preservation of the colony. The place, however, which these instructions pointed out (which was Leogane,) did not meet with the approbation of the assemblies; they therefore substituted the town of St. Mark, and fixed on the 16th of April for the time of their meeting.

The mulattoes on the Island learning, from their brethren in France, and from the Declaration of Rights, the disposition of the French nation toward them, now thought it high time to take the advantage of the public distraction, to display what their friends have called a spirit of patriotism, and their enemies, a spirit of sedition and rebellion. To appeal to the white inhabitants of the colony for a recognition of their rights, when the *Declaration of Rights* had almost placed them in a state of hostility to the mother country, they well knew would be ineffectual; they had therefore no other alternative, but to remain in their original state of degradation, or resort to arms. They preferred the latter, and several parties assumed an apparently hostile intention at Jacmel and at Artibonite; but it does not appear that in either place they proceeded to acts of violence. Their assembling, however, was premature and inefficient; the forces which were sent against them easily threw them into confusion, and many threw down their arms, and made an unconditional surrender. Nor does it appear that these pri-

soners were treated with any degree of rigour; though accused of rebellion, and found in arms, the conquerors granted a general pardon, and peace seemed to be restored. Against the authors of this revolt in Europe, the public mind in the Island was highly exasperated; and the whole body of whites, with but few exceptions, seemed resolved not to admit the claims of the mulattoes.

Among these few exceptions was a gentleman, a Mons. Ferrand de Beaudierre, who had formerly been a magistrate at Petit Goave. Regardless of the prevailing prejudices, he had offered marriage to a mulatto lady, who was possessed of a considerable estate; and on the ground of the new system, undertook to plead the cause of the whole party. He drew up a memorial in the name of the whole people, in which he claimed for them all the right of citizens, agreeably to the Bill of Rights. Nothing could appear more provoking to the whites, than to behold the cause of the mulattoes espoused and openly defended by one of their own magistrates. He was accused immediately of attempting to raise a revolt throughout the colony, both among the mulattoes and negroes, and was instantly seized and committed to prison. But this place of confinement was not a place of safety; the populace, either through the connivance or the weakness of the municipality, broke open the prison, and with circumstances of barbarity put him to death. A similar fate would have overtaken Mons. Dubois, Deputy *Procureur General*, had not the governor interposed most powerfully in his behalf. This gentleman, inspired by the enthusiasm of the times, publicly espoused the cause of the mulattoes, and indiscreetly sought occasions to declaim against negro slavery. He was arrested by the assembly of the Northern district, but was taken out of their hand by the governor, and sent immediately from the Island, as the only method that could be adopted to preserve his life. In short, while the inhabitants of St. Domingo professed themselves attached to the principles of the Revolution, and avowed themselves the enemies of despotism, their views were only partial and selfish. They were anxious to enlarge their own sphere of freedom, though they contracted that of others, and to brandish the whip with one hand, while they even signed an act of independence with the other.

The general ferment which prevailed through this and other colonies, soon reached the mother country; and

the National Assembly discovered, when it was too late, that the Declaration of Rights which they had published on the 20th of August, 1789, involved consequences of which they were not aware, by extending to persons whom they had no intention to include. To counteract those effects, which their foresight should have anticipated, and their prudence prevented, the National Assembly, on the 8th of March, 1790, took the affair into their serious consideration, to revise and elucidate those parts of the Declaration of Rights which had given so much offence. They were the more readily urged to this measure, from the petitions and remonstrances which poured in upon them, from the sea-ports and merchants, that were interested in the colonial traffic. These merchants were much alarmed at the storm which they beheld gathering in the colonies. Their fears at that time might have magnified the threatened danger; but they saw, or imagined that they saw, a resolution almost matured to perfection among the colonists, either to follow the example of the United States of America, and assume independence, or to place the Island under the dominion of some foreign power, which should protect them in the possession of their slaves.

To calm these fears, and to prevent these consequences from taking place in the colonies, the National Assembly finally declared, as the result of their most solemn deliberations, "That it never was their intention to interfere with the internal government of the colonies, nor to include the different orders of men, which inhabited the Islands, in that constitution which they had framed for the mother country. That they had no intention to subject the colonists to laws which were incompatible with their local establishments; and that they would not cause any innovation, either directly or indirectly, to be made in any system of commerce in which they were already engaged; they therefore requested the colonial inhabitants to form and transmit to them a plan, which might hereafter be enacted into a law, for the government of the colonies: and that it might be so framed, as to be conducive to their own prosperity, and conformable to the principles which had been established in the mother country, that the interests of both parties might be reciprocal." This decree was dated March the 8th, 1790.

The effects of this decree were just the reverse of those produced by the Declaration of Rights. The white peo-

ple now found their interests respected, while the coloured people found theirs neglected; and that dream of hope which they had fondly cherished for some months past, vanished away, and consigned them over to oppression and despair. The Society of *Amis des Noirs*, which had invariably espoused the cause of the Mulattoes, now interested itself in their behalf with redoubled vigour. The late decree, the members contended, was not only a tacit sanction of the slave trade, but a toleration of its continuance, and a contradiction of the former *Declaration of Rights*. That by leaving the colonists to adjust their own affairs, the mother country, it was contended, had discharged them from their allegiance, and in effect erected the Island into an independent state. The mulattoes in the metropolis joined in the general clamour, and transmitted the general sentiment to their brethren in the colony. The confusion was great in both places; but in the Island the white inhabitants triumphed at their downfall, as they found their interest supported by the sanction of the new decree.

We have already mentioned that the period appointed for the General Colonial Assembly was the 16th of April, 1790. It consisted of two hundred and thirteen members, collected from the towns and districts, in such varied numbers, as gave what has generally been admitted, a full and fair representation of the colony. Twenty-four of these representatives were elected by Cape Francois, sixteen by Port au Prince, eight by Aux Cayes, while each of the parishes returned two members.

Confident of the advantages which the late decree had afforded the white colonists, and dreading the effects which it might produce among the mulattoes, the first step taken by the Assembly was to conciliate their affections by meliorating their condition, without conceding to them any rights. The power which the governor and military officers had exercised over them, was declared to be oppressive and illegal; and it was determined that in future no further military services should be required of them than of the whites. The case of the slaves came next under their consideration; and they found it both prudent and necessary to put a stop to certain abuses of power, by introducing some amendments of the laws in their behalf. The courts of judicature they found it also necessary to purge of their corruption; the grosser evils they immediately abolished, but their purification they

reserved for a more convenient opportunity. This partial redress of grievances, this revisal of the laws, and rectification of abuses, claimed their first attention, and the formation of a new colonial constitution occupied their last.

But whatever lenity the Assembly was disposed to shew towards the mulattoes, it was far from being satisfactory, while the members in their legislative capacity refused to acknowledge their rights. They disdained to receive from favour, what they demanded from justice; or to acknowledge an obligation to their rivals, for what they had no right to withhold. The means, therefore, which were taken by the Assembly to win their affections, were viewed by them with sullen indignity, as resulting from the compassions of prosperous usurpation.

The reformation of abuses which the Assembly had accomplished, procured for them still more powerful enemies than their generosity towards the mulattoes. Many who were high in power, had been accustomed to fatten upon the spoils of their country, and their enmity increased in proportion as impositions were abolished. In this class were many belonging to the courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction; the tax-gatherers, and officers under the former administration, together with those who held commissions under the king's authority.

The present governor, whose name was Peynier, though actuated by different motives, secretly connived at their discontents, and rejoiced as he saw the enemies of the Assembly become more numerous and more formidable. Attached to the ancient despotism, that hot-bed of corruption, a counter-revolution was the object at which he aimed. The minions of power, who had acted under his directions, were filled with the same project; hence they contrived to keep alive contending factions, by occasionally promoting their interest, without even wishing them success.

Nor did the opposition to the measures of the Assembly terminate even here. A Colonel Mauduit, who had lately come out from France, had joined to the governor's power his own superior talents. Possessed of an enterprising genius, an enlarged understanding, and an insinuating address, he took an active part in the scheme which the governor had been meditating; and became the soul of the party, whose cause he secretly espoused. His first attempt was to prevent a junction from taking

place between the Assembly and the Mulattoes, who were growing less active in their opposition, from the concessions which the Assembly had made, and from their expectations of future favours.

Mauduit, whose aim was to disconcert both parties by defeating their intentions, and making them subservient to his own designs, declared himself the friend and patron of the Mulattoes. And so far did he, with the assistance of the Governor, prevail upon them to renounce their dependance upon the mercies of the Assembly, that he won to his interest the whole party.

To complete the degradation of the Assembly, already torn with these jarring factions, they fell into dissensions among themselves. Discord presided over all their debates; distraction pervaded their councils; and indicated the approaches of a civil war. They nevertheless contrived to frame an outline for their new constitution, which was made public on the 28th of May, 1790. Unhappily, this plan, which was designed to conciliate the affections of all parties, gave satisfaction to none. Each party found in it something to thwart its interest, and that of Peynier and Mauduit made it the ostensible motive for unsheathing the sword. The decree itself was comprised in ten articles.

But how defective soever these articles may be considered in detail, no one has ever attempted to charge them with deficiency in comprehensiveness. On the contrary, the magnitude of those objects which they embraced, and the ambiguity with which some were expressed, awakened universal attention; so that, while they gave rise to much disquisition, they created a general discontent. The inhabitants of the colony, already divided into several factions, found in their respective turns, something which thwarted their measures, and baffled their designs. The sixth article, which forbade "*any act of the National Assembly from operating until it should have obtained the assent of the Legislative Assembly,*" was without doubt an unprecedented assumption of power. In short, it contained little less than an avowal of independence, and implied a virtual renunciation of the mother country.

The factious parties, which felt their projects blasted, availed themselves of the indefinite language which the Assembly had used, and charged the whole body with designs to erect the colony into an independent empire.

The American States, it was asserted, afforded them an example which they had taken for their imitation, the conduct of which they had shewn themselves disposed to follow, in proportion as circumstances should crown their revolt with success. Others, rather incredulous as to these reports, were not less violent in condemning the measures of the Assembly. They contended that their designs were to throw the whole colony into the hands of the English, to whom they pretended that it had been already fraudulently sold; while some went so far as to assert, that they had actually received *forty millions* of livres as the reward of their perfidy, and divided the spoils among themselves.

Alarmed at these reports, which their heated imaginations had magnified into the most terrible realities, the inhabitants waited for no further confirmation of their opinions, but instantly renounced all obedience to the measures of the Assembly. Not satisfied with this declaration, some of the western parishes actually recalled their representatives; while the inhabitants of Cape Francois presented a memorial to the Governor, urging him to issue orders for the dissolution of the Assembly, perhaps to "*exert a vigour beyond the law,*" as the only means that were left to preserve the colony from impending destruction.

Peynier, actuated by different motives from those which had urged the avowed enemies of the Assembly to appeal to his power, listened to their requests with all the appearance of public concern, but in reality with all the private delight of secret satisfaction. His subsequent conduct evinced that he only waited for a favourable pretext to come to an open rupture, in order to make an open avowal of his designs. Whether his machinations had been secretly at work in the Assembly to produce the effects which were now become apparently visible, it is impossible to ascertain; this much is certain, that his conduct on this occasion has not escaped censure, and his subsequent behaviour has given sanction to the charge.

It happened at this moment of ferment and danger, that a ship of the line called the Leopard, lay in the harbour of Port au Prince. She was commanded by a M. Galisoniere, a gentleman warmly attached to the interests of Peynier and Mauduit, and who manifested a readiness to co-operate with them in their counter-revo-



lutionary designs. Whether to concert their future measures, or only to associate as friends, is not certain; but whatever the cause might have been, Peynier and Mauduit were on board; and the crew of the *Leopard* took offence at an entertainment given in the ship to them and the partizans of their commander, and on a sudden withdrew from him their accustomed obedience. Confusion immediately succeeded to order; so that M. Galisoniere was induced, from motives of personal safety, to quit a ship and crew he could no longer command. Scarcely had he left her, before the seamen declared themselves friendly to the measures of the General Assembly, and appointed one of their lieutenants to fill that place which their late commander had left.

The Assembly, deeply sensible of this important acquisition, immediately transmitted to the crew a vote of thanks for their patriotic conduct, requesting them, in the name of the law and of the king, to detain the ship, and wait their further orders. Gratified with this public token of approbation, the sailors nailed the vote of thanks they had received, to the main-mast, and promised obedience to the Assembly.

Stimulated by these successes, the abettors of the Assembly prepared for their further defence, and seized the powder magazine at Leogane. The Governor perceiving the necessity of acting with promptitude and decision, issued a proclamation two days afterward, to dissolve the whole body. In this proclamation he charged the Assembly with aiming at independency; with having treacherously corrupted the crew of one of his Majesty's ships, and detained her in their service;—and with having forcibly seized upon the magazine. The members and all their adherents he denominated traitors to their country, and rebels against the king, and the nation of which they professed themselves a part. At the same time he announced his intention to employ what forces he could collect to defeat their designs, and to bring them as aggressors to condign punishment, for the offences with which they stood charged. It concluded with a warm address to all the civil and military officers, as they valued their allegiance, to afford him, to the utmost of their power, their mutual co-operation and support.

Hostilities between the contending factions now seemed to be inevitable; and every step taken by each, indicated

formidable preparations for an approaching civil war. Peynier, doubtful that his force was inadequate to the measures which he proposed, applied to the Governor of Cuba for the assistance of foreign troops. In the meanwhile, he commissioned Mauduit to repair immediately, with a strong detachment, to arrest the committee of the Western Provincial Assembly, which, in the exercise of its subordinate functions, had shown a zealous attachment to those measures which he was determined to oppose. The members of this committee, conscious of their danger, held their consultations in the dead of night. This was known to Peynier and Mauduit; they, therefore, resolved to seize them in the midst of their deliberations. Mauduit was accordingly dispatched to the spot, with one hundred chosen soldiers. Their measures were concerted with the utmost secrecy, and no doubt was entertained of his ultimate success.

The Committee, however, had obtained early intimations of Peynier's design, and had summoned the inhabitants to take up arms to defend them in their official capacity. Mauduit, on his arrival, found to his utter astonishment, that the party which he had designed to seize by surprise, was encircled by four hundred of the Provincial Militia. A skirmish instantly ensued; but, from the disproportion of numbers, Mauduit was soon compelled to retire, after having killed two men, and wounded several others, without being able to effect any thing more than the seizure of the national colours, which he and his party carried off in triumph. These, it has been asserted, he obtained in a fraudulent manner; but whether the charge were true or false, it was a circumstance which soon afterward cost him his life.

No sooner had the tidings of the above event reached the ears of the General Assembly, than they issued a general summons to the inhabitants, requesting them immediately to rally round their standard, to protect their representatives from the gathering tempest which had already begun to burst. The inhabitants in general received this summons with approbation, and obeyed it with the utmost alacrity. The western and southern provinces immediately furnished them with two thousand men. The ship *Leopard* was brought from Port au Prince to co-operate with the land forces. Every exertion was made for a most vigorous defence. Opposition

only served to strengthen their resolutions, and to urge them to the performance of those deeds which distinguish the brave.

Mauduit, in the meanwhile was not idle, neither was the cause which he had espoused destitute of friends. The Provincial Assembly of the North declared itself in his favour, and in favour of the Governor. This province sent to their assistance a party of regular troops; and these were joined by about two hundred mulattoes. A much greater force was collected through the different provinces at the same time by Mauduit, so that on the whole his body became truly formidable.

The effusion of blood was now expected by both parties; the object for which each was contending was considered as of the last importance; and all determined to defend their principles to the last extremity. It was in this awful moment, even while the sword was drawing and preparing to be sheathed in the bowels of the adverse party, that a singular circumstance occurred, which created universal astonishment, and produced a momentary calm.

The crew of the *Leopard*, actuated by a similar eccentricity, to that which had marked their conduct when they declared themselves in favour of the General Assembly, had formed on a sudden a resolution to conduct the ship to Europe. With these views they brought her into the entrance of the bay, to acquaint the Assembly with their intended departure, and to take from them any dispatches they might think proper to forward to the king and National Assembly. The domestic commotions which had already taken place, had considerably reduced their number of members, and sickness had rendered them still less. Not one hundred at this time remained. Of these, *eighty-five* formed a resolution in an instant to embark on board the *Leopard*, to repair in person to the mother country, and justify their conduct before the king and National Assembly. The majority of these were fathers of families, who could not but perceive the gathering storm, and feel a more than personal interest in the welfare of those whom they were about to leave behind. To develop the motives of human actions is frequently a difficult task, but on the present occasion only one opinion prevailed. Their patriotism, which was too powerful to be shaken by domestic considerations, was too conspicuous to be either misconstrued or overlooked; this

procured for them universal approbation. Even their enemies were unable to withhold the tribute of respect, and their friends contemplated their undertaking with emotions which no language can adequately express. Their embarkation was viewed by all, as a generous effort to save their country from the carnage which threatened to overwhelm it, and to avert impending desolation. Multitudes of all ranks crowded the shores on the day of their departure; and with tears of the liveliest sensibility invoked the Almighty to send them a prosperous voyage, and a happy issue to the object of their negotiation.

On their departure, the hostile preparations were mutually suspended on both sides. A gleam of hope once more supplanted that anxiety and solicitude, which had held the dominion for some time past. A favourable issue was the ardent desire of the inhabitants. Things once more returned to their wonted channels; and even Peynier resumed with trembling reluctance, the government which he had partially abandoned, to attempt an establishment of the ancient despotic power.

During these transactions, from the first meeting of the General Assembly to the period when its members embarked on board the *Leopard*, the whole body of Mulattoes, though deeply interested in the issue of the commotions, conducted themselves with propriety and peace. They had been alternately courted by each party, but they refused to take a decided part with either. The lenity of the General Assembly towards them, had disarmed them of resentment, but it had not procured their implicit confidence; while the insinuating address and munificence of Mauduit, had flattered their expectations, without destroying their suspicions. His artifices, indeed, had induced about two hundred Mulattoes to join his party; but they soon discovered that they had acted with unjustifiable precipitation; and, to repair their error, they demanded and obtained their dismissal, while marching towards St. Marc; and returned in peace to the bosoms of their respective families.

The members of the General Assembly departed on board the *Leopard*, on the 8th of August, 1790; but unhappily, the peace which they bequeathed to the Island, was soon disturbed through a commotion which arose from an unexpected quarter. This was the rebellion excited among the Mulattoes, by James Oge, a mulattoe, whose mother held a considerable coffee plan-

tation about thirty miles from the town of Cape Francois.

It has been already stated, that notwithstanding the degraded condition of the Mulattoes, they were permitted to hold property to any amount; and that many among them had amassed considerable wealth. This was the case with the mother of James Oge, a young man whose conduct is entitled to censure, while his fate demands commiseration. Some time prior to the events of which we now speak, he had been sent to Paris for the purpose of education, and having entered into the political questions relative to the people of colour, which were violently agitated, he became inflamed with a conflict of passions at the wrongs which he and his degraded countrymen were apparently destined to endure. His reputed father was a white planter, of some degree of eminence and respectability, but he had been dead for several years. Oge was about thirty years of age; his abilities were far from being contemptible, but they were not equal to his ambition; nor were they sufficient to conduct him through that enterprize in which he unfortunately engaged.

Supported in Paris in a state of affluence, he found no difficulty in associating with Gregoire, La Fayette, and Brissot, from whom he learnt the prevailing notions of equality; and into the spirit of which he incautiously entered, with all that enthusiasm and ardour which are natural to the youthful mind, when irritated with unmerited injuries, and determined to revenge its wrongs.

By the factious characters with whom he was accustomed to associate, he was easily induced to believe that all the Mulattoes of St. Domingo were actuated by the same principle; and only waited the arrival of some active leader to enable them, in an effectual manner, to throw off their yoke, and assert their rights. Oge flattered himself that he was the person. His associates, to cherish that idea, which he had entertained of his own abilities, contrived to procure for him a lieutenant-colonel's commission; and, furnished with the means which were necessary to carry his project into execution, he embarked for North America in the month of July, to purchase arms and ammunition.

His scheme, however, though conducted with the utmost apparent secrecy, became public in Paris; and an account of his intentions, with even a description and

portrait of his person, was transmitted to St. Domingo, long before he had transacted his business on the continent, or attempted a landing on the island. Bringing, however, with him no train of followers, he landed in secrecy, and found means to elude those who were prepared to intercept him; and actually conveyed the arms and ammunition which he had brought with him, to a place, which his brother, by previous appointment, had prepared for their reception. The landing of Oge was effected on the 12th of October 1790, about two months after the members of the Assembly had embarked for France. The place which they had chosen for their magazine, was at Grande Riviere, about fifteen miles from Cape Francois.

On his arrival, contrary to his expectations, he found no party, either waiting to acknowledge him as their commander, or prepared to receive him. About six weeks were taken up with him and his two brothers, in secretly making proselytes, and hunting after any, whom they might either dispose or find disposed to take up arms. About two hundred were at length prevailed upon to rally round his standard. With this inadequate force, he prepared to avow his intentions; and actually despatched a letter to Peynier the Governor, in which, after charging him with many omissions of duty, and particularly with the non-execution of the Code Noir \*, he declared himself the friend and protector of the Mulattoes; and asserted that, unless the evils of which he complained were speedily redressed, that he and his brethren should resort to arms.

Among his military arrangements, his two brothers were to act under him, with one Mark Chavane, as lieutenants, while he held the supreme command.

Oge and his brothers, though warmly engaged in the cause which they had espoused, were humane in their dispositions, and averse to the shedding of blood. With Chavane the case was totally different. Ferocious, sanguinary, and courageous, he began his career with acts of violence, which it was impossible for Oge to prevent, and the two brothers of the latter were easily prevailed upon to join him in his petty depredations. Their first

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\* This was a code of laws established by Louis XIV. for the protection and security of the blacks

act was the murder of two white men, whom accident threw in their way. The Mulattoes, whom they could not prevail upon to revolt, were treated by them with every species of indignity; and one man in particular, who excused himself from joining them, on account of his family, which consisted of a wife and six children, was deliberately murdered, together with his wife and children.

The inhabitants of Cape Francois, alarmed at these outrages, which they imagined to be perpetrated by a more formidable body of revolters than really existed, immediately took measures for its suppression. A detachment of regular troops, with some companies of militia, invested the Mulattoe camp at Grande Riviere; which, after making an ill-conducted and ineffectual resistance, in which many of the Mulattoes were killed, and about sixty made prisoners, was entirely broken up; the whole troop dispersed; and Oge and his officers were obliged to take refuge in the Spanish part of the island. The principal part of their ammunition and military stores, immediately fell into the hands of the victors.

The triumphs of the whites over the vanquished insurgents, was such, that they proceeded from victory to insult; and the lower orders in particular discovered such pointed animosity towards the Mulattoes at large, who had no connection whatever with the rebellion of Oge, that they became seriously alarmed for their own personal safety. Many regretted that they had not joined the now vanquished party; while others, urged by that fatal necessity which frequently compels men to resort to desperate measures, flew to arms; so that several camps were formed in different parts of the colony, by far more formidable than that of Oge.

Hostilities were, however, prevented from taking place, through the personal address of Mauduit, in several conferences which he held with the Mulattoe chiefs. The purport of these negotiations has never been permitted to transpire; but as on all occasions he found means to induce the insurgents to disperse, it has generally been believed that he obtained his end through some dishonourable promises, which, while they softened the demands of the Mulattoes for the moment, awakened their future expectations, and in reality prepared them for that vengeance which marked their subsequent conduct. But while Mauduit was busily employed in posting

from place to place, to induce the different parties to desist from their meditated hostilities, at Les Caye severe skirmish took place, in which about fifty persons on both sides lost their lives. His arrival prevented the renewal of hostilities; and the same address which had induced so many parties of these insurgents to disperse, prevailed in this place also. But in what light soever this rapid progress of peace, might be viewed by the general mass of the inhabitants, the Mulattoes considered it as a deceitful calm, which preceded a general convulsion, and their calculations were but too sadly realized by facts. Rigaud, the Mulattoe chief, even after he had acceded to the plans of Mauduit, felt no scruple in declaring—"That no peace would be permanent until one class of people had exterminated the other."

In the midst of this temporary calm, which the deceitful address of Mauduit had occasioned, the ill-fated inhabitants of St. Domingo, were presented with a fresh occasion of alarm. The arrival of the members of the General Assembly, on board the *Leopard*, had been anticipated in Paris, through the expeditious information of Peynier, whose arts and emissaries had been successfully employed against them; so that they were rather surveyed in the light of criminals than as the representatives of a branch of the French empire. On their first arrival at Brest, on the 13th of September, they were received in that place with every mark of respect due to their official dignity. But M. Barnave, the minister for the West India department, prejudiced against them, through the representations of Peynier, had prejudged their cause, and so far condemned their conduct, without giving them a hearing, that though they were once permitted to an audience, it was rather to hear their sentence, than to state their complaints, and propose modes of redress.

Conscious of the injustice with which they had been treated, when indignantly dismissed from the bar, they solicited a second audience, with liberty to confront those who had calumniated their proceedings. But this reasonable request was refused. On the contrary, their whole conduct from their first meeting at St. Marc, to the time of their embarkation, founded solely on the report of their enemies, was censured with peculiar severity. They were charged with disaffection towards the mother country, and with being enemies to subor-



dination and government. All the decrees which they had passed were immediately annulled; they were declared incapable of ever serving again in their present official capacity; and to complete their degradation, they were ordered under an arrest, in which state they were to continue, "until the National Assembly might find time to signify its further pleasure concerning them." The conduct of Peynier and Mauduit at the same time was highly applauded; testimonies of approbation were ordered to be transmitted to those who had acted in concert with them; and they were directed to form a new Colonial Assembly on the principles which had been adopted by the National Assembly in its decree of the 8th of March, 1790.

This unexpected medley of censure, approbation, and mandate, reached St. Domingo in the month of November, and produced an effect as immediate and astonishing as it was contrary to the intentions of the National Assembly, when it passed the decree. Mauduit and his regiment, became the objects of general detestation, because their conduct had been applauded for actions which the people at large expected to hear condemned. The mandate which ordered the calling of a new Colonial Assembly, they considered as a step towards the revival of the ancient despotism; while the detention of their legal representatives in a state of arrest, they could not but behold as an attack on the acknowledged constitution of the empire. The members who were still in Paris, they contended, were their proper representatives; and several parishes absolutely refused to elect any others, until the fate of these was known.

In the midst of these commotions, which presaged an approaching tempest, Peynier resigned his office as governor, and availed himself of the earliest opportunity to embark for Europe. His resignation was made in favour of General Blanchelande. The exchange gave much satisfaction; but in general it arose more from the removal of Peynier, than from the appointment of his successor. Blanchelande was, nevertheless, much respected; and being in daily expectation of receiving an augmentation of the forces under his command, both by land and sea, to enforce his authority, he entered upon his office, with a degree of vigour, which seemed to promise a speedy termination of the threatened disasters,

though it might prove fatal to some of the contending factions.

His first exercise of power was towards the indiscreet and unfortunate Oge; who, as has been related in a preceding page, after the dispersion of his associates in arms, had taken refuge in the Spanish territories. The demand which was made on the Spanish Governor, to have him immediately delivered up, was peremptory and decisive, and urged an immediate compliance. Oge and his fellow officers were, therefore, instantly seized, and given into the hands of a detachment of French troops appointed to receive them, towards the latter end of December; and conducted to the jail of Cape Francois, with the other prisoners who had been previously taken. Shortly afterward, a commission was issued to bring them to public trial, when, after many tedious and protracted examinations, sentence was pronounced upon them in the beginning of March, 1791. Twenty of his followers, among whom was one of his brothers, the other not having been found, were condemned to be hanged; but a severer fate awaited Oge, and Chavane, his hardy lieutenant. They were condemned to be broken alive, and were actually left to perish in that terrible condition on the wheel.

Chavane met his destiny with that undaunted firmness which had marked his life. He bore the extremity of his torture with an invincible resolution, without betraying the least symptom of fear, and without uttering a groan at his excruciating sufferings. With Oge the case was widely different. When sentence was pronounced upon him, his fortitude abandoned him altogether. He wept; he solicited mercy, in terms of the most abject humiliation; and promised, in case his sentence could be reversed, and his life preserved, to make discoveries of the greatest consequence to the colony. The utmost that his entreaties could procure for him, was a short respite of twenty-four hours; after which he was hurried to execution, and left to expire in the most horrid agonies.

The spirited proceedings of the new Governor towards Oge, could not but be highly pleasing to those who dreaded an insurrection of the Mulattoes; but such instances of solitary justice were not sufficient to remove the unfavourable impressions which the detention of their representatives in France had occasioned. Reflecting on

the conduct of Mauduit towards them, which the decree of the National Assembly had approved in the most unqualified manner, they could not but recollect the transaction at St. Marc, in which he had clandestinely carried off the colours belonging to the National Guards, which had never been returned. This action they considered not only as an insult offered to the whole body, but as one, which, having obtained the sanction of the National Assembly, discovered a tendency towards the restoration of the ancient despotism: while the National Assembly, by applauding the measures, had so far abandoned its primitive principles, as to be entitled no longer to implicit confidence. These, and similar thoughts, had for a long season agitated their bosoms, so that Mauduit was privately marked out as an object of vengeance. The valour and discipline of the regiment, which he commanded at Port au Prince, they well knew; and the attachment of the troops to their commander, was even more than equal to their discipline and valour. This regiment, actuated by the example of their commander, without being able to develope his views, had torn from their hats the national cockade, and substituted in its stead a white feather, which was the avowed ensign of royalty. These circumstances mutually co-operating, rendered both the regiment and its commander obnoxious in the sight of the whole army, and detestable to such of the inhabitants as felt an attachment to the new constitution, from which they beheld such an unjustifiable dereliction.

It happened, while these sentiments were operating in secret, that the long expected reinforcements arrived from France. They were sent by the National Assembly and the king, to enforce the decree which applauded the conduct of Peynier and Mauduit, and placed under an arrest the representatives which had sailed to Europe in the *Leopard*. The troops consisted of two battalions of the regiments of Artois and Normandy. These were brought over in two frigates, *Le Fougueaix* and *Le Boree*.

Prior to their departure from France, or in the course of their passage, these troops had found means to hold an intercourse with the crew of the *Leopard*; the consequence of which was, that they had imbibed their spirit, and fully entered into their views. Scarcely had they landed at Port au Prince, before they manifested the

same hostility towards Mauduit and his regiment, as had been shewn by the other troops on the island, and more particularly so by the National Guards. The white feather which they had assumed out of respect to Mauduit, was surveyed by the new battalions as a badge of their perfidy, and as an evidence that they were unworthy of any intercourse.

Mortified at being treated with sullen indignity, where they had both courted and expected an alliance, the regiment of Mauduit felt themselves both abandoned and despised. The cause could not be a secret. They reproached themselves with having been duped by the artifices of their idolized commander, and both officers and men surveyed him with detestation, as being the author of their disgrace. The white feather was instantly pulled from their hats, and spurned from them with the most active indignation; murmurs and discontent had taken the place of confidence and approbation; and secret hisses indicated an approaching convulsion, which threatened their commander's life.

Mauduit quickly perceived the change which had taken place, and felt in a moment all the danger of his situation. He beheld a tempest gathering, which he knew must shortly burst; and, more solicitous for the safety of his friends than his own, communicated his apprehensions to Blanchelande the governor, and advised him to remove with his family to Cape Francois. Blanchelande, instead of attempting to avert the gathering storm, meanly availed himself of the advice, and left Mauduit to encounter the danger alone.

Anxious to regain that confidence which he had lost, Mauduit proposed to his men, to carry with his own hands, the colours which he had taken from the National Guards, to the church in which they had formerly been deposited; but at the same time he told them, that he looked to them for support, to protect him from personal injury. To the grenadiers he delivered a particular harangue on the occasion, and they in reply promised to protect him with their lives. The following day he marched at their head with the colours, to make the proposed atonement, accompanied by a numerous train of spectators. The colours were deposited in the church, as had been proposed, but as he was turning towards his troops, one of them exclaimed in an audible voice,—  
“ *You must ask pardon of the National Troops on your*

*knees.*" Mauduit started back with indignity at the proposal; and being more solicitous to preserve his honour than his life, opened his bosom to their weapons. His faithless soldiers, regardless of the promise which they had made on the preceding day, rushed violently upon him. His bosom was pierced in an instant, with a hundred bayonets, and he fell covered with wounds and blood. Not satisfied with having deprived him of his life, they mangled his body in a most shocking manner, treating it with every indignant indecency, that ferocious ingenuity could devise. From mutilating his body, they proceeded to demolish his house, and to destroy every thing with which they could associate his name. It is needless to add, that they were but too successful in their diabolical intentions.

Their career of infamy, however, was but short. The different regiments, whose applauses they solicited by these atrocious deeds, viewed them with more than common detestation; and the inhabitants, petrified with astonishment at their daring enormities, transferred that odium with which they had been accustomed to view Mauduit, from him to themselves, so that they now bore a double load. Faithless and detestable, they found themselves deserted by all, as unworthy of either confidence or intercourse, and in this condition they were compelled to lay down their arms, after which they were sent prisoners to France, but in what manner they met the reward of their demerit, cannot now be ascertained. Affairs of greater magnitude at this time occupied the attention of the distracted government, and their crimes were eclipsed by the still greater enormities of others.

## CHAP. L.

## HISPANIOLA CONTINUED.

*Effects produced in France by the death of Oge.—Proceedings of the National Assembly in relation to the Mulattoes.—Insurrection among the Negro Slaves.—Horrid deprivations committed by them.—Instances of barbarity.—Instance of fidelity.—Progress of destruction during the first two months.—Insurgents increase in number, and extend their ravages.—Mulattoes menace Port au Prince.—Truce, or concordat, agreed on.—Decree of the 15th of May, acknowledged and admitted by the Whites.—National Assembly repeals the Decree in France, in the moment it was admitted by the Colonists.—Both parties again resort to arms.—The Mulattoes set fire to Port au Prince.—General battle.—Instance of inhumanity committed by the Whites.—Retaliated by the Mulattoes.*

WHILE these private assassinations, which have been noticed in the preceding chapter, were taking place in St. Domingo, the factions in France were successfully employed in making preparations for more extensive scenes of desolation and horror. To examine intentions is in general a difficult task; it is much easier to detail facts, than to develope motives. The society of *Amis des Noirs* exerted themselves so strenuously in the cause of what was deemed by the planters and their friends, "impracticable reformation," as to produce consequences which will continue to be remembered with detestation and sorrow. They were, it is true, occasionally divided among themselves, but the party which eventually proved most fatal, finally prevailed.

It was evident at this time, both from facts and appearances, that the whole body of Mulattoes was much

disposed to peace. Some among them had, indeed, occasionally taken up arms, but it was a measure which they adopted more frequently from necessity than choice. They demanded a melioration of their condition, but manifested latterly, not much solicitude as to the channel through which it came. Their friends, however, who advocated their cause in France, were of a different opinion; they were more solicitous for the *mode* than the *object*; and finally lost, through contending for a punctilio of *right*, the ultimate blessing for which rights are rendered valuable.

M. Barnave, the president of the Colonial Committee in France, had strenuously contended for the rights of the people of colour, but from the consequences which he saw impending, he not only relinquished the contest, but delivered it publicly as his opinion, "that any further interference of the mother country in the question, agitated between the whites and them, would be productive of the most fatal effects." "There are enthusiasts (says Mr. Edwards) in politics, 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." This in reality was the case with Gregoire, La Fayette, Brissot, and others. These zealous reformers grew more determined, as they felt a dereliction in their party, and displayed their eloquence in the most fascinating manner, on those topics which received a sanction from popular opinion.

The tragical death of the unfortunate Oge, who had been well known in Paris, reached the city in this critical moment, and inflamed the public mind against the planters almost to madness. Nothing was heard, but invective and execrations;—the scale of popular opinion preponderated decidedly against them; and for some time they were unable to appear in public, either to apologize for the conduct of their brethren, or to state the justice of their claims. To keep alive that resentment which had been awakened, a tragedy was formed on the dying agonies of Oge, and the theatres of Paris conveyed the tidings of his exit to all ranks of people.

Brissot and Gregoire, availing themselves of this auspicious moment, brought the case of the Mulattoes before the National Assembly, the members of which, through

the enthusiasm of the moment, became the undesigned instruments of the evils which ensued.

By a previous decree of the National Assembly, dated March the 8th, 1790, of which we have given some account, they had declared, "That it was never their intention to subject the colonies to laws which were incompatible with their local establishments, nor to include the interior government of them in a constitution which they had framed for the mother country. And that they would not, either directly or indirectly, cause any innovation to be made in any system of commerce, in which the colonists were already engaged." With this decree, was transmitted to the Governor of St. Domingo, a chapter of instructions, which was professedly designed to enforce a due observance of it. This chapter contained eighteen articles, one of which, relating to the formation of a Colonial Assembly, expressed the following sentiments: "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." Whether the Mulattoes were comprehended under this article or not, became soon after a subject of much dispute, and a favourable opportunity now presented itself of bringing this agitated question to a final and solemn issue.

The Mulattoes in St. Domingo, their friends in Paris, and particularly the Society of *Amis des Noirs*, uniformly contended, that as they were not expressly excepted, they were virtually included in the decree; while on the contrary, those who opposed their interests, insisted, that the decree and instructions were founded upon ancient usage, in which this class was not included, and consequently that the Mulattoes had no legal claim to vote. Thus matters hung in a suspended state, from the passing of the decree in March, 1790, during that year, and through the beginning of 1791; when the Mulattoes of St. Domingo, not altogether satisfied with the activity of their friends in Europe, sent delegates to Paris, to demand from the National Assembly, an explanation of the questionable instructions which they had previously sent.

It was early in the month of May, 1791, that this celebrated question was brought before the National Assembly, by Abbe Gregoire, who demanded for the



Mulattoes, all the rights and immunities which the white inhabitants had been accustomed to enjoy. The eloquence displayed on the occasion, will be long remembered, the public mind had been prepared for the direction it was to take; the necessity of the measure for which Gregoire contended, was enforced by facts, which a state of slavery or degradation rarely fails to produce, and the whole was finished with an affecting recital of the death of Oge.

Amidst the general ardour with which the cause of the Mulattoes was pleaded, a few attempted to stem the torrent, by venturing to predict the ruin of the colonies. "*Perish the colonies,*" exclaimed Robespierre in reply, "*rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles.*" The sentiment was reiterated amidst the applauses of an enthusiastic senate; and the National Assembly, forgetting its former acts, as well as the definition of its former principles, decreed on the 15th of May, 1791, "That the people of colour, resident in the French colonies, and born of free parents, were entitled to, as of right, and should be allowed the enjoyment of all the privileges of French citizens;—that they should have votes in the choice of representatives, and be eligible to seats both in the parochial and colonial assemblies."

The Colonial Committee no sooner learnt that these decisive steps had been taken by the National Assembly, than the members declared their office useless, and resolved to decline any further attempts to preserve the colonies. The colonists who resided in the mother country, heard the contents of the decree of the fifteenth, with indignation and amazement. But in the island, as soon as it became known, the planters for a moment sunk into a state of torpor, and appeared petrified into statues.

Immediately on the passing of the new decree in France, three commissioners were appointed by the National Assembly, or rather urged, to repair to the spot, armed with sufficient force to see it carried into full execution. These commissioners had been appointed in the preceding February, to sail thither to inspect the various regulations which had been introduced; but their departure had been delayed, through different causes, till the present time. The decree of the 15th of May, was, however, of too much importance to be surveyed with indifference; it, therefore, became a motive with the

Assembly, to hasten their embarkation. Several months, nevertheless, elapsed in making tedious preparations;—months which will be ever memorable in the annals of St. Domingo, for carnage, and such species of inhumanity, as the most savage nations have scarcely been able to rival, and which load even the whole mass of human nature with inexpiable disgrace.

A knowledge of this memorable decree reached the island in the month of June, at a time when the white inhabitants were harmonious in nothing, but in opposing the Mulattoes. The arrival of this important intelligence produced an immediate suspension of their domestic feuds; their local animosities were swallowed up by what appeared to them an evil of much greater magnitude, which acted as a cement to all parties;—an evil which induced them to consolidate their powers, and to unite in hostility against their mother country, and the people of colour whose cause she had espoused. Even the preparations which had been making for the celebration of the revolutionary anniversary were thrown aside;—the civic oath was treated with contempt;—an embargo was laid on all the vessels in the harbour;—tumult succeeded to subordination;—and even a proposal was made in the Northern Provincial Assembly, to hoist the British standard in the room of the national colours. Resolutions crowded upon resolutions, to renounce at once all connection with a country, that had placed the rights of the Mulattoes upon an equal footing with their own.

The Mulattoes, become criminal from their colour, were obliged to flee in every direction. Their houses could no longer afford them any safety, and in the streets they were threatened to be shot. Many retired with their families, from their habitations, without knowing even whither they were going, and were compelled to find a sanctuary in the woods. No crime, indeed, was even imputed to them at this juncture; they became offensive to their more selfish neighbours, because the National Assembly had espoused their cause, and because their blood retained some vestiges of an African taint.

Blanchelande the Governor, beheld these commotions with a palsied solicitude. He foresaw the evils which were ready to burst upon the island, without having it in his power to apply either a preventative or a remedy. As a *representative of the king*, his authority expired with the arrival of the decree of the 15th of May, and the

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utmost that lay in his power, was to transmit to France, a genuine picture of the scenes with which he felt himself encircled, and to anticipate the horrors which he saw impending over the colony.

The first step which was taken by the white inhabitants, after the frenzy of the moment had given place to more deliberate reflection, was to summons a *new General Assembly*. These met at Leogane on the 9th of August, 1791, to the number of one hundred and seventy-six. Their proceedings were much cooler than might have been expected, from men under their prejudices and *apparent* wrongs. From Leogane they found it prudent to remove to Cape Francois, in which place they proposed to open their session, and to enter upon public business on the 25th of the same month. In the meanwhile, to promote as much as possible the public tranquillity, the Governor pledged himself in the most solemn manner, "that the decree of the 15th of May should be suspended for a season in its execution, whenever it *officially* reached his hands."

The ferment, notwithstanding this concession, continued to increase, and the Mulattoes were menaced with destruction, which, indeed, appeared almost inevitable. To shield themselves from unprovoked aggression, and to be prepared for their defence in the approaching extremity, many parties among them took up arms, but no act of hostility was committed. The whites directing their attention to the new General Assembly which was expected to meet in a few days, hoped to obtain from that august body, a redress of all their grievances. The Mulattoes were, therefore, permitted to arm in different places without molestation, which affords a strong intimation, that the whites were not in the least apprehensive of their intentions to commence offensive war. In these calculations they were not mistaken; but a more awful mine, surcharged with combustibles, was at that moment on the eve of an explosion.

Among the various transactions which had taken place, both in the island and in the mother country, little or no notice had been taken of the condition of the slaves. Their sufferings had, indeed, been occasionally introduced to give energy to an harangue, or to enforce the necessity of a general reformation; but their situation was passed by as a subject that could obtain no advocate, and that admitted of no redress. The negroes, sensible

of their state, of their numbers, and perhaps of their powers, resolved, amidst the general confusion, to assert their freedom, and legislate for themselves. Unfortunately they had learnt from the contentions both of their white and coloured masters, that violence became even necessary to prosperity. This, therefore, falling in with their judgments and their feelings, determined the method which they resolved to adopt, as it at once afforded them gratification, and promised them success. Their measures were no sooner concerted, than they were carried into effect.

It was early on the morning of the 23d of August, 1791, two days before the meeting of the new Assembly at Cape Francois, that a confused report began to circulate through the city, that the negroes in some of the adjacent parishes were in a state of insurrection;—that they were murdering the white inhabitants, and consuming with fire, what the sword had spared. A report of so serious a nature could not fail to spread a general alarm. It was credited by the timid, despised by the fearless, but was deeply interesting to all. Every hour, however, brought with it fresh rumours; the indolent were called from their beds; fresh intelligence confirmed that which had just preceded it; a general ferment prevailed on the occasion; so that before sun-rising it became the belief of all. The arrival of a few half-breathless fugitives, confirmed the melancholy tidings; they had just escaped from the scene of desolation and carnage, and hastened to the town to beg protection, and to communicate the fatal particulars.

From these fugitives it was learnt, that the insurrection began among the negroes on a plantation called Noe, in the parish of Acul, not more than nine miles from Cape Francois. These, it appeared, in the dead of the night, had assembled together, and massacred every branch of their master's family that fell in their way. From hence they proceeded to the next adjoining plantation, where they acted in the same manner, and augmented their numbers by the slaves whom the murder of their master had apparently liberated. On several plantations they pursued a similar mode of conduct; still recruiting their forces in proportion to the murders which they committed, and extending their devastations as their numbers increased. On one of these plantations they had preserved the surgeon, whom they compelled to

accompany them, to render his professional assistance, in case any accident should befall them in their depredations. From the plantation of M. Flaville, they carried off the wife and three daughters of the attorney, after murdering him before their faces. These they preserved for the purpose of gratifying their brutal appetites. In many cases, the white women were rescued from death with the same horrid intentions, and were compelled to suffer violation on the mangled bodies of their murdered husbands, friends, or brothers, to whom they had been clinging for protection.

The return of day-light, for which those who had escaped from the sword, anxiously waited, to shew them the full extent of their danger, was anticipated by the flames which began to kindle in every direction. The shrieks of the inhabitants, and the spreading of the conflagration, occasionally intercepted by columns of smoke which were beginning to ascend, formed the mournful spectacle which appeared through a vast extent of country, when the day began to dawn. It was now but too visible that the insurrection of the negroes was general, and that their measures had been preconcerted, on which account their revolt became more dangerous.

The negroes on the plantation of a M. Gallifet had been treated with such remarkable tenderness, that their happiness in their situation became proverbial. These, it was presumed, had retained their fidelity; and, full of this persuasion, M. Odeluc, the agent of the plantation, who was a member of the General Assembly, determined to visit them at the head of a few soldiers, to lead them against the insurgents. He went accordingly; but found on his arrival, that they also had hoisted the ensign of rebellion, and had actually erected for their standard, *the body of a white infant, that they had impaled on a stake.* M. Odeluc had the misfortune to find himself surrounded with enemies instead of friends. To retreat was impossible. He was attacked and murdered without mercy. His companions shared the same fate; all except two or three, who escaped by instant flight, to add their tale to the list of woes.

The Governor immediately called the inhabitants to arms, and the General Assembly gave him the command of the National Guards. The women and children were instantly sent on board some ships in the harbour, and preparations were made for marching against the rebels.

Some negroes in town were instantly secured, from an apprehension that they were either in connection with those that were in arms, or that they would seize as soon as possible, an opportunity of joining them.

The lower orders of the whites, exasperated at the calamity which they beheld, without even knowing the cause, were proceeding to wreak their vengeance on the Mulattoes; these, therefore, were compelled to apply to the Assembly for protection. To manifest their aversion to the insurrection which all beheld, they proposed to take up arms and march against the insurgents, and to leave their wives and children as pledges of their fidelity. Their overture was accepted; and they joined their forces accordingly with those which had been previously enrolled. From the ships also, the Governor collected what seamen could possibly be spared; and the remaining part of that day was spent in bringing the motley mass into some subordination.

Through the succeeding night, carnage and conflagration went hand in hand, the latter of which became more terrible, from the glare which it cast upon the surrounding darkness. The next morning a detachment was sent under the command of M. de Touzard to the plantation of M. Latour, at which place a body of about four thousand rebel negroes had assembled. By attacking these with impetuosity and vigour, they hoped to strike terror into the rest. But in this their designs were unsuccessful. The insurgents were prepared to receive the onset, and to supply with numbers what they wanted in discipline and arms. They were attacked with considerable bravery, and vast numbers were slain; but their deficiencies were supplied in more than a double proportion to those who fell, so that Touzard found conquest receding from him in the midst of his success. In short, after sustaining an unequal conflict, he was compelled to retreat, and leave them, in blood and triumph, the masters of the field.

The city of Cape Francois was at this time in a defenceless condition, and serious apprehensions were entertained for its safety. The insurgents, however, were not acquainted with its particular exposure to danger, and, therefore, made no attack. They contented themselves with pursuing their original plan, to strengthen their party by extending the havoc, murder, and desolation, which every where marked their progress.

The Governor proceeded immediately to put the town in a state of defence; and all the inhabitants, without distinction, were called upon to labour at the fortifications. Messengers were dispatched to all the remotest places, both by sea and land, to which any communication was open, to apprize the people of their danger, and to give them timely notice to prepare for their defence. Through the promptitude with which they acted, a chain of posts was instantly established, and several camps were formed. This for a short season checked the progress of the revolt; but, unhappily, they gathered strength without extending their frontiers, and found a sufficiency of employment in ravaging the extensive territory which they had already in their possession.

The revolt was now found to be more general than was first imagined. The negroes, as if impelled by one common instinct, seemed to catch the contagion without any visible communication. Danger became every day more and more conspicuous; insomuch so, that an embargo was laid on all the shipping, to secure to the inhabitants a retreat, in case of the last extremity.

Among the different camps which had been formed, there was one at Grande Riviere, and another at Don-don. Both of these were attacked by a body of negroes, and some Mulattoes, whom they had either induced or compelled to join them. The conflict was long and bloody; numbers at length prevailed; and the whites, after having lost upwards of one hundred of their companions, were obliged to take refuge in the Spanish dominions. By this victory an extensive tract fell into their hands; nothing remained to counteract their ravages, but the shrieks and tears of the suffering fugitives, and these in general were permitted to plead in vain.

The instances of barbarity practised by them, can have no other effect, than to excite the reader's compassion for the unhappy sufferers, and indignation at the perpetrators of the deeds. The recital of a few will, however, serve to mark the ferocity of their dispositions.

“They seized a 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.

“ All the white and even the Mulattoe children, whose fathers had not joined in the revolt, were murdered without exception, frequently before their 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 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.

“ In the parish of Limbe, at a place called the Great Ravine, a venerable planter, the father of two beautiful young ladies, was tied down by the savage ring-leader 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.

“ M. Cardineau, a planter of Grande Riviere, had two natural sons by a black woman. He had manumitted them in their infancy, and treated them 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.

“ Amidst these scenes of horror, (continues Mr. Edwards) one instance, however, occurs of such fidelity and attachment in a negroe, as is equally unexpected and affecting. Monsieur and Madame Billon, their daughter and son-in-law, and two white servants, residing on a mountain plantation, about thirty miles from Cape Francois, 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 to an adjoining 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 bring them any further assistance. After this, they saw nothing of the negroe 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 that they would find a canoe on a part of the river which he described. They followed his directions, found the canoe, and got safely into it; but were upset by the rapidity of the current, and after a narrow escape, thought it best to return to their retreat in the mountains. The negro, anxious for their safety, again found them out, and directed them to a broader part of the river, where he assured them he had provided a boat; but said it was the last effort he could make to save them. They went accordingly, but not finding the boat, gave themselves up for lost, when the faithful negroe again appeared like their guardian angel. He brought with him pigeons, poultry, and bread, and conducted the family by slow marches in the night along the banks of the river, until they were within sight of the wharf of Port Margot, when telling them they were entirely out of danger, he took his leave for ever, and went and joined the rebels. The family were in the woods nineteen nights \*."

We have already observed, that as soon as the insurgents had forced the camps of Grande Riviere and Dondon, the extensive plain of the Cape, and the adjacent mountains, fell immediately into their hands. It is, perhaps, needless to remark, that in all their movements, desolation marched in their rear. The sword and the torch produced blood and ashes, and the pestilence soon extended its ravages to those who had escaped those instruments of destruction.

Within the short space of two months from the commencement of the rebellion, it was estimated that upwards of two thousand white inhabitants had been massacred, and that about one thousand two hundred families had been reduced from a state of affluence to misery, or hurled from independence, to accept both their sustenance and clothing, from the charitable contributions of their more fortunate neighbours. Their property met a fate equally destructive. One hundred and eighty sugar plantations had been either demolished or destroyed by fire;—about nine hundred settlements of coffee, cotton, and indigo, had been reduced to a heap of ruins;—the

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\* See Mr. Edwards's History of the West Indies, Vol. III. page 79—81. See also Rainsford's History of St. Domingo, page 139.

houses erected on them exhibited scarcely any thing but ashes to mark their former situation; and the few distressed inhabitants who escaped the fury of the incendiaries, were obliged to become the mournful historians of their own misfortunes.

Among the swarthy insurgents, death was still more busily employed; upwards of ten thousand, it was presumed, had fallen either by sword or famine, or by some of those concomitant disasters, which were inseparable from the general convulsion which prevailed, and the mode of warfare in which they were engaged. Such of them as fell into the hands of the "*Christian families*," (as Mr. Edwards terms the whites) expiated their guilt by the hands of the executioner. Several hundreds fell by the modes of death, that seemed to have been adopted for the purposes of experiment; and not a few broken alive on the wheel, expired amidst such agonies as barbarians would have wanted ingenuity to inflict.

The city of Cape Francois, it has been already observed, was in a most hazardous situation, at the commencement of the general insurrection; so that the attention of the inhabitants, during the two months of devastation which have been described, was engrossed, by repairing their fortifications, and putting the whole in a respectable state of defence. Hitherto no offensive operations had been undertaken, since the affair at Dondon, on which account the insurgents grew more audacious, from the enjoyment of unmolested triumph. But as soon as the inhabitants thought themselves secure from the onsets of their anticipated assailants, they made preparations for offensive war.

Directed by the Governor and the Assembly, as soon as things were in order, a small army, under the command of M. Rouvray, marched from the city, and formed an encampment at a place called Roucrou, at the eastern part of the plain. The rebels were in some measure prepared to receive them. Having taken possession of some extensive buildings on a plantation from which they had driven the inhabitants, they contrived to preserve the walls nearly entire, and on these they mounted some pieces of heavy artillery, which they had taken from some unprotected eminences and harbours, on the adjacent shores. Their small arms at first were those which had been preserved from the rebellion of Oge; but as the demand became more urgent, they found means to open

a clandestine traffic with some small American vessels, by which also they were supplied with ammunition; in exchange for which they gave the spoils of the half desolated colony. Prior to the opening of this trade, they were supplied with powder and ball by some of the negroes in the city, who, plundering the king's arsenal, found means to convey ammunition to their haunts.

From the walls of this plantation, which they had by means already mentioned, contrived to fortify, they sent out small detachments, to harass the whites, and light up new flames as the old ones became extinguished. In the skirmishes which took place, the whites were invariably victorious; but such was the number of the parties, with which they had to contend, that they became exhausted with their own victories. In short, the slaughter which took place among the rebels, seemed not to diminish their numbers. The defeat of one party was only a signal for another to commence the attack; so that the whites, kept in constant alarm, sunk beneath the pressure of unremitting fatigue.

While the whites secured to themselves the city of Cape Francois, and the blacks the adjacent country in the northern province, the flames of rebellion broke out in the western; and broke out in such a manner as furnished the whites with a new source of invective against the Mulattoes. The repugnance which the whites had invariably manifested to admit the decree of the 15th of May, which recognized the rights of the Mulattoes, induced them to take up arms; but their willingness shortly afterward to lay them down without being compelled, plainly demonstrated that the devastations which they committed, were not the object at which they aimed. About two thousand assembled with hostile preparations in the parish of Mirebalais; these were joined by about six hundred negroes. The first step taken by them was, to set fire to some coffee plantations on the neighbouring mountains of Cul de Sac. The military forces sent against them from Port au Prince, unable to cope with their numbers, were quickly repulsed. This gave them the undisturbed dominion of an extent of country which they ravaged for thirty miles round, massacring the inhabitants, and consuming their habitations and property with fire.

The town of Port au Prince was at this time as defenceless as that of Cape Francois had been when menaced

in a similar manner; and what added to its danger was, the knowledge which the insurgents had of its condition. Great apprehensions were therefore entertained, that they would set it on fire; and so pressing was their exigency, that time afforded them no opportunity of preparing for its defence.

The Mulattoe leaders, however, actuated by different motives, not only refused to adopt such a measure, but particularly declared that their only intention in taking up arms, was to support the decree of the 15th of May, which had acknowledged their rights, of which the whites had been endeavouring to deprive them. This specific avowal of their sentiments, procured for them a powerful advocate in the person of M. de Jumecourt, a gentleman of considerable respectability, who availing himself of their pacific professions, undertook to become a mediator between them and their hostile neighbours. The event proved that their intentions were sincere.

The inhabitants of Port au Prince, finding their situation truly deplorable, gladly availed themselves of an overture, which, though it pressed hard on their ambition, afforded a prospect of deliverance from danger. Their stipulations were short, but comprehensive, and of such a nature that had they been adopted on the arrival of the decree, they would have prevented those scenes of devastation and outrages on humanity, which St. Domingo had unhappily been doomed to witness. A truce immediately took place, which they denominated a *Concordat*, by which it was agreed, "that an act of oblivion should be passed on both sides over all that was past, and that the whites should henceforth admit in all its force, the national decree of the 15th of May." The sentence passed upon Oge, and the execution of it, the *Concordat* declared to be infamous, and to be "held in everlasting execration." This pacification took place on the 11th or 12th of September, 1791.

The Mulattoes in arms, having thus given such an honourable testimony of their peaceable intentions in the neighbourhood of Port au Prince, induced many of the more thoughtful inhabitants to consider their claims in a more favourable light. In Cape Francois their conduct had been irreproachable during the commotions which prevailed; so that the whites in general appeared to be convinced, that their animosity towards them was founded upon prejudice and not reason, and that their fears were

wholly fallacious. Impressed with these sentiments, the General Assembly issued a proclamation on the 20th of September, in which they expressly declared, that they would permit the decree of the 15th of May, their opposition to which had been the prominent cause of all the mischief which they deplored, to operate in all its force. And, whether from a conviction of duty, or a dread of provoking vengeance, cannot be ascertained, they even proceeded further, and declared it to be their intention to make certain provisions in behalf of such free Mulattoes as were born of enslaved parents, though this class of inhabitants was not comprehended in the decree which they had hitherto opposed.

Having thus conciliated the affections of the Mulattoes, the next object of the Assembly was, to induce them to co-operate with the white inhabitants in the reduction of the negroes, now in a most formidable state of insurrection. To convince them of their sincerity in the acknowledgments which they had made, and to induce them to join in the common cause, the Assembly gave them permission to raise among themselves several companions to act as volunteers, to be placed under the direction of Mulattoe officers, specified by certain qualifications; an indulgence unknown to this people before.

Both parties now appeared equally satisfied, and a mutual confidence took place. Nothing remained, but the suppression of the negroe revolt, to the full establishment of perfect tranquillity. To accomplish this, both parties seemed to act in concert; their measures were arranged accordingly; and the inhabitants at large flattered themselves with the prospect of returning peace. But unhappily these prospects proved delusive. The calm was only momentary. It was a dreadful interval between two tempests; one of which had passed over them; the other was yet to come. The hurricane was at this moment on the Atlantic, hastening with fatal impetuosity towards their shores.

It was early in the month of September, 1791, that intelligence reached France of the reception which their decree of the 15th of May had met with in St. Domingo. The tumults which we have already described, and the massacres which disgraced and polluted that unhappy island, were represented in the most affecting colours. Consequences more dreadful were still anticipated; the resolution of the whites, never to allow the operation of

the decree, was represented as immovable; so that serious apprehensions were entertained for the loss of the colony. The mercantile towns grew alarmed for the safety of their capitals, and petitions and remonstrances poured in from every interested quarter, for a repeal of that decree, which they foresaw must involve the colony in all the horrors of a civil war, and increase those heaps of ashes which had already deformed its once beautiful plains.

The National Assembly, now on the eve of dissolution, surveyed with astonishment, the effects which had resulted from that decree, which, by acknowledging the rights of the Mulattoes, it was expected would cover them with glory. The tide of popular opinion had begun to ebb, and the members of the Assembly fluctuated in indecision. The friends of the planters were ready to seize the favourable moment to press their point; they found but a feeble opposition, and actually procured a repeal of the decree just in the same moment that it became a medium of peace in St. Domingo.

Prior to the arrival of intelligence respecting the decree of the 24th of September, which repealed that of May the 15th, the Mulattoes had entertained some doubts as to the sincerity of the whites, respecting the *Concordat* which guaranteed their rights, and they watched their movements with a suspicious solitude. They had requested a confirmation of the provisions which it contained, and had actually obtained a renewal of its ratification on the 11th of October. On the 20th of the same month some supplementary articles were added, so that all doubts seemed to be removed.

At length the ill-fated decree of the 24th of September, reached the unhappy shores of St. Domingo. A sullen silence, occasionally interrupted by murmurs and execrations, at first prevailed among the Mulattoes; while an agitation more easily conceived than described, arising from the embarrassments in which they felt themselves entangled, predominated with the whites. A gloomy cloud began to spread itself over the whole horizon, and to banish for ever those illusions of peace with which they had deceitfully flattered themselves. The torch which had but just been extinguished, but which was not yet cold, was again to be lighted; and the sword, yet reeking with human gore, was again to receive new stains. The suspicions of the Mulattoes, which had but just been put

to rest, started again into action with redoubled vigour, and they reproached the whites with having acted with duplicity which admitted of no apology. Circumstances favoured their charges; the whites protested their innocence, but could obtain no credit. The former determined to adhere to the decree of the 15th of May, and the *Concordat* which had been so recently ratified with so much solemnity; and the latter resolved to abide by the decree of the 24th of September, which left the Mulattoes at their mercy. Both parties were fixed; and nothing remained but an appeal to arms.

The Mulattoes immediately began to muster their forces; the whites did the same; and each party aimed rather at the extermination of the other, than at a victory which should be productive of peace. Actuated by that frenzy which produces the most diabolical excesses, the Mulattoes immediately made themselves masters of Port St. Louis; but a reinforcement of soldiers lately arrived from Europe, prevented them from obtaining a conquest over Port au Prince. They, nevertheless, made a desperate attempt; and though they were defeated with considerable loss, they set fire to the city, which lighted up a conflagration in which more than a third part of it was reduced to ashes.

Driven from Port au Prince by the light of those flames which they had kindled, the Mulattoes established themselves at La Croix des Bouquets in considerable force, in which post they maintained themselves with more than equal address. Finding themselves and the revolted negroes engaged in one common cause, they contrived to unite their forces, and with this view drew to their body the swarms that resided in the district of Cul de Sac. Augmented with these undisciplined myriads, they risked a general engagement, in which two thousand negroes were left dead on the field, about fifty Mulattoes were killed, and many made prisoners. The losses of the whites were carefully concealed, for though they claimed the victory, it was rendered conspicuous for nothing but the commencement of those shocking inhumanities which afterwards marked the progress of this ferocious war.

Among the few who were taken prisoners, there happened to be a Mulattoe chief; on him, therefore, they determined to wreak their vengeance. They placed him in a cart, driving large spiked nails through his feet into the boards on which they rested, to prevent his escape,

and to shew their dexterity in torture. In this miserable condition he was conducted through the city, and exposed to the insults of those who mocked his sufferings. He was then liberated from this partial crucifixion, to suffer a new mode of torment. His bones were then broken in pieces, and he was finally cast alive into the flames in which he expired.

The Mulattoes, irritated to madness at the inhumanity with which their leader had been treated, only waited an opportunity to retaliate his wrongs. Unfortunately an opportunity soon occurred. In the neighbourhood of Jeremie, a M. Sejourne and his wife fell into their hands. The lady was far advanced in a state of pregnancy. Her husband was first murdered before her eyes. They then ripped up her body, took out the infant, and gave it to the hogs; after which they cut off the head of her husband, and entombed it in her bowels. Such were the first displays of vengeance and retaliation; and such were the scenes which closed the year 1791.



## CHAP. LI.

## HISPANIOLA CONTINUED.

*Arrival of three Commissioners, conduct and departure of them.—Devastations continue.—A Negroe leader begins to plant provisions.—Decree of the 15th of May virtually recognized in France, and three other Commissioners sent out to enforce it.—Tyranny of the Commissioners, one of whom returns to France.—New Governor appointed, but rejected by the Commissioners.—Bloody contest between them.—Negroe insurgents pillage and burn the city of Cape Francois, and indiscriminately massacre the inhabitants.—Overtures made to deliver the Colony into the hands of the British.—Origin and progress of the British Expedition against it.—Forces under the direction of the Commissioners.—Slavery abolished by proclamation.—State and condition of the inhabitants, and of the revolted Negroes, at the commencement of the British Expedition.—Vicissitudes and progress of the Expedition.—Sufferings of Lieutenant Garstin and eight men.—Unsuccessful effort of Rigaud, a Mulattoe chief.—British reinforced in a moment of despondency.—Capture of Fort Bizotton and Port au Prince.—Attempt of the Commissioners to blow up Forts Leogane and L'Hospital.—Booty obtained by the capture of Port au Prince.—Commissioners quit the Island,*

IT has been stated in the commencement of the preceding chapter, that early in the month of February, three commissioners had been ordered to repair from France to St. Domingo, to regulate its civil affairs; but that through various delays they had not embarked when the decree of the 15th of May passed the National Assembly:—That in consequence of this decree, an order was issued to hasten their departure, to inspect the affairs of the colony. These men did not reach St. Domingo till the

middle of December, 1791; at which time the whole colony was bleeding beneath the sword of civil war. The names of these commissioners were Mirbeck, Roome, and St. Leger. These men, having risen into notice through the vicissitudes of the revolution, were respected on account of their office, but not for their virtues or extraordinary abilities. They were, nevertheless, received by the Governor and principal inhabitants with every mark of honour; and those who were friendly to peace, looked to them as men on whom depended the salvation of the country. Their subsequent conduct, however, soon blasted all their hopes.

Possessed of power which they were unable to wield with prudence, they began their short career by announcing the new constitution, and by proclaiming the decree of the 24th of September. This measure pleased the whites, but greatly irritated the Mulattoes. They then issued a proclamation, offering a general pardon for all past offences, to all descriptions of persons who should lay down their arms before a day which they specified, and take the oaths required. This measure provoked the whites, without gaining the confidence of the Mulattoes. The former considered it as giving an indirect sanction to the conduct of the latter, and as holding out an invitation to such of the slaves as still retained their fidelity; while the latter considered it in the light of an insult, since it was accompanied with a repeal of the decree which favoured their interests; and they chose rather to trust to the effects of their arms, than accept of mercy from their oppressors. Through these causes the commissioners forfeited the friendship of the party which they had gained, without being able to obtain that of the other.

Having lost the confidence of both parties, Mirbeck abandoned himself to every species of debauchery, and St. Leger employed himself in levying contributions on the people, whom he came over to protect. Roome alone adhered to the discharge of his duty; but being abandoned by his colleagues, whose conduct rendered his office contemptible, he could effect nothing but his own disgrace. Under these circumstances they forsook their posts; and returned to France in separate vessels, after an ineffectual stay of three months.

During these transactions, the commotions which had afflicted the colony continued with but little intermission,

and every day brought with it some new tale of woe, which served to render the former ones forgotten. About four thousand soldiers had arrived from France, which served to guard the towns of Cape Francois and Port au Prince; but this was nearly the utmost they were capable of effecting. It was, perhaps, to these soldiers that these towns were indebted for their present safety; but the destiny of the wretched inhabitants was only postponed, not averted; and the pause which they enjoyed, afforded them a melancholy opportunity of anticipating their fate.

The scenes of devastation which every where covered the country, induced a belief that the insurgents were suffering severely from the famine which their own madness had occasioned. But this belief prevailed only for a short season. The sagacity of Jean Francois, a negroe leader, foreseeing this consequence, had provided in time for its approach, by directing his followers to provide for their future sustenance, by planting provisions for their use. His colleagues saw the propriety of the measure, and adopted it, and thus provided for the prolongation of a war, which ultimately laid the foundation of the black empire of Hayti.

The political parties which successively gained the ascendancy in France, not only distracted the body of the empire with a diversity of counsels, but regularly contradicted each other's decrees, in those matters which related to her colonial possessions. St. Domingo felt the force of these rapid changes; and had much reason to mourn over the instability of a freakish parent, whose dictates she held it a duty occasionally to follow and to disobey. She had already learnt from experience, that while the decrees of the mother country were executing abroad, they were repealed at home; and she had once more to measure over those steps which had been already marked with blood.

In the commencement of the year 1792, the Jacobin faction became exceedingly powerful in France, and acted under the direction of Danton, Robespierre, and Marat;—names, which posterity will remember with execration and horror. On the 29th of February it was moved by one of their associates, to set aside the decree of the 24th of September, and instead of establishing that of the 15th of May, to grant a general amnesty to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, directing them to form a

new Colonial Assembly, which should deliberate on the most practicable method of *abolishing negro slavery altogether*. Fortunately for the colony, the effects which had resulted from the decree of the 15th of May were still fresh in the memories of the members of the National Assembly; and bloody as many of them were, the majority dreaded to augment the horrors which already prevailed. From these causes the motion was rejected, but its principles were revived in another form in a decree which actually passed on the 4th of April, 1792. It is comprehended in eleven articles of which the following is the purport.

That the whites, the Mulattoes, and free negroes, are politically equal. That new colonial and parochial assemblies shall be formed, to which both Mulattoes and free negroes shall be eligible, both to seats and votes under certain restrictions. That three civil commissioners shall be appointed for the colony, armed with considerable powers, to dissolve the existing assemblies, to convoke new ones, and to enquire after the authors of the troubles which have afflicted the island. That they shall call forth the public force whenever they may find it expedient; shall keep a journal of their proceedings, and transmit their accounts to France. That an additional force shall be sent out to protect them and the colony;—that deputies shall be sent to the mother country from the colonial assemblies, to confer with the National Assembly, on the mode of conforming the government of the colony to those general principles by which the empire is held together.

The men appointed to act as commissioners, were Pulverel, Santhonax, and Ailhaud. These men were remarkable for their sanguinary dispositions, and strongly attached to the Jacobin party, under whose direction they acted. These were accompanied by a force of eight thousand men, commanded by officers whose principles were in union with their own. With these, went out a M. de Sparbes, under the title of commander in chief. This dignified banditti, acting as much from principle as from duty, prepared for their departure as soon as they received their orders, and reached the island on the 13th of September, 1792. On their arrival, they found M. Blanchelande the Governor, engaged in a warm dispute with the Colonial Assembly. Availing themselves of this variance, they thought it a favourable opportunity to

establish their own dominion by superseding him; and by that means to conciliate the affections of that Assembly which they secretly intended to dissolve. He was accordingly seized, and sent prisoner to France, and soon after perished by the guillotine. Their next step was to dissolve the Colonial Assembly.

Measures so prompt and decisive as those which they had manifested, created a general alarm. The colonists had already suffered much from unexpected vicissitudes, and present appearances awakened suspicions that they were still to undergo greater. Deputies were, therefore, appointed to wait upon the commissioners, for an open avowal of their intentions. The answer they received, was so equivocal and unsatisfactory, that it excited apprehensions that their designs were to emancipate all the negroe slaves. The commissioners, not quite prepared to unfold this branch of their instructions, dissembled, for the purpose of gaining time. They declared that an interference with the local government of the colony formed no part of their intentions; and that an emancipation of the negroe slaves, they gave it as their opinion was a measure not only highly dangerous, but utterly impracticable.—That their commission only directed them to see the decree of the 4th of April fully enforced, in relation to the whites and free Mulattoes, and that their forces were designed to reduce to obedience the slaves now in a state of rebellion. These declarations they confirmed with a most solemn oath, and the deputies retired with an apparent satisfaction.

It was not long, however, before the inhabitants found reason to blame their own credulity. They soon perceived with painful indignation, that the commissioners held a secret correspondence with the Mulattoe chiefs in most parts of the colony; and the care which was taken to conceal it from them, inflamed their suspicions almost to madness. This growing uneasiness, the commissioners could not but perceive; but having come to a perfect understanding with the Mulattoes, their party was sufficiently strengthened to induce them to drop that mask of dissimulation which they had assumed through an apprehension of their own weakness. They now publicly declared themselves, *the protectors of the Mulattoes and free Negroes*, and that, strengthened by their auxiliary assistance, they were determined to execute their resolutions. The most active in attempting to oppose

their measures they seized, and sent prisoners to Europe, transmitting with them such accusations as they thought proper to fabricate; and the National Assembly, placing in them implicit confidence, admitted of no appeal. Among those thus sent prisoners to France, were the superior officers of the colonial regiment;—men, whose active opposition they had most to dread. Desparbes the Governor, expressing some dissatisfaction at their proceedings, would have partaken of the fate of his predecessor; but, receiving some intimations of his danger, he left the colony suddenly, and escaped out of their hands.

The white inhabitants, now placed under the reign of terror, hoped to find some relief from these despots, by the salutary measures of the new Assembly, the convocation of which they earnestly wished and fully expected, as the organ of future taxes which were wanted to supply the demands of rapacity. But in this also they were sadly disappointed. The commissioners, aware that such an Assembly fairly elected would curtail their power, omitted to call it; and to supply their pecuniary demands substituted what they denominated "*une commission intermediaire.*" This consisted of twelve men, six of whom had been members of the late Assembly, the other six were Mulattoes. The latter, it is natural to suppose from previous circumstances, were the mere creatures of their employers. An opposition to their measures could, therefore, only be expected from the whites, and these were insufficient in their number to form a majority; while acting under the dominion of terror, they were hardly at liberty to deliver their sentiments with freedom, on the subjects which were proposed for their deliberations. They, nevertheless, presumed on the rights of their office, to oppose a measure of finance which was proposed by M. Santhonax. He affected to admire their independence; and as a proof of his friendship, invited two of them to a supper. They came at the hour appointed, but to their utter astonishment found themselves perfidiously betrayed. They were surrounded by a detachment of his myrmidons, conveyed to the hold of a vessel which had been prepared to receive them, and sent prisoners to Europe. Ailhaud, not fully entering into the violent plans of Santhonax and Polverel, would most probably have shared the same fate, but he gave way to their proposals, and privately took shipping for the

mother country, with such proportion of the common plunder as was allotted him by his colleagues.

Polverel and Santhonax, through the medium of their "*Commission intermediaire*," had taken possession of the public property; and by means of those troops which they brought with them from France;—the augmentation which they had received from the Mulattoes;—and the reinforcements which they had acquired by revolted slaves;—the refuse of the jails; and the various descriptions of vagabonds which they had picked up from the dunghills of St. Domingo, made themselves absolute masters of the colony. The lives, liberties, and fortunes of all, lay at their mercy; fear compelled many to promote their interest: and the same principle awed others into silence. Complaints were, indeed, frequently forwarded to the mother country against their rapacity, avarice, and abominable abuse of power; but the mother country was so occupied with her own concerns, that they were made almost in vain. The repetition of crime, however, led to an unconquerable perseverance; and at length the colonists succeeded so far as to prevail upon the executive government to send out a new governor in the room of Desparbes. This became the more necessary, as the war, which had been just declared against Great Britain and Holland, obliged them to put the island in a respectable state of defence, against a foreign invasion.

The appointment fell upon a M. Galbaud, an officer of merit, who had supported an unblemished character, and who held property of considerable amount in the island; a circumstance which ultimately rendered his appointment abortive. On his arrival, which was in May, 1793, he was received by the white inhabitants, as their deliverer from the despotism of the commissioners. He entered the city amidst the acclamations of thousands, took the necessary oaths, and entered upon his government without further delay.

The commissioners at this time were busily engaged with most of the troops under their command, in quelling an insurrection which their enormities had occasioned in the western province. On this account they were unable in the first instance, to resist the successes of their fortunate rival. The interchange of letters which immediately took place between the Governor and the commissioners, convinced the latter, that the former was

resolved to act independantly of their authority. This induced them to repair with all possible expedition to the Cape. Having quelled the insurrection, and restored a detestable tranquillity to Port au Prince, and Jacmel, they hasteried to Cape Francois, and reached it on the 10th of June. Galbaud received them in a respectful manner, amidst a host of soldiers who lined the streets. The interview was, however, far from being pleasant to any, but more particularly it proved so to Galbaud. There existed at this time a law in the colony, which prohibited any proprietor of land in the island from holding the office of Governor. This circumstance had been overlooked in the mother country, when Galbaud was appointed, and on this ground the commissioners contended that he became disqualified by law. The fact was unquestionable, and he could make no reply. They, therefore, commanded him to embark immediately on board a sloop of war then lying in the harbour, and return to France. In the meanwhile they summoned M. de Salle, one of their own party, whom they had left at Port au Prince, to repair to Cape Francois immediately, and receive from them, and through them, from the French Republic, the government of the colony.

Galbaud, who had been ordered to embark, affected to obey the mandate. He went on board, not, indeed, to return to Europe, but to muster his forces, and assert his claims by the sword.—Seven days were spent in intrigues, duplicity, and finesse by both parties, while each was making the most vigorous preparations for war. The seamen in the harbour, and the militia at the Cape, declared for Galbaud, while the Mulattoes and a body of regulars, were devoted to the service of the commissioners. On the 20th of June, Galbaud and his brother landed at the head of twelve hundred sailors; and their numbers were augmented by a body of volunteers who were ready for every adventure, which could promise them deliverance from their tyrants.

The commissioners, at this time with a still more formidable force, were stationed at the government house, of which they had taken possession. Thither Galbaud, his brother, and their followers, directed their steps. A fierce and bloody conflict ensued; and victory for a considerable time hung in suspence. Unfortunately the sailors getting possession of a wine cellar, intoxicated themselves to such a degree, as to become unserviceable.



This obliged the volunteers to give way; when the whole party repaired to the royal arsenal, and spent the night in making preparations for renewing the contest in the morning.

Galbaud, the ensuing morning, issued a proclamation, in which he invited the inhabitants to join his forces; but his success did not equal his expectation. Several sharp conflicts immediately took place between the contending parties, in which the *brother* of Galbaud was taken prisoner by the commissioners, and the *son* of Polverel by Galbaud. An exchange of these captives was proposed by the latter, but it was rejected by the former with indignation, "My son," replied the ferocious commissioner, "knows his duty, and is prepared to die in the service of the Republic."

Previous to these contests between Galbaud and the commissioners, the latter, fearful of success, had dispatched messengers to the rebel negroes, offering them *an unconditional pardon for all past offences, perfect freedom for the future, and the plunder of the beautiful city of Cape Francois, on condition of their coming in to assist them against Galbaud, Jean Francois, and Biassou*; two negroe generals were not sufficiently savage to accept the offer; but the proposal was accepted by another called Macaya, who instantly began his march towards the capital, at the head of three thousand insurgents.

Of this auxiliary force Galbaud was ignorant; fortunately, however, for him and his associates, they were obliged to retreat on the morning of the 21st to the ships in the harbour, being unable to withstand the regular forces of the commissioners. Scarcely had they secured themselves on board the ships, before Macaya and his sable thousands entered the city, amidst yells, and shrieks of horror, which seemed to pierce the skies. At this moment an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children began. Resistance was in vain. The only hope of safety for the white inhabitants, lay in endeavouring to follow Galbaud to the ships. This a great number attempted, but they were intercepted by a body of Mullattoes, and turned back on the bayonets of their pursuers. The carnage which ensued continued from the 21st to the evening of the 23d of June, with unremitting fury. Neither age nor sex afforded any protection; from the crutch to the cradle was one indiscriminate murder; not one was permitted to survive, who fell in their way,

to mourn over their departed friends, or to sympathize with those who were weltering in their blood.

Satiated with slaughter for want of victims, the bayonet gave place to the torch. Having plundered the houses of those inhabitants whose blood was still reeking from their dying wounds, they set fire to the buildings, and lighted up a conflagration, which consumed more than half of the city. Even the commissioners, affrighted at the mischief which their own baseness had occasioned, retired from the scene of desolation, and placed themselves under the protection of the guns of a ship of war, to watch with dreadful solicitude the progress of the flames. Rendered infamous in their own estimation, they issued proclamations to wipe off the odium which they were well aware attached itself to their conduct; but instead of justifying themselves, their efforts afforded presumptive evidences of their guilt. They, nevertheless, retained an ascendancy in the colony, and continued to preserve for some time a considerable share of infamy and power.

After the burning of Cape Francois, the negroes, who had been made the tools in lighting up the conflagration, retired with a vast augmentation of their numbers, and a considerable booty, "in savage bodies to the mountains." The promise held out by the commissioners of future freedom to the slaves, and which had prevailed upon them to undertake the detestable work, induced multitudes, who had hitherto remained attached to the interest of their masters, to throw off the yoke, and join the insurgents. The Mulattoes, who had beheld with complacency the overthrow of the whites, now saw with the deepest regret, that they had been so duped by the intrigues of the commissioners as to become the undesigned instruments of their own ruin. They found their own slaves, from whose labour they derived their support, included in the emancipation which had been promised, but which they had fondly imagined, while concurring in the measure, applied only to those of the whites. A sullen disappointment succeeded to the enthusiasm which they had manifested; but their eyes were only opened to contemplate errors which admitted of no redress.

The colony had now exhibited little more than a scene of distraction, in which faction, anarchy, revolt, massacre, and fire, had alternately prevailed for more than four years. During this period, but more particularly

towards the latter part, multitudes of the inhabitants, seeing no end to their calamities, had forsaken the colony, and found an asylum in North America. Galbaud and his adherents now followed the same route, and abandoned for ever these distracted shores. Still many of the most opulent planters remained behind, fondly hoping that these storms would shortly disappear, or that the mother country, wearied by their persevering importunity, would take some decisive steps to restore tranquillity. There were others, who, grown impatient at their repeated disappointments, proposed to seek relief from some other quarter. These, however, were divided in their sentiments. One party aimed at actual independence; another proposed to place the colony under the protection of the Spanish Governor; and a third part looked only to the British for permanent relief.

It was so early as the year 1791, that overtures had been secretly made to the British ministers, for an armament to take possession of this valuable colony. How far these overtures might be said to speak the voice of St. Domingo, it is perhaps difficult to ascertain. But in what light soever this circumstance may be viewed, it is thus far clear, that as no hostilities had at that time broken out between Great Britain and France, the overtures were honourably declined, and nothing more was heard of the affair till the summer of 1793. At this latter period Great Britain was involved in the contest; and, consequently, those causes which had dictated a refusal were no longer in existence.

The affairs of the colony proceeding from bad to worse, induced the inhabitants to resort once more to a measure which had been previously rejected, and they flattered themselves with the hope of success, from a knowledge of those motives which guide nations when engaged in war. With these views many of the planters commissioned a M. de Charmilly, one of their colleagues, to open a communication with the British ministry, who referred him to the commander in chief in Jamaica.

The representation given by Charmilly appearing favourable, an armament was got ready with the utmost expedition. It consisted of the 13th regiment of foot, a detachment of artillery, and seven companies of the 49th, comprizing in all eight hundred and seventy rank and file.

Intelligence of this intended invasion, which was

favourable only to the whites, induced the commissioners to resort to a new measure, to strengthen their declining power. This was, a public proclamation, which perfectly emancipated all the negroes in the island. The Mulattoes, who now saw that they had been duped, viewed this proclamation with horror, because it deprived them, as well as the whites, of all their slaves. The negroes, on the contrary, availed themselves of it with transports; but instead of repairing to the standard of their deliverers, they repaired in vast bodies to the mountains, to the amount of forty thousand men, where they augmented the forces of their brethren already in arms.

The British expedition, being equipped for its departure, and every preparation being made for its reception, sailed from Port Royal in Jamaica, under the command of Colonel Whitlocke, on the 9th of September, 1793, and reached Jeremie, the port of its destination, on the 19th, under the escort of the *Europa* and some frigates, commanded by Commodore Ford. Nothing appearing to obstruct their progress, they landed the ensuing morning, and as the terms of capitulation had been previously arranged, nothing remained to prevent their taking possession of the town, forts, and harbour. This was instantly done without the least opposition; the British colours were, therefore, hoisted on the forts; royal salutes were fired, and the inhabitants took the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty.

The capture of Jeremie, and the treatment which the inhabitants of this place received from the English, so far operated upon the feeble garrison of Cape St. Nicholas, as to induce them also to manifest an inclination to surrender to the British forces. Advantage was taken of their favourable intentions, and Commodore Ford repaired thither immediately with his squadron, and on the 22d of September took possession of the fortress and harbour. Here also they received the allegiance of the officers and soldiers, and the fortifications were instantly manned by the grenadier company of the 13th regiment, which went thither from Jeremie for that purpose. These were soon strengthened by the second division of the troops which had been left behind at Jamaica.

Colonel Whitlocke, hearing of the success of his countrymen, determined not to remain inactive at Jeremie; he, therefore, set forward to attempt the capture of Tiburon, a place which was represented to him as of the

utmost importance towards the security of Grand Ance. He was the more readily induced to commence an attack on this place, from an assurance he had received from a M. Duval, that he would join him with five hundred men, to assist in its reduction. The attempt was made agreeably to appointment by Colonel Whitlocke, but Duval and his troops were not to be found. The event was, that the enemy proving more formidable than had been represented, he was compelled to retreat, with the loss of twenty men killed and wounded.

Small as this check may seem, it was productive of considerable effects on both parties; the republicans triumphed, and the British grew disheartened. To add to the calamity of the latter, the rainy season had set in, and the yellow fever had begun to make terrible havoc. Sailors and soldiers became every day victims to the malady; those that had escaped, expected every moment to be seized, and the duty of the survivors grew more and more severe, in proportion as their numbers decreased.

Aware of these facts, General Williamson collected together what forces could possibly be spared, and forwarded between seven and eight hundred men, trusting the safety of Jamaica to about four hundred regulars, till reinforcements should arrive from England.

The arrival of these soldiers at St. Domingo, was productive of several good effects. It raised the desponding spirits of those who had considered themselves as forgotten in an inhospitable climate;—it intimidated the Republican forces; and revived the confidence of those planters who had hitherto been wavering in suspense. The parishes of Jean Rabell, St. Marc, Arcahayé, and Boucassin, satisfied with the conduct of the English, and that it was their full determination to pursue their conquests, submitted to their arms in the beginning of December, as Jeremie and the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas had done before. The inhabitants of Leogane soon followed the same example, so that the territories of the British became more respectable than their forces were formidable.

Anxious to retrieve their disgrace at Tiburon, the British, now augmented with their reinforcements, determined once more to attempt its reduction. Prior, however, to the meditated attack, they found it necessary to secure those places which had already surrendered.

This occupied their attention till towards the end of January, 1794. On the 21st, Commodore Ford touched at Jeremie, and took on board his squadron, the troops destined for the expedition, but did not reach Tiburon till the evening of the first of February. The enemy, apprized of their intentions, had assembled in considerable force, and were prepared to receive them. The beach was crowded with men to oppose their landing; but the fire from the ships soon dispersed them, and the troops were set on shore.

The command of this expedition was given to the brave Colonel Spencer, since made a major-general. Under his auspices they instantly formed; and, animated by his example, pushed forward with such resolution as entirely disconcerted the defenders. A smart conflict instantly ensued, when the enemy were put to flight with considerable slaughter, and one hundred and fifty surrendered prisoners of war. The loss on the part of the English was only twenty-three killed and wounded. By this victory Tiburon fell into their hands, in which they found the magazines well stored with ammunition.

The capture of this place was considered as an important acquisition, as it gave to the British the command of the whole bay of Leogane, and was regarded as a certain pledge of the capture of Port au Prince, the reduction of which it was resolved to attempt, as soon as reinforcements should arrive from England,—an event which was daily and anxiously expected.

But though in their present state, they were insufficient to attempt the reduction of this city with any probability of success, the case was differently estimated by them, with respect to L'Acul, an important fortress in the vicinity of Leogane. The conducting of this enterprise was undertaken by Colonel Whitlocke in person.

On the 19th of February, about four in the morning, the troops destined for the service, marched from Leogane with two four-pounders, and two five half-inch howitzers; the whole force in this division, consisted of a detachment of the royal artillery, a detachment of the 13th regiment, some colonial troops, and some flank companies. Prior to this, about two hundred colonial troops, and a few British artillery had embarked under the command of the Baron de Montalembert, to co-operate with the land forces under Colonel Whitlocke, at a given hour which had been appointed. On the depar-

ture of the latter from Leogane, he divided his force into two parties, directing Captain Vincent, to whom he gave the command of one, to move towards the spot through a path on the mountains, while he with the principal body, kept the main road. Colonel Whitlocke reached the scene of action, and halted at a distance from the fort, which was just without cannon shot; in which place he waited till Captain Vincent, who had taken the mountain path, should form a junction with the men who had embarked under Montalembert, and mutually commence the attack. This, it was expected, would draw the enemy's attention to that quarter, and afford Colonel Whitlocke a favourable opportunity to force the works with his main body.

Much time was wasted in waiting for the landing of Montalembert, but it was at last found that through the intoxication of the captain of one of the transports, he was unable to get on shore. The utmost service they were able to perform was, to hover on the coast; a circumstance which obliged the enemy to employ two hundred men to watch their movements, in order to oppose their landing, should they attempt it.

The enemy in the fort, apprized of the intentions of the assailants, began a cannonade about seven in the morning, which they continued with but little intermission till about noon, but with little or no effect. Colonel Whitlocke by this time became sensible that he had nothing to hope from the co-operation of Montalembert, and, therefore, formed a resolution to attempt the fort by storm. For this purpose, Major Spencer, with some grenadiers, was dispatched to strengthen Captain Vincent. Both parties then moved onward to the attack, about five o'clock in the evening. The enemy, who had been continually on the alert, no sooner perceived the movement, than they began a most tremendous fire of cannon and musquetry; but nothing could daunt the resolution of the assailants. Orders were given for the troops to advance amidst this heavy discharge, and gain the fort; they were executed with alacrity, and crowned with success; and the British colours were once more unfurled in St. Domingo.

Scarcely had the British gained possession of the fort, and silenced the engines of destruction, before an unexpected accident compelled the victors to mourn over the misfortune of the day. The officer who had commanded

the fort, on finding himself unable to defend it, filled one of the most suitable buildings with combustibles, to which he had set a train, directing an innocent negroe, who it is supposed was unacquainted with the nature of gunpowder, to touch it with a torch at a given time, or on some opportunity for which he was to watch. The unfortunate negroe but too faithfully executed his office. A dreadful explosion instantly took place, in which himself, thirteen privates belonging to the British, and three officers, were blown up. The officers languished for some time, but only Lieutenant Tinlin recovered. Captain Morshead died on the following day, and Lieutenant Caufield soon joined him in the grave. They were interred with military honours, and sincerely mourned by the whole British garrison.

The Mulattoes, as we have already observed, discovering that they had been duped by the intrigues of the commissioners, secretly resolved to set up for themselves, as soon as a convenient opportunity should offer. The power of their deceitful oppressors, however, compelled them to dissemble for the present, and even induced them to act in concert with them, to check, as much as possible, the increasing successes of an invading foe. To conduct them in their enterprizes, they had chosen Rigaud, a man of colour, of considerable talents, to be their leader. He had noticed, with painful anxiety, the progress of the British arms; and only waited the arrival of a favourable moment to effect their destruction, without wishing Santhonax and Polverel, with whom he acted in external alliance, but whom he secretly detested, the smallest success.

Under these impressions, he equipped about fifteen hundred men, and placing them under the direction of one of his lieutenants, resolved if possible to regain the important post of Acul. The day was fixed for the attack, and they flattered themselves with a certainty of success. But victory, as inconstant as fortune, disappointed their hopes. On their march towards it, they were intercepted by a party of the British, and some of the colonial militia of Leogane, consisting altogether of four hundred men, under the command of de Montalembert. These attacked them with fixed bayonets, completely routed the whole army, took from them one piece of cannon, and left three hundred dead upon the field.

Rigaud, instructed by this disaster, determined to try



his own fortune, by taking the command in person, and by directing his attention to Tiburon, of which he resolved, if possible, to dispossess the English. The force which he deemed necessary for this enterprize, consisted of two thousand men of different descriptions, and two pieces of cannon. This band of desperadoes reached the fort about three in the morning, on the 16th of April, 1794, and almost entirely surrounded it with their vast numbers. The troops within, defended themselves with great bravery, till a quarter before nine, notwithstanding their principal battery was rendered useless, and a number of their men had been killed by the explosion of a quantity of gunpowder. They then made a sortie, and routed the assailants with great slaughter, laying a hundred and seventy dead on the field of battle. In this engagement the besieged suffered severely. One hundred and thirty-seven lost their lives, of whom twenty-eight were British; the rest were colonial troops; others were severely wounded, so that the victors had to mourn over their dearly-bought conquest.

Dispirited more by their losses, than elated by their victories, the exhausted British army began to despair of ultimate success. The enemies with whom they had to contend, could supply in an instant the losses which they sustained, but with them the case was far otherwise. Shut up in an enemy's country, exposed to incredible hardships, and apparently neglected by the mother country, from which, for eight months past, they had been constantly expecting reinforcements, their spirits began to droop, as death lessened their numbers. Their new allies also began to falter in their attachments, from nearly the same motives that had engaged their friendships. The republicans perceived their distress, and triumphed at the disaster. Many of the planters, who, wishing only for peace, had waited in suspence till the scale should preponderate, declared against the British, whom they considered as no longer able to protect them, and attached themselves to that power which they both courted and detested. In many of the parishes, the inhabitants manifested hostile intentions towards those with whom they had sworn to act in concert; and in one, at Jean Rabell, about two hundred and fifty of these faithless allies, mutinied against their officers, compelling them to surrender the post, which they occupied, into the hands of the French. In the meanwhile, provi-

sions were become scanty; their stores of almost every description were either exhausted or considerably damaged. Port au Prince, the object of their wishes, was apparently farther from their reach than ever; and no probability of any relief appeared. Such was the condition of the British army in St. Domingo, now reduced to about nine hundred effective men, in the beginning of May 1794!

In the midst of this complication of distresses, a sudden reverse of fortune relieved them from their despondency, and gave a new aspect to their affairs. On the 19th of May, when almost every thing was given up for lost, the pleasing tidings reached their exhausted ranks, that the Irresistible, and Belligueux, in company with the Fly sloop of war, having under their convoy a fleet of transports, were safely anchored in the harbour of Cape St. Nicholas. On board of these vessels, were the 22d, 23d, and 41st regiments of infantry, under the command of Brigadier-General White. The sensations which this intelligence occasioned, can only be conceived by contemplating their former condition, and contrasting it with their present prospects. Those, who but the day preceding, were anxiously solicitous to quit for ever this insalubrious region, which had furnished so many of their associates with graves, now put on a bolder tone, and, in imagination already revelled in the riches of Port au Prince.

This wealthy city, which was now destined to witness a conflict between the warriors of two hostile nations, had, for a considerable time past, been fortifying by the commissioners, and had been blocked up by the squadron of Commodore Ford. These were circumstances that induced a general belief in all, that Port au Prince would be the first object of attack. The event proved that this belief was well founded.

Anxious to seize the tide which was now on flood, the British commanders hastened to execute what they plainly saw was the general wish; and to take the advantage of that ardour which the reinforcements had raised, without allowing it time to cool. With these views, General White put his sick on shore at Cape St. Nicholas, and took on board a hundred and sixty of the garrison, whose health enabled them to bear the fatigue of the meditated siege.

On the 23d of May, General White sailed to the road

of Arcahaye, the appointed place of rendezvous, to concert his measures with Commodore Ford, and to take on board such troops as were destined for the enterprize. Having arranged their plans, and collected their forces, they sailed again on the 30th, and arrived off Port au Prince in the evening. The whole armament at this time consisted of four ships of the line, three frigates, and four or five vessels of inferior force. These were all commanded by Commodore Ford. The land forces were of two descriptions, British and Colonial troops. Of the former, there were one thousand four hundred and sixty-five effective men, and of the latter about two thousand. These were all commanded by General White.

Santhonax and Polyvel, of whose names we have for some time past lost sight, while describing the movements of the British, aware of the importance of Port au Prince, had during these vicissitudes, employed themselves in repairing its fortifications, and in preparing themselves for an event, which was just about to be brought to an issue. Conscious of their declining power through the colony at large, from the violent measures to which they had resorted, the prospect of general tranquillity had been supplanted by a system of legal peculation, so that both their guilt and wealth required a formidable defence. They had provided for a vigorous resistance, so long as they found their fortresses tenable, and for their own escape on the total departure of their power. Such had been the employment of the commissioners, and such was their situation, and the situation of Port au Prince.

On the thirty-first of May, 1794, General White having made every necessary arrangement, dispatched an officer with a flag, and a letter, to the commandant of the city, demanding its surrender. But on his arrival at the gates, he received information that no flag would be admitted, and that no letter would be received, so that he was compelled to return it unopened. On receiving this reply, it was resolved to commence immediately a heavy cannonade against Fort Bizotton. This important fortress was at this time defended by five hundred men, eight pieces of heavy cannon, and two mortars. The peculiarity of its situation rendered its possession of the utmost consequence to both parties, it being planted on an eminence which commanded the great carriage road

from the city to Leogane, and that part of the bay which furnished a passage to the town.

The attempt was first made from the sea, by two line-of-battle ships and a frigate; these kept up a constant and heavy fire for several hours; but the impression made by them was so small, that it was deemed necessary to attack it in the morning on the land side also. For this purpose, on the night of the 31st, Colonel Spencer with three hundred British and five hundred colonial troops, were put privately on shore within a mile of the fort. Scarcely had they begun their march, before the heavens gathered such blackness, as increased the horrors of the night. A tremendous roar of thunder echoed through the gloom, which was illuminated by nothing but the intermittant glare of lightening. The rain poured down in torrents; and heaven and earth seemed mingling together in a second chaos. In this moment of elementary horrors, a consultation was held among the officers, on the mode of attack which it was most eligible to pursue. Charmilly, who was well acquainted with the country, advised them to commence the assault immediately with fixed bayonets, assigning as a reason, that the deluge then falling from the skies, would probably take the garrison off their guard; and, by overpowering the sound of their footsteps with a superior noise, afford them an opportunity of taking the fortress by surprise. This plan was adopted. Immediately Captain Daniel, with sixty men, pushed forward and entered a breach unperceived. Instantly all was confusion and alarm; the besieged, unacquainted with the numbers of the assailants, immediately threw down their arms and begged for mercy, and the British took possession of the fort. In this conflict the brave Captain Daniel was severely wounded; and Captain Wallace, his second in command, died on the glacis an example of heroism to his survivors.

The capture of this fortress nearly determined the fate of Port au Prince. It was protected, indeed, by several other forts; but the soldiers who defended them grew dispirited, as soon as they found that this had surrendered. The important fortress of Bizotton was soon strengthened by those soldiers who had originally been destined to subdue it, and this party continued to occupy its works, while the other parts of the army marched towards the city through the rich plain of Cul de Sac.

On the 4th of June every thing was in movement, and the main body was within about three miles. About ten in the morning, Colonel Spencer marched from Bizoton, to possess himself of an eminence which overlooked the capital, intending to co-operate with the army which was preparing to commence the attack. Scarcely had he advanced half way, before he was accosted by a Mulattoe woman, who informed him that the commissioners had abandoned the town, and that no opposition whatever would be made to their entry. Furnished with this intelligence, he immediately dispatched Charmilly, with fifty horse, to ascertain the fraud or fact. On his return, he corroborated what the woman had stated: hostilities were, therefore, instantly at an end, and they took possession of the fort and gate of Leogane.

The commissioners, prior to their departure, though declining to meet their invaders, had, however, laid a plan for their destruction, which was providentially defeated. The British had not been in possession of the latter fort more than half an hour, before they heard a lamentable cry, which appeared to be human, issuing apparently from beneath their feet. Search was immediately made, and a negroe was discovered in a subterranean vault, surrounded by barrels of gunpowder. It appeared on inspection, that this negroe, ignorant of the effect of this pernicious grain, had been stationed in this vault with a lighted match, which he had been directed to apply to the powder at a given time, but that his match had become extinguished. By this fortunate accident not only his own life, but the lives of those who were to be blown up, were preserved.

The fort of L'Hospital fell into the hands of the British at nearly the same time, and here also they had a narrow escape with their lives. Prior to its being abandoned by the commissioners, they had knocked out the bottoms of several powder barrels in the magazine, from which place they had laid a long train of gunpowder, which reached beyond their works. How this was intended to be set on fire, could not be ascertained; but whatever their plans might have been, the torrents of rain which had unexpectedly fallen the preceding night, had so completely soaked the powder as to defeat their designs; and care was taken to place it instantly beyond the reach of danger.

The British, thus in full and peaceable possession of

Port au Prince, began immediately to examine the booty they had acquired. The works at large they found contained one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, all properly equipped and fit for service, and the stores were considerable. In the harbour they found lying at anchor twenty-two large vessels, richly laden with coffee, indigo, and sugar. Of these, thirteen were from three to five hundred tons burthen. In addition to these, they found about seven thousand tons of shipping in ballast; amounting in value, according to the estimate then made, to £400,000 sterling. Within the town the treasure was less considerable, for most of the valuables had been secured by the commissioners, and carried off with them on their private evacuation of the place. With these spoils they had laden two hundred mules, and about two thousand persons had been carried away in their train. Their designs had been to involve what they left behind in one general conflagration; but these were defeated, and nothing was suffered to perish.

While the French and English were thus foolishly contending for the doubtful empire of St. Domingo, from which both parties were shortly to be driven for ever, both the Mulattoes and negroes were organizing their forces, and improving themselves in military tactics. They had hitherto afforded comparatively but little disturbance to the Europeans, but they had been making preparations for that storm, which their sagacious leaders well knew must shortly burst upon themselves. With these views, Rigaud, a Mulattoe, and Toussaint L'Ouverture, a negro, had availed themselves of the natural strength of the whole of the island, upon the most extensive scale. Of the manner in which they reduced their power to practice, we shall have abundant occasion to speak hereafter. They are at present only introduced as standing connected with the departure of the commissioners to France.

Santhonax and Polverel, upon quitting Port au Prince with their ill-gotten wealth, repaired to Jacmel, and found, when it was too late, their eyes open to an evil which they should have foreseen and prevented, but which it was now beyond their power to remedy. They saw the Mulattoes and revolted negroes in possession of natural fortresses, from which it would be almost impossible to dislodge them, and which with their departing power, it would be madness to attempt. Availing them-

selves, therefore, of the riches which they had acquired, they consigned great sums to America, and with the remainder embarked for France, appointing General Laveaux to act as commander in chief. On their arrival in France, their conduct received the approbation of the government, and the wealth they had obtained enabled them to riot in dissipation. Polverel soon after fell a victim to his own excesses, but Santhonax survived, to behold once more the ruins of St. Domingo.

## CHAP. LII.

## HISPANIOLA CONTINUED.

*Laveux, Rigaud, and Toussaint, established in power by the Commissioners, prior to their departure.—Disaster of the British at Port au Prince.—Various successes.—Progress of disease.—Declining power of the British.—Rigaud unsuccessfully attacks Port au Prince.—Recapture of Tiburon, Jean Rabell, L'Petit Riviere, and L'Artibonite.—Conspiracy at Port au Prince.—Death of Colonels Brisbane and Markam.—Prevalency of disease.—Spanish St. Domingo ceded to France.—Arrival of reinforcements from England.—English repulsed at Leogane, and compelled to evacuate Bombarde.—Rigaud unsuccessful at Trois.—Toussaint made Commander in Chief of all the Republican Forces.—Blockades Port au Prince.—Rigaud repulsed again at Trois, and Toussaint before St. Marc.—General Simcoe repairs to England, to state the condition of the British Forces in the Island.—Port au Prince evacuated.—Jeremie and Cape St. Nicholas given up.—The Island abandoned by the British altogether.*

THE departure of Santhonax and Polverel, amounted to little more than the removal of the individuals, and that of the wealth which they had acquired by speculation. The Republicans, the Mulattoes, and the revolted negroes, taken either separately or collectively, presented to the British a formidable host of foes. These had been induced to act in concert through the intrigues of Polverel and Santhonax, while without any proper cement, each party aimed at a separate interest. The commissioners, anxious to support their own power, and the rights of the Mulattoes whom they professed to protect, had invested Rigaud, a Mulattoe chief, with a commission that gave him almost an absolute dominion in the



southern part of the island. Unfortunately for his employers, he felt the force of his situation, and well knew how to apply the power which he had thus acquired to the accomplishment of those purposes by which he was actuated. His brother, who stood next to him in command, derived his commission from the same source. These men gave direction to the whole body of Mulattoes; while Toussaint L'Ouverture, established by the same authority, directed a considerable portion of the huge mass of revolted and liberated negroes, whom the commissioners had solicited, with the promise of freedom, to assist them against a powerful rival, and detestably rewarded with the pillage and conflagration of Cape Francois. Thus, Laveaux commanded the Republican whites; Rigaud, the Mulattoes; and Toussaint, the blacks. However their private interests might jar, all were alike enemies to the British; and the British, in their turn, were fully sensible that they could expect no permanent establishment in the island, till these were all subdued.

The capture of Port au Prince, by the British, which had been anticipated by them, as a certain presage of future conquests, unfortunately became the zenith of their dominions, and the melancholy sepulchre of their soldiers and their hopes. In the preceding autumn, the troops had suffered much from disease, and the same season now approaching, alarmed their apprehensions with a return of the pestilence. This unhappily was accelerated by the mode of conduct which the victors found themselves under a necessity of pursuing.

On the capture of the city and its wealth, calculations on their advantageous conquest, swallowed with the British and their associates, for some time, every other consideration. But this delirium of the moment was soon banished by the dictates of prudence and necessity. Confident upon mature reflection, that their future existence in the island depended upon their preservation of Port au Prince, on taking a survey of its fortifications, they found it necessary to strengthen the works. No time was, therefore, to be lost; especially on those parts which fronted the mountains, on which the enemy had already put on a menacing aspect. This labour necessarily fell upon the soldiers, who were already worn down with the fatigue of past services. Many of these men had been six months on board a ship, and others

had already sustained in this burning climate, the hardships of a campaign. These were circumstances which demanded that rest, which the capture of Port au Prince seemed at first to promise, but which imperious necessity now sternly denied. These men, to prevent the recapture of the city, were compelled to labour in the entrenchments by day, and to perform military duty by night. By the former they were exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, and by the latter to the pernicious influence of the dews. These sudden transitions were productive of the most fatal consequences. A dreadful malady immediately broke out among them, which communicated its malignant contagion with more than common virulence.

To add to their misfortune, they received at this moment a reinforcement of eight companies from the windward islands, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant Lenox; but it amounted to little more than a reinforcement of pestilence. These, at the time of their embarkation, consisted of 560 men, but on their arrival they were reduced below 300.

To heighten this common distress, the affairs of the colony began every day to put on a more serious aspect. The black troops, exempted from these maladies, under the auspices of Toussaint, had begun to harass them, as occasion offered; and, from their having been trained with peculiar care, the British were called upon to prepare for a new mode of warfare, at a time when they were unable to prosecute with success, that in which they had hitherto been fortunate.

We have already observed, that the enemies which the British had to encounter, were in possession of the natural strength of the whole island. Of this they fully availed themselves, by keeping open on the southern coast, a communication with the Dutch islands, and some parts of the continent. Through these channels they easily obtained an immense supply of stores, sufficient to meet their internal consumption, and to enable them to fit out a swarm of privateers, which, in a short space, captured about thirty vessels, many of which were so richly laden, as abundantly to compensate for the losses sustained in the capture of Port au Prince.

In the meanwhile, General White, enfeebled with bodily indisposition, and dispirited at the affliction of his troops, solicited and obtained leave, to return to Europe.

Charmilly, who had devoted himself to the British cause with unabating zeal, repaired also to Europe nearly about the same time, to state in person the condition of the colony, and to solicit those aids which were necessary to complete the conquests so auspiciously begun. General White was succeeded in his command by Brigadier-General Horneck, who reached this ill-fated spot about the middle of September. The reinforcements brought with him from Jamaica, did not exceed fifty men; but he brought with him such a portion of reputation and merit, as, on certain occasions, would have been equal to an host, and sufficient to ensure success in the midst of danger. Unfortunately, however, he was called upon to contend with an enemy, against whom military skill could be of no avail. He had only to behold the wan countenances of soldiers trembling with weakness beneath the weight of their own arms, and to contemplate, in his dying troops, the awful devastations of the plague.

The Mulattoes, partially acquainted with the debility of the British forces, endeavoured to improve by their misfortunes, and accordingly those under Rigaud began, by making themselves masters of Leogane.

To conquest they added inhumanity, by murdering those planters who had hitherto favoured the British cause. But this early success was only partial. On the plain of Artibonite, the most unexampled success had for some time attended the arms of Lieutenant-Colonel Brisbane, who had under his command about 1200 men, of whom eighty only were British. With these forces he had encountered both the Republicans and rebel negroes; had defeated the former, and so disheartened the latter by dispersing them, that some of their chiefs had solicited leave to capitulate. Some thousands had submitted unconditionally; and vast numbers, wearied with the fatigues of liberty, had voluntarily returned to the servitude of their former masters.

But while these successes crowned the arms of Colonel Brisbane, an unexpected conspiracy put an end to his career. The inhabitants of St. Marc, finding themselves involved in the prevailing contests, had been induced to promise to the British, a strict neutrality. And in the confidence of these promises, Colonel Brisbane, to accelerate his conquests, had taken nearly all the troops from

the town. The inhabitants, finding themselves no longer overawed by the soldiery, took up arms on the 6th of September, and began their career by murdering all those who were hostile to the cause of the Republic, as the followers of Rigaud had done at Leogane. The feeble garrison, which consisted only of forty British convalescents, they compelled to retire to a small fort near the shore, from which they were afterward taken by a frigate, after gallantly defending themselves against a host of assailants for two days.

Colonel Brisbane, hearing of these disturbances in town, hastened to attack the insurgents, and recover what they had taken. Success attended his exertions; they submitted to his forces; about 300 were made prisoners; and the remainder were obliged to retire beyond the Artibonite river. This advantage, however, though procured without any loss, was dearly purchased, as the conquests on the plain were instantly abandoned, and the chiefs no longer offered to submit on terms of capitulation. On the contrary, the different parties concentrated their forces, recruited their stores of ammunition and arms, repassed the river, and, early in October, menaced the town with a most formidable attack.

In other parts of the colony, the prospects of the British were equally gloomy. All the northern provinces, excepting Fort Dauphin and Cape St. Nicholas, were entirely in the hands of the rebels, and even these, they were making occasional preparations to seize for themselves. The apparent neglect with which the British were treated by the mother country, added to these evils, by encouraging defection among their equivocal allies, and by strengthening the adverse party in proportion to the weakness which they were compelled to discover.

Confident of his superior power, Rigaud determined, if possible, to make himself master of Port au Prince, and with this view concerted his measures for the attack of Fort Bizoton. This place was invested on the morning of the 5th of December, by a body of two thousand troops. But neither their discipline, nor their success, was equal to their ardour. They were repulsed with considerable slaughter, and compelled to retire. The loss on the part of the British in this conflict was small. Lieutenants Clunes and Hamilton, and Captain Grant, were wounded in the action; but they continued at their

respective posts, assisting by their exertions, and animating by their example, the brave soldiers who were soon rewarded with victory.

Rigaud, in the meanwhile, relinquishing his designs on Port au Prince, resolved to commence an attack in another quarter, and if possible to recapture the important post of Tiburon. Both his intentions and his preparations were soon known to the British, but unfortunately they were not in a condition either to intercept the armament, or to impede its progress; which, while embarking at Auxcayes, lay open to the attack of the British ships.

The armament thus fitted out for the reduction of Tiburon, consisted of one brig of sixteen guns, and two schooners of fourteen guns each. On board of these he placed his artillery, ammunition, and provision. His land forces consisted of about 3000 men, of all descriptions and grades. The naval department sailed on the 23d of December, and reached the place of its destination without accident or interruption, and the attack commenced on the 25th.

The garrison at Tiburon consisted of 480 men, of whom the majority were colonists, who had embarked in the cause; the remainder were British, emaciated with fatigue and sickness. These sustained the "unequal fight" for four days, during which time 300 fell. The survivors, knowing with whom they were contending, were fully convinced that they had no other alternative but victory or death; they, therefore, made a desperate effort to abandon a place which was no longer tenable, and actually cut their way through the enemy for five miles, and at length reached Trois, in which they found a little repose. Lieutenant Baskerville was unfortunately left behind. He did not discover his situation till it was too late to join his companions in adversity; when, to avoid falling into the hands of Rigaud, he imitated the conduct of Cato,—“opened to himself a passage, and mocked his hopes.”

To the conquest of Tiburon and Leogane, the Mulattoes and negroes added that of Jean Rabell, L'Petit Riviere, and L'Artibonite. Their forces were every day growing more formidable; in more than an equal proportion to the declining power of the British. Even those who had hitherto adhered to the interest of the latter, suffered their fidelity to be shaken through the

causes which have been mentioned, insomuch, that distrust became the predominant feature in their character.

A small reinforcement reached the British in the month of April; the remaining part arrived in the month of August. The whole of this reinforcement amounted to 980 men; but in the short space of six weeks from the time of their landing in August, only 350 remained alive.

The British forces at this time derived their supplies from the Spanish part of St. Domingo, but this resource was nearly at an end.

Among the different powers in Europe, which rose in arms, for the purpose of restoring monarchy in France, Spain bore a conspicuous part. Her distant appendages participated in the same spirit; and, though the inhabitants of Spanish St. Domingo had hitherto conducted themselves towards their Republican neighbours with moderation, the latter felt no small degree of jealousy from their approximate situation. The acquisition of power, which leads its possessors to dictate to nations, induced France, towards the close of 1795, to procure from the court of Madrid, a formal surrender of all the Spanish territories in the island of St. Domingo. This stroke of policy, which at once deprived the British of their resources, and prevented the Spanish forces from acting in concert with them, gave to the Republic of France a legal dominion over the whole island.

An event so unexpected, and of such magnitude, could not but astonish the British. It afforded much room for speculation; but whether the hopes or fears, which resulted from this momentous change predominated, it is difficult to say.

In this state of uncertainty and doubt, was the British cause during the first months of 1796. In the month of May, the reinforcements which had been so long expected from the mother country, reached the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas, after combating storms, and encountering innumerable hardships, during a passage of seven months. These consisted of about 7000 men, under the command of Brigadier-General Howe. From such numbers, on any former occasion, much might have been expected; but unhappily, the tide of affairs had taken an unfavourable turn towards the British, and the die seemed to be inevitably cast. Many who had been friendly to their interests, considered their case as hopeless, and

lifted with reluctance both their arms and voices in their defence. Nor was it immediately in the power of the troops newly arrived to remove these unfavourable impressions. Instead of being instantly called into action, to stem the prevailing torrent, they were compelled on their arrival to remain several weeks on board the transports, deprived of exercise and wholesome air.

To add to these misfortunes, their first efforts proved highly unsuccessful. The town of Leogane, of which the British had heretofore taken possession, had been retaken from them by the Republican forces; who, to prevent its recapture, immediately enclosed it with a palisaded ditch; the harbour also had become an object of their attention. To deter them from completing these works, Admiral Parker and General Forbes, undertook to attack them both by sea and land. The former, after landing the troops, commenced a cannonade on a fort at the entrance of the creek, but was compelled to retire without either advantage or honour. The latter, disdainng the enemy against whom he was contending, not only took with him no heavy artillery, but determined to attempt the place without any regular approaches.

The first effort of these inconsiderate assailants was, to fill-in some part of the ditch over which they intended to pass to the assault. Those who hazarded their lives in this employment, were protected by a few pieces of light cannon, and they met with very little interruption. The enemy, however, were not inattentive to their proceedings, but waited for a more favourable moment to convince the besiegers of their error. That moment soon arrived. The Republicans directed towards them from the summit of an adjacent tower, a 24-pounder, which they used with so much dexterity, as to compel the assailants to abandon both the ditch and their cannon, and to retire with precipitation to avoid more fatal consequences.

At Bombarde, affairs put on an aspect almost equally unfavourable. The attack made on it by the British, was, indeed, at first successful, though many of the soldiers died on their march towards it, through the violence of fatigue; and it was found necessary to evacuate it almost immediately after its possession. The climate also became more and more hostile to many of their enterprizes, and in some instances entirely defeated their designs. Sickness, dismay, and languor, prevailed in

every part; so that the number of the British troops, which, in conjunction with the co-operation of the inhabitants, would have almost ensured success at a former period, was now of little or no avail.

Rigaud, in the meanwhile, at the head of a powerful army, inured to the climate, and animated in proportion as they saw their opponents depressed, prepared to push his advantages; and left no methods untried to instruct those under his command, in military discipline. Under these circumstances he commenced an attack on Trois, at this time commanded by Major-General Bowyer; but in this he proved unsuccessful. Near 100 of his men were either killed or wounded, and he was compelled to retreat, as the British had done before at Leogane.

It was early in the month of March 1797, that General Simcoe reached the island, to inspect the affairs of the British, to take the command of the languid army; and explore, if possible, the cause of their disasters. On the general character of this commander, it is needless for the historian to expatiate. His name had already obtained an honourable niche in the temple of Fame; but neither experience, bravery, nor skill was of any service in the desperate circumstances of the army, and their diminishing possessions.

The revolted negroes, in conjunction with those who had been liberated by the mandate of Santhonax and Polverel, had hitherto been treated as a lawless banditti, ferocious without courage, and menacing without the art of directing their brutal force. But on a nearer inspection they were found to have improved in the science of government, by the experiments which France had been making for many years, and in the art of war both by their enemies and friends. The advances which they had made in both departments, were but too visible in their effects, even to those who refused them the tribute of acknowledgement in mere abstract theory. Several of their chiefs had already discovered talents which could not be buried, and a degree of foresight to which no African was thought equal. The discipline which had been introduced into many of their regiments, was such as would not have disgraced a host of veterans; but in no part did it appear to such an advantage, as in those departments, which fell more immediately under the inspection of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

This great man, by the authority which he had derived



from his appointment by Santhonax and Polverel, and by his own personal merit, had, for a considerable time, given direction to nearly all the Republican forces in St. Domingo, and so well satisfied was the French Government of his talents and integrity, that in the same month that General Simcoe was appointed by the British, he was formally appointed General in Chief of the armies of St. Domingo. Authority, power, and inclination, all uniting in the person of Toussaint, prompted him to redouble those exertions which he had so successfully made, and rendered him extremely formidable.

Prior to the arrival of General Simcoe, the Republicans had brought the seat of war into the vicinity of the capital. General Forbes, to counteract their intentions, had fortified an elevation called Grenier, and taken possession of the surrounding heights. This had occupied the attention of his forces, but unfortunately by dividing them, had rendered them almost unable to support a defensive war. In the meanwhile, the enemy, flushed with temporary victories, and continually augmenting in numbers, erected batteries, and fortified themselves, within four miles of Port au Prince; and though some months elapsed in the completion of these works, the English were unable to retard their movements, by offering them any molestation.

On the arrival of General Simcoe, he, however, contrived to demolish, what his predecessor had not been able to prevent them from raising. The batteries were no longer suffered to insult the capital; but to reduce them to silence was a work of no inconsiderable labour. Upwards of 2000 men were employed in the enterprize, besides a proportion of artillery; but they had to contend with Toussaint, whose retreat they endeavoured in vain to cut off.

Rigaud, not less active in his quarter, than Toussaint in the vicinity of the blockaded capital, continued to harass the posts which had refused to submit. But it was not always that the attempts of either were successful. An instance of this occurred, in an attack made by the former on Trois, with 1200 men. The secrecy with which they conducted themselves was so extraordinary, that the discharge of their fire arms on the fort, gave the first intimation of their approach. Happily the artillery of the assailants had been intercepted by the British; this obliged them to retire with the utmost precipitation, leav-

ing the fort in the hands of its former possessors. Toussaint experienced a repulse nearly about the same time, in an attempt which he made on St. Marc. His assault was, however, conducted with greater resolution, and persevered in with greater obstinacy. The British were, nevertheless, victorious, but they paid dearly for their conquest.

But notwithstanding these temporary repulses, the main body of the people of colour daily gathered strength, while the British, weakening even by their own victories, were unable to pursue the advantages which they obtained. Disheartened by the forlorn condition of his army, General Simcoe embarked for England in the month of August, to present to the British ministry a memorial of the real condition of the colony; determined, either to procure a sufficient force to accomplish the subjugation of the island, or to prevail upon them to abandon for ever, a scene that had hitherto furnished them with the strange vicissitudes of glory and a grave; during whose absence, the command of the forces finally devolved on General Maitland.

England, at this time, deeply involved in those commotions which embroiled Europe, from the pillars of Hercules to the arctic circle, felt herself but badly prepared to prosecute the war in St. Domingo, with that vigour which circumstances demanded. Nothing, therefore, remained, but to quit with dignity, a region that had been fertile both in glory and disgrace. General Maitland, apprized of these circumstances, procured a truce for one month, and prepared to evacuate the capital. The French inhabitants who had espoused the British cause, were objects of peculiar consideration. They were now about to be abandoned to their enemies, by that power which had hitherto afforded them protection. Fortunately the soul of Toussaint was elevated above a savage thirst for blood; and a stipulation was entered into, by which both their persons and property were to be protected from molestation. The British troops were then withdrawn from the city to join their colleagues at Jeremie.

At this time it became a subject of deliberation with General Maitland and Admiral Parker, whether the reduction of Tiburon, and the preservation of the Mole, might not afford protection to the British trade in prosecuting the windward passage, but the tempestuous

weather which then prevailed, put a negative to the enterprize.

From Jeremie they retired to the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas, now the only spot of land which they could claim in all the island. But this was preserved no longer than was necessary to enter into some negociations with Toussaint, now the sole director of the affairs of St. Domingo.

By these last stipulations, the Black troops which had been employed by the British, were to be given up to join those forces which they had hitherto opposed. In these arrangements, the independence of the island as a neutral power, was also virtually acknowledged, so that nothing more remained for the vanquished invaders, but to retire with speed from these insalubrious shores. In consequence of these adjustments, Great Britain, after a waste of blood and treasure, during five years, withdrew her surviving troops in the month of August 1798, and relinquished for ever all pretensions to St. Domingo.

## CHAP. LIII.

## HISPANIOLA CONTINUED.

*Effective force of Toussaint when the British evacuated the Island.—Revolution of his followers on the departure of the English.—Forgotten by the French.—Announces the independence of St. Domingo.—Effect of that annunciation.—Motives which urged the First Consul to attempt the subjugation of the Colony.—Intrigues used to effect it.—Proclamation issued by Buonaparte on the occasion.—Letter of Buonaparte to Toussaint.—Arrival of Le Clerc off Cape Francois.—Message of Christophe.—Troops of Le Clerc landed, and the city set on fire.—Progress of the devastation.—Insidious conduct of Coisson, and interview between Toussaint and his children.—Proclamation of Le Clerc.—Commencement and progress of the war.—Several black leaders seduced by the intrigues of Le Clerc.—Vicissitudes of the war.—Danger of Cape Francois.—Inconstancy of the Blacks.—Cessation of hostilities.—Toussaint perfidiously seized and sent to France.—Fate of Toussaint and family.*

THE effective force under the command of Toussaint in the northern district, at the time of his treaty with General Maitland, in 1798, amounted to nearly 40,000 men; but the removal of every rival, and the retirement of every open foe, added to his ranks multitudes who had either fought under their banners, or hesitated in suspense. These, and similar causes, soon augmented his army to double its former number; and in the year 1800, placed him in possession of more real power, than the First Consul could at that time call his own. The ordnance and stores of various kinds, which had been collected in different posts, were almost immense; and the attachment of his army to his person, was such, that the

whole body seemed to be actuated as by one common impulse.

The leisure which the removal of his invaders afforded, furnished him with an opportunity of travelling through the island; of regulating its internal concerns;—of making himself personally known to his associates in arms;—of inspecting the state of defence in which the fortifications appeared;—and of distributing his forces as occasion gave direction. The tempest that had been dissipated for the moment, his sagacity taught him would soon return with redoubled vigour, and demand the exertion of those energies which he was now preparing for action. A spirit of invincible resolution breathed through the whole mass of his adherents; all seemed resolved either to retain those liberties which they had acquired, or to die in their defence.

The distracted condition of France, torn at this time by contending factions, prevented her from examining with due attention, the transactions of the colony. Ambition, finding at home a sufficiency of employment, neither found nor sought leisure to embark on foreign adventures. The event was, that almost all official communication was shut up between the island and the mother country; and the inhabitants at large, in a state of *legal insurrection*, were apparently forgotten, or abandoned to their fate.

Toussaint, in the meanwhile, having personally surveyed the island, and made himself perfectly acquainted with its internal resources and strength, felt the force of his own power; and, on the 1st of July, 1801, published a declaration of its independence. This declaration was made in the name of the people, at the head of whom appeared Toussaint, in the character of general in chief.

From this moment, all official communication with the mother country was at an end; the only intelligence which reached France concerning the island, was either through clandestine correspondence or circuitous routes, and even these modes of intercourse were adopted under much restraint.

The ancient proprietors of plantations, who, in the former insurrections had been compelled to quit the island, and seek an asylum in France, soon found in the act of independence published by Toussaint, a confirmation of their former suspicions. They, therefore, saw that all their valuable possessions must be inevitably lost,

and that for ever, unless government could be prevailed on to send an armed force, to crush at once, a revolt which was become so formidable as to assume independence. The complicated interests of commerce were instantly alarmed, and awakened into action; powerful parties were formed; government was besieged in a variety of forms; and both national advantages and national honours were pleaded with all the sorceries of eloquence, to urge an undertaking upon which the interested rested all their hopes.

But these combined efforts and interests, would in all probability have pleaded in vain, had they not been strongly supported by consular ambition. The dreams of liberty and equality, which for some years had amused France, and alarmed the rest of Europe, were beginning to fade, even in the estimation of those who had sworn to defend their liberties, and to wage eternal war with kings. Buonaparte, aiming at uncontrolled dominion, found it necessary to bribe all parties with gratifying promises, to induce them to favour his views, and to enable him to introduce such changes into the form of government, as were calculated to accomplish his designs. A short lived peace was the result of his intrigues; which, while it dazzled Europe for the moment, afforded the former proprietors of St. Domingo, an opportunity of renewing their applications;—furnishing them in the same moment with additional motives and better hopes of success.

Buonaparte heard this increasing clamour for the reduction of the colony, with secret satisfaction, veiled in a mask of external silence; and, perhaps, privately fomented a principle which tended to promote that enormous power which was already in part established. The transitory peace which had taken place, produced at this time a band of desperate adventurers, who, destitute of employment, were ready for any enterprize that could afford them an opportunity of distinguishing themselves.

The secret wishes of the First Consul were not long concealed; a horde of venal writers started immediately into notice; a change was wrought in the public sentiment, as by the power of magic; and negroe emancipation was treated in just the same manner that negroe slavery had been treated before. Madame Le Clerc, the sister of the First Consul, partaking of her brother's ambition, while sharing her husband's fortune, took an

active part in promoting an expedition, which promised to Le Clerc her husband, the glory of a conquest, which should render him worthy of the alliance he had formed. The most powerful of the merchants were quickly consulted; their opinions were as readily obtained; and the First Consul, in conjunction with his instruments, with that promptitude which has ever marked his conduct, fitted out an expedition, for the abolition of that emancipation which had been solemnly ratified by their own decrees, and to bring the myriads now in arms, once more under the dominion of the *cowskin* \*.

“ At the head of the expedition (says Rainsford) was placed General Le Clerc, and such was the confidence of its success, that he was accompanied by his lady, and her younger brother, Jerome Buonaparte. General Rochambeau, who had been a proprietor, assisted with his advice the commander in chief, and also commanded a division. To them were added Generals Kerverson and Boudet, with a force of 20,000 men. The two sons of Toussaint, who had been educated in France, were sent as hostages for the reception of the French army by their father, under the care of the tutors who accompanied them. Admiral Villaret, who had been in the service of the regal government of France, commanded the fleet, under whom were Rear-Admiral Latouche and Captain Magon. The fleet consisted of some of the best ships of the line, a proportionable number of frigatès, transports, &c. The prevalent sentiment seemed to be, that after the first attack, a compromise would be effected with Toussaint and the different chiefs, which would enable the French force to establish itself throughout the island, and complete the subjugation of the armed blacks.” †

But it was not to the fleet and army, that Buonaparte trusted exclusively for success. A number of plotting emissaries had been secretly dispatched to tamper with the unsuspecting negroes, to sow the seeds of discord between parties, and to shake their confidence in Toussaint. Intrigue, which frequently subdues more than the sword, was made the instrument with which they

\* The instrument with which slaves were punished in St. Domingo. See Rainsford, p. 412.

† History of St. Domingo, p. 264.

were armed, and deceitful proclamations were found a convenient vehicle for instilling the subtle poison.

The squadron of Le Clerc, preceded by the proclamations, and freighted with 20,000 men, sailed from France in the month of December 1801, and reached the bay of Samana, on the eastern side of the island, before the close of the year. The forces thus sent out, were then divided into different parties, under the direction of their respective commanders, so as to commence the attack on different points at the same time. In this distribution of the forces, one part, under the command of Boudet, proceeded to Port au Prince; another, under General Kerverson, hastened to the ancient city of St. Domingo; another, under General Rochambeau, sailed for Mancenillo Bay on the north; while Le Clerc, with a select number of troops, prepared to attack the city of Cape Francois, now the capital of the black empire.

Toussaint, in the meanwhile, had not been ignorant of the blow that was meditating against him and his brave associates; and had exerted himself to the utmost, to give the representative of the First Consul, a warm reception, when, with his invading army, he should presume to approach the shores of St. Domingo. It was the interior, however, and not the coast, on which he placed his chief reliance. But his vigilance had provided for those places, which might otherwise have invited the invaders; and his most faithful adherents were placed in those posts, where danger seemed to arise from the influence of the proclamation. Aware of his situation, and of the near approach of the assailants, he found it necessary to inspect in person, such places as appeared most vulnerable, either from defection, or the want of means of defence.

It was in one of these necessary excursions that Toussaint was engaged, when Le Clerc, with his detachment appeared off Cape Francois on the 5th of January, 1802. General Christophe, at this time, held the command during his absence. Christophe, on perceiving the approach of a fleet, which he well knew to be French, with an appearance of hostility, immediately dispatched one of his officers to the commander of the squadron, to acquaint him with Toussaint's absence, and to assure him, "that as he had forwarded a courier to inform the General in Chief of his approach, he could not permit any troops to land, until he received an answer. That



in case the director of the expedition should persist in the disembarkation of his military forces without permission, he should consider the white inhabitants in his district as hostages for his conduct, and in consequence of any attack, the place attacked would immediately be consigned to the flames."

Dissimulation, which frequently betrays that deficiency of power which it was intended to supply, and gives a keener edge to the sword of war, was the expedient to which Le Clerc resorted in his reply. He represented to Christophe the benign intentions of the First Consul, and expatiated largely on his designs to promote the general interests of the colony; and after endeavouring to allure him with the most flattering promises, enforced with much energy the necessity of his returning to his duty,—this consisted in yielding an implicit obedience to his commands.

This hypocritical reply, when presented to Christophe, instead of soothing him into a compliance with the wishes of Le Clerc, only served to confirm him in his former suspicions. This he avowed in a message which was immediately sent on board. In this ultimate communication he repeated his previous declarations, expressing his resolute determination to reduce his threatenings to practice, if any troops were landed; and, to convince him that he was in earnest, the whole was couched in the rough language of defiance.

The inhabitants, in the meanwhile, trembling for their own personal safety, and the fate of the city, sent a deputation, with the mayor at their head, to assure Le Clerc, that what had been denounced would actually be realized, should he persist in his attempt to land his forces; and to endeavour to prevail upon him to desist from his purpose, as the only method that could be adopted to prevent the impending conflagration, and to save them and their families from the sword.

Le Clerc, regardless of their destiny, intent upon the gratification of his own ambition, and thoroughly acquainted with the duplicity of his native land, put on a smile of deceit, and affected to listen to their representations with much seeming attention. And after urging a variety of questions with much seeming solicitude, finally dismissed them from his presence with repeated assurances of his peaceful intentions, directing them to read,

on their return to the city, the proclamation of the First Consul to the inhabitants.

Relying upon the effects of this proclamation, and the strength of that party which his emissaries had been secretly procuring, Le Clerc soon after threw aside the visor, and actually put on shore his troops. With much difficulty he made good his landing, at a point called Du Limbe, while Admiral Villaret, attacking the town by sea, and Rochambeau making a descent on Fort Dauphin, induced him to flatter himself with being able to gain the heights of the Cape, before the blacks, distracted by these various attacks, should have time to light up their threatened conflagration.

Christophe instantly perceived these general movements; and, steady to his purposes, had prepared for their assault. He had issued orders to his soldiers to defend themselves in their respective posts to the last extremity, and to sink if possible the ships of the assailants; but that when their own positions were no longer tenable, to remove whatever valuables could be preserved, reduce every thing besides to ashes, and retire. With these views these fierce barbarians pursued their respective careers.

Le Clerc prosecuted his march through a variety of obstacles, but did not reach within sight of the Cape till evening, to which he was directed by the light of those flames which Christophe had kindled, and which appalled even the soldiers with horror. They beheld, with unavailing anguish, on gaining the heights, the stately city in a blaze, the glare of which gilded the ceiling of heaven with a dismal light. Their expectation of a booty vanished in an instant; they were well aware that the inhabitants had departed from this awful spot, and were satisfied that they had little to fear from opposition; but the only reward which awaited them, they plainly perceived was a heap of ashes, or a bed of fire.

The ensuing morning the division of Le Clerc entered this seat of desolation; these were joined by those vagabonds whom his emissaries had induced to "rally round the Captain-General." Fortunately, by the previous landing of General Humbert to prepare the way for Le Clerc, the fort which he attacked had been reduced; he had, therefore, employed 1200 men, who acted under his command, in endeavouring to extinguish the flames.

And he had so far succeeded as to preserve the city from that destruction, which at a distance appeared to be universal and inevitable.

In other parts, the divisions of the French army, after meeting with stern resistance, had likewise made good their landing; but the same messengers who brought intelligence of their success, conveyed also the mournful tidings, that the blacks, receding from the shore, had marked the progress of their retreat with flames. Similar orders to those that had been so rigorously executed at Cape Francois, had also been given to other places, and carried into practice with the most dreadful punctuality.

It was during these scenes of devastation on the shores, that Toussaint was engaged in rendering the interior as formidable as possible; after the accomplishing of which, he returned towards the ruins of the capital, to discover, if possible, the real intentions of the French towards the island;—to learn if any amicable proposition were to be made, that, amidst the changes which had taken place in France, should secure to St. Domingo and its inhabitants, that freedom for which they had taken arms.

Toussaint, unwilling to commence active operations, waited at a distance to watch the movements of the French, being in readiness to act as circumstances might direct. To this he was the more readily induced, as he had found the interior in a most respectable state of defence. In this moment of suspended rapine, it was resolved by Le Clerc to try what success a letter from Buonaparte, addressed personally to Toussaint, would have upon the black commander, who was yet unapprized of its existence, or of the arrival of his sons from France. A courier was immediately dispatched with the former, and with intelligence that the latter were with their mother on his plantation called Ennery.

During this interim, the insidious Coisson, the preceptor of Toussaint's children, of whom Buonaparte speaks in his letter, repaired to the plantation to present the children to their affectionate mother, and to instil into her unsuspecting mind that mental poison which Le Clerc had just imported from Europe. Even the children had been prepared, by the deceitful caresses of the First Consul, to assist, by their representation of his conduct towards them, in the seduction of their father. The wife and children of Toussaint, ignorant of the part they were to act, entertained as the author of their hap-

piness, the monster who was then plotting their destruction. Coisson was invited to continue on the plantation till the return of Toussaint, to receive from his lips the warm effusions of a grateful heart. He accepted the invitation, and basely employed the interval in urging the wife of Toussaint to prevail on her husband, to accept the overtures, and submit to the conditions specified in the letter of the First Consul.

Toussaint, animated with those feelings which an affectionate parent only knows, hastened on the receipt of the letter, and intelligence of the arrival of his children, to fold them in a warm embrace. He reached the plantation the ensuing night. When his arrival was announced, the mother shrieked, and instantly became insensible from a delirium of joy. The children ran to meet their father, and sunk without utterance into his open arms. Of a scene so truly interesting, "enough (says Rainsford) is learned from the self-condemning account of the tutor, to prove that it was of the most affecting nature. This wretch, with a heart as cold as the cell in which he was bred, viewed the emotions of this interesting family, only to take advantage of their situation. When the first burst of joy was over, and the hero turned to caress him, to whom he immediately owed the delight he had experienced, Coisson began his attack." "I saw him shed tears," says he, in his report to the French ministry, "and wishing to take advantage of a period I conceived to be favourable, stopped him at the moment when he stretched out his arms to me; he then recapitulated the letters of Buonaparte and Le Clerc, and invited him to accede to them."\*

Toussaint, in these affecting moments, was but badly prepared to negociate the fate of Domingo, and, therefore, listened with silence to the fascinating eloquence of Coisson, who represented the advantages resulting from his submission in such glowing colours, as could hardly fail to awaken some suspicions. At the same time, after giving the most solemn assurances, which could be equalled by nothing but their perfidy, that the present armament was not designed to abridge the liberty of the blacks, concluded with observing, "that unless the pro-

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\* History of St. Domingo, p. 277.

posed conditions were immediately acceded to, his orders were to return the children to the Cape."

Confirmed in his suspicions by some unwary expression that Coisson had inadvertently dropped, Toussaint retired for a few moments from the presence of his wife and children, to weigh the import of their common supplication. His awakened reason instantly discovered the snare which had been laid to entrap him; and to avoid the consequences, he resolved not to risk another interview.

Coisson, confident of having made an important conquest, waited the return of Toussaint with malignant joy, expecting to conduct him in triumph to Le Clerc. But the wary chief, instead of entering again into his presence, returned this indignant answer,—“Take back my children, if it must be so, I will be faithful to my brethren and my God;” then mounting his horse, rode off to the camp, from which place he returned a formal answer to Le Clerc. The whole of this affecting interview lasted about two hours.

Le Clerc, chagrined at the defeat of his artifice, grew outrageous, and in a moment of frenzy threw off that mask which he had so ineffectually assumed. At this time Admiral Gantheaume reached the island with 2300 men to reinforce him, and brought intelligence that Admiral Linois was soon to come with additional forces. From this acquisition, and a conviction that nothing but the sword could render him successful, Le Clerc, on the 17th of February, 1802, issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of St. Domingo.

“I come to restore prosperity and abundance. Every one must see what an insensible monster he (Toussaint) is. I promise liberty to the people of this island. I shall make them rejoice, and I shall respect their persons and property. I order as follows:

“Article 1. The General Toussaint, and the General Christophe, are put out of the protection of the law. All citizens are ordered to pursue them, and to treat them as the enemies of the French Republic.

“2. From the day that the French armies shall occupy a position, all officers, whether civil or military, who shall obey other orders than those of the generals of the army which I command, shall be treated as rebels.

“3. The cultivators, who seduced into errors, and deceived by the perfidious insinuations of the rebel gene-

als, may have taken arms, shall be regarded as children who have strayed, and shall be sent to their plantations, provided they do not excite insurrections.

“ 4. The soldiers of the demi-brigade who shall abandon the army of Toussaint, shall be received into the French army.

(Signed, &c.)

“ LE CLERC,  
“ DUGUA.”

This proclamation, which indiscreetly avowed the intentions of its author, became a signal for immediate war;—a war which it was evident, must terminate either in *slavery, independence, or extermination*. Artifice was, however, still considered by Le Clerc, as a convenient instrument in his hands. Though this had failed of success on Toussaint, he was determined to try it on his more vulnerable followers. The clergy were thought convenient tools to promote defection among his soldiers. These, forgetful of the gratitude which they owed to the power that had protected them, meanly engaged in the service of their invaders, and exerted themselves in the dishonourable cause. Thus was the torch of war once more lighted up by these hypoeritical delegates of heaven, who avowedly became the agents of discord, to carry devastation through the ill-fated island of St. Domingo.

Toussaint, expecting the war to commence in the northern district, at this time the head-quarters of Le Clerc, repaired thither with a powerful army, that had been trained with the most peculiar care. These men were well acquainted with the management of artillery, and in the use of the bayonet they had little to fear from any rivals. Inured to the climate, and intimately acquainted with the numerous defiles of the island, their natural dexterity appeared to the utmost advantage, in that mode of warfare which was adapted to their situation. Expert in the use of those allurements which would decoy their enemies into ambuscades, and capable of pursuing them to their own advantage;—furnished with an inexhaustible supply of provisions, and with all such warlike stores as their exigencies could possibly demand;—and strengthened with such numbers as even baffle calculation, Toussaint had nothing to dread from the forces of his foes. Treachery was the only enemy he had to fear. Against this he had used his utmost exertions to provide; but all were not invulnerable against

the temptations of European promises, and European gold.

About the middle of February, Le Clerc began his operations, by tampering with the enemies he came to oppose, and by forcing a few defenceless villages. He had already learnt that treachery was a more successful weapon than the sword; and, therefore, gave his commanding officers directions, on all occasions, to induce, if possible, the generals whom they opposed,

“ To sell for gold, what gold can never buy.”

They were directed, however, to occupy certain positions, of which, after several severe conflicts, they made themselves masters. The troops of Toussaint, nevertheless, made good their retreat, and continued to harass the victors on all occasions, and to add to their fatigues by keeping them constantly in a state of alarm.

On the following day, two divisions of the French army encamped at Dondon, and St. Raphael; and, on the 19th, through the baseness of a Mulattoe who commanded the place, took possession of Plaisance.

The example of this perfidious chief, was followed by the commander of the Morne at Borspen; a circumstance that obliged General Christophe to abandon his position with 1200 regular troops, the instant he found himself betrayed. He conducted his retreat in good order, and escaped the danger which threatened him. The post of St. Michael fell into the hands of General Rochambeau, after making a feeble resistance; and Mare-a-la-Roche, defended by 400 men and some artillery, was carried by the point of the bayonet.

The blacks on the contrary, favoured by a torrent of rain, and by a skilful movement, fell, near Port Paix, on a strong detachment of the French army, which had been appointed to rout them; and after cutting off a vast number, compelled the remainder to retreat in disorder, and abandon their enterprize. In the neighbourhood of Port au Prince, La Croix des Bouquets, was set on fire by General Dessalines, on the approach of the French General Boudet. After this the former affected to retreat in disorder; but taking a sudden turn, reached Leogane, and set it on fire in sight of a frigate that had been stationed off the shore to protect it.

Le Clerc, finding from these disasters, that bribery

was a more profitable mode of warfare than the bayonet, resorted to the former measure with more than common assiduity. His officers were enlarged, and his success was greater. Several officers of note went over to his party, and a multitude of soldiers followed their base example. Among the officers, was a black General, named La Plume, who, by submitting to General Boudet, threw an extensive district into his hands. This loss was the more severely felt by Toussaint, as La Plume was high in command, and one in whom he had placed the most unlimited confidence, and in part entrusted with his plans of operation. Such an act of treachery could not but abate his confidence in the fidelity of those who remained attached to the common cause; and who from perceiving the suspicion with which they were seen, could not but grow lax in that obedience which they owed to his commands.

To counteract the treachery of La Plume, Christophe hastened to the spot, to prevent the French General Desfourneaux from availing himself of its advantages. But it was too late. A severe skirmish, indeed, ensued, in which the former cut off a part of the force of the latter, so that he was obliged to retreat to Bayannai. Another division of the French army hastened to the post which Christophe had occupied, and seized upon the stores which were left behind; this threw a considerable booty into their hands, as the blacks had made it a temporary depot.

On the 24th, a severe battle took place between Rochambeau's division, and that under General Toussaint, whose troops, consisting of 1500 grenadiers, 1200 other chosen soldiers, and 400 dragoons, were strongly posted at a place called the Ravine-a-Coulevre. This position was extremely well chosen, being fortified by nature, and protected by the works of art. Rochambeau, availing himself of his local knowledge of the country, which he had obtained from La Plume, entered the Ravine with as much address as Toussaint could have manifested, and by some rapid movements, avoided the obstacles which they had thrown in his way, and commenced an attack on the entrenchments of the blacks. Toussaint was prepared to receive him, and a desperate battle ensued, in which both skill and courage were alike conspicuous. The day was extremely bloody, and the field, which victory hesitated to bestow on either party, was covered



with the bodies of the slain. Both parties, at the close of day, retired from the scene of action, to provide rather for their future safety, than to renew a fierce contention for an e etiquette of honour.

Rochambeau hastened with the remains of his division, and with others of their scattered forces, to join Generals Debelle and Boudet, who were unable to withstand the force of the black General Maurepas, in the western province. Debelle and Boudet, reinforced with these troops, and assisted by Le Clerc in person, at the head of all the forces he could collect, prepared to give him battle. The troops were put in action, and the doubtful issue of battle was expected to decide the fortune of the day. But Le Clerc had recourse to his usual manœuvres.

Maurepas, seduced with the promise of retaining his present rank, under the auspices of Le Clerc, submitted to Debelle without a struggle, and gave his posts into the enemy's hand.

Elated with past success, without once reflecting on the baseness by which it had been obtained, Le Clerc congratulated himself with having made a conquest of the whole colony. "The army of St. Domingo (he observes in his dispatches to the minister of marine) in the course of five days have routed the chief of their enemies, obtained possession of a considerable quantity of their baggage, and a portion of their artillery. Desertion is frequent in the rebel camp. Clervaux, La Plume, Maurepas, and many other black chiefs, and men of colour, have submitted. The plantations of the south are entirely preserved, and the whole of the Spanish part of the island has surrendered."

The government of France, pleased with whatever could increase its own aggrandisement, listened with much complacency to this partial representation given by Le Clerc. And as the cause which is deemed successful, always finds adherents, the case of the negroes was forgotten, or what is still worse, only remembered to be traduced. Their former friends became their most inveterate enemies; every action was distorted to their disadvantage, and their deeds were depicted as being much blacker than their skin.

The case, however, was materially different from the representation given by Le Clerc. The whole that the French forces occupied, consisted in only a few leagues of country running along the shore. Toussaint, on the

contrary, retained the most formidable positions, from which he held an uninterrupted communication with the interior; continued to harass his invaders, by compelling them to make forced marches, and from which neither his supplies nor his retreat could be cut off.

But though the resources of Toussaint were considerable, and even more than sufficient to inspire him with confidence, his situation was peculiarly embarrassed, through the many defections which had taken place;—defections to which he could scarcely calculate upon an end. According to the best estimation which he was capable of making, no confidence could be placed in any better hands, than in those of the generals who had basely betrayed it, and who had treacherously delivered his plans into the enemy's hands.

Le Clerc, having collected his forces, and made Port au Prince his head quarters, proceeded to prosecute the war, to accomplish what he had represented as inevitable,—namely, the final subjugation of the whole island. The first object which attracted his attention was the advantageous post of La Crete a Pierrot, and he was allured to this spot, by a persuasion that it was a considerable depot of the blacks. To reach this place he had to conduct his troops through a portion of territory, which was yet smoking with the fires with which Dessalines had consumed its productions. Leogane had been reduced to ashes, and nothing remained to facilitate their march over the cinders of the country, but the assurance of victory, and the allurements of the booty which they expected to reward their toils.

Toussaint, and Dessalines, had long perceived this inordinate thirst for plunder, and had found means to disappoint that rapine with which they were stimulated. In the present instance, Dessalines, perceiving the motives by which the French were actuated, contrived to keep alive the deception, by affecting anxiously to guard a depot, upon which apparently the destiny of the colony depended; while in reality he had removed every thing valuable, and prepared, in case of extremity, to quit with honour, what could no longer be defended with any probability of success.

The siege of La Crete being seriously resolved on, General Boudet hastened to the spot with the forces under his command, but a shot from the works compelled him to desist. General Dugua met with a similar fate,

and both divisions were completely routed. Le Clerc, provoked at these misfortunes, and at a narrow escape, which he also had just experienced, procured from Port au Prince, some heavy artillery to reduce the fort. Salines, with a considerable force, in the meanwhile, fell upon a small camp of blacks, and put every man to the sword; while Rochambeau, disengaged for the moment from other pursuits, desolated the country with fire and sword, affrighting even the blacks themselves with his devastations.

It was not till the 22d of March, that the artillery arrived from Port au Prince. Immediately Rochambeau attempted to fix them on an eminence to fire upon the fort; but Dessalines directed his cannon towards the infant battery, and killed all the men employed in the hazardous undertaking.

Enraged at being thus baffled, by beings to whom they would hardly apply the name of men, Rochambeau with his troops determined to attack the fort, the guns of which had made such terrible havoc. But here also he met disgrace. The besieged had so secured it by different projections, that he found it impossible to enter it, and was compelled to retire with dishonour and loss.

Dessalines, however, having no booty to protect, soon prepared to evacuate a fort, which he had no interests in defending, but as it harassed the enemy, fatigued their soldiers, and thinned their ranks. He accordingly made a vigorous sally, and marched forward in the dead of night, accomplishing his purpose amidst skirmishes and interruptions, none of which were sufficient to make him alter his route. Still, however, the fort was not untenanted; Dessalines had appointed a successor, and it was bravely assaulted, and as bravely defended for three days, during which time, it was set on fire in several places, which fire was as often extinguished. The besieged, expecting no mercy if they fell into the enemy's hands, resolved, on the night of the third day, to cut their way through the ranks of the assailants, and abandon the fort altogether. Their resolution was instantly put into practice; but their body became divided while forcing their passage; by which means the greater part fell into the hands of the European savages, and were indiscriminately put to the sword. Those who were so fortunate as to escape the destiny of their companions,

passed the Artibonite, and joined their countrymen, to prepare for future war.

The reduction of this fortress, though accomplished with such a waste of time, such a profusion of blood, and with the loss of some of his most able generals, elated Le Clerc beyond measure. He, therefore, in direct violation of those proclamations which he had issued, and of those promises by which he had seduced the blacks from their adherence to Toussaint, published an order, directing the proprietors to re-assert their claim to their revolted slaves.

But it was not only by the losses which Le Clerc had sustained in his troops, that the conquest of *a Pierrot* was dearly bought. Being determined to subdue it, he indiscreetly drained the northern province of those troops that had been appointed to defend their newly acquired forts and territories in these parts, and by this means left the whole country exposed to the ravages of the blacks. Toussaint, who had been disengaged from the siege, perceived the error, and resolved to improve by it, while the French general was congratulating himself with victory, and warming himself in imagination, by those flames which he had sent Rochambeau to light up at Les Goniaves. Communicating with Christophe, Toussaint contrived to form a junction with him in the mountains, from which place, with their accumulated force, they "rushed like a torrent" down upon the plain of Cape Francois, bearing down every opposition, and augmenting their numbers by those negroes, whom the late order of Le Clerc, and actual slavery, had prepared for a second revolt. Thus, by one terrible inundation, almost the whole labour of the campaign was swept away in an instant. Dondon and Marmelade fell into their hands, without being able to make any resistance, and they pursued their career, till they reached within half a league of the city of Cape Francois, in which the utmost consternation began to prevail.

An account of this sudden, this alarming, this unexpected irruption, was instantly transmitted to Le Clerc, who, revelling in victory and cruelty, was ill prepared for such a shock. But affairs were too serious to admit of trifling. He instantly took a passage by water, and reached the besieged city, at a moment when even his presence could render it little or no assistance. To repel

these assailants, the whole force of the city was mustered, and even the marines and sailors from on board the ships were collected, to augment the number which was now to encounter Toussaint. These marched to the attack, but were instantly repelled with considerable slaughter, and compelled to take shelter under the fortifications of the city. To add to their distress, a dreadful contagion began to spread among the French soldiers, now cooped up within a narrow confine, and surrounded with an innumerable host, whose presence could not but tend to pollute the air. To relieve the capital, Generals Hardy and Rochambeau pressed forward by forced marches, but their efforts were unavailing. The assailants continued masters of the plain, in the face of all their enemies, in whose sight they laid the whole country in ruins. From hence, without attempting to force the city, they gradually withdrew, and finally retired to the mountains of Hincha.

The retiring of these assailants, in some measure removed the apprehensions which their presence had occasioned; but it was only to afford Le Clerc an opportunity of reflecting on the premature and indiscreet orders, which he had issued respecting the slaves. This conduct had torn from their eyes, that bandage which he had been endeavouring to place before them. To counteract the fatal effects of that injudicious measure, he once more had recourse to perfidy, and endeavoured to do away the efficacy of his own order, by issuing once more a delusive proclamation. The purport of this proclamation, so far as it respected the blacks, was as follows: "The basis of the provisionary organization which I shall give to the colony, *but which shall not be definitive till approved of by the French government, is, liberty and equality to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, without regard to colour.*" This was issued at a moment, when he well knew, that no such definitive organization could ever be obtained, or would ever be ratified. It was, therefore, only calculated to disarm those whom the mother country had directed to guard their freedom, and to reduce to slavery those whom she had solemnly pronounced free.

To accomplish the purpose of his voyage and duplicity, the number of his emissaries was increased; their powers were enlarged; and they were sent forth as the missionaries of seduction, to proselite the unsuspecting

inhabitants to put on their chains. Success, in proportion to the deception of the proclamation, attended their exertions; multitudes, who with indignity had revolted from that perfidy by which they had been betrayed, and joined Toussaint in his late expeditions, now abandoned the cause, in behalf of which they had fought and conquered, and once more rallied round the standard of Le Clerc. Such is the inconstancy of the human mind, and such was the instability of many of the blacks.

In the midst of these advantages and misfortunes, which alternately connected themselves with both parties, two squadrons with reinforcements, one from Havre, and the other from Flushing, reached the island in the beginning of April, and strengthened Le Clerc, in ambition, cruelty, and power. From this moment began the reign of terror; and destruction, rather than conquest, seemed to be the object at which he aimed.

The joint operation of terror and bribery prevailed at this time most powerfully among the followers of Toussaint, notwithstanding his recent successes; insomuch, that the resolution of almost all was shaken, besides that of himself. Even Christophe was half induced to believe, that in the proclamation lately issued, the professions of Le Clerc were sincere; but he attributed this sincerity to the weakness of his forces; and feared to permit him to augment them by the defections which he had excited, lest the present moment which was so favourable for negociation, should pass over them unimproved.

Toussaint, willing to prevent the effusion of blood, gave way to the representations of Christophe, who immediately entered into a correspondence with Le Clerc, whose agents had frequently attempted to seduce him. A truce was, therefore, proposed on the ground of an oblivion of the past, the freedom of the men in arms, and the preservation of his own rank, that of Toussaint, of Dessalines, and of all the officers in connection with them.

To the above proposals, after some hesitation, Le Clerc consented, so far as they respected Christophe; and a negociation was set on foot with Toussaint, in the course of which, he was invited to Cape Fraincis. But this journey was to little or no purpose. He requested no more than had been granted to Christophe, with a wish to retire from the fatigues of war, to spend on one of his own plantations, the residue of his days in peace.

To these requests, Le Clerc refused to accede, and Toussaint returned to his camp, without having come to any conclusion, but that of renewing the war.

As to Dessalines, he continued unconvinced of the sincerity of Le Clerc, and dreaded such an unnatural compromise as was then pending;—a compromise which he well knew could not be lasting, if it was sincere. He, nevertheless, submitted to the joint opinions of Christophe and Toussaint, and declared himself ready to concur in any prudent measures, which should restore a general peace.

Le Clerc, finding Toussaint fixed in his resolution, suffered nothing more than a few skirmishes to take place, before he acceded to the proposals which had been made to him, but which he had rejected at Cape Francois. His sentiments were delivered in the following language, as inserted in the *Gazette du Cape*: “You, General, and your troops, will be employed and treated like the rest of my army. With regard to yourself, you desire repose, and you deserve it: after a man has sustained for several years the government of St. Domingo, I apprehend he needs repose. I leave you at liberty to retire to which of your estates you please. I rely so much on the attachment you bear the colony of St. Domingo, as to believe you will employ what moments of leisure you may have, during your retreat, in communicating to me your ideas respecting the means proper to be taken, to cause agriculture and commerce again to flourish. As soon as a list and statement of the troops under General Dessalines are transmitted to me, I will communicate my instructions, as to the positions they are to take.” Hostilities ceased on the 1st of May.

The yellow fever making at this time the most dreadful ravages among the troops of Le Clerc, induced him, from principles of personal safety, to retire to the little island of Tortuga, to avoid the contagion. Finding himself now possessed of a sufficiency of power, to place him beyond the fear of any rival, he once more had recourse to the orders which he had already prematurely issued, and had been compelled to contradict, without waiting for the issue from France. Such was the quibbling proclamation which we have already quoted, by which he assured the blacks of freedom, as soon as it should be ratified by that man, who had sent him out on purpose to destroy it.

The more immediate effect of this new display of power was, to direct the blacks to return to their ancient labours, under their ancient masters, on many of the adjacent plantations. These, unwilling to comply with the rigorous injunction, appealed to Toussaint as their only friend; requesting him to interfere in their behalf, and acquainting him with their resolutions never to submit to this daring violation of their rights, which had been thus far protected by the blood of their countrymen.

Toussaint, actuated by the same principle, and willing to oblige them, wrote a letter on the occasion to an official agent at the Cape, who immediately transmitted it to Le Clerc in Tortuga. This letter was dated the 27th of May, and couched in the following language:

“It is said, that General Le Clerc is in an ill state of health, at Tortuga; of this you will inform me. If you see the General in Chief, be sure to tell him that the cultivators are no longer disposed to obey me, for the planters wish to set them to work at Hericourt, which they certainly ought not to do.

“I have to ask you, whether any one near the person of the General in Chief, can be gained to procure the release of D—, who would be very useful to me, from his influence at La Nouvelle and elsewhere.

“Acquaint Gengembre that he should not quit the Borgne, where the cultivators must not be set to work.”

Toussaint had not dispatched this letter more than two or three days, from the place of his retirement, in which he had resided about a month, before he was too fatally convinced of the baseness of Le Clerc. It was in the dead of night, when every thing around was silent and tranquil, and no suspicions whatever were entertained, that two armed ships, by order of Le Clerc, stood in close by the shore of Gonaives. This port was at no great distance from the residence of the heroic chief. No sooner had the ships reached this favourable situation, than several boats put on shore, filled with armed troops, who hastened to the dwelling of Toussaint, and in an instant surrounded his habitation. As they met with no resistance, no noise whatever was made. Toussaint was fast asleep, surrounded by his family, and totally unconscious of the fate which awaited him. In an instant, Brunet and Ferrari, to whom the execution of this affair had been entrusted, burst open



his door, and, in company with some armed grenadiers, rushed into his chamber, and commanded him to surrender himself to them as a prisoner.

Amazed at such an act of treachery and baseness, he enquired the cause of this strange disturbance, but could obtain no other reply, than that he must instantly depart. It was not long before he found, that his wife and children were involved in the same arrest; and that they also were doomed to leave their habitation immediately. For himself he offered no excuse; declaring that he was ready to accompany them, in obedience to their orders. But as his wife was feeble, and his children helpless, he begged earnestly that they might be suffered to remain. But these expostulations were urged in vain. The guards were increased; and in a few moments the whole family were hurried from their abode; and before the neighbourhood became fully alarmed, they were put on board the ships, which were instantly under sail.

But though these abominable transactions were conducted with the utmost secrecy, the vicinity caught the alarm, and a commotion became visible. Two of the nearest chiefs, instantly collected their forces, and attacked the miscreants who had torn from them their beloved chief. But they came too late to effect his rescue. They were soon overpowered with superior numbers, and being made prisoners, the two chiefs were put to death.

No sooner had these wretches secured Toussaint, than they exercised their ingenuity to discover his connexions. His enlightened and benevolent associates were instantly seized, and distributed on board the vessels which were then lying in the harbour. But of their destiny, it is in vain to enquire, as they were never seen or heard of more. Their fate seems to have been too abominable even for Le Clerc to boast of. The harbour of Cape Francois may still retain some memorials of their destiny; but the circumstances attending their exit, must remain a secret, till the sea shall give up her dead.

Le Clerc, to rid the island for ever of a man whom he both detested and feared, prepared soon after the capture of Toussaint, to send him to Europe, and with him an accusation, at once false, criminal, and malicious. His letter is dated Cape Francois, June 11th, and is as follows:

“ I informed you in one of my last dispatches, of the pardon I had been induced to grant to General Tous-

saint. This ambitious man, from the moment of his pardon, did not cease to plot in secret. Though he surrendered, it was because Generals Christophe and Dessalines intimated to him, that they clearly saw he had deceived them, and that they were determined to continue the war no longer; so finding himself deserted by them, he endeavoured to form an insurrection among the working negroes, and to raise them in a mass. The accounts which I received from all quarters, and from General Dessalines himself, with respect to the line of conduct which he held since his submission, left no room for doubt upon the subject. I intercepted letters which he had written to one Fontaine, who was agent at the Cape. These afforded an unanswerable proof that he was engaged in a conspiracy, and that he was anxious to regain his former influence in the colony.\* He only waited for the result of disease among the troops.

“Under these circumstances, it would be improper to give him time to mature his criminal designs. I ordered him to be apprehended;—a difficult task; but it succeeded from the excellent dispositions made by the General of Division Brunet, who was entrusted with its execution, and the zeal and ardour of Citizen Ferrari, a chief of squadron, and my aid-du-camp.

“I have sent to France, with all his family, this so deeply perfidious man, who, with so much hypocrisy, has done us so much mischief. The government will determine how it should dispose of him.

“The apprehension of General Toussaint occasioned some disturbances. Two leaders of the insurgents are already in custody, and I have ordered them to be shot. About 100 of his confidential partizans have been secured, some of whom are sent on board *La Muiron* frigate, which is under orders for the Mediterranean, and the rest are distributed among the different ships of the squadron.

“I am daily occupied in settling the affairs of the colony, with the least possible inconveniency; but the excessive heat, and the diseases which attack us, render it a task extremely painful. I am impatient for the ap-

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\* This expression alludes to the solitary letter which we have just quoted, with all its treason and tendency to insurrection and conspiracy.

proach of the month of September, when the season will restore us activity.

“The departure of Toussaint has produced general joy at the Cape.

“The commissary of justice, Mont Peson, is dead. The Colonial Prefect, Benezech, is breathing his last. The Adjutant-Commandant, Dampier, is dead; he was a young officer of great promise. I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed,)

“LE CLERC.”

An official letter more replete with falsehoods and misrepresentation, had probably never before crossed the Atlantic. But it is needless to animadvert, as the writer felt an interest in deceiving, and the First Consul was pleased with the detail. Subsequent events afforded a melancholy refutation of many parts, and no evidence was ever produced to substantiate the authenticity of the others.

Toussaint, from the moment in which he was seized, and torn from his habitation, was separated from his family, nor was he permitted to have any interview with them, during the whole of the passage to Europe. When the ship which brought them home, arrived at Brest, they were permitted to take a lasting farewell of each other on the deck, prior to their going on shore. The interview was affecting, and to avoid consequences which guilt feared to excite among the sailors, he was hurried away, and immediately thrust into a carriage which had been prepared; and, under an escort of horse, conducted to the castle of Joux, in Normandy. In this remote province, he was thrown into a dungeon, and entirely secluded from all human society, excepting a negroe servant, who to attend upon him, was immured in the same sepulchre of the living.

From Joux, he was, after some time, removed to Besancon, in the department of Doubs, and closely confined, without even a human being with whom he could converse. As to his servant, he had contrived to obtain his liberation from the irksome confinement of Joux, under a pretence of making some discoveries which would criminate his master. Nothing of this kind, however, was ever done; but Toussaint, though treated like a common felon, never was able to obtain either trial or redress. Secluded from mankind, without trial, without

examination, ignorant of the fate of his family, and without a friend, he was shut up in melancholy silence, in a horrid dungeon, the walls of which seemed to weep for his destiny. In this tomb he was abandoned and forgotten by the world, and only brought again to the recollection of the feeling heart, by the annunciation of his death. Happily for the honour of human nature, his state of suffering was not long. The damps and cold of his unwholesome abode, were insupportable to a man far advanced in years, who had spent the spring and summer of his life in the torrid zone.

A solitary sentence, announcing the death of this great man, contains all the intelligence relative to his exit, which the world has been able to obtain. To pass over an event so interesting, in total silence, would have given rise to such suspicions, which the French would have found some difficulty in removing; and to dwell upon the mournful topic of his death, would have excited enquiries which humanity and national ambition would not permit them to answer. The Paris journals of April 27th, 1803, merely tells us, that "Toussaint died in prison," and the English papers do little more than repeat the information. In one of them is the following paragraph:

"Toussaint L'Ouverture is dead. He died, according to letters from Besancon, a few days ago. The fate of this man has been singularly unfortunate, and his treatment most cruel. He died, we believe, without a friend to close his eyes. We have never heard that his wife and children, though they were brought over with him from St. Domingo, have ever been permitted to see him during his imprisonment."—Times, May 2d, 1803.

At the time of his exit, a general suspicion, founded upon recent circumstances, prevailed, that his death was accelerated by poison. But these suspicions have in general been dismissed of late. The author of a little tract, entitled, *Buonaparte in the West Indies*, asserts, that "the floor of the dungeon in which he was confined, and in which he died, was literally covered with water." If this was actually the case, neither the deleterious drug, nor the apparatus which strangled the unfortunate Pichegru, was necessary to put an end to his existence. The benevolent African, advanced to the age of *fifty-eight*, and exposed to the inclemencies of a dungeon, and all the inhumanities of his unfeeling oppressors, must have

sunk under the complication of his afflictions, and, perhaps, have found in death the solace of his woes, and in God that mercy which was refused him by his inhuman persecutors.

As to his wife and children, they remained in close custody at Brest, for about two months, after their only friend was torn from them. They were then removed to Bayonne, in the same province in which Toussaint was imprisoned, but without knowing any thing either of his proximity or his fate. In this place, reduced to distress, they continued a considerable time, neglected and forgotten, a sad spectacle of fallen greatness. After the death of Toussaint, a report prevailed, that these unhappy victims had obtained liberty to return to their native country. But even this report, however honourable it may appear, never received any satisfactory confirmation. Admitting the report to have been founded on fact, their return must have been embittered with a thousand painful recollections.

## CHAP. LIV.

## HISPANIOLA CONTINUED.

*Proceedings of Le Clerc, sickness among his troops, and renewal of the war.—The French employ blood-hounds, and suffocate and drown the Blacks in the harbour.—Death of Le Clerc.—Succeeded by Rochambeau.—Progress of the Blacks, and decline of the French power.—Amount of the French possessions in 1802.—Summary of lives lost in 1802.—Ravages of disease.—Dessalines placed at the head of the Black Forces.—General battle between Rochambeau and Dessalines.—Inhumanity of the former, and retaliation of the latter towards their prisoners.—Complete victory of the latter.—Recommencement of the war between England and France.—Rochambeau again has recourse to blood-hounds.—Cape Francois blockaded by the English.—Rochambeau reduced to the last extremity.—Capitulates with Dessalines.—Surrender of Port au Prince, and Fort Dauphin, and evacuation of the Mole.—French driven from the Cape, and obliged to take refuge on board their ships.—Taken possession of by the English.—Amount of prisoners.—Rochambeau sent prisoner to England.*

**LE CLERC**, having contrived to remove Toussaint for ever from the island, assumed to himself that title of which he had robbed his vanquished rival; and henceforth bore the denomination of "*General in Chief, and Captain-General.*" In his first pretensions he undertook to organize the colony anew; but, excepting some commercial regulations, he established all on the same foundation that Toussaint had placed them. Even the changes which he made, were such as gave offence, from being too much in favour of the British, and such as

talled forth a strong remonstrance from the mercantile interest in Paris. Among other items, he had restricted all French merchant-ships to four ports only, and forbidden them to trade in any other places of the island. As to civil government, it was overpowered by military law, which became more and more rigorous, as disease and death, lessening the number of the troops, created new alarms. The violent measures, however, to which he had resorted, produced an effect diametrically opposite to that which he intended, and actually strengthened that detestation of his conduct, which he was so anxious to prevent. On the distant mountains, particularly towards the Spanish division, innumerable hosts of Blacks had taken up their residence, and assumed a species of lawless independence. These ridiculed every idea of a surrender to the Europeans, notwithstanding the compromise which had been made with Toussaint, Christophe, and Dessalines. Even among those who had submitted, the sudden seizure of their brave leader, and of about 100 of his enlightened associates, of whose fate they had been able to obtain no satisfactory account, had made such a deep impression upon their minds, that Le Clerc but too plainly saw, that he had "conquered but half his foe." A silence that was rather sullen than tranquil, fostered the secret indignation which gnawed at heart; and occasional execrations, poured forth in volleys, portended an approaching storm.

Le Clerc, seated on his painful eminence, saw in a great measure, the danger of his situation, and exerted himself to counteract the impending evil, at a moment when death was lessening the number of his troops, and sickness disabling the survivors from performing the common duties of their stations. Having a great many posts to occupy, they were necessarily scattered in small parties, through those parts of the colony which had fallen into their hands; and so rapid was the progress of disease among them, that in many places, instead of performing their military duties, scarcely a sufficient number could be found among the healthy to attend upon the sick, or even in some places among the living to bury the dead. Additional duties were, nevertheless, imposed, which still tended to increase the malady; while the rigour with which the black inhabitants were treated, actually accelerated the insurrection which Le Clerc had but too much reason to apprehend. Instead of applying lenitives

to soothe them into a compliance, his only object was by the infusion of terror, to create within them an enormous idea of his power. But how formidable soever the forces of Le Clerc might be represented to the black inhabitants, few among them wanted sagacity to discover their real weakness. And even Le Clerc felt himself under the necessity, in the beginning of October, of sending by his *Aid-du-Camp*, a more faithful detail of his circumstances to France, than he had been accustomed to send, to enforce the necessity of more powerful reinforcements than he had hitherto received. The purport of these dispatches was for some time carefully concealed; but, like most articles of a public nature, it soon found its way into the world.

By these dispatches it appeared, that the month of September, for which he had waited with impatience, as a season that should "restore his army to activity," had brought with it nothing but disease and death. That, as to himself, he was scarcely in a way of recovery;—that the disease which had spread desolation in his army, still continued to prevail,—that many of his most valuable officers had become victims to the malady;—and that such as had reached the Island from Europe, smitten with horror at the spectacle which their countrymen every where exhibited, had been seized with despondency from which death alone had given them relief. That the blacks, availing themselves of these complicated distresses, had abandoned all subordination;—that Christophe and Dessalines had rejoined the insurgents with their forces:—that Clervaux, of whose submission he had boasted on a former occasion, had openly espoused the cause of the blacks;—and that Maurepas, who had been seduced by bribery, had been detected in a conspiracy against his white associates, or masters, and put to death. That, among the revolvers, many new and powerful commanders had arisen, and displayed surprising talents;—that these had been guilty of some serious depredations, and were pursuing a career which it was almost impossible to check. That among these insurgent generals, was one of the Congo tribe, named Sans Souci, who, with a "band of fierce barbarians," continued to rush from the mountains, and to commit the most savage outrages, but that his haunts could never be discovered. Such were the outlines of these gloomy dispatches, sent home by Le Clerc, in the beginning of October, 1802.



The wretched remnant of the French army, that had survived the pestilence, "Where nature sickened, and each gale was death," perceiving the dereliction of the black chiefs, and the swarms of negroes who espoused their cause, grew more sanguinary as their power became enfeebled, and as they grew more familiar with atrocities. Unwilling to place any confidence in the blacks, and anxious to reduce them to a state of slavery, they attempted to disarm even those who had acted hitherto with fidelity in concert with themselves. These, not having been charged with the commission of any offence, refused to submit to the unmerited degradation.

"In attempting to disarm the black troops (says Rainsford) which had been incorporated with the French, the necessity whereof was discovered too late, the most barbarous methods were practised. Ship loads were collected, and suffocated in the holds. In one instance, 600 being surrounded, and attempting resistance, were massacred on the spot; and such slaughters daily took place, in the vicinity of Cape Francois, that the air became tainted by the putrefaction of the bodies. At the same time, the French troops being driven from the field, and obliged to fortify themselves in the chief towns, contagion spread every where, and the distress became dreadfully general. In their extremity, to aid and fill up the measure of their enormities, the use of blood-hounds was resorted to;—that dreadful expedient, the temporary adoption of which, in a neighbouring colony, had already excited the disgust of the powers of Europe.

"Fort Dauphin, Port Paix, and several other favourite establishments, were by the middle of October, completely lost to the French; and it became known to the seamen who visited the Bight of Leogane, that after a considerable number of blacks had been hunted down in the neighbourhood of Port Republican, they were hurried on board the ships at anchor in the bay, and crowded into their holds; that, under cover of the night, this dishonoured navy put to sea, and first, either by burning brimstone in the holds, or by extinguishing sense by some other mode of suffocation, or without either, the miserable cargoes were discharged into the sea in such quantities, that at length the tide (as if the mighty Arbitrer of all meant to hold their shame before them) brought the corpses into the bay, and rolled them on the very beach. Human nature recoils at the description, yet

the scene is not ended;—under the dark concealment of the night, the tender wife, the aged parent, and even the rougher comrade in arms, stealing by the watchful suspicion of their masters, were seen wandering on the sea shore, to identify each victim as the wave produced him.”—Hist. of St. Domingo, page 327.

In the midst of these horrors, the infamous Le Clerc was summoned to appear before a higher tribunal than that which he had erected, to give an account of his deeds of darkness. He died on the night of the first of November, after having been driven from Tortuga, and compelled to take up his abode in the very heart of that pestilence, which carried him to the region where “offence’s gilded hand could not shove by justice.” He had appointed Rochambeau to be his successor, from a full conviction of his approaching dissolution. His body was embalmed, and carried on board the Swiftsure man of war, to be conducted to Europe, under the direction of Admiral Latouche. Madame Le Clerc attended on the awful occasion, and bade a final farewell to a region which had promised her happiness, but paid her with anguish and mortification; the general recompence of disappointed ambition.

Rochambeau, when the death of Le Clerc took place, was at Port-au-Prince; and though General Watrin was immediately dispatched to succeed him in that department, it was followed by a delay, before his arrival at Cape François, which the exigencies of their affairs could badly admit. The blacks, gathering strength, and increasing in numbers, in proportion as the French were declining in both, had made themselves masters of many important posts, and had actually set up the yell of war before the gates of the capital. The most imperious call upon the French therefore was, to devise some means to repel these daring assailants. Prior to the arrival of Rochambeau, General Clausel, who had commanded in the north, had collected together the few victims whom disease had spared, to drive from the suburbs of the city the menacing victors. But his efforts were feeble, and productive of little effect. They still continued masters of the country, and even blockaded the French in the few citadels which afforded them a temporary protection.

Reinforcements were indeed continually sent to the French army, from Havre and Cherbourg, but they were better calculated to keep alive, than to terminate the con-

tention. Poland, Piedmont, and the Low Countries, furnished the conscripts of the latter years. These were raw, and but indifferently disciplined: but alas! they were sufficiently disciplined for their office, as they had little more to do on their arrival at St. Domingo, than to pass through the hospital to the grave.

But what reinforcements soever the army of St. Domingo might have received, it was in no condition to commence offensive operations in the beginning of the year 1803. To enable it to *do this*, Rochambeau declared to the French Colonial Minister, that an addition of 4,000 men was necessary. How many more were necessary to *ensure success*, did not enter into his calculation. No more, however, were sent, and consequently all offensive operations were at an end. But little more, therefore, remains to be detailed, than the subsequent movements of both parties; and the circumstances which accompanied the final departure of the French from the Island.

The talents and valour of Dessalines, being fully known to his countrymen, he was appointed by the general suffrage, in 1803, to act as General-in-Chief. Invested with this power, he resolved not to dally with his faithless foes, as Toussaint had done, but to improve the moment which seemed favourable, to bring the ferocious war to a speedy and decisive issue. Impressed with this resolution, he drew a considerable force into the plain of Cape Francois, with a design either to attack the city, or to seize such advantages as might offer. Rochambeau, perceiving his movement, without knowing his intention, immediately collected the miserable remnant of his scattered forces, and united them together, to oppose Dessalines. Fearful, however, of what might happen, the French exerted themselves to strengthen the fortifications of the city; after having accomplished which, as delay was almost equally injurious with the sword, they determined to risk a general battle. Both parties were as well prepared for the event, as circumstances would admit; they had obtained advantageous positions; but the most favourable were thought, by General Rochambeau, to be in his possession.

The attack was begun by the latter, with the utmost resolution; and, from the violence of the onset, the troops of Dessalines gave way, and a considerable number of prisoners fell into his hands. But the power and courage of the blacks soon returned; so that when the French at-

tempted to pursue the advantages they had gained, they experienced a severe repulse. In the mean while, as a body of French was marching to strengthen one of the wings of their armies, they were unexpectedly surrounded by the blacks, made prisoners of war, and driven in triumph to their camp. With these vicissitudes, terminated the first day. The night, however, which followed, was not devoted to repose. On the contrary, Rochambeau, to the dishonour of Europe, and even of human nature, regardless of the fate which awaited his own associates, and bent upon the gratification of his own vengeance, ordered the black prisoners who had been taken, to be put to death. The fatal order was executed with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. Some of these unhappy victims perished on the spot; but others, only mutilated in their limbs, and less vital parts, were left in that horrible condition to disturb, with their shrieks and groans, the silence of the night.

The agonizing moans of these tortured men, not only filled the country with horror, but soon reached the ears of Dessalines and his soldiers. These, instead of being intimidated with the prospect of a similar fate, were exasperated even to madness, and thirsted for revenge. Dessalines, departing from the maxim of Toussaint, "*never to retaliate,*" mournfully indulged both his own and their ferocious spirits. Under cover of the same inauspicious night, he selected all the French officers whom he had taken on the preceding day, to whom he added a number of privates; and having erected a sufficient number of gibbets, in places most exposed to the inspection of the French army, hung them all up before break of day, a spectacle of horror to him who had inhumanly procured their death, by setting the example.

Nor did the revenge of the black soldiers, terminate even here. Burning with indignation against the men, whose conduct had stimulated them to their inhuman deeds, they descended from their *mornes* on the ensuing morning, with the most invincible determination. They then fell upon the French; threw their whole body into disorder; destroyed the camp; made a terrible slaughter; and compelled the flying fugitives to take refuge under the walls of Cape Francois.

From this period, the French, unable to face their opponents in the open field, became immured in their citades; while the troops of Dessalines, taking possession

of those posts, which they had been obliged to abandon, cut them off from all communication with the country, circumscribing their limits to about two miles from their fortified prison. To add to the calamities of the French commander, the war between France and England was again renewed, during this period of his distress. This circumstance operated against him in a two-fold manner; it deprived him of all hopes of obtaining any reinforcements, and exposed his vulnerable condition to the invasion of the British.

Intelligence of the war with England, soon reached General Rochambeau, who felt in an instant, the pressing embarrassment of his situation. Unfortunately, however, though sensible of his own insufficiency, he remained uninstructed by past experience. His cruelty seemed to increase with the desperation of his circumstances; and his ferocity delighted in the torments of those whom his arms were unable to subdue. Pent up in the city, from which his forces durst not venture in a body, he contrived to detach small parties with blood-hounds, to hunt down a few straggling negroes, who wandered through the woods, unconscious of the impending danger. These, when taken, were seized with brutal triumph, and thrown to the dogs to be devoured alive. In short, no methods were left untried, to improve the natural ferocity of these detestable animals, to inspire them with an unconquerable antipathy against the blacks, and to render them terrible by their formidable annoyances.

It was in the month of July, that an English squadron, not fully apprized of the condition of the French army, made its appearance off the Cape; at which period, both Rochambeau and Dessalines wished to avail themselves of their assistance. Dessalines and Christophe, on the approach of commodore Loring, who commanded the British squadron, immediately sent out a flag of truce, requesting him to co-operate with them, in the total reduction of the French, and to supply them with some military stores, in case he acceded to the proposition. Without entering into any formal alliance with the black Generals, the British, in the month of August, actually blocked up the harbour, so that the resources of the French were completely cut off, both by land and sea.

Finding his situation growing every day more critical, Rochambeau contrived to open a communication with the British commodore, in order to learn in a distant

manner, what terms of capitulation he had to expect, in case a proposition of that kind should be made, on either side. At the same time he improved every moment, in strengthening the works towards the sea, as well as towards the land; having every thing to fear from both quarters.

“The victorious blacks, in the meanwhile, continued to pour in reinforcements upon the plains of the Cape; Dessalines resolved to attack the city, and took measures accordingly. A powerful body descended from the Morne-du-Cap, and having passed the outer lines, and several of the block-houses, a sharp conflict ensued, and they then prepared to storm the city in thirty-six hours. The blacks being irresistible, Rochambeau, from a persuasion that all would be put to the sword, proceeded, before it was too late, to offer articles of capitulation, which, to the honour of the black General, by foregoing the desire of revenge for the conduct of the French, he accepted, granting them ten days to evacuate the city (and in so doing, the Island, leaving every thing in its existing condition) in their own ships, with the honours of war, all their private property, and leaving their sick to the care of the blacks; an instance of forbearance and magnanimity, of which there are not many examples, in the annals of ancient or modern history.”—Hist. of St. Domingo, page 340:

Articles of capitulation having been thus settled, and hostages given on each side, Rochambeau, on the same day, concealing his engagement with Dessalines, actually sent proposals to the British commodore, to treat with him also for the evacuation of the Cape. For this purpose, he dispatched General Boyé and Captain Barné, the latter a naval, and the former a military, officer. The purport of their proposal was, “that General Rochambeau, and his guards, consisting of about 500 men, should be conveyed to France, in two ships which were named, without being considered prisoners of war.”

Surprised at demands so foreign to what their situation entitled them to ask, commodore Loring gave an absolute refusal, but proposed terms which he thought were more suitable to their condition. These were “a general surrender; the French officers and troops in health, to go to Jamaica, but none of the white inhabitants of the Cape;—the sick to be conveyed to France and America, in English vessels; for which, proper security should be given.”

Rochambeau, as it was natural to conceive, from existing circumstances, rejected the terms proposed by commodore Loring; and it is more than probable, that he only waited a favourable opportunity to make his escape.

While things were thus in a state of awful suspense, which only preceded an important crisis, Port-au-Prince had been sneakingly evacuated by the French, and put into the hands of a black officer, named Petion. Fort Dauphin, no longer defensible against such a host of foes as continued to infest it, had also fallen into the hands of the blacks. Cape Francois, already under articles of capitulation, was kept from their possession only by a few days, so that nothing but the Mole could be said to be in the hands of the French. Even this solitary possession stood on a precarious tenure, and soon followed the fate of the rest of the colony, immediately after the final evacuation of Cape Francois.

It was on the second of December, that General Noailles, the solitary commander of the Mole, was summoned to surrender, by commodore Loring; but instead of complying with the conditions proposed, he contrived to gain time by an equivocal negotiation. While messages were passing and repassing on this occasion, he got all things in readiness for the accomplishment of his real design. This was to evacuate his station privately, without falling into the hands either of the English who had summoned him, or the blacks who were incroaching fast upon his rear. In stating his refusal to comply with the summons of commodore Loring, he declared that he had a sufficiency of provisions to supply his troops for five months. Commodore Loring having both his own ships, and the prizes he had taken at Cape Francois, crowded with prisoners, was by no means in a condition to wait the event. He therefore sailed for Jamaica, leaving the *La Pique*, a frigate, on this station, to blockade the place. Noailles, finding the other ships of the squadron gone, contrived, in the dead of night, in company with his garrison, to get on board of six vessels, which had been prepared to receive them, and convey them thence. Five, however, of the number, were captured by the *La Pique*; but the sixth, on board of which was General Noailles, escaped the vigilance of her pursuers. But it is now necessary to return to the evacuation of Cape Francois.

The capitulation which Rochambeau had entered into with Dessalines, though concealed from commodore Loring by the former, was communicated to him by the latter; he, therefore, waited the expiration of the appointed time, to mark the important event. As Rochambeau, by his letter, had broken off all communication with the British, and as the stipulated period between him and Dessalines had elapsed, commodore Loring, from perceiving no movements towards a surrender of the place, addressed a letter to the latter, to enquire whether any alteration had taken place, subsequent to the last communication, and if not, to request him to send some pilots on board, to conduct his squadron, or some part of it, into the harbour to take possession of the French shipping. To this letter, he received the following reply:

“LIBERTY OR DEATH!

“Head-Quarters, Nov. 27, 1803.

“*The Commander in Chief of the Native Army, to Commodore Loring, &c. &c.*

“SIR,

“I ACKNOWLEDGE the receipt of your letter, and you may be assured, that my disposition towards you, and against General Rochambeau, are invariable. I shall take possession of the Cape to-morrow morning, at the head of my army. It is a matter of great regret to me, that I cannot send you the pilots which you require. I presume that you will have no occasion for them, as I shall compel the French vessels to quit the road, and you will do with them what you shall think proper.

“I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“DESSALINES.”

On the 30th of November, the colours of Dessalines were unfurled upon the different forts; and the French, not having complied with the terms of capitulation in point of time, had taken a momentary refuge on board the vessels in the harbour, to escape the vengeance of the irritated Blacks. Commodore Loring, perceiving the change which had taken place, without knowing the circumstances which attended it, dispatched Captain Bligh to learn from General Dessalines, the condition and sentiments of Rochambeau and his remaining forces. He had scarcely entered the harbour, before he was met by Captain Barre of the French troops, then going in quest



of the English, to request them to enter the harbour immediately, and take possession of the ships in the name of his Britannic Majesty. This he observed, was the only method left, by which they could be saved from inevitable destruction, as the Black general was at that moment preparing to fire upon them with red-hot shot, and the wind blowing directly into the mouth of the harbour, prevented their departure.

Captain Bligh, affected with this representation, went immediately on board the *Surveillante*, when the French brought him a few articles, which they had written in the utmost haste. To some of these he objected, and they were quickly altered; after which they were signed; and the whole having surrendered at discretion, were put under the protection of the English. The conditions of this capitulation, so far as respected the etiquette of warlike honours, were nearly similar to those which had been previously granted by General Dessalines, but which had been forfeited by the too great lapse of time. They were permitted to sail out under French colours, to fire their broadsides after receiving a military signal, and then to surrender themselves as prisoners of war, and to give their ships into the hands of the English.

Immediately on the arrangement of the articles of surrender, Captain Bligh hastened to wait on General Dessalines, to inform him of what had been done, and to request him to desist from his purpose in firing upon them, till the weather should permit them to sail. To this the hardy chief was with much difficulty persuaded. He, nevertheless, at last complied, through the solicitations of Captain Bligh, and prevented the further progress of destruction.

The whole force thus falling into the hands of Commodore Loring, consisted of 8000 men, including both seamen and soldiers. These fugitives had taken refuge on board of three frigates, and seventeen merchant ships, of which he also took immediate possession. These were conducted without further delay to Jamaica, and placed under the direction of Admiral Duckworth. By this gentleman, General Rochambeau and some of his confidential officers, "who," as he expresses himself, "are said to have participated in his cruelties at the Cape," were sent to England in a ship of war. They landed at Portsmouth, on the 3d of February, 1804, from which place they were sent to the interior on their parole.

Thus ended this visionary expedition, through which Buonaparte, Le Clerc, and Rochambeau, had vainly flattered themselves and their country, that the inhabitants of St. Domingo were to be brought again into a state of slavery, and rendered once more subservient to the mandates of their oppressors. The calamities of these desperate adventurers may afford an instructive lesson to ambition; and teach those who thirst for dominion, and delight in blood, that the miseries they had designed for others, sometimes change their objects; and that the thunderbolt of war is capable of recoiling back on the heads of those, whose hands had been employed to hurl it.

## CHAP. LV.

## HISPANIOLA CONTINUED AND CONCLUDED.

*Abjuration of the French Nation.—Vengeance of Dessalines.—Method adopted to restore those Blacks who had been removed from the Island.—Private instructions for bringing delinquents to justice.—Proposals by the people and Government, to make Dessalines Governor-General for life.—Proclamation issued on the occasion.—Tour of Dessalines through the Island.—Proposal to make Dessalines Emperor.—Overture accepted.—Procession accompanying his coronation.—Public rejoicing on the occasion.*

THE evacuation of Cape Francois in the end of November, and of the Mole on the second of December, ushered in "the Aurora of Peace," which Dessalines and his colleagues had predicted. A small French force, it is true, still remained on the island, but it was in the Spanish territory, and had borne no active part in the convulsions which had agitated the colony. Deserted by those, with whom alone they could act in conjunction with any probability of success, Dessalines had nothing to fear from any irruption they were capable of making. He, nevertheless, felt an anxiety to get them removed off the island, that every trace of French power might be obliterated from the minds of the inhabitants for ever. With this view, on the 1st of January, 1804, he issued a spirited proclamation, as a solemn abjuration of the French nation for ever.

It was thus with the commencement of the new year, that a new æra commenced in the island of St. Domingo, and with it the restoration of its primitive name Hayti. The numerous defections which Dessalines had perceived on former occasions, may in some measure account for

the energetic language held forth by him in his abjuration; and the subsequent intrigues of the white inhabitants, who were permitted to remain on the island, unfortunately verified his prediction,—“*that if they find an asylum among us, they will still be the instigators of our troubles and divisions.*” Some inconsiderate persons, regardless of the vengeance denounced in the abjuration, were even so foolish as to imagine, that their former dominion would again revive; and full of this persuasion, they refused to relinquish their visionary schemes of aggrandizement and power. Others, less cautious of their own personal safety, even retained the blood-hounds which had augmented the carnage, and had been the cause of many dreadful retaliations. These causes conspired to increase the animosity which was already wound almost to its highest pitch, and to draw down upon their heads that vengeance, which they had so imprudently provoked, and which has stained with blood, the early annals of the Black Empire of Hayti.

But while a number of French, from a lingering fondness for their ancient possessions, ventured to remain on the island, others had removed, and multitudes of slaves had been taken to the continent of America, by some of their ancient proprietors, who had emigrated on the commencement of the civil war. These proprietors, cut off from their usual resources, through the increase of the commotions, found themselves unable to support that splendid retinue which vanity had prompted them to adopt. The triumphs of Dessalines, and the total overthrow of the French, had deprived them of every hope, and compelled them to abandon their slaves in a foreign land.

Dessalines, convinced of their condition, and persuaded that even with wishes to return, they were destitute of the necessary means, issued a decree, which offered to them relief, of which the following is a copy:

“ Liberty or Death!

“ Government of Hayti.

“ Head-Quarters, Jan. 14, 1804.

“ 1st year of the Independence of Hayti.

“ The Governor-General, considering that a great number of Native Blacks, and men of colour, are suffering in the United States of America, for want of the means of returning:

“ Decrees,

“ That there shall be allowed to the captains of American vessels, the sum of forty dollars, for each individual they may restore to this country. He orders, that this decree shall be printed, published, and posted up, and that a copy thereof be immediately forwarded to the Congress of the United States.

“ By the Governor-General,      DESSALINES.”

Established in power, and resolved to preserve his government in peace, Dessalines unhappily found it necessary, not only to hold out relief to the unfortunate, but to call to the bar of justice, those delinquents, who, by their treacherous conduct, had contributed towards the calamities which had overwhelmed the land. To bring these to punishment, and to prevent the innocent from being involved with the guilty, was a task of some difficulty; it was, nevertheless, undertaken by the government of Hayti, and privately communicated in the most cautious terms.

The unremitting activity, and undeviating attachment of Dessalines to the interests he had espoused, obtained for him such an ascendancy over the minds of the people, that, in their Legislative Assembly, which sat in the month of April, it was resolved to make him Governor-General for life. With this title, thus conferred, was communicated the power of making peace or war with any other state;—with controlling the force of the nation,—directing its most important movements, and nominating his own successor.

Previous, however, to his inauguration, he determined, like his unfortunate predecessor Toussaint, to make a tour through the island, to note the manners which prevailed, and to observe how far the regulations he had already introduced, were enforced, and what beneficial effects had resulted from their adoption. A movement of this nature, without any previous intimation, he was well aware might occasion some alarm; and, therefore, prior to his journey, a proclamation was issued, announcing his intentions respecting the government, and the motives by which he was actuated.

This proclamation, which was addressed to the inhabitants of Hayti, who had formerly been under the dominion of France, was soon followed by another, which was directed to those who resided in the ancient Spanish

territories. It proceeds to state to them, the total overthrow of the French power in the island, and places before them the extensiveness of that dominion, which Dessalines had acquired in consequence of their defeat. It holds out, in nervous language, his pacific intentions towards them, but particularly cautions them against affording to the French, against whom they had sworn eternal hatred, the least assistance or succour. The same spirit of invincible vengeance breathes through the whole performance; suspended, indeed, on a condition respecting the Spaniards, but denouncing their doom, in case of any deviation from the rule of conduct prescribed. Both of these proclamations were productive of the desired effect; the former inspired with resolution, and produced unanimity; and the latter fear, and produced peace. In both cases, the character of the chief becomes developed; the courage, detestation, and ferocious resolution of Dessalines, beam through every sentence of these compositions.

On the fourteenth of May, Dessalines departed from the Cape, which had lately been made his head-quarters, and repaired to the Mole. From hence he visited Port Paix, and from thence he repaired to Gonaives; and, through the months of June and July, examined in person the western and southern provinces, enforced many necessary regulations, and gave directions for the repairing of the wastes of war. Animated by the presence of their victorious chief, whom they were about to establish in supreme power for life, the people whom he visited, resolved during this journey, to give him if possible a still more convincing proof of their confidence, and therefore proposed to exalt him to the dignity of Emperor. Whether any intrigue had been used on the occasion, on the part of Dessalines, or that the offer was a pure emanation of gratitude, originating with the people, it is impossible to say. This much is however clear, that the proposal was accepted by him without any reluctance, and preparations were instantly made for his imperial coronation.

The knowledge of his acceptance of the intended honour which they designed to confer upon him, was soon communicated to the people at large, and instantly obtained from them an unanimous approbation. The legal authorities which had been established, met on the 8th of the ensuing September, at Port-au-Prince, to

arrange the ceremonies, and nominate the day for his coronation. This they finally fixed for the 8th of October, and immediately issued an account of the rank which the various sciences would bear, in the procession which they designed to introduce on the occasion. In this procession, *Learning, the Arts, Agriculture, Foreign and National Commerce, Justice and Legislation, the Officers of Health, and the Military*, were all introduced in order, and exhibited a spectacle every way suited to the dignity of the occasion.

On the arrival of this procession at the Champ de Mars, all the drums beat a march, when they proceeded to the amphitheatre, which had been prepared for the occasion. At the amphitheatre, amidst a solemn silence, the act was read in an intelligible voice, which announced *Jean Jaques Dessalines the first Emperor of Hayti*. The reading of this act, was immediately followed by a discharge of musketry, and the thunder of cannon, both from the forts and the harbour, which, in conjunction with the acclamations of the people, resounded even through the firmament.

Dessalines then ascended a throne, which had been elevated in the amphitheatre for his reception, and received the ceremony of coronation, amidst a circle of the principal officers of the empire. The accomplishment of this ceremony, was announced by a triple discharge of musketry and cannon. These ceremonies being ended, the troops filed off to the church, and formed in order of battle. After this, the procession entered the church, where a *Te Deum* was sung to commemorate the important transactions of this memorable day. While this was singing, a third discharge of musketry and cannon took place. From this place of solemnity, the whole procession returned in the order in which they came, to the government house; after which, a grand illumination took place through all parts of the city, amidst every demonstration of joy, that both language and action could possibly express.

Such then have been the origin, progress, and completion of the extraordinary revolution in St. Domingo. What events respecting them are lodged in futurity, the flight of time only can develope. Thus far the inhabitants of Hayti, in conjunction with the elements, have shaken off the European yoke, and have been suffered to remain in possession of the powers they have assumed,

without molestation. Whether a peace throughout Europe, may be to them a declaration of war, we take not upon us to determine. The losses and dishonour which France has sustained, in the ineffectual exertions made by Le Clerc and Rochambeau, cannot yet be erased from her memory; and perhaps, she may find it prudent to omit making any fresh attempts to gather laurels in this inhospitable climate, from a fear of tarnishing her distant glory, by augmenting her past disgrace.

As to the title, by virtue of which Dessalines took possession of the purple, it will hardly be questioned by the present emperor of France, till the name and claims of the Capets are forgotten. But a favourable opportunity to regain a valuable colony, would not be neglected by him for the sake of a few ceremonies scruples. Unfortunately, politicians and warriors have felt no hesitation in declaring, by their conduct, that glory is not sullied by the means adopted to acquire it, if these means can ensure success. On the various turns which the human mind can take, we presume not to calculate, and we must leave events to the destinies of Heaven.

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Already, since the preceding paragraph was written, has the tyrant of France, who spread terror throughout Europe, been hurled from his exalted pinnacle; and, in a most unexpected manner, one of the ancient dynasty has been exalted to the throne. Europe, happily delivered from the scourge of a bloody and protracted war, at this moment sinks down in peace; but the distant appendages of its distinct empires, have not yet been publicly either defined or named. On the destiny of Hayti, we can therefore scarcely with prudence, risk even a solitary conjecture. Hitherto, the elements, under the direction of the Almighty, have favoured the cause of its inhabitants, and given to the world a pledge that their independence will be secured. Nevertheless, we only know with certainty, that the empires of the world, overruled by infinite wisdom, will continue to change, until the earth shall be renewed in righteousness, and finally settled in universal peace.



A

## GENERAL INDEX

to

### DR. COKE'S HISTORY

OF

## THE WEST INDIES.

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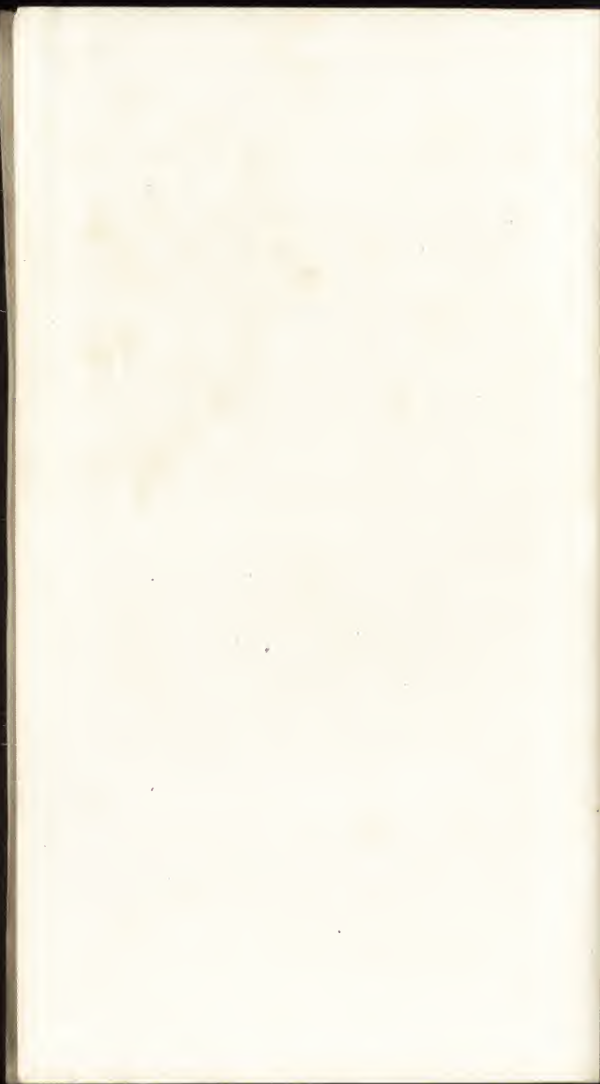
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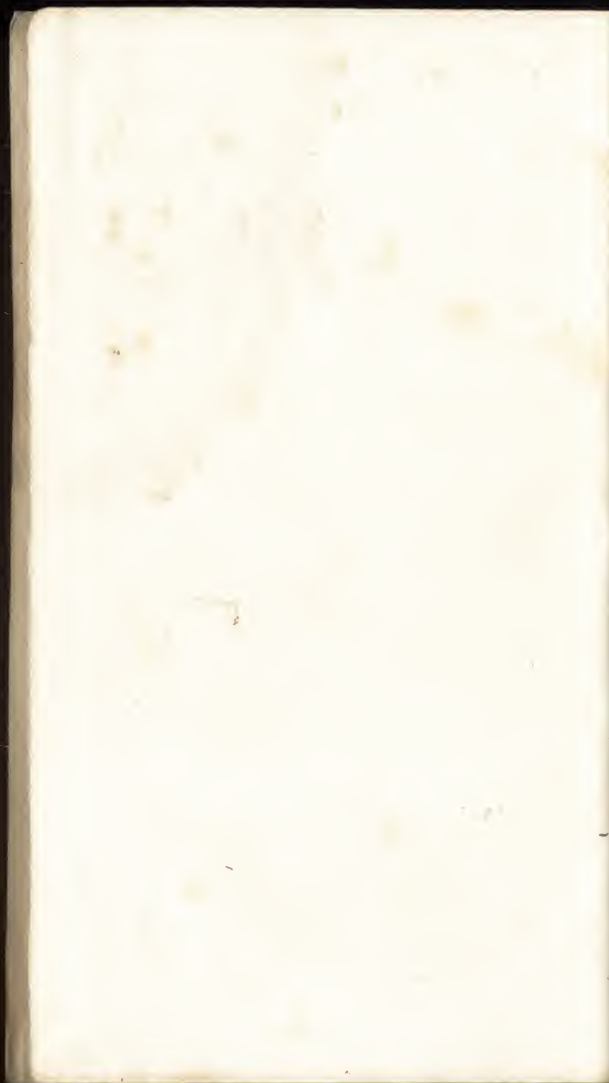
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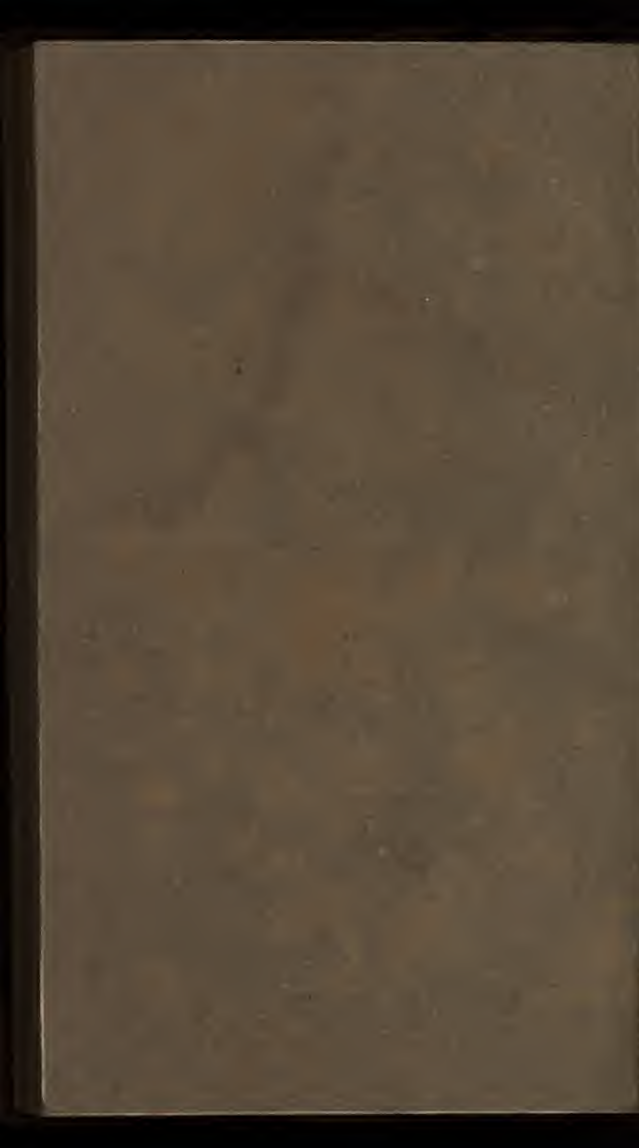










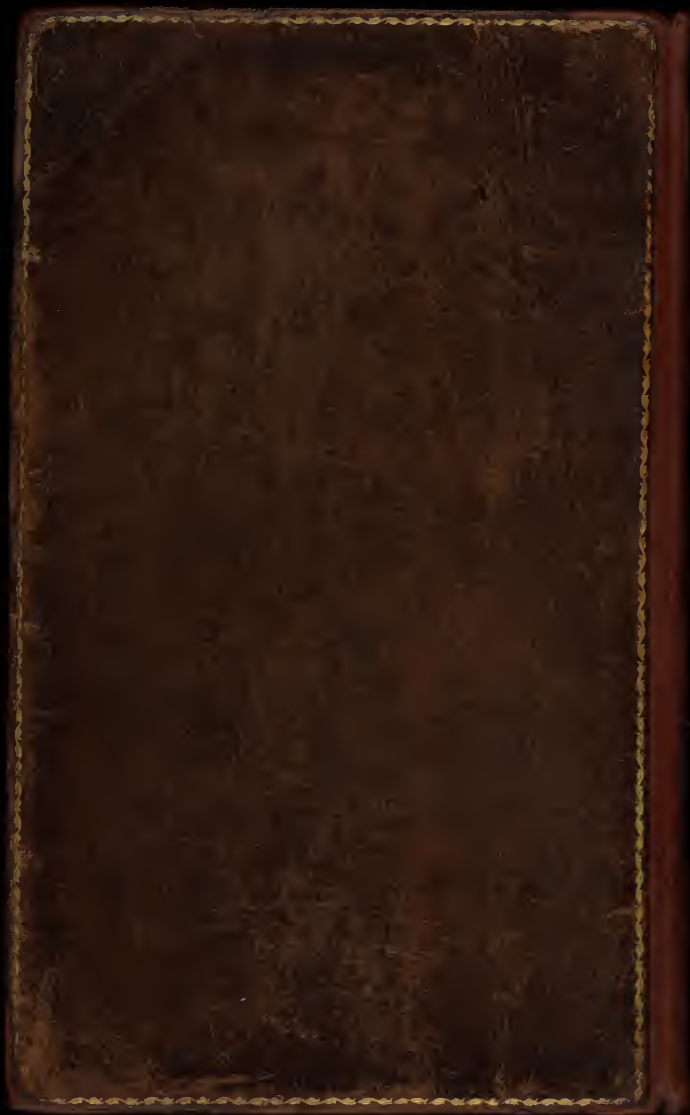




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