HISTORY

OF THE

ISLAND OF ST. DOMINGO,

FROM ITS FIRST

DISCOVERY BY COLUMBUS

TO

THE PRESENT PERIOD.

LONDON:

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE island of St. Domingo presents an object of interesting contemplation to every observer of the past and present state of the world. The circumstances which invest it with peculiar interest are,—the fertility of its soil, the beauty of its scenery, and the general advantages of its situation;—its distinction as the first spot colonized by Europeans in the western hemisphere;—the barbarous extirpation of its original inhabitants;—the importation of Africans, forcibly dragged from their native shores;—the oppressions and cruelties endured by one generation after another of these hapless beings;—the signal vengeance which it pleased divine providence to permit them, at length, to inflict upon their tyrants;—and, above all, the acquisition of independence, the introduction and progress of civilization, and the establishment of social order and regular government, among a people whom their oppressors had denounced as incapable of these benefits. With such claims to attention, it is hoped that the following attempt to furnish a sketch of the History of St. Domingo, derived from authentic sources, and condensed into a more commodious form than has yet appeared, will not be unacceptable to the British public.

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ERRATA.

Page 2. For *the native country of Columbus*, read, *the country which sent out the squadron under Columbus.*

Page 103. Note. For *a typographical view*, read, *statistical tables relating to the French part.*



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HISTORY

OF

ST. DOMINGO.

CHAP. I.

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE ISLAND, TO THE YEAR 1600.

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Between Porto Rico on the east, and Jamaica and Cuba on the west, and at the distance of about three thousand five hundred miles from

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the Land's End in England, the island of St. Domingo, the abode of fertility, and the scene of important political changes appears upon the surface of the Atlantic Ocean. It extends one hundred and forty or fifty miles in breadth, from north to south, and about four hundred in length from east to west,* and lies in the latitude of 18. 20. north, and in longitude 68. 40. west from Greenwich. It is surrounded by rocks and dangerous shoals, with the Bahama islands not far distant in a northerly direction, while it is bounded on the south by the Caribbean sea.

It was originally called *Hayti* by the natives, and afterwards *Espagnola* or *Hispaniola*, in honor of the native country of Columbus its discoverer.

The general salubrity of the climate, the productiveness of the soil and the beauty of the scenery—comprising mountains of prodigious altitude and plains of magnificent extent, every where well watered, and in consequence spread over with the most luxuriant vegetation—render this island a most inviting spot; and we do

* Edwards states the length of the island at three hundred and ninety, Rainsford says it is more than four hundred and fifty; the Abbé Raynal represents it as two hundred leagues in length, and sixty, in some places eighty, in breadth; the reader must judge between these discrepances.

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not wonder that Columbus boasted of having discovered the original seat of paradise. "In these delightful vales, 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 fruit 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 clearest light. The air is temperate in the day-time, and the nights are constantly cool." * The land is generally considered as best in the vicinity of the city from which the present name of the island is derived: the interior is now occupied by large savannahs or plains, scattered with wild swine, horses, and horned cattle, which have been introduced by the Spaniards, who having exterminated the natives allowed their domestic animals to run wild, and people the wilderness. From the situation of this island, it might be supposed to suffer from intense heat, during at least one half the year, but this is provided against by an easterly wind which blows with great regularity at certain seasons, and refreshes what would otherwise prove a sultry

* Raynal's East and West Indies.

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and oppressive climate. This wind is not much felt till about nine o'clock in the morning: it then encreases as the sun advances to his meridian, and decreases as he descends again to the horizon, and sinks with him.

St. Domingo is also extremely benefitted by frequent rain, especially during the months of severest heat: the same kind provision for the comfort of man is observable in most countries within the torrid zone, and Providence has generally proportioned the supply to the ardour of the climate. While this remark, however, applies generally to our island, it is notorious for the variety of its climates as well as of its soil. In two adjoining districts, the one is continually inundated with showers, the other almost as destitute of them. The clouds stop at a certain point as on the line of boundary, whence they disperse into vapours, seldom bestowing more than a few drops upon the thirsty region beyond this divison. This difference regularly takes place between the north and south sides, and at the end of November the south side, and even the west suffers extremely by drought, while the north-east continues to be favoured with abundant rain.* Thunder, which during the summer is often tremendous, is seldom heard between

* Charlevoix, Hist. de l' Isle Espagnole, Tom. 1.

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the months of November and April. The nights are very clear, and the moon is not only sufficiently bright to enable a person to read, but frequently powerful enough to exhibit the rainbow.* Whenever the rain ceases at any place, the dew descends in the greatest abundance, which is of material consequence to vegetation. Sometimes the cold is considerable, so that a fire is by no means unwelcome.

But notwithstanding what we have remarked on the different temperature of the air in different places, the inhabitants can scarcely agree upon what periods of the year ought to be designated winter and summer. Those who live to the west and south, and midland parts, consider the time between April and November as including the winter months or season of storms; the inhabitants of the northern districts reckon just the reverse, but neither of them speak either of spring or autumn, so sudden are the transitions.

It has been found by experience, that the island is not favourable to European constitutions, which usually decline under the combined influences of heat and humidity. Another cause, indeed, unhappily exists to prevent their attaining that longevity for which many of the natives are distinguished. Instead of that,

* Charlevoix.

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disciplined temperance which is beneficial to life in all places, particularly to those who have removed from cold to warmer climates, most of the settlers in the West Indies have indulged in luxury and dissipation, in consequence of which, apart from the direct effect of the elements, they have been usually hastened to a premature grave, or have exposed themselves as a prey to weakness and disease.

Although a considerable proportion of the island is mountainous, it is every where capable of cultivation, in most places even to the very summits of the loftiest hills. None are absolutely barren, though steep, and rising to a great elevation; especially towards Cape Tiburon. Some of them serve as embankments against the ocean, and ascend from its waters in high perpendicular crags to the extreme danger of the mariner.

In some places, after digging a few feet, we meet with soft gravel or sandy stone, in others with clay, potter's earth, or a bed of sand; and frequently the best soil is of a considerable depth; but what at first sight appears astonishing, this last soil is often found destitute of trees: but the reason is obvious—the excessive drought which prevails during three or four months in the year over the greatest part of the island; in consequence of which the soil cannot

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supply vegetation with sufficient nutriment. It might be imagined from this statement, that none of the larger species of trees were to be found upon the island: but it is otherwise—for the roots seldom striking deeper into the soil than two feet, diffuse themselves in a horizontal direction, according to the superincumbent weight they have to sustain. The fig-tree is the most remarkable for the extension of its roots, which sometimes reach to seventy feet. The palm, on the contrary, pushes its roots to a much shorter distance, but they are so numerous as equally to answer the purpose of giving firmness and stability to the tree.

The rivers are numerous, though most of them ought to be rather regarded as torrents or brooks, which flow with great rapidity. The water is usually wholesome, but so cold that it ought to be drank with care, and is dangerous for bathing. There are fifteen large streams, besides the six most important rivers: of which latter, the Ozama forms at its mouth the port of St. Domingo, the Macoris is the most navigable, and the best stocked with fish, the Yaquey is remarkable for a gold mine at its source, and for the particles of that precious metal to be found amongst its sands, the Una has a copper mine at its source, and is very rapid, the Hattibonite or Artibonite is the

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largest, and makes the longest circuit. In the interior are several small lakes.

The island is pre-eminently distinguished for its mines of gold: it possesses also some of silver, copper, and iron: and besides these a variety of marble quarries and mines of sulphur, talc, and various chrystallized substances. Numerous species of stones are also found, some of a valuable kind. The most common are fire-stones, some of which are white, and formed into diamond points capable of cutting glass, very bright and clear. In many places there are natural salt-pits along the coast, and in one of the mountains that enclose the lake Xaragua, a mineral-salt, harder and more corrosive than sea-salt. The Spanish historian Oviedo states, that the whole mountain is in fact a rock of salt. The island furnishes a variety of shells. Its birds, insects, fishes, and other peculiarities, are either too well known to need enumeration, or must be left to the ornithologist and others, to whom it belongs to classify and describe them.

The sixth of December, 1492, is the memorable date of the discovery of this remarkable island. Columbus landed at a small bay, which he named *St. Nicholas,* whence he sailed along the northern coast till he arrived at a harbour which seemed to offer him better ac-

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commodations than St. Nicholas, and where he obtained an intercourse with the inhabitants by means of a female whom his people had conciliated with a few presents; he called it *Conception.*

The island was at this period divided into five considerable kingdoms, united in perfect amity. Their kings were denominated caciques, and seemed to have acquired an ascendancy over their subjects, which might be called the tyranny of love. The Spanish adventurers found the male inhabitants naked, and like most other barbarous people, addicted to painting their bodies: the women were clothed in a kind of cotton petticoat, reaching down to the knees, but the girls wore no article of apparel. Having already, since the month of October, become acquainted with the neighbouring islands, they had an opportunity of comparing the complexion of their respective inhabitants, and found that those of St. Domingo were the fairest. Their food consisted of maize, roots, fruit, and shell-fish, in the use of which they observed great temperance: but though naturally nimble and active they were averse to all laborious employment, which may no doubt be accounted for by considering the soothing warmth and benignity of the climate, and the richness of the soil, which superseded

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the necessity of any great exertions. Reclining therefore in the lap of ease, and on the couch of indolence, diversion was their only business, and sleep their recreation.

It can excite no astonishment, to find that the Spaniards represent them as of a feeble understanding, for what opportunities did they possess for mental cultivation and improvement? Mere ignorance, however, in a people divested of the means of acquiring information by books, or by an extensive connection with the world, is no just criterion of their intellectual incapacity; and it has been actually seen in various remarkable instances, that the degradation of mind and character which has too hastily been imputed to nations placed at a distance from those sources of knowledge which abound in civilized and enlightened countries, has resulted from no other cause than their unfortunate circumstances. True philosophy disdains to adopt those prejudices against nations which have no better foundation than accidental diversities of colour, and refuses to determine without substantial evidence and incontestible fact, as the basis of her judgment.

Most of those amiable qualities which adorn human nature in its improved state were exhibited by the Haytians. It appears that

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all the islanders were soon conciliated with presents and were so susceptible of the kind treatment of the strangers as to appear on shore without arms—many of them venturing on board the ships, giving fruits to their visitors, and assisting them to get on shore. In all their conduct they evinced the very reverse of the malignant passions; in fact they were gentle even to indifference and dullness, and the worst part of their mental character was, that they manifested no desire for improvement. All their history was comprised in songs which they had learnt in childhood, and in fables which while they amused the idle hour furnished no authentic information. Some persons would pronounce them happy, and so far as the nature of their situation tended to preclude a multitude of evils which thrive in the less retired and less peaceful abodes of civilization and refinement, the term may be admitted, supposing it to be employed only in its negative sense; but as to all positive enjoyment, arising from the enlarged exercise of the faculties and the knowledge of the great principles of morality and religion, they must be pronounced destitute and wretched. They possessed the ease of lassitude, but knew nothing of the pleasure and reward of successful activity.

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Properly speaking, therefore, they were only, not miserable.

Their domestic economy does not seem to have been much adapted to promote comfort. They had a plurality of wives, although their affections were usually concentrated in one, who was beloved above the rest, yet without possessing any superior authority. This distinguished favourite would sometimes immolate herself in the same grave with her departed husband: but this was considered merely as a sacrifice to affection, and not practised as it is in some other parts of the world as a matter of honour or conscience.

Of their religion little can be ascertained: they are represented as paying adoration to a number of malevolent beings, which, if true, probably resulted from motives of fear and superstition. It is certain also that they had sorcerers among them.

An incident related by Columbus in a report to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, merits insertion. When that celebrated navigator was wrecked on the eastern coast of the island, Guacanahari, the cazique or king of that district, being informed of the disaster, immediately expressed the greatest sorrow, sent all the people of the place on board in a number of

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large canoes, who in a short time secured every thing which could be saved from the shattered vessel. "He himself," says Columbus, "with his brother and relatives, took all possible care that every thing should be properly done both aboard and on shore: and from time to time he sent some of his relations weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected for he would give me all that he had. I can assure your Highnesses that so much care would not have been taken of securing our effects in any part of Spain; as all our property was put together in one place near his palace, until the houses which he wanted to prepare for the custody of it were emptied, he immediately placed a guard of armed men who watched during the whole night, and those on shore lamented as much as if they had been interested in our loss."

An interchange of mutual esteem and friendship was continually carried on between the islanders and their visitors; the former regarded the latter as preternatural beings, and the cazique was extremely courteous, presenting Columbus with numerous articles of curious workmanship: while the Spaniards availed themselves of the opportunity of exchanging their trifles of beads, knives, pins and other articles for pieces of gold, of which they were in eager pursuit, and which the inhabitants,

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without any knowledge of their value to the Europeans, procured from the beds of rivers, whither they were brought down from the mountains by the stream.

While, however, the islanders were made sensible of the friendship of the strangers, (a friendship alas! of whose interested motive they could form no adequate conception) they were overawed by the display of the effects of artillery which was given in their presence as a measure of necessary precaution. The policy of the Spaniards was to induce the natives at once to love and to fear them, and they so far succeeded as to produce the conviction that what they presented to them were sacred things; an idea which their subsequent conduct could not eradicate. But we must not too heartily condemn the Spaniards, unless we are willing to comprehend in the well merited censure the prodigious multitudes of the designing and the wicked of every age and country who are perpetually practising upon the credulity of mankind, and congratulating themselves but too justly upon the skill with which they circulate delusion and inflict pain.

Columbus was soon placed in circumstances which rendered it important to him to form a settlement upon the island, and to depart for Spain. Having lost one of his ships, and re-

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ceived no intelligence since his arrival of another, the third was insufficient for the whole of the crew, a part of which, therefore, he was anxious to leave during his voyage home. In this he found no difficulty; and selected accordingly thirty-eight or thirty-nine Castilians, whom he entrusted to the command of Roderigo de Arado or Arana, of Cordova; promising to recommend them to European patronage and protection. The simple-hearted Haytians assisted in the erection of the fort which was to give the mastery to their wiser discoverers; and Columbus after reconnoitering the island quitted the colony on the fourth of January 1493, and arrived in Spain the following March. Proceeding instantly to Barcelona where the court resided, he was welcomed with extraordinary demonstrations of joy: the nobility and people went out to meet him, and accompanied him in crowds to his sovereign, to whom he presented some of the islanders who had voluntarily attended him to Europe. Birds, cotton, and various curiosities were exhibited as the fruit of his discoveries; but above all, as most attractive to avaricious eyes, pieces of gold, which immediately convinced every one that he had found inexhaustible riches, and was at once the most fortunate and the most honorable of mankind. It was not enough to load him

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with caresses and praises, their enthusiasm allowed him to sit as a grandee of Spain at the public audience of the sovereigns.

The stay of Columbus at Barcelona was not prolonged a single hour for the purpose of indulging himself in an inglorious ease. When the purpose of his visit was accomplished he felt anxious to depart; which however he was desirous not to do, till the natives who had accompanied him to Europe, among whom was the father of the cazique beforementioned, were baptized into the Catholic faith, and publicly received into the Communion of that church. This was accordingly done in the presence and with the co-operation of the royal family. The Catholics carried their zeal still further, and chose a number of ecclesiastics out of the religious orders, who were deputed to go abroad under a superior, to whom the pope entrusted extraordinary powers, with a view of proselyting the inhabitants of the new world to their religion.*

At the expiration of about six months, being furnished with a fleet of seventeen sail, under the papal sanction, containing fifteen hundred persons, most of them gentlemen, and some of distinguished rank, with soldiers, artificers and missionaries, with abundant provisions, instruments for working the mines, the seeds

* Charlevoix Hist. de l'Isle Espagnole.

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of all the plants considered likely to thrive in the climate, and with the domestic animals of Europe, which were unknown in the newly discovered region. Columbus set sail in the autumn from the Bay of Cadiz, and arrived at St. Domingo on the twenty-second of November. But how extreme his disappointment to witness devastation instead of prosperity, and silence instead of notes of welcome and congratulation!

During the interval of his absence, and indeed very soon after his departure, the garrison revolted from the authority of their commander, and in defiance of all wholesome restraint as well as of every prudential consideration, indulged in riot and licentiousness, seizing the provisions and the gold of the natives. The evil becoming past further endurance, the cazique of Cibao destroyed the fort and colony; so that in the expresssive words of the Abbé Raynal, "Columbus found nothing but ruins and carcases upon the spot where he had left fortifications and Spaniards." Instead of uselessly wasting his time in retaliations he induced his companions to begin the erection of a city in a spacious plain, conveniently situated with respect to a bay, and at length dignified with the name of Isabella, in honor of the queen his patroness. A fort was also built on the moun-

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tains of Cibao, where they collected gold in considerable quantities from the torrents, and where they determined to open mines.

Intent on the great purpose of making further discoveries, Columbus appointed his brother Diego to govern during his absence and debarked on the twenty-fourth of April; but after a disastrous navigation of five months, returned to witness new calamities. The soldiery had been placed under the command of Don Pedro Margarita, and were commissioned to undertake the establishment of the Spanish authority in different parts of the island. They committed similar excesses to those which had previously produced the destruction of the first colony; and Columbus was necessitated to take up arms to repel those attacks which had before proved successful. The battle was fought in the plain of Vega Real, and notwithstanding the extreme disparity of numbers, there being a hundred thousand Indians, and only two hundred foot, twenty horse and twenty dogs to compose the Spanish armament, it will not appear surprising that European discipline should obtain an easy conquest over the military incompetence of the Haytians.* The prisoners were condemned

* "Ces pauvres insulaires, accoûtumés la plûpart à se battre en se poussant à force de bras, ou tout au plus à coups de Macanas

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to the mines, excepting three hundred who were sent into Spain as slaves; but to the immortal honour of the Queen of Castile be it recorded, she restored them to their country, accompanied with orders to give them their liberty, and at the same time to pay particular attention to conciliate the islanders to the Christian religion, and to bring them by persuasion, not by compulsion, to submit to the crown of Castile.*

These orders, however, arrived too late. The entire subjection of the island was the natural consequence of this victory, which was atchieved in March 1495. A tax was imposed on all the natives above the age of fourteen, to be paid in gold every three months by those who lived in the vicinity of the mines, by others in cotton; the consequence of which was an attempt on their part to reduce the Spaniards to starvation, by tearing up the roots of vegetables, and retiring from the labors of the field to the inaccessible parts of the mountains. By

furent étrangement surpris de voir les Espagnols a battre des lignes entieres avec leurs armes à feu, dont aucun coup ne portoit à faux sur des corps tout nuds et qu'on approchoit aussi près qu'on vouloit, enfiler trois ou quatre hommes à la fois avec leurs longues épées, les fouler aux pieds des chevaux and lâcher sur eux de gros mâtins qui leur sautant à la gorge, les étrangloient d'abord et les mettoient en pieces."—Charlevoix.

* Charlevoix.

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this means, however, they became themselves the victims of their own inconsideration and inexperience, and upwards of a third of their number perished. Previously to this terrible disaster they were estimated at a million. It was not, however, famine merely that occasioned their destruction; the ferocious colonists pursued them to their fastnesses, and even trained up dogs to hunt and devour them. It has even been said that some of the Castilians had made a vow to massacre twelve Indians every day in honour of the twelve apostles!!*

Should an unlucky moralist here interpose the question, What *right* had the Spanish adventurers to the soil of St. Domingo, and the service of its inhabitants? Should he further inquire by what authority they, or the European masters under whom they acted, plundered their possessions, shed their blood, and taxed their families? The reply must be given in that single word which comprehends the entire policy of half the nations of the earth, and which is so legibly written in the annals of every country—POWER. The well-known feelings of Columbus himself, upon this subject, who only aimed to gratify the avaritious spirit of his court, exempt him in some measure

* Abbé Raynal's Hist. of the East and West Indies, Book 6.

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from that unmingled sentiment of abhorrence which must fill every enlightened individual at the recital of such detestible enormities.

"Man is to man the worst and surest ill."

Had it not been for the actual proceedings of these servants of Spain, we should have said that they had in trust the arts of civilization, and the elements of superior character to convey to these barbarous islanders; and to communicate them should have been the legitimate object of their mission—should have been the delight of their existence. If discovery be not made subservient to the promotion of human happiness it may well be deprecated as an evil; for if misery follow in the train who could wish for the extension of our geographical knowledge at the expence of the comfort and the peace of millions of our fellow creatures? And who can help burning with indignation to see the demon of Avarice binding St. Domingo in chains, in order to rob her of her gold?

In the mean time difficulties of a new kind awaited Columbus. His adversaries in Spain had intrigued to procure Aguado, a groom of the bed-chamber, to be sent out as commissioner, and our great discoverer felt compelled to return to Europe to meet and obviate the accu-

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sations which were contrived against him. His brother Bartholomew was left lieutenant-governor upon the island, and soon began the building of the town of St. Domingo. Francis Roldan, a man of rank, was chief justice. This was in 1496.

The precise causes of the dissentions which instantly arose among the colonists, it may perhaps be somewhat difficult to explain. A pretence was unquestionably afforded by the removal of the settlers to the opposite side of the island, that is, from Isabella to St. Domingo; which Columbus had considered a more eligible situation, and whither his brother after his departure transferred them. Instead of maintaining order, Roldan encouraged insubordination; and thinking that Columbus was not likely to return, he formed the design of seizing the government. For this purpose, he insinuated himself into the confidence and affection of the people, misrepresenting the conduct of others. Having been commissioned to head a band of soldiers to enforce the payment of tribute from one of the refractory caziques, he availed himself of the favourable opportunity of disseminating rebellious feelings, and upon his return openly seized the keys of the royal magazine, distributing the arms and provisions to his party. Don Diego was obliged to shut

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himself up in the castle, and procure defenders from Conception. Bartholomew was of course on his side filled with apprehensions at the progress of the revolt, especially when he found that several persons of consideration were engaged in it. He obtained an interview with Roldan, but the latter was resolved to carry things to the utmost extremity. The troops began to desert from the garrison, and Bartholomew was beginning to despair, when he received information of the arrival of two ships at St. Domingo laden with provision. Instantly he hastened towards the capital, followed by Roldan, who halted at the distance of five leagues. Here the rebel chief received new proposals for peace through the commander of the vessels, who entreated him to desist, but in vain. Withdrawing into the province of Xarangua, he told the cazique that he came to release him from the tribute which had been imposed by the king, and that for his part he did not desire the possessions, but the hearts of his allies. He held the same language to other caziques, while in fact he made them pay dearly for his friendship.

News very soon reached St. Domingo that a chief named Guarionex, had fled with a considerable number of his subjects to the protection of another chief named Mayobanex, who ruled

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over a warlike district in the vicinity of Cape Cabron. Disappointed of his expectations from these tributaries in consequence of this movement, the governor immediately went in pursuit. He met an army of the natives in the plains, and instantly dispersed them into the mountains, whither however he did not deem it prudent to follow. Some days afterwards, the Indians perceiving that the Spaniards were off their guard, rushed upon them and slew many, but the troops recruiting, abundantly retaliated upon their enemies, whom they chased unto their defiles. Mayobanex was at no great distance from this field of action, and Bartholomew having discovered the place of his retreat, marched upon it with his entire force.

Before the commencement of actual hostilities, he sent to offer terms to the cazique upon condition of his delivering up Guarionex. The brave Indian replied, that "Guarionex was a man of honour, who had never done an injury to any person; while the Spaniards were thieves and murderers, who adopted every unworthy method of despoiling others of their possessions—that he would never suffer himself to abandon an unfortunate prince, who was besides his benefactor and his friend, and had cast himself under his protection." He spoke in a similar manner to his courtiers, who seeing the

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ravages made all over their country by the invaders, and affected by the complaints of the people that the war would be their ruin, represented that he would destroy himself and not save his friend. "Let what will happen," said he, "I am resolved rather to perish than deliver him up to his enemies." To the prince himself he repeated the same resolution, and they sealed their mutual attachment with vows and tears.

After this, Mayobanex took care to occupy all the defiles of the mountains, and to issue orders to his army to fall upon their enemies whenever they could do it with any probable advantage. The governor considered it of great importance in the mean time rather to gain than compel the islanders, and with this view he sent three prisoners whom he had just taken, and drew near himself with ten foot soldiers and only four horse. All the reply of the indignant cazique consisted in killing the prisoners and preparing for battle. It was hence obvious that no further conciliatory measures would avail, and force must decide the quarrel. The natives were soon routed, and two days afterwards the governor having learnt by two prisoners the hiding place of Mayobanex, he made use of the following stra-

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tagem. Having chosen twelve of his men whom he disguised as natives, he sent them with the two already mentioned as guides, and concealed their swords in palm-leaves. In this manner they proceeded to the cazique's retreat, where they found him surrounded with his wife, his children, and many of his relations. He was instantly secured without resistance, and conveyed to the general, who carried him as his prisoner on his way to Conception. One of the cazique's daughters was in the train; she was in the highest estimation among her father's subjects, the Ciguayans, and had married one of the principal lords of the country. Her husband, upon hearing of her captivity, collected his dependants together, and hastened after the Spaniards, whom he overtook in a few days. Instantly he cast himself at the feet of the governor, entreating with tears the restoration of his wife; which was granted without exacting any ransom. This act of clemency, however, was greatly subservient to the interests of the ambitious foreigners, by impressing upon the mind of this man an eternal sense of gratitude. In a few days he came with four or five hundred of his subjects with the sticks they were accustomed to use in turning the soil, and requested to

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mark out a space for them to cultivate and possess. His offer was accepted, and in a few days the ground was cleared.

Conceiving hopes from the conduct of the Spaniards on this occasion, the subjects of Mayobanex indulged the expectation of procuring his release, and they spared neither tears, prayers, nor presents to procure it; but it was determined to make an example of this chief who exercised an entire influence over many others; his family was restored, but himself detained in bondage. This refusal filled the poor islanders with the utmost resentment against Guarionex whom they considered as the occasion of this calamity: but in vain did they deliver him up to the Spaniards. Mayobanex was taken to the capital, where after a formal trial he was convicted of rebellion and publicly executed. Let not the year of this transaction be forgotten: it was in 1498.

At this juncture Columbus arrived from Spain, he was received with every demonstration of joy in the capital, but his own gratification was spoiled by the melancholy state of affairs. He advised and adopted every conciliatory measure to gain the malcontents, and the commandant of Conception was dispatched to Roldan to obtain terms of accommodation. The rebel was still inexorable, Co-

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lumbus afterwards sent him a kind letter by a messenger whom he had wished to see, which seemed to make some impression upon his mind and induced him to express a wish to see his admiral; to this his followers strongly objected, so that he was necessitated to content himself with sending a letter, in which he threw all the blame of the revolt upon the governor, and wished for a safe conduct for himself and associates to the capital. This occasioned great embarassment.

On the ninth of November he adopted the measure of publishing a manifesto, in which it was declared that all persons who returned to their duty within a limited time should receive a full pardon for past revolt, and that all who desired it should be conveyed into Spain. In addition to this, a safe conduct was transmitted to Roldan, who at length repaired to the capital; not however for the purpose of re-establishing union, but of secretly exciting dissatisfaction and encreasing his own party. As soon as he returned, he sent an insolent letter and marched upon Conception. The place being well defended, he attempted to subdue it by a prolonged siege; but an officer named Carrajal coming up, dexterously entered into negociations with Roldan, who gave his signature to terms in a few days, of which the principal

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one was that those who wished to return into Spain should be allowed to do so and be provided with the means. The vessels which were provided for this purpose having been wrecked, in a violent tempest, on their way to the port where they were to have received their passengers, Roldan availed himself of the circumstance to refuse adherence to his agreement, but upon fresh ships being provided, he was at length, with difficulty, brought anew to his engagement. After every preparation was made, Roldan presented a request on behalf of a hundred and two of his companions who wished to remain in the island, and they were ultimately allowed to disperse themselves in distinct settlements in the Vega Real, at Bonao, and beyond St. Yago. The neighbouring caziques were obliged to send their subjects to cultivate these lands, so that instead of tribute the Indians were reduced to labour for these new masters, who were the refractory portion of their European invaders. Hence originated the names of *repartimentos*, or departments, distributions, commands and concessions. In the meantime, Roldan continued to behave towards Columbus rather like a conqueror than a pardoned rebel; but the latter felt it necessary to dissemble his resentment,

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hoping that the affair would be ultimately investigated and adjusted in Spain. *

The conduct of Columbus had been so shamefully misrepresented, that Francis de Bovadillo, a knight of Calatravia, was sent over in 1500, to supercede him, with orders to dismiss him to Spain in irons. He found considerable difficulty at first in establishing his authority as those already in possession were disposed to retain it: but having obtained it by a sort of invasion, which the resistance of the present occupants rendered necessary, rather than by a dignified entrance conceded to him by general affection, he acted with great indiscretion. Instead of suppressing, he cherished Roldan and the other malcontents, bestowing upon them marks of high distinction; while Columbus, his brother, and their friends were treated with every indignity till the discoveror and rightful lord of the island was in fact dismissed to Europe in a disgraceful manner.

It was the incessant aim of the new governor to aggravate the detestation of every one against the whole family of Columbus, especially the natives, and his misconduct drew around him

* Charlevoix, Hist. de l'Isle Espagnole, Tom. I.

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and placed in his confidence the refuse of society. His unworthy care was more completely to enslave the inhabitants; for which purpose he contracted with the different caziques to furnish every Spaniard with a certain number of his subjects whom he was to make use of as his beasts of burden; and in order to prevent any possible escape from the infamous servitude, he numbered the native population; and reducing them into different classes, distributed them among his adherents, by whose affection he was well aware that he held the precarious tenure of his new authority.

This proceeding threatened their total extinction, and Bovadillo was in his turn superseded by another knight of the name of Nicholas de Ovando, who carried with him the largest armament that had ever yet been witnessed, consisting of thirty-two ships with two thousand five hundred settlers; and upon his arrival, the former governor with Roldan and his accomplices were ordered back.

Ovando is represented as a man of merit and capable of inspiring others with respect; modest, and disinterested: but his employment was infectious, so much so as to transform the very greatest of men into tyrants. None of the governors of this unhappy island appear to have been sufficiently principled to resist the

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combined influence of the love of rule, and the love of money. *

In the mean time Columbus remained in a state of irksome inactivity, soliciting attention in vain, till he commenced a fourth voyage to attempt discoveries in the East, May 1502. Having steered to St. Domingo to obtain of Ovando the exchange of a vessel, he requested permission to enter the harbour, which was denied. Twenty-one ships were at the moment departing for Spain, nearly the whole of which were lost in a tempest, then evidently gathering, and of which Columbus in vain forewarned them: Bovadillo, Roldan, and most of the persecutors of Columbus and the Indians,

* " Ovando étoit un homme de mérite, fort sensé, d'un abord gracieux et qui inspiroit en même-têms un grand respect pour sa personne: modeste, jusqú à ne pouvoir souffrir les marques de distinction, ni les titres, qui lui étorient dûs, grand amateur de la justice, et fort désinteressé. Le Nouveau Monde eût été heureux d'être gouverné par un homme de ce caractere, s'il l'eût soûtenu tout entier jusqú au bout. Mais il sembloit que l'emploi, dont on le revêtit, fût contagieux, et transformât d'abord les hommes les plus doux et les plus modrées en tyrans suscités pour la destruction des malheureux Indiens: a l'égard même des Espagnols, il ne parut pas se comforter toûjours avec ce dèsinteressment et cette équité, qu'on lui avoit connus, ni être assés en garde contre les rapports de gens mal intentionnés: ce qui le fit quelquefois donner dans de grands travers." Charlevoix, Hist. de l'Isle Espagnole, Tom. 1.

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with the whole of their wealth, amounting in value to upwards of fifty thousand pounds sterling, perished in the general wreck; the effects of this tremendous storm were not limited to the ocean: the city of St. Domingo was almost wholly destroyed, but in a short time afterwards was rebuilt with considerable improvements.

Notwithstanding the humanity of our great discoverer, he had very much increased the miseries of the island by fixing Americans upon the lands distributed to his soldiers, a plan which was extended by Bovadillo, but destroyed by Ovando. The latter relieved the Indians from a toil which had been so utterly incompatible with their habits and tempers, but it was soon found that the claim of expedience and the plea of necessity superseded that of justice. The natives wandered up and down through the island without any regular employment, and relapsed into a state of indolence which was productive of famine. Their oppressors soon again demanded their services, and urged upon the court the consideration that they would always be disposed to revolt unless prevented by sufficient dispersion. After several discussions it was resolved to divide the island into a greater number of districts, which the Spaniards obtained in proportion to their rank or interest:

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the Indians attached to them were slaves, whom the law was in vain bound to protect.

In 1504, Columbus again visited St. Domingo, after having been stopped in the career of discovery by shipwreck and detention in the island of Jamaica twelve months. Though cautious of receiving him, Ovando at length procured his escape and admission into the island with every public honour. Here he remained but a single month, and returned with difficulty and in tempest into Spain, where, instead of being welcomed in a manner suited to the greatness of his character, and the magnitude of his discoveries he experienced coldness and injustice: he died in May 1506, at Valladolid, only fifty-nine years of age. "Such was the end of this uncommon man, who, to the astonishment of Europe, added to a fourth part of the earth, or rather, half a world to this globe which had been so long desolate and so little known. It might reasonably have been expected that public gratitude would have given the name of this intrepid seaman to the new hemisphere, the first discovery of which was owing to his enterprising genius. This was the least homage of respect that could be paid to his memory; but either through envy, inattention, or the caprice of fortune even in the distribution of fame, this honour was reserved

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for Americus Vespucius, a Florentine; who did nothing more than follow the footsteps of a man whose name ought to stand foremost in the list of great characters."*

Ovando is represented by all the historians as exercising a considerable degree of wisdom and justice in his administration, so far as regarded his countrymen, while he swayed a rigorous sceptre over the poor natives. His constant aim was to promote the prosperity of the settlement, and with a discretion that does him credit, he endeavoured to excite the attention of the Spaniards to the cultivation of the land, the forming of plantations of sugar cane, which he had obtained from the Canary isles, and the establishment of sugar works.

Various symptoms of dissatisfaction, with Spanish oppression, from time to time presented themselves in different provinces. In the year 1502, exasperation had led to the assassination of a few Spaniards in Higuey, which led to a more extended manifestation of a spirit of revolt. The governor considered it important to adopt instant measures to check this growing evil, and accordingly dispatched an officer with four hundred men to the spot. He met however, with much greater resistance

* Abbé Raynal.

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than he had anticipated, and some detachments of his force were cut off; upon this, Esquibel, the commanding officer, acting upon instructions which he had received from Ovando, offered the Indians conditions of peace, but they were rejected with disdain, and continued for a time to wage successful war with their invaders. But the tide at length turned, and they were vigorously pursued into the mountains, the usual place of their retreat after disastrous engagements. Here they were slain in such numbers that their well-peopled province appeared afterwards like a desert: the chieftain who had formerly refused, was now reduced to the necessity of soliciting peace; and Esquibel erected and garrisoned a fortress upon his territory.

A still more formidable insurrection was in 1503, beginning to display itself in the province of Xaragua. Ever since the affair of Roldan, a considerable number of his accomplices had remained in this part of the country, who were perpetually sowing the seeds of impiety and discontent. Anacoana, the princess who governed this district, had been at first extremely well inclined towards the Spaniards, but their misconduct converted her affection into hatred, at least so they persuaded themselves, conscious that there was too much cause for the existence of such an altered state of feeling. Information

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was accordingly communicated to the capital, that the queen of Xaragua was meditating some rebellious project; and it was suggested that no time ought to be lost in taking measures to prevent it.

Ovando was too well aware of the character of his informers to place implicit reliance upon their representations, and too little confident in them to feel much disposed to adopt their quarrel; still he deemed it a necessary precaution to undertake a journey into the neighbourhood; and after a public announcement of his intention to visit the province of Xaragua for the purpose of receiving the tribute which was due to the crown of Castile, and of seeing a princess who had always professed the greatest friendship for the Spanish nation, he set out at the head of three hundred foot and seventy horse, upon the expedition. Anacoana publicly testified the utmost joy at the honour of this visit, whether from motives of policy or affection it may be difficult to determine. She went forth to meet Ovando, attended by the entire body of her nobility and an incalculable multitude of people, dancing and singing as they proceeded. After the first compliments the governor was conducted to the royal palace amidst the most rapturous and universal acclamations, and a feast was prepared which was

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kept for several successive days in the most magnificent manner.

The historian Herrera, states, that Ovando was soon convinced of the existence of a conspiracy against the Spaniards, but by what evidence it does not appear: Oviedo represents a confession as having been extorted from three hundred caziques, who were the queen's vassals, by torture, a proceeding which has been strongly condemned by most of the other Spanish historians. The governor accordingly adopted the following mode of sacrificing the accused to the security of the colony. Having invited the queen to a feast, which he said should be celebrated after the manner of his country, with all the pomp of his assembled nobility, the whole Indian court, as her attendants, were thus collected on one spot: the Spaniards at length appeared in the order of battle, the infantry marching before and occupying all the avenues to the place as they advanced: the cavalry followed, with the governor at their head, and moved on to the queen's residence, who was not a little alarmed to see them approaching sword in hand. In obedience to a preconcerted sign, the multitude were instantly put to the sword, while the unfortunate queen with her whole court were secured: the caziques were fixed to the stakes used in the temporary con-

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struction for the feast, and perished in the flames in which the building was consumed, while the queen was reserved for a more disgraceful end, being conducted to the capital, and there tried, condemned and publicly executed on a gallows. Of the people who were thus treacherously assassinated, the numbers of all ranks and conditions cannot be reckoned;—high and low, rich and poor, men and women, the innocent and guilty were alike indiscriminately massacred. The few who escaped fled of course in every direction, and some of them settled in far distant places.

After the conclusion of this *military* visit, Ovando gave his attention to the establishment of towns and villages, selecting the most advantageous situations for their erection, so that in 1504, the Spaniards possessed fifteen cities or towns filled with their own population, besides two fortresses in Higuey, Isabella, and other places, formed at first for the mines of Cibao and Christopher, but which had now been some time abandoned.*

In the year 1506, the province of Higuey where it was supposed tranquillity had been fully restored, was again in a state of open revolt. The bad faith of the Spaniards having

* Charlevoix.

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led them to violate the conditions of the treaty which had been concluded with Esquibel, the Indians after preferring many useless complaints attacked and burned the fortress and massacred the garrison. A resolution was instantly taken to revenge this proceeding in the most signal manner, and Esquibel was again dispatched to chastise the insurgent district. Having subsidized a number of Indians of the neighbouring province, he hastened to the place destined to feel the weight of Spanish indignation. With little resistance he overran the country: the despairing natives slew themselves with their own weapons—in other instances, prisoners who were compelled to become guides through the defiles of the mountains, threw themselves down headlong to avoid the treachery to which they were compelled—in many cases the islanders displayed prodigious courage and equal skill.

At length the seizure of the cazique, Cotubanama, put an end to the war: he was brought to the capital and executed as other *rebels* against the *government* had been before; and in him terminated for that age, the race of native Haytian kings.

The lamentable success of this contest, and the death of queen Isabella in Spain, completed the misfortunes of the islanders.

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Oppression now laid an iron hand upon the Indians; their labour was increased, and they became exposed to the unrestrained cruelty of those who with a singularly ill grace called the islanders *savages*. They were given as property by Ferdinand to his grandees and favorites, whose agents treated them as so many animals destined to work for the sole purpose of enriching their European lords. What was the consequence? The accumulation indeed of treasure, but the destruction of human life. In less than six years, sixty thousand American families were reduced to fourteen thousand; and of the native population in the course of fifteen years, there remained only sixty thousand out of a million. How could it be otherwise, when they were worn out by excessive fatigue, being compelled to labour, chained together and lashed to tasks, under which their untrained constitution inevitably sunk; and when desperation excited them to suicide as a refuge from oppression?—

Roused to a sense of danger from the rapid decrease of the population, not by the cries of humanity or the requirements of outraged religion, their oppressors began to study some expedient which might remove or mitigate at least the existing calamities; and the one they adopted tends to display even more than

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any previous transaction the diabolical principles which influenced their whole conduct. Arrested in their cruelties only by the overwhelming conviction that in the total extinction of the native inhabitants they were hastening their own ruin, did they retrace their impious steps, adopt measures for ameliorating the condition or prolonging the lives of the islanders and thus eventually multiplying the population?—Did they—smitten by a rebuking conscience within, or alarmed lest the tempests that frequently burst around them in that sultry region, should be commissioned by indignant Heaven to launch the thunderbolt or dart the lightening upon their guilty heads—aim to heal the wounds inflicted by the chains of servitude, with which they had galled and destroyed unoffending thousands, who, but for them, might have been at ease in their native wilds? O no!—It was the miserable *policy* of their ruler to supply the waste of human life in St. Domingo, by adopting a system of—what shall it be called?—a system of *man-stealing*, practised upon the unsuspecting inhabitants of neighbouring islands which had been unfortunate enough to be *discovered*—now to be *sacrificed* to the Moloch of Spanish avarice. This was in the year 1507.

It might seem a mere anti-climax to talk of

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treachery after recording scenes of atrocious murder, but in fact the conduct of the colonists to the Lucayans involved both; and the treachery was so much the more detestable, as it was committed under the sacred name of religion. They were persuaded that in being transported to St. Domingo, they should meet their departed ancestors, and participate with them in the blessedness of that happy region: and in consequence of this statement, more than forty thousand were seduced to share the *blessedness* of starving in the *happy region* of avaricious and sanguinary Spaniards.*

In the year 1509, Diego Columbus, the son of the great discoverer, after encountering a variety of obstacles to his promotion, at length obtained the government of St. Domingo, whither he repaired with a splendid retinue. Ovando of course retired: the natives experi-

" On n'imagineroit pas les fourberies, qui furent mises en usage, pour engager ces pauvres insulaires à suivre leurs Tyrans. La plûpart les assûrerent qu'ils venoient d'une région délicieuse, où étoient les ames de leurs parens et de leurs amis défuncts, qui les invitoient à les venir joindre. 40,000 de ces barbares furent assez simple pour se laisser séduire; mais quand ils virent, en arrivant à l'Espagnole, qu'on les avoit abusés, ils en conçûrent un chagrin qui en fit périr un grand nombre et porta plusieurs à entreprendre des choses incroyables pour se sauver." Charlevoix Hist. de l'Isle Espagnole, tom. 2.

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encing no other effect from the change than a confirmation of their slavery. But this occasioned a powerful re-action upon their masters, who, finding the supplies of wealth proportionably diminish with the waste of life, had long been engaged in other speculations. They had established a pearl-fishery at the insignificant island of Cabagua, and formed a colony on the continent at the gulph of Darien. Diego proposed another similar establishment in Cuba, an island which was discovered in 1492, but not subdued till the present period of 1511, when Diego de Velasquez, one of the companions of Columbus in his second voyage, came with four ships, and landed on the eastern point.

This district was under the government of Hatuey, a native of St. Domingo, who had fled thither with multitudes of his countrymen, as to an asylum from the despotic dominion of the Castilians. Having observed their approach from a distance, he collected together the bravest of his followers and allies, and used every argument to urge them to a vigorous defence of their liberties. He suggested at the same time the necessity of endeavouring to propitiate the God of their enemies. "Behold him there," said he, pointing to a vessel filled with gold, "behold that mighty divinity, let us invoke his aid." Upon which the people danced

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and sung before the rude ore, and resigned themselves to its protection.

But Hatuey again addressed them and the caziques in these words, " 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 for him in every place; and where they find him there they establish themselves. 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." The effect of this appeal was to induce every one to throw whatever gold he possessed into the sea.

The Spaniards advanced, and having soon dispersed their opponents, pursued the fugitive Haguey through the woods, where they took him and condemned him to be burnt as a rebellious *slave*. When he was fastened to the stake previous to the kindling of the flames, a Franciscan friar advanced to try to convert him, and promised after being baptized, that he should ascend to the joys of paradise. " Are there," said he, " any Spaniards in that happy place?" The friar of course answered in the affirmative,

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adding, "but there are none but good ones." "The best of them," replied Hatuey, "are good for nothing. I will not go to a place where I should be in danger of meeting any one of them. Talk no more to me of your religion, but leave me to die!"—This story is instructive—it needs no comment—but appeals at once and most forcibly to every enlightened mind in behalf of *practical* religion.

Political artifices at home perpetually obstructed the measures of Diego in his government; and at length Roderigo Albuquerque, a relation of Zapata, one of the king's confidential servants, was appointed to the newly created office of distributing the repartimientos; upon which the governor determined to return to Spain for the purpose of obtaining redress, which, however, he soon found was not likely to be accorded. Albuquerque was, as might be supposed, a being of extreme selfishness, for no one of another description was likely to be a court favourite and to obtain a commission to St. Domingo. He ordered the Indians to be again numbered, and sold them in different lots. They now amounted only to fourteen thousand, and the miseries necessarily consequent upon such a proceeding, which separated them from their habitations and families, and exposed them to any encreased labour or in-

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human treatment which their purchasers might impose, were highly calculated to hasten the period of their extermination.

To the honour of the monks, be it remembered, that they raised their voices against the practices of their countrymen. The Franciscans indeed, were silent, or acquiesced in the existing system of barbarity, though they were sent to preach what indeed they did not understand or feel, the enlightened principles of christianity; but the Dominicans advocated the righteous cause, and anathematized from their pulpits the authors of such baseness, injustice, and cruelty. Both parties appealed to the king: the Franciscans triumphed, and Albuquerque continued to be the curse of the island, and a blot in creation.

This application, however, excited the benevolent exertions of Bartholomew Las Casas, a clergyman, who was worthy of a better age.*

* " C'etoit un homme d'une érudition sûre, d'un esprit solide, d'un naturel ardent, d'un courage que les difficultés faisoient croître et d'une vertu héroïque rien n'étoit capable de lui faire changer de sentiment, quand il étoit persuadé qu'il y alloit de la gloire de Dieu de le soutenir; et comme ill avoit rendu à la religion et à l'estat des services essentiels dans l'isle de Cuba, son crédit étoit grand dans toutes les Indes. Son seul défaut étoit d'avoir l'imagination trop vive et de s'en trop laisser dominer. Un homme de ce caractere ne pouvoit gueres manquer d'entrer

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He had originally come to the island at the period of the second voyage of Columbus, and had even manifested a deep interest in the state of its aboriginal inhabitants. No notice being taken by the governor of his representations, he returned to Europe for the express purpose of appealing on their behalf to the emperor Charles V. with whom and with cardinal Ximenes, the regent, he was so successful, that three superintendants of the colonies were appointed in conjunction with Zuazo a lawyer, and Las Casas himself, distinguished by the flattering but well merited title of protector of the Indians. Upon their arrival in 1517, they immediately commenced the liberation of those natives which had been bestowed on the Spanish courtiers or persons not resident in America; but when the rod of power ceased to compel them, they naturally ceased to labour, and the colony suffered proportionate disadvantage.

Las Casas still anxious for the more complete emancipation of the natives, deemed it necessary again to repair to Spain, and prevailed on the emperor to recal the superintendant and Zuazo, and substitute Roderigo de Figuerra or

dans les sentimens des PP. de St. Dominique, et personne n'étoit plus propre à pousser vivement cette attaire comme il fit, sans se laisser jamais, jusqu'à la mort." Charlevoix.

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Figueron as chief justice of the island, with orders to mitigate their sufferings. Thus as the Abbé Raynal remarks,* "he was continually hurrying from one hemisphere to the other, in order to comfort those for whom he had conceived such an attachment, or to soften their tyrants. The inutility of his efforts convinced him that he should never do any good in settlements that were already formed; and he proposed to himself to establish a colony upon a new foundation.

"His colonists were all to be planters, artificers, or missionaries. No one was to be allowed to mix with them without his consent. A particular dress, ornamented with a cross, was to prevent them from being thought to belong to that race of Spaniards which had rendered itself so odious. He reckoned that with these kinds of knights he should be able without war, violence or slavery, to civilize the Indians, to convert them, to accustom them to labor, and even to employ them in working the mines. He asked no assistance from the treasury at first, and he was afterwards satisfied with the twelfth of the tributes which he should sooner or later bring into it.

* History of the Settlements and Trade in the East and West Indies, Book 7.

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"The ambitious who govern empires, consider the people as mere objects of trade, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to the improvement and happiness of the human species. Such was, at first, the impression which the system of Las Casas made upon the Spanish ministry. He was not discouraged by denials, and at length succeeded in having the district of Cumana ceded to him, to put his theory in practice. This man of ardent genius immediately went through all the provinces of Castile, in order to collect men accustomed to the labours of the field and to those of manufactures. But these peaceful citizens had not so eager a desire to leave their country as soldiers or sailors have. Scarce could he prevail upon two hundred of them to follow him. With these he set sail for America, and landed at Porto Rico in 1519, after a fortunate voyage.

"Although Las Casas had only quitted the new hemisphere two years before, yet he found a total alteration in it at his return. The entire destruction of the Indians in the islands subject to Spain, had excited the resolution of going to the continent in search of slaves, to replace the unfortunate men who had perished from oppression. This cruelty disgusted the independant minds of the savages. In the height

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of their resentment they massacred as many of the Spaniards as fell into their hands by chance; and two missionaries, who probably came to Cumana with a laudable design, were the victims of these just retaliations. Ocampo immediately went from St. Domingo to punish an outrage committed, as it was said, against Heaven itself; and after having destroyed all by fire and sword, he built a village upon the spot, which he called Toledo.

"It was within these weak palisades that Las Casas was obliged to place the small number of his companions who had resisted the intemperance of the climate, and the attempts made to seduce them from him. Their residence was not long here. Most of them were pierced with the darts of an implacable enemy; and those who escaped were forced in 1521 to seek an asylum somewhere else."

The impolitic cruelty of the European settlers who regarded the blood of humanity as nothing in comparison with the accumulation of wealth, together with the rapid progress of the small-pox, continued to hasten the decline of the island; so that by the middle of the sixteenth century scarcely a hundred and fifty of the natives remained. The city of St. Domingo presented however a splendid and prosperous appearance amidst the surrounding desolation

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of the empire. It is described in 1528 as not inferior to any in Spain; the houses being built of stone and fit for the reception of any nobleman, and the palace of Don Diego adapted for the reception of an European monarch. The cathedral was of exquisite workmanship, and well endowed; the dignity of its bishop and canons well supported. There were three monasteries dedicated to St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Mary de Mercedes, and a hospital founded by Michael Passamont, the treasurer-general.*

In 1586, Queen Elizabeth of England, desirous of crippling the power of Spain, especially in the West Indies, dispatched the celebrated admiral Sir Francis Drake, who seized upon St. Jago, Carthagena, St. Domingo, and various other places, and captured many valuable ships. Of St. Domingo he held possession a month, during the latter part of which terrible reign every means were adopted to effect the destruction of the most beautiful buildings, till one-third of the town only having been ruined, the conquerors accepted of seven thousand pounds sterling as a ransom for the remaining part.

The Government of Spain becoming extremely negligent of this and other colonies,

* Account of the Spanish writer Oviedo, with whom the other Historians perfectly agree.

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they sunk into a state of inactivity, having neither the spirit to quit their situation, nor to pursue any kind of improvement. In consequence of their licentiousness a race of people sprung up of every degree of colour, and only worthy of being called semi-barbarians. The mines were unused,—the cultivation of the land altogether abandoned; and the inhabitants became habituated to piratical depredations and illegal trade; and the Spanish court sought its revenge in the demolition of the sea ports, instead of devising a remedy by a renovated system of government. The islanders were consequently driven into the interior where they lived in mean habitations, without clothes, and upon precarious methods of subsistence. In this state they beheld the close of the sixteenth century.

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CHAP. II.

FROM THE YEAR 1600 TO THE PEACE OF RYSWICK IN 1697.

The English and French go to the West Indies.—Expelled from St. Christopher's by Toledo.—The remnant of those dispersed settle at Tortuga.—Account of the Buccaneers.—The English party expelled from Tortuga, and the French retain possession.—Anecdotes of Peter le Grand.—Michael de Basco and others.—Montbar and Morgan.—The French colony settled in 1665, *under the judicious government of Bertrand D'Ogeron.—His character and conduct.—His wish to subdue the whole island for France.—His death at Paris.—Account of his successors.—First regular cession of the western part of the island to the French at the peace of Ryswick.*

AFTER making some efforts to subdue the Caribs or inhabitants of the Windward islands which were not always successful, and finding that no gold mines were to be obtained, and that the people died when reduced to slavery, the Spaniards contented themselves with stopping all European ships that sailed beyond the

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tropics, determined that no other nation should share in their adventures or possessions. The English and French, whose mutual jealousies have so often kept them asunder, united however upon this occasion to check these piratical settlers; already were they acquainted with the Windward islands, but had never yet adopted any measure with a view to occupy them. At length some Englishmen, headed by a leader named Warner, and some Frenchmen under the captain of a French privateer, named Desnambuc, landed at St. Christopher's on the same day at two opposite points of the island, and divided it between them; while the natives retired before their invaders, bantering them for coming to such a distance to seek land among savages, which they intimated must of course be very scarce with them.

These transactions excited no little alarm in Spain; and Frederic of Toledo, who was going with a powerful fleet to attack the Dutch in Brazil in 1630, was ordered to destroy these new settlers in his way. This was not a very difficult undertaking. They had no adequate means of resistance, and they were all either killed, taken prisoners, or dispersed. Of the latter most returned, after the immediate danger, from the neighbouring islands whither they had fled. Spain, probably from the belief

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that they were pretty well annihilated, or at least, reduced to total insignificance, no longer interfering with them, a few remained at Tortuga a small and barren island to the north-west of St. Domingo, within a few leagues of Port de Paix. The Caribs were usually considered, at the earliest period of European settlement, as the common enemy, against whom both French and English united; but artfully availing themselves of subsequent disputes, they sometimes joined one nation and sometimes the other, by which means they had only one enemy at a time instead of two. In the mean time the mother countries continued to neglect their subjects in the new world, in consequence of which, in January, 1660, an alliance was formed, securing to each those possessions which war had thrown into their hands. This was accompanied with an offensive and defensive league to compel the natives of the country to join them. France obtained Guadaloupe, Martinico, Granada, and some others: to England were allotted Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, with a few inconsiderable islands. St. Christopher's belonged to both. The Caribs were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's, and did not at this period exceed in number six thousand men.

The French and English planters, whom we

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have just mentioned as occupying the small island of Tortuga, after their expulsion from St. Christopher's, were joined by a number of Dutch emigrants from Santa Cruz, who had been compelled in the same manner to roam the ocean in search of a shelter from Spanish vengeance after their numbers had been considerably diminished. "Companions in adversity," says Mr. Edwards, "their misfortunes probably taught these poor exiles, mutual forbearance; for although they were composed of three different nations, they appear to have lived for some years in perfect harmony with each other. Their mode of life contributed to produce the same beneficial effect: finding a country of immeasurable extent in their neighbourhood abounding in cattle, their time was chiefly occupied in hunting; an employment which left no leisure for dissension, and afforded them both exercise and food. The plains of St. Domingo were considered, however, merely as their hunting grounds: Tortuga continued their home and place of retreat. Here their women and young people cultivated small plantations of tobacco, (a herb, of which in hot and moist climates, the practice of inhaling the smoke seems to be pointed out by nature); and as the coast was rugged, and of difficult approach, they fondly hoped that their

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obscurity would protect them from further persecution.

"If the government of Spain had been actuated at this time by motives of wisdom, it would indeed have left these poor people to range over the wilderness unmolested. It ought to have known, that the occupation of hunting diverted them from projects of vengeance and deeds of greater enterprize; but tyranny is without foresight, and the restless and remorseless bigotry of the Spanish nation allowed the fugitives no respite. An armament was collected, and preparations made to effect their utter extermination; the commanders of which, taking occasion when the ablest of the men had resorted to the larger island in their usual pursuit, landed a body of soldiers at Tortuga, and making captives of the women and children, the old and infirm, caused them all to be massacred without mercy.

"It does not appear that the miserable people who were thus pursued to destruction, like beasts of prey, had hitherto been guilty of any outrages or depredations on the ships or subjects of Spain, which called for such exemplary vengeance. Neither was it imputed to them, as a crime, that they had possessed themselves of Tortuga, or that they roamed about the desarts of St. Domingo in pursuit of cattle which had

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no owners. Their guilt consisted in the circumstance of being born out of the Spanish territories, and presuming nevertheless to venture into any part of the new world; for the arrogant presumption and extravagant selfishness of this bigotted nation, led them to appropriate all the countries of America to themselves. They claimed even the sole and exclusive right of sailing on any such part of the ocean as, in their judgment, constituted a portion of the newly-discovered hemisphere; and strict orders were issued to all their commanders, by sea and land, to seize on the ships and subjects of all other people that should be found within the boundaries which they had prescribed, and to punish the intruders with slavery or death.

"It is evident, therefore, that no alternative remained to the occupiers of Tortuga, but to turn on their pursuers, and wage offensive war on those who would allow of no peace with them. If the justice of the cause be still a question, let the records of time be consulted: let an appeal be made to that rule of conduct, which (to use an eloquent expression of Lord Coke) is *written by the finger of God on the heart of man;* and let history and reason determine whether any instance of hostility, in the annals of mankind, can be defended on better grounds.

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To such men, in such a cause, no dangers were too formidable, no obstacles too great. Inured by their mode of life to the vicissitudes of climate, united among themselves, and animated by all the motives and passions which can inflame the human mind to great exertion, they became the most formidable antagonists which the Spaniards had ever encountered, and displayed such deeds of valour and successful enterprize as (all circumstances considered) have never been equalled before or since."

These people were called *Buccaneers*,* because they imitated the custom of savages in drying the food they lived upon by smoke over fires of green wood, in places designated from this practice by the Spanish term *Buccan*. They are described by the Abbé Raynal in the following manner. "As they had no wives nor children, they usually associated two in a com-

* This term is commonly used as synonymous with freebooters, but in strict propriety they apply to different classes of people. The former name is particularly applied to the French inhabitants of St. Domingo. Anciently the island was peopled by four descriptions of men—1. The *buccaneers*, whose employment was to hunt the bulls or wild boars in the woods.—2. The *freebooters* who roamed the seas, and were in fact pirates; both these classes of people were of a warlike character.—3. The *husbandmen* who devoted themselves to the cultivation of the land.—4. The *slaves*.

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pany, to assist one another in family duties. In these societies property was common, and the last survivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknown among them, though no precautions were taken against it; and what was wanting at home was freely borrowed from some of the neighbours, without any other restriction than that of a previous intimation, if they were at home, if not, of making them acquainted with it at their return. Cæsar found in Gaul the same custom, which bears the double character, both of a primitive state, in which every thing was in common, and of times posterior to that in which the idea of private property was known and respected. Differences seldom arose, and, when they did, were easily adjusted. If the parties, however, were obstinate, they decided the matter by fire-arms. If the ball entered at the back or the sides, it was considered as a mark of treachery, and the assassin was immediately put to death. The former laws of their country were disregarded, and by the usual sea baptism they had received in passing the tropic, they considered themselves exempted from all obligation to obey them. These adventurers had even quitted their family name to assume others, borrowed from times of war, most of which have been transmitted to their posterity.

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"The dress of these barbarians consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers dirtier than the shirt, and made in the shape of a brewer's apron; a girdle made of leather, on which a very short sabre was hung, and some knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and shoes without stockings. Their ambition was satisfied, if they could but provide themselves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five-and-twenty or thirty dogs.

"The buccaneers spent their life in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the island, since the Spaniards had brought them. The best parts of these animals when seasoned with pimento and orange juice, were the most common food of their destroyers, who had forgotten the use of bread, and who had nothing but water to drink. The hides of these animals were conveyed to several ports, and bought by the navigators. They were carried thither by men who were called engagés, or bondsmen, a set of persons who were used to sell themselves in Europe to serve as slaves in the colonies during the term of three years."

During the time in which the French and

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English buccaneers were united, they appointed a leader of the latter nation, of the name of Willis; but no sooner was a Governor general sent to the French Windward islands than he fitted out a force from St. Vincent's, which being joined by the Frenchmen on the island ordered the English to quit it. They instantly obeyed and never returned, but pursuing their former career they finally obtained regular commissions from the British government to act against the common enemy.

At length after alternate reverses and successes in their contests with the Spaniards the French retained the island of Tortuga, and spread themselves on the northern coast of St. Domingo, of which they retained a firm possession: the English went to Jamaica. These banditti were formed into companies consisting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each, who took their predatory excursions in boats, generally of a very small size. It was their custom to board every ship they could discover, of whatever size, and such was the terror they inspired that the moment they had fixed the grappling the ship was almost certain of being captured. Their enmity to the Spaniards was implacable; they attacked them at all times: if the cargo proved to be a rich one the crew were suffered to live, otherwise they

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were frequently thrown into the sea. Several anecdotes are preserved respecting them, of which we shall select the following.

Peter le Grand, a native of Dieppe, with only four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight men in his boat, attacked the vice-admiral of the galleons. Having first given orders to sink his own vessel, he boarded that of his antagonist, and the Spaniards were so astonished at this boldness that they were paralized into inactivity. When he came to the captain's cabin, he presented a pistol to him, and demanded an instant surrender. The terrified and unresisting commander with the greatest part of the crew, they landed at the nearest cape, reserving only a sufficient number of sailors to work the ship.

Michael de Basco, Jonqué, and Lawrence le Graff, were cruising before Carthagena, with three small bad vessels, when two men-of-war sailed out of the harbour to attack these freebooters and bring them alive or dead. The Spaniards, however, were miserably deceived in their anticipations, for they were taken prisoners themselves; the ships were retained, but the crews sent back with scorn and bearing all the shame of so mortifying a defeat.

Another singular specimen of daring courage

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is recorded. Michael and Brouage having heard of a valuable cargo being shipped from Carthagena, in vessels carrying a foreign flag, for the purpose of preserving it from their rapacity, attacked the ships and plundered them. The Dutch captains exasperated at being captured by such an inferior force, told one of the buccaneers, that if he had been alone, he would not have ventured upon the attack; then replied he, "let us begin the fight again, and my companion shall remain a quiet spectator of the engagement. If I should conquer again, both your ships shall also be mine." This challenge, however, was not accepted, and the Dutchman very gladly made off.

The Spanish colonies were reduced to a state of despair by these hordes of desperadoes, which only tended to inspire them with encreasing confidence; and no longer confining their depredations to the sea, they laid waste the richest and most populous countries of the continent. The spirit of the haughty Spaniards was at length so depressed, that they maintained no other communication with the mother country than that of a single ship, which alone ventured upon the perilous navigation. Of the three most distinguished heroes of this piratical history, the reader will accept

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a brief notice: the subject being intimately connected with an account of St. Domingo.

A gentleman of Languedoc, whose name was *Montbar*, acquired particular distinction among his people. From his earliest youth, he had imbibed the utmost detestation for the Spaniards, as the authors of those enormities which had been so long practised in the West Indies. When at college, he is said to have manifested this feeling in an extreme degree, for being called to act the part of a Frenchman in a play, in which he was to quarrel with a Spaniard, he was transported so suddenly from fictitious representation to the exercise of real hatred, that the poor youth who personated the Spaniard was almost strangled before he could be rescued from his fury. This feeling encreased with his years, and nothing could at length satisfy him till he quitted his native shores to join the banditti of buccaneers, of whom he had heard as being confederated against the objects of his own inveterate abhorrence. Having met a Spanish ship on their way, they instantly attacked and boarded it. Montbar was the first to rush upon the enemy's deck, sword in hand. Nothing could resist his impetuosity or arrest his progress till he had twice hurried from one end of the ship to the other, cutting down every

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thing that opposed him. The booty, rich as it proved, was no temptation to his romantic spirit, which only hovered with satisfaction over the many Spaniards that had fallen before his victorious sabre.

Soon after this encounter they arrived upon the French coast of St. Domingo, where the buccaneers apologized for the small supply of refreshments they furnished, that the Spaniards had laid waste their settlements. This was sufficient to enrage Montbar, already enough excited by a knowledge of their inhumanities; and he indignantly demanded why they suffered such insults? To which they replied, "we do not; the Spaniards have experienced what kind of men we are, and have therefore taken advantage of the time we were engaged in hunting. But we are going to join some of our companions who have been still more ill treated than we, and then we shall have warm work." "If you approve it," said Montbar, "I will head you, not as your commander, but as the foremost to expose myself to danger." To this they readily assented; and having overtaken the enemy on the same day, Montbar displayed such bravery, that they were struck with astonishment and admiration. He was more than bold, he was furious, and drove on with irresistible impetuosity. Nor was this the

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only occasion wherein he manifested such a determined and enthusiastic character, his whole remaining life which he passed among his new friends was marked by a similar energy, and the Spaniards, sufficiently terrified at his performances, distinguished him by the epithet of *exterminator*. His zeal inspired the buccaneers with a resolution of attempting more than merely repelling the Spaniards from their settlement; they henceforth determined to attack them in their own territory, which, as it required superior forces, led them to form more extensive and numerous associations. In these, Lolonois who was named from the sands of Olone, the place of his birth, and Michael de Basco, were the two most celebrated leaders. The former, from a bondsman, had raised himself to the command of two canoes, and took a Spanish frigate on the coast of Cuba; and soon afterwards, four other ships lying at Port-au-prince, which had been fitted out on purpose to sail in pursuit of him; the latter captured a Spanish ship, under the very cannon of Porto Bello, valued at five or six millions of livres, that is, between two hundred and two hundred and fifty pounds.

These two adventurers having united their forces, and being joined by four hundred and forty men, sailed to the bay of Venezuela, and

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put the whole garrison consisting of two hundred and fifty men to the sword. Thence proceeding to Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake of that name, at ten leagues from its mouth they found it deserted by the terrified inhabitants who had retired to the opposite side of the bay. Enraged at the disappointment they set fire to Gibraltar after considerable resistance; but the inhabitants had availed themselves of a fortnight which the banditti had devoted to dissipation, to remove their most valuable property. Maracaybo was saved by a sum being paid for its ransom; besides which, they carried off all the crosses, pictures, and bells of the churches, in order to furnish, as they stated, a chapel which they intended to erect in Tortuga. Banditti consecrating a place of divine worship with the spoils of sacrilege—O tempora! O mores!!

We are here introduced to the first exploit of *Morgan*, a welshman, and one of the most famous of the buccaneers. He was descended from respectable parents in Glamorganshire, whence he soon went to Bristol in the spirit of adventure, and apprenticing himself to serve a planter for four years, he sailed for the West Indies. At the expiration of his time he joined the *brethren of the coast* as the buccaneers designated themselves, and at the time when they

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were rioting amidst the spoils of Venezuela and the neighbouring places, he sailed from Jamaica to attack Porto Bollo, which he captured by surprize. The fort, however, was not yet in his power, but he attempted to gain it by the artifice of compelling the women and priests to fix the scaling ladders, from a conviction that the Spaniards would not fire at persons so loved and reverenced. But the garrison were not to be deceived into submission, and were only conquered by force of arms.

Panama was the next object of Morgan's ambition; to secure which, he deemed it necessary to procure guides from the island of St. Catharine, whither the Spaniards were accustomed to transport their malefactors. This place which was capable of resisting for a long time even the most skilful commander, was treacherously given up to our adventurer. Hence he steered to the river Chagre; at the entrance of which was a fort built upon a rock, and well defended by a garrison which had an officer of distinguished abilities. The freebooters, however succeeded in consequence of the commander being killed and the fort accidentally taking fire.

Morgan sailed on in boats to Cruces, and then proceeded by land to Panama, then distant only five leagues. In the plain before the city, he

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instantly put to flight a large body of troops, and entered the place without further resistance. Here he found prodigious treasures secreted in the wells, caves, and adjacent forests: but the short residence of his party was disgraced by outrages and barbarities, exercised for the purpose of extorting from the Spaniards, Negroes and Indians, the places where they had concealed the wealth of their respective masters.

"In the midst of such scenes of horror the savage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inspire the object of his attachment with favorable sentiments towards him: he was resolved, therefore to subdue by force the beautiful Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him—"Stop," cried she to this savage, as she sprung with eagerness from his arms, "stop: thinkest thou then that thou canst ravish my honor from me, as thou hast wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? Be assured that I can die and be revenged." Having said this, she drew out a poignard from under her gown which she would have plunged into his heart had he not avoided the blow.

"But Morgan still inflamed with a passion which this determined resistance had turned into rage, instead of the tenderness and attention he had made use of to prevail upon his

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captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greatest inhumanity. The fair Spaniard immovably resolute, stimulated at the same time that she resisted the frantic desires of Morgan; till at last the pirates expressing their resentment at being kept so long in a state of inactivity by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the necessity of listening to their complaints and giving up his pursuit. Panama was burnt. They then set sail with a great number of prisoners, who were ransomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

Before the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the division of the spoil, Morgan, while the rest of the pirates were in a deep sleep, with the principal freebooters of his own country, sailed for Jamaica, in a vessel which he had laden with the rich spoils of a city that served as the staple of commerce between the old and the new world. This instance of treachery, unheard of before, excited a rage and resentment not to be described. The English pursued the robber in hopes of wresting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been frustrated. The French, though sharers in the same loss, retired to the island of Tortuga."*

* Abbé Raynal.

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After this period, the character of Morgan seems to have considerably improved: unless as Mr. Edwards believes he is before greatly traduced. * The Spanish writers no doubt, in the language of exaggeration, represent him as a most inhuman monster; but the probability is, that after he disengaged himself from the society with which he had hitherto acted, better sentiments and feelings gradually took possession of his breast, till he became worthy of the recommendation of the earl of Carlisle as his successor in the government of Jamaica, where he was appointed lieutenant-governor in the absence of the earl. He had previously purchased a plantation in the island which he cultivated with great industry. The duties of his new station were discharged with the utmost zeal and fidelity; Charles the Second conferred the honor of knighthood upon him; and Mr. Edwards states, that "by the kindness of a friend in Jamaica, he had an opportunity of perusing some of Sir Henry Morgan's original private letters, and "this" he adds, "I will say, that they manifest such a spirit of humanity, justice, liberality, and piety, as prove that he has either been grossly traduced, or that he was the

* Historical Survey of the French Colonies in St. Domingo, —4to p. 128, *note.*

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greatest hypocrite living;—a character ill-suited to the frank and fearless temper of the man.

The French colony first attracted the attention of the mother country in 1665, at which period, though the adventurers were numerous, the regular planters who were, properly speaking, the only colonists, were extremely few, amounting, it is said, to not more than four hundred. The multiplication of these settlers was perceived by the government to be an object of the first importance, and the difficult undertaking was very wisely confided to a gentleman of Anjou, named Bertrand D'Ogeron, who was endowed with all those personal qualities and comprehensive views which fitted him for the post to which he was appointed.

At the period of his first emigration to America in 1656, he had served fifteen years as captain in the marines: but as the best concerted plans do not always prosper, he was first deceived, and finally shipwrecked, with the loss of the principal part of the merchandize and provisions; which calamity reduced him to the necessity of living, during a very considerable period, with the buccaneers, who did not fail to cherish for him the highest respect. His misfortunes continued to multiply; for on his leaving France he had directed his

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correspondents to send their communications and merchandize to Martinique, whither he repaired in vain to receive them. D'Ogeron was under the necessity of proceeding to France, where having collected all his property together he embarked in a vessel which he had equipped and laden: but unfortunately confiding the disposal of the cargo to a faithless servant at Jamaica, he had to sustain the entire loss. These and other calamities however, though they created great embarassment, did not produce despondency; on the contrary, his fortitude in supporting, and his skill in extricating himself from difficulties, acquired him the highest reputation in St. Domingo and Tortuga, and induced the government to give him the superintendance of the colony.

This situation was obviously critical: he had to establish the authority of government amongst a lawless and irregular tribe of men, whose wandering and piratical habits rendered them peculiarly unprepared to submit to the restraint of laws. Habituated to crimes they were not easily to be inspired with humane sentiments—accustomed to idleness they were not readily to be brought to industrious and laborious occupations—and trading freely with all nations they could not without the utmost care and prudence be led to respect the privileges

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of an exclusive company, which had been formed in 1664, to include all the French settlements.

The intercourse which he had previously maintained with his new subjects, enabled him to perceive their peculiarities of character, of which knowledge he availed himself with great sagacity. It was of importance to detain the freebooters who were resolved to go in search of new and more advantageous settlements, by remitting the share of the booty to which he was entitled, and by procuring commissions from Portugal for attacking the Spaniards even after the conclusion of peace with France: by which means he secured their friendship instead of exposing himself to the danger of encountering their hostility. To the buccaneers or huntsmen he advanced money, or procured it without interest, to enable them to erect habitations; and to the planters he conceded every possible privilege and encouragement.

There was another advantage which he seized with judgment, and procured with promptitude. It was of material consequence to maintain and encrease the population, by a measure which would diffuse present comfort and secure future stability to the settlement. In vain could he expect internal prosperity, unless he inspired a relish for domestic habits, which became therefore an object of most solicitous attention.

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Fifty young women were sent from France, and afterwards an equal number, to supply the colonists with wives, but they were disposed of without any regard to the choice which affection might be induced to make, and with a chief view to political expediency. A certain sum was required to be paid for them, which, while it tended to encourage industry in order to procure the requisite deposit, must have reduced the character of marriage to a degrading merchandize. This was however found to be the only means of preventing quarrels and bloodshed; but it opened the way for an importation of females, of a more unworthy cast, who were engaged to their new masters for a period of three years:* but this allowance

* The declaration which each of the buccaneers was accustomed to make to the woman that fell to his share, was in the following terms:—"I take thee without knowing, or caring to know, who thou art. If any body from whence thou comest would have had thee, thou wouldst not have come in quest of me; but no matter. I do not desire thee to give me an account of thy past conduct, because I have no right to be offended at it, at the time when thou wast at liberty to behave either well or ill, according to thy own pleasure; and because I shall have no reason to be ashamed of any thing thou wast guilty of when thou didst not belong to me. Give me only thy word for the future, I acquit thee of what is past." Then striking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added, "This will revenge me of thy breach of faith; if thou shouldst prove false, this will certainly be true to my aim.

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proved inexpressibly prejudicial to the interests of the colony: it had the effect of driving from the island many brave youths who might otherwise have been its ornament and defence, but who found it impossible to live in comfort amidst universal profligacy. Notwithstanding this error, the number of planters were encreased by the management of D'Ogeron, from four hundred to the number of fifteen hundred, in four years.

Although this judicious governor had only prevailed upon the inhabitants to submit to his government at first by the promise of opening all the ports to foreign commerce, yet he had succeeded by degrees in establishing the exclusive privilege of the India company, which at length secured the entire trade; but they were so elated with success as to venture to raise the price of their goods two-thirds, which produced an immediate and dangerous insurrection. Accustomed to deeds of violence they had no difficulty in taking up arms, and were at length only conciliated upon the promise that all French ships should be free to trade with them, paying five per cent. to the company on their arrival and departure. Having effected this accommodation, the governor generously procured two ships, apparently for his own use; but really intended for the benefit of the

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colony. Their destination was to convey the crops into Europe, and every one shipped his own commodities at a moderate freight. On their return, the cargo was exposed to public sale for prime cost; and in addition to this, no interest was taken for the longest credit, and even no security was required. This was a proceeding founded in a thorough acquaintance with the human heart, and highly calculated to inspire the loftiest sentiments of gratitude and affection.

M. D'Ogeron had for a long time meditated the conquest of the whole island for France, and even pledged his life to the ministry at Versailles for the success of his enterprize, provided they would send him a squadron sufficiently powerful to blockade the harbour of the capital. In the year 1675, he went into France for the express purpose of urging this design upon the consideration of the court. His representations, however, did not produce all the effect which his ardent mind had anticipated; it was considered as an impracticable undertaking, while the danger to which the colony was exposed by the perpetual hostilities of their neighbours was overlooked. The Spaniards, however, were usually foiled; but the spirit of retaliation and plunder, checked the progress of agriculture and indisposed the

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people for regular labour. Under the direction of so sagacious a mind as that which distinguished the projection of this conquest, it can scarcely be doubted that its atchievement was at least highly probable, and would have prevented many calamities which the French afterwards suffered.

When at Paris, M. D'Ogeron was seized with a flux, which terminated his career there, at the close of this year or at the commencement of 1676, without having seen either the king or ministry; it is honorable to his character that notwithstanding the opportunities which he had of accumulating riches, he died poor; but left behind him, virtues not unrecorded in the hearts of the colonists, or in the memory of an admiring posterity.

Difficult as the virtues of the last governor had rendered it to succeed him, the post was occupied with considerable honor to himself by M. de Poüancey, who, to his personal qualifications united the claim of relationship, being the nephew of M. D'Ogeron. Although somewhat more haughty than his predecessor, he possessed a similar power of attracting the universal affection and confidence of those by whom he was immediately surrounded, or over whom he had to exercise authority. Instead of adopting new and speculative plans of ad-

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ministration, the whole of his proceedings were designed to consolidate and complete the judicious system which had been previously arranged. His views, however, were considerably limited, perhaps by the circumstances in which he was placed; for he seems only to have contemplated the preservation of the colony in its present state of prosperity, not to have thought of extending it. As the peninsula of Samana was much exposed to the incursions of the Spaniards, he ordered the removal of the inhabitants to the plain of Cape François, who reluctantly obeyed. This new residence he took care to fortify; and it was ever after regarded with jealousy by the rival nation. At the beginning of 1678, M. Poüancey received advice of an intention having been formed to attack it, which he prevented by a timely and well concerted movement.

In 1679, a revolt of the Negroes which took place at Port de Paix, occasioned the governor considerable trouble. The circumstances were, in brief, as follow: a black slave called Padrejan, having killed the Spanish master in whose service he had been for many years, fled for refuge to Tortuga, where he was allowed to be at liberty; and going afterwards into the neighbourhood of St. Domingo, he there cultivated a piece of land now called St. Louis,

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opposite the eastern point of Tortuga. Still bent upon wickedness, Padrejan seduced some of the slaves, to whom he proposed to massacre all the French inhabitants, hoping, that such an action would sufficiently recommend him to the Spaniards, from whom his crimes had previously driven him away. There were at this period, but few Negroes in the colony; and most of them had been originally among the Spaniards, to whom they felt some inclination to return. Padrejan consequently found little difficulty in arranging his plan; and having speedily assembled his partizans together, overran the county as far as Port Margol, pillaging and massacring in every direction. At length he posted himself on a lofty mountain, between St. Anne and St. Louis, entrenching himself with trees; and from this fortress made perpetual and desolating excursions in the neighbourhood, destroying all the Frenchmen he could find, and releasing the Negroes from their servitude.

Poüancey, who was at Port de Paix, felt himself prodigiously embarassed by these hostile proceedings, for not only did he feel reluctant to expose his troops to these infuriated revolters who were in possession of an almost inaccessible post; it was even doubtful whether he had sufficient force to subdue them, should

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he resolve upon the hazardous experiment. In addition to this, he perceived an universal reluctance among his people to engage in the enterprise, although the evil daily and hourly encreased. At this critical juncture, a small band of buccaneers came into the Port de Paix, to whom the governor proposed the labour of terminating the revolt. This they readily accepted; and instantly repairing to the mountain, they climbed it with so much resolution, and attacked the fortress with such vigor, as to put the poor Negroes into the utmost consternation, many of whom, and among them Padrejan, they killed, dispersing the rest.

Such was the restlessness under oppression, and such the indications of the love of liberty, so natural to the human bosom, which from time to time, broke forth in this much injured island. It would have been well for their rulers, had they duly considered how much the instigator to crimes, who becomes such no less by a severity of conduct that *occasions* them, than by direct encouragement and dictation, is himself a participator in their guilt, and answerable for their consequences. However we must condemn wickedness wherever practised, and under whatever circumstances of temptation, we cannot but pity those wretched people, who in seeking deliverance from un-

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merited degradation, were treated as rebels and miscreants.

In 1681, Poüancey went into France, whence he returned in the spring of the following year, and about the close of it, died, much and deservedly regretted by all who knew him. With regard to the colony, notwithstanding all his care, zeal, and persevering attention to its interests, he left it in a very deplorable condition. The buccaneers were almost reduced to nothing, while the other classes of the population were infected with an untractable spirit, owing to their dissatisfaction with certain commercial regulations respecting the cultivation of tobacco, by which they considered themselves aggrieved. The piratical freebooters were of little service in opposing the enemies of the colony, though they spread universal terror through the Indies by their depredations; and on the other hand, they prevented the interchange of trade by the alarms their conduct spread around, and exposed the settlement to the continual retaliations of exasperated foes. At the same time, they scarcely acknowledged the government, and submitted but imperfectly, and with a very ill grace to its regulations. Besides these evils, the Spaniards refused to allow the right of the French to form any establishment on the island of

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St. Domingo, where they not only regarded them as intruders and robbers, but as the encouragers of rebellion and piracy. It was their anxious wish to confine them to Tortuga; while the English who were settled in Jamaica, carried their views still further, by wishing totally to expel them from the West Indies.

It was not till 1683, that de Cussy was appointed as successor to M. de Poüancey—De Franquesnay having commanded in the meantime as the king's lieutenant; and upon his arrival, the new governor found enough to do in order to tranquillize the mutinous dispositions of his people. The freebooters had spread disorder in every direction, and the colony was throughout in a very depraved state, neither religion nor justice being administered. Two commissioners were therefore sent in 1684, to concert measures with de Cussy, for the better regulation of the internal policy, and the chevalier St. Laurence and M. Begon who were deputed to this important work, executed it with judgment and fidelity. Courts of Judicature were established for the several districts, responsible to a supreme council at Petit Goäve. Other points were adjusted by means of a little address, without any serious disagreement. Negociations were entered into with the government at home, in order to obtain relief from the

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restrictions which had been imposed upon commerce, particularly in the article of tobacco, but they proved unavailable, although at several subsequent periods the colony was on the point of destruction through the failure of trade, and the despondency of the inhabitants; till at length the manufacture of indigo became considerable and enriched a number of individuals.

When M. de Poüancey first took possession of his government, the isle of Tortuga was almost abandoned by the inhabitants, and he had taken much but fruitless pains to re-people it. De Cussy cherished a similar solicitude on the subject, at least, at first, till finding that it was far less productive than it had formerly been, he remitted his exertions, and at length it became entirely deserted. This tended to improve Port de Paix, which during the whole of this administration was always regarded as the most important part of the colony; and one of the first concerns of this government was to erect a fort, which the desertion of Tortuga rendered absolutely requisite for the protection of the channel running between the two islands: but it was not found possible to put this design into very speedy execution.

The court having entertained very serious designs of attempting the conquest of St.

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Domingo, M. de Cussy was instructed secretly to make preparations for this atchievement;* while at the same moment (1688) the Spaniards were engaging in perpetual incursions upon the French boundaries, and meditating on their part the capture of Cayenne, St. Croix, and finally, the French portion of St. Domingo. De Cussy, however, was disconcerted by other occurrences. The king had granted an exclusive privilege of trade with the Spaniards in these seas to a company of merchants at St. Malo, which had the effect of depriving some hundreds of the inhabitants of their ordinary subsistence; the tobacco did not sell, and the people who could not engage in the Indigo manufactures, found themselves in circumstances of great distress; in consequence of which, discontent rapidly extended, till it issued in an open revolt in the immediate vicinity of Cape François. Measures, however, were instantly taken by M. de Franquesnay, the commanding officer of

* How anxiously this was desired, may be conceived from some expressions to De Cussy, in a letter from the minister, dated January 13, 1689, "vous pouvez croire que vous n'aurez de vôtre vie rien de plus grand à executer et vous pouvez compter, en réussissant, sur des graces particulieres de sa majesté, surtout qu' elle vous en donneroit le gouvernement. Je vous pris de m'informer des mesures que vous prendrez pour l'éxécution de ce project."

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the district, in concert with M. de Cussy, at once conciliatory and firm, which issued in the total suppression of the tumult.

In the summer of 1689, de Cussy planned an expedition against St. Jago, of which he was determined, if possible, to dispossess the Spaniards. With this view, he assembled a force, consisting of four hundred cavalry and four hundred and fifty infantry; one hundred and fifty negroes, were employed as attendants on the detachment. Having reached the neighbourhood, and in vain summoned them to surrender, he vigorously pursued his project. On the sixth of July, he passed the river Yaqué, without opposition, and proceeded to a defile within half a league of the town, where two men could scarcely pass abreast. Instead of waiting for an attack, he continued to advance, and the van proceeded without resistance, leaving the centre and rear open to an attack, which they did not sufficiently anticipate from the enemy, who being posted on the high ground above, possessed every advantage. The promptitude and skill of the general however soon released his troops from this dilemma, and he obtained a decisive victory, when he drove the enemy to the hills and took immediate possession of the place. It was absolutely deserted—the churches all open, and the houses stripped of

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their furniture: but a quantity of meat and drink remained behind, which, notwithstanding an order issued to the contrary, some of the party ventured, to their great detriment, to partake. This excited a suspicion of the food having been poisoned, which so enraged them, that an universal request was presented for permission to set fire to the town; which was granted, upon the condition of sparing the churches and chapels. As the clouds seemed to portend rain, and the rivers were liable at those times to swell to such a height as to render a passage difficult, it was determined to make a timely retreat, satisfied with the wound that had been inflicted upon their Spanish rivals. Accordingly in a few days the expedition returned with little molestation. At the same juncture, the intelligence of the English having taken St. Christopher's, reached the island, and prevented any further military attempt at present. The fugitives, from the captured island, were distributed in Martinique and St. Domingo.

In the mean time, the Spaniards prepared to revenge their disgrace at St. Jago, by an attack upon Cape François: to which place de Cussy repaired on the tenth of January, 1690, and set about the necessary means of defence, contrary to his own opinion, but at the earnest

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representation of Franquesnay, he issued orders to meet the enemy in the plains at the distance of about a league and a half from the town. This arrangement was fatal—the French were outnumbered by treble their own force; and de Cussy, with thirty officers and four or five hundred of the bravest men, among whom was Franquesnay, perished on the field where the Spaniards triumphed. Nor did the conquerors fail to retaliate upon the surrounding country the injuries they had previously sustained: neither man, woman, child, nor habitation, within their reach, escaping their vengeance. Many indeed fled to the woods, and succeeded in saving their families, property, and negroes; among the latter some remarkable instances occurred of that fidelity, which has been always characteristic of these poor oppressed people, who refused to avail themselves of the present favourable opportunity of resuming their liberty and sacrificing their oppressors. After committing various depredations, the Spaniards withdrew.

The only proper person that could be found to succeed to the superintendance of the colony, was M. Ducasse, who was intimately acquainted with the island. He was a native of Bearn, and one of the directors of the Senegal Company, to which he rendered very important

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services. Upon his arrival at Cape François, in October, 1691, he found the colony in a reduced and wretched condition, the population diminished, the fortifications in almost ruin, and the shores menaced by a formidable Spanish fleet. This obliged him to hasten to Leogane and Petit Goäve with the ships that had accompanied him from France. The measures of a defensive and precautionary description which he took, effectually prevented the enemy from making any descent: they were in fact sufficiently alarmed at his preparations.

Ducasse had to encounter another danger in the untractable spirit of the freebooters. After the Spaniards had retired, five or six of their vessels put to sea; the measures of the governor, in which were blended firmness and moderation, not proving agreeable to their taste: the mischief was the greater, owing to the influence of their conduct upon the younger inhabitants who partook of their dissatisfaction, and were solicitous of enjoying their liberty; so that to correct this roving spirit, and to convert them into useful subjects, required all the address and management of which the governor was possessed.

The English and Spaniards who continued, from time to time, to menace the island, were fre-

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quently enabled to ascertain its state, by intercepting several of the governor's letters. In 1693, however, this was retaliated upon the archbishop of St. Domingo, and it was found by a communication to the president of the council for India, that he entertained the greatest apprehensions lest the French should obtain the mastery of the whole island, which he had not at present sufficient means to prevent. Ducasse instantly addressed his court, urging them to take advantage of the present apprehensions and unprepared state of the Spanish settlement, and atchieve the easy conquest which now awaited them. These representations, from whatever cause, failed.

In 1694, Ducasse made a descent upon the island of Jamaica, where having done considerable mischief to the English towns, he reimbarked with the gain of three thousand negroes, besides a quantity of indigo and other valuable articles of merchandize. The former were considered as an important acquisition, as the greatest attention had long been paid to the cultivation of the sugar cane. The English, as was to be anticipated, soon resolved upon returning the compliment, and in the summer of 1695, prepared to visit St. Domingo in conjunction with their Spanish allies. Having entered with a considerable fleet into the

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bay of Mancenille, after some days, partly through the mismanagement and partly through the cowardice of their opponents, they succeeded in penetrating the settlement of Cape François, which they plundered and reduced to ashes. Hence they pushed on in two divisions towards Port de Paix, and very soon took possession of the heights which commanded the fort, and placed the town in a state of siege. It was not long before the discontents that prevailed in consequence of being exposed to all the miseries connected with such a situation, obliged the commander to abandon it to the victorious enemy, who made many prisoners. It seemed at first mysterious that after this they should not persevere in further spreading devastation through the dispirited colony, but the probability is, that the information they received of formidable preparations for resistance at Leogane, and the neighbouring places, deterred them. They had besides fully revenged the injuries they had sustained in the preceding year.

In addition to these evils, the king sent out express orders to transport the colony of St. Croix to St. Domingo, which in other circumstances might have been regarded as a reinforcement of its strength and population, but at this moment neither the one nor the other were well able to

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to subsist alone: the inevitable consequence was, that that which ought to have proved an assistance, became a very serious burden.

The succeeding years present no very interesting details to the historian. Similar hostilities to those which had been already minifested between the rival nations continued to prevail, but with no very considerable effect on either side. The taking of Carthagena, one of the richest towns and strongest fortresses of the Indies may, however, be considered as an event of some magnitude. It was atchieved under the sanction of the government, who authorised a few individuals in 1697, to fit out seven ships of the line and other vessels of inferior size, under the command of Commodore Pointis. The buccaneers joined the expedition in which Ducasse also participated: but these two commanders neither before nor after the enterprise seem to have maintained a very good understanding with each other. The attempt completely succeeded—the place was taken and treated with terrible severity. Pointis violated every article of the capitulation, indulging his officers and soldiers in their appetite for plunder. The commodore insisted that the value of the spoils did not exceed seven or eight millions of livres, or from two hundred and ninety-one thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen

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shillings and fourpence to three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence. Decasse estimated them at thirty millions, or one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and others at forty millions, or one million six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds ten shillings and fourpence. The buccaneers were by agreement to receive one quarter of the whole booty, but the real profit dealt out to them did not exceed forty-thousand crowns, or five thousand pounds. This act of injustice so exasperated these adventurers that they instantly resolved to board the vessel which contained Pointis, and wreak their vengeance upon his devoted head. The *Sceptre*, for so the ship was called, was at the time by some means so separated from the rest of the fleet as to be beyond the reach of any assistance: and the unhappy commander would unquestionably have been sacrificed, but for the exclamation of one of the party in these words, "Why should we attack this rascal? he has carried off nothing that belongs to us, but has left our share at Carthagena, whither we must go to recover it." This was received with great applause, and so easily are brutal minds, affected only by impulse, induced to change their purposes, that they sailed back to

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the city without further consideration. Here they shut up all the male inhabitants in the church, where having defended themselves in an elaborate speech against the anticipated accusations of those whom they had treated with so much severity, and loaded Pointis with the utmost reproach, they demanded, as in their estimate, a moderate compensation and inducement to them to quit the city, the sum of five million livres, or two hundred and eight thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence; but this sum could by no means be produced; so that after repeated cruelties and extortions they set sail, contenting themselves as much as possible with the wealth already amassed. Falling in, on their return, with a fleet of Dutch and English ships, several of their small vessels were taken or sunk, the remainder escaping to St. Domingo.

During the expedition we have now related, the colony had been left in charge of the Count du Boissy, who appears to have fulfilled his trust with great zeal and skill. He personally inspected the principal places, and put every thing into the best possible state of defence. An insurrection of the negroes, who were ever panting for liberty, occurred, which he promptly and effectually suppressed; and afterwards acted with great bravery in repelling an irrup-

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tion of the English. The fate of this officer was melancholy. Having never enjoyed an interview with Ducasse since his arrival upon the island, he embarked in the month of September at Cape François on board a merchant vessel, with a view of proceeding to Petit Goäve; but perceiving six ships which he took for enemies, he endeavoured to escape to land in a boat, accompanied with three negroes and a soldier. The land was not more than a league and a half distant, notwithstanding which, every effort to gain it proved ineffectual, the boat was forced out to sea by the current, and the unfortunate crew driven about for nine days without reaching any shore, at the end of which period they were cast upon Cuba near the port of Baracoa. Here they remained five days without provisions of any description, and at length perished.

Hostilities continued to prevail as before between the rival nations, and with encreased exasperation. The French inhabitants were at length so wearied out, that they began to think of removing from the island, and the governor of St. Jago had already sent a Spanish detachment of considerable force, which had penetrated the plain of Cape François, when intelligence of the *peace of* RYSWICK in 1697 sus-

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pended all further proceedings; and the two rival settlements instantly sheathed their swords. By this treaty, the French obtained the first regular cession of the western part of St. Domingo.

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CHAP. III.

FROM THE YEAR 1697 TO THE YEAR 1789.

Company of St. Louis.—M. Auger succeeds Ducasse and Deslandes.—Destruction of the cocoa trees on the island.—Commotion in 1722.*—Encreasing prosperity of the French colony.—A view of the ecclesiastical and political constitution of the French and Spanish divisions of the island previous to the year* 1789.

It appears from the line of demarcation traced out by the arrangements at the peace of Ryswick, extending in an oblique direction from Cape François on the eastern coast to Cape Rosa on the west, and intercepting on one side the towns of Isabella and Jago, and on the other Petit Goäve and Port Louis, that a large part of the colony southward remained in a considerable degree unoccupied, the settlement of which was justly considered by the government, as an object of importance. In this district there were not more than a hundred inhabitants, who all lived in huts and were in a state of extreme wretchedness. With a view to the

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population and culture of this country, the government in 1698 granted it for thirty years to a company which assumed the name of *St. Louis.* The conditions were, that they should clear the ground and carry on a contraband trade with the Spanish continent: they were all in the first five years, to settle upon the lands fifteen hundred white people and two thousand five hundred negroes, and to distribute portions to every applicant for their occupation. The company, however, was soon ruined by the avaricious spirit of its agents; and in 1726 remitted all its rights to the king, who transferred them to the India company.

Ducasse having been made admiral of the fleet in 1703, M. Auger who had acquired considerable distinction by a well-concerted defence of Guadaloupe, of which he was governor, was appointed as his successor. He was a native of America, and his previous life had been somewhat adventurous, having in his youth passed a considerable time in a state of slavery. This had softened his disposition, and he obtained the character of being the most accomplished governor the French ever had upon the island.* Soon afterwards it was found expedient to separate more entirely than had hitherto

* Charlevoix.

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been done, the civil and military functions, as the power vested in the governors was so extensive and discretionary, that it presented every temptation to despotism. M. Deslandes was accordingly placed in the situation of commissary and intendant: but neither he nor his colleague the governor, with whom he lived in the utmost harmony, long survived their appointment: the former died in October 1705, and the latter in the following February. Others followed them in rapid succession, of whom nothing remarkable is recorded.

From the time of M. D'Ogeron, who planted the first cocoa tree in 1665, a considerable source of revenue and wealth had originated. The plantations encreased in every direction, particularly in the narrow vallies to the westward, where, upon some grounds there were no fewer than twenty thousand trees; but in 1715 and the succeeding year, all the cocoa trees in the colony perished. This calamity was soon followed by another. Many of the proprietors of estates, after successive years of toil, had acquired an easy competency, and even in some cases a splendid fortune, with which to retire to France, and to extend their means of enjoyment in advanced age: but their commodities being paid for in the notes or securities chiefly of the Mississippi company, which proved useless, they returned poor, and were

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reduced to the necessity of soliciting employment from those who had been their servants in their days of prosperity.

This naturally rendered the India company an object of extreme, and in fact well merited aversion, and in 1722, when its agents arrived, this dissatisfaction displayed itself in open hostility—the buildings of the company were burnt down, while the general cry was "*Vive le Roi, point de Compagnie.*" Every ship coming from Africa was either denied admittance into the harbour or interdicted from selling their cargoes: and the governor himself was even put under arrest. The leaven of discontent spread rapidly and extensively, and it was only after the holding of many councils, frequent negociation with the revolters, and considerable concessions, that at the expiration of two years, tranquillity was re-established.

The French colony from this period to the time of the French revolution, progressively and rapidly advanced, exhibiting a state of almost uninterrupted prosperity. In 1754, the various commodities of the island amounted to a million and a quarter sterling, and the imports to one million seven hundred and seventy-seven thousand five hundred and nine pounds. There were fourteen thousand white inhabitants, nearly four thousand free mulattoes, and one hundred and seventy-two thousand negroes:

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five hundred and ninety-nine sugar plantations, three thousand three hundred and seventy-nine of indigo, ninety-eight thousand nine hundred and forty-six cocoa trees, six million three hundred thousand three hundred and sixty-seven cotton plants, and about twenty-two million cassia trees, sixty-three thousand horses and mules, ninety-three thousand heads of horned cattle, six million banana trees, upwards of one million plots of potatoes, two hundred and twenty-six thousand of yams, and near three million trenches of marrioc.

In 1767 they equipped three hundred and forty-seven ships for France in addition to at least a fifth of that number employed in various other ways. Several years previous to this date they had eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-six whites capable of bearing arms, and one thousand four hundred and fourteen mulattoes. The slaves had encreased to two hundred and six thousand.

In 1776 another line of demarcation between the French and Spanish settlements was traced, which, though it encroached considerably on the possessions of the former, was mutually advantageous.* After this time the Spaniards

* For a topographical view of the island, the reader is referred to *Appendix I.*

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opened a more liberal commercial intercourse with their neighbours, though they were never able to rival them in success: but the Spanish government, since 1785, having paid encreased attention to its possessions in this quarter, they were better defended, and in every view became more respectable as a colony.

Before entering upon the troublous times of the French revolution, the remainder of this chapter may be properly devoted to a general review of the ecclesiastical and political constitution of St. Domingo.

With regard to the *Spanish* division, many of the church benefices were filled by the secular clergy. It was made the seat of an archi-episcopal see, and had all the minor dignities. The inquisition was also established here as well as in the other American islands; though independence on Rome was obtained by express concession. The inhabitants were divided into *pure Spaniards* called also *Chapetones,* who visited America for employment, and enjoyed every situation of power—*Creoles,* or descendants of Europeans, settled in America—*Mulattoes,* or the offspring of Europeans and Indians—*Mestizos,* or the offspring of Europeans and negroes—*Negroes* or blacks, who not only differ from other men in colour but in the singularity of their conformation, having

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high cheek bones, an elevated forehead, a short, broad, flat nose, thick lips, small ears, and great irregularity of shape.

The towns were governed by a local municipality, which however was extremely feeble and inadequate, confining itself principally to minor commercial regulations. Justice was administered by six respectable judges, who formed one of eleven courts of audience distributed through the colonies. The decisions of these courts were subject to an appeal to the council for the Indies in Spain, excepting civil cases, where the object of litigation did not amount, to near fifteen hundred pounds. The viceroy of New Spain represented the head of government. The council overruled every department, civil and ecclesiastical, military and commercial, and originated every regulation to be passed by the majority, of a third of the members—the king being always understood to preside. A commercial assembly was also formed, and the local affairs below these comprised commandants, and others still inferior, of every description.

In the *French* division of the island the ecclesiastical government was lightly administered; but the forms of the Romish church were regarded, and the Jesuits held a firm footing there. The inhabitants of the French part of St. Do-

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mingo, as Mr. Edwards, from whom the following statement is abridged, mentions, were composed, as in all the West Indian Islands, of three great classes: 1st, *pure whites.* 2d, *people of colour, and blacks of free condition.* 3d, *negroes in a state of slavery.* The class which is called *people of colour,* originates from an intermixture of the whites and the blacks. While, as before stated, the genuine offspring of a pure white with a negro is called a *mulatto;* there are various casts, produced by subsequent connections, some of which approximate the whites, till all visible distinction between them is lost; whilst others retrograde to the blacks. All these were known in St. Domingo by the term *sang-melées,* or *gens de couleur,* (in common parlance they are collectively called *mulattoes)* and in all the French islands these people abound in far greater proportion to the whites than in those of Great Britain.

The government, before the revolution of 1789, was exercised by a *governor general,* and an officer called *Intendant,* both of whom were nominated by the crown, on the recommendation of the minister of the marine, and generally considered as established in their respective offices for three years. Their powers, in some cases, were administered jointly; in others, they possessed separate and distinct

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authority, which each of them exercised without the concurrence or participation of the other.

In their joint administration their powers were unlimited; comprehending every part of colonial government, and extending even to detail, in the minutest branches of finance and police. They enacted the laws, nominated to all vacant offices, and distributed the crown lands as they thought proper. They respectively presided at the same time in each of the supreme councils, or courts of justice in the dernier resort; and as vacancies happened in those courts, by the death or removal of its members, they filled up the vacant places. Against the abuse of powers, thus extravagant and unbounded, the people had no certain protection. Fortunately, it was rare that the governor and intendant agreed in opinion on the exercise of their joint authority, which therefore became necessarily relaxed; and the inhabitants derived some degree of security from the disputes and dissensions of the contending parties. In all such cases, however, the greatest weight of authority fell to the share of the governor. He was, in truth, an absolute prince, whose will, generally speaking, constituted law. He was authorized to imprison any person in the colony, for causes of which he alone was the judge; and having at

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the same time the supreme command of both the naval and military force, he had the means of exercising this power whenever he thought proper. On the other hand, no arrest, by any other authority, was valid without the governor's approbation. Thus he had power to stop the course of justice, and to hold the courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction in a slavish dependance on himself.

It was the peculiar province of the intendant to regulate the public revenues, or administer the finances of the colony. The collectors and receivers of all duties and taxes were subject to his controul. He passed or rejected their accounts, and made them such allowances as he alone thought proper, and with him rested entirely the application of all the public monies.

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

For the better administration of justice, and the easier collection of the revenues, the colony

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was divided into three provinces, the northern, the western and the southern. In each of these resided a deputy-governor, and in each were established subordinate courts of civil and criminal justice; from whose determination appeals were allowed to the two superior councils; of which, one was at *Cape François* for the northern province; the other at *Port au Prince* for the western and southern. They were composed of the governor-general, the intendant, the deputy-governors, the king's lieutenants, a president, and twelve counsellors, four *assesseurs*, or assistant judges, together with the attorney-general and register. In these courts of supreme jurisdiction, the king's edicts, and those of the governor and intendant, were registered. Seven members constituted a quorum for the hearing of appeal causes; but a hint from the governor-general was always sufficient to render much investigation unnecessary. An appeal however lay to the king, in the last resort; and on such appeals, substantial justice was generally obtained.

The number of the king's troops on the colonial establishment was commonly from two to three thousand men; and each of the fifty-two parishes into which the colony was divided raised one or more companies of white militia, a company of mulattoes, and a company of

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free blacks. The officers, both of the regular troops and the militia, were commissioned provisionally by the governor-general, subject to the king's approbation; but the militia received no pay.

Although released from the dominion of individuals, yet the free men of colour in all the French islands were still considered as the property of the public, and as public property they were obnoxious to the caprice and tyranny of all those whom the accident of birth had placed above them. By the colonial governments they were treated as slaves in the strictest sense; being compelled, on attaining the age of manhood, to serve three years in a military establishment called the *maréchaussée* *, and on the expiration of that term they were subject, great part of the year, to the burthen of the *corvées*;—a species of labour allotted for the repair of the highways, of which the hardships were insupportable. They were compelled

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

EDWARDS.

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moreover to serve in the militia of the province or quarter to which they belonged, without pay or allowance, and in the horse or foot, at the pleasure of the commanding officer; and at their own expense, with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements. Their days of muster, were frequent, and the rigour with which the king's lieutenants, majors, and aides-major, enforced their authority over these people, degenerated into the basest tyranny.

They were forbidden to hold any public office, trust, or employment, and were not even allowed to exercise any of those professions, to which some sort of liberal education is supposed to be necessary. All the naval and military departments, all degrees in law, physic, and divinity, were appropriated exclusively by the whites. A mulatto could not be a priest, nor a lawyer, nor a physician, nor a surgeon, nor an apothecary, nor a schoolmaster. Neither did the distinction of colour terminate, as in the British West Indies, with the third generation. The taint in the blood was incurable, and spread to the latest posterity. Hence no white man, who had the smallest pretensions to character, would ever think of marriage with a negro or mulatto woman; such a step would immediately have terminated in his disgrace and ruin.

The courts of criminal jurisdiction, adopting

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the popular prejudices against them, gave effect and permanency to the system. A man of colour being prosecutor, must have made out a strong case indeed, if at any time he obtained the conviction of a white person. On the other hand, the whites never failed to procure prompt and speedy justice against the mulattoes. To mark more strongly the distinction between the two classes, the law declared that if a free man of colour presumed to strike a white person of whatever condition, his right hand should be cut off; while a white man, for a similar assault on a free mulatto, was dismissed on the payment of an insignificant fine.

In extenuation of this horrible detail, it may be said with truth, that the manners of the white inhabitants softened, in some measure, the severity of their laws: thus, in the case last mentioned, the universal abhorrence which would have attended an enforcement of the penalty, made the law a dead letter. It was the same with the Roman law of the Twelve Table, by which a father was allowed to inflict the punishment of death on his own child:—manners, not law, prevented the exertion of a power so unnatural and odious.

But the circumstance which contributed most to afford the coloured people of St. Domingo protection, was the privilege they possessed of

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

The lowest class of people in the French island, were the negroes in a state of slavery; of whom, in the year 1789, St. Domingo contained no less than four hundred and eighty thousand. It was in favour of this class that Louis XIV. in the year 1685, published the celebrated edict, or code of regulations, which is well known to the world under the title of the *Code Noir*; and which, in many of its provisions, breathed a spirit of tenderness and philanthrophy highly honourable to the memory of its author.

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CHAP. IV.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1789 TO THE DECREE OF MAY 1791.

States General summoned in France.—Society of Amis des Noirs.—Declaration of rights.—Confused state of the colony.—Decree of March 8th, 1790.—Colonial assembly meet at St. Marc.—Decree of 28th of May.—Proceedings of Peynier and Mauduit.—Rebellion of Ogé.—Committee for the colonies in France.—Death of Mauduit.—Decree of the 15th of May, 1791.

The state of things in Europe had been such, during a long period, as to produce a political crisis, in the result of which a very considerable portion of the habitable globe has been directly or indirectly interested. Intelligence of the commotions which agitated the French empire, and of the different transactions which began to excite the attention of the almost universal world reached the colonies, and produced corresponding emotions. The spirit of discussion went forth, and awakened hopes of political alteration and improvement, even amongst

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those who seemed doomed to the bondage of perpetual servitude; while it elicited those feelings, aud roused into action those dormant capabilities which made the despot tremble, and the oppressed exult in a consciousness of strength, and a knowledge of right. At this period, the European revolution unlocked the door which the active benefactors of mankind have since united to throw wide open, inviting the children of slavery to go forth into freedom. Reluctant senates have heard the voice of sympathizing nations, and in despite of interest and pride, have set their seal to the deed of emancipation.

On the twenty-seventh of December, 1788, the court of France having come to the memorable determination to summon the states general of the kingdom, resolved that the representation of the tiers état (or commons) should be equal to the sum of the representation of the other two orders.

This measure operated with immediate effect in all the French colonies. The governor of the French part of St. Domingo at that period was M. Duchilleau, who was supposed secretly to favour the popular pretensions, and was therefore allowed to continue in his government; but by attempting to prevent the parochial and provincial meetings from assembling, his proclama-

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tions were treated with contempt: the meetings were held, and resolutions passed declaratory of the right of the colonists to send deputies to the states general. These being elected to the number of eighteen, without any authority either from the French ministry or the colonial government, embarked for France as legal representatives.

About a month after the states general had declared themselves the national assembly, they arrived at Versailles; but their number being thought excessive, it was with some difficulty that six of them only were admitted to verify their powers, and assume their seat.

A very strong prejudice against the inhabitants of the sugar islands, on account of the slavery of their negroes, prevailed at this time in France, a prejudice which was daily fomented and encreased by invectives against despotism of every kind: and the public indignation was excited against the West Indian planters. This spirit of hostility produced a society, entitled *Amis des Noirs* (Friends of the Blacks,) which circulated their protests with such extraordinary zeal and rapidity, that their measures became the topics of universal conversation. This society having secretly in view to subvert the ancient despotism of the French government,

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loudly called for a general and immediate abolition of the slave trade and of the slavery which it supported.

Many of the mulattoes from St. Domingo and the other French islands, were at this time resident in the French capital. Some had been sent in early life for education: others were men of property, and persons of intelligence. With these people, the society of *Amis des Noirs* formed an intimate connection. Their personal appearance excited pity, and, co-operating with the spirit of the times and the representations of those who deeply sympathized upon principles of humanity with their condition, all ranks of people became clamorous against the white colonists, and their total annihilation was threatened.

On the twentieth day of August, the national assembly made their *declaration of rights.* One of the doctrines in particular contained in this declaration was calculated to destroy all subordination in the lower classes, that "all men are born, and continue free and equal as to their rights;" and, accordingly, a general ferment prevailed among the French inhabitants of St. Domingo. All that had passed in the mother country concerning the colonists, had been represented to them through the medium of party, and doubtless with a thousand circumstances of

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exaggeration and insult; and the French government, apprehensive that disorders of a very alarming nature might arise, issued orders to the governor general of St. Domingo, to convene the inhabitants for the purpose of forming a legislative assembly for interior regulation. These orders, however, were anticipated. The inhabitants of the northern district had already constituted a provincial assembly at Cape François, and their example was followed in the western and southern provinces; to which were added, parochial committees, formed to maintain more immediate communications.

They often differed greatly among themselves on many important questions, though all concurred in one opinion, the necessity of a full and speedy colonial representation; but they determined that if the king should not send out instructions for such an assembly within three months, the colony should adopt its own measures.

The mulattoes, during this period, aware of the favourable disposition of the French nation towards them, and incited by their brethren in the metropolis, determined instantly to claim the full benefit of the privileges, which were enjoyed by the whites. Large bodies of them appeared in arms, but they were easily overpowered. It is said, that the provincial assem-

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blies were disposed to make concessions to the mulattoes themselves; but against such of the whites as had taken any part in favour of the people of colour, the rage of the populace knew no limits. Hence M. Dubois, deputy procureur general, who had sought occasions to declaim publicly against the slavery of the negroes, was arrested by the northern assembly, but the governor interposed successfully on his behalf.

M. Ferrand de Beaudierre, a magistrate at Petit Goave, was however more unfortunate. The parochial committee committed him to prison; whence the mob took him by force, and in spite of the magistrates and municipality put him to death.

An order for convoking a general colonial assembly was received in St. Domingo from the king in January 1790—appointing the central town of Leogane, in the western province, for the place of meeting. The instructions, however, being considered as inapplicable to the circumstances of the colony, were disapproved; and another plan of their own was adopted, changing both the place and time of meeting.

Intelligence of the confused state of the colony was received in the mother country; and the planters of Martinico were said to be equally discontented and disaffected. Appre-

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hensive of the island being likely to declare itself independent, the national assembly, on the eighth of March, 1790, entered into the consideration of the subject; and after a full discussion, a very large majority voted, "That it never was the intention of the assembly to comprehend the interior government of the colonies in the constitution which they had framed for the mother country, or to subject them to laws which were incompatible with their local establishments: they therefore authorize the inhabitants of each colony to signify to the National Assembly their sentiments and wishes concerning that plan of interior legislation and commercial arrangement, which would be most conducive to their prosperity." To this decree was added a declaration, "That the National Assembly would not cause any innovation to be made, directly or indirectly, in any system of commerce in which the colonies were already concerned."

This decree, it is easy to imagine, occasioned among the people of colour, and the society of Amis des Noirs, great agitation: it was interpreted as a tacit sanction of the slave trade; and it was even contended, that the National Assembly, by leaving the adjustment of the colonial constitutions to the colonists themselves, had discharged them from their allegiance.

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The general assembly of St. Domingo, consisting of two hundred and thirteen members, twenty-four from the city of Cape François, sixteen from Port au Prince, and eight from Aux Cayes, met on the sixteenth of April 1790, at St. Marc. Most of the other parishes returned two representatives each. But the provincial assemblies continued in the exercise of their self-appointed functions.

One of the first measures was to relieve the people of colour from the hardships to which they were subject under the military jurisdiction; so that in future no greater duty was to be required of them in the militia than from the whites. In the next place, they proceeded to rectify some gross abuses which had prevailed in the courts of judicature, confining themselves, however, to such only as called for immediate redress, and chiefly to the great object of preparing the plan for a new system of colonial government; which employed their deliberations till the twenty-eighth of May.

From M. Peynier, the present governor general, the adherents of the ancient despotism secretly derived encouragement and support; but while these persons opposed themselves to the new order of things, the Chevalier Mauduit, colonel of the regiment of Port au Prince, arrived at St. Domingo; and by his talent,

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dexterity, zeal and address, soon acquired an ascendency over Peynier, and governed the colony in his name. He saw that it was necessary to prevent a coalition of interests between the colonial assembly, and the free people of colour. He therefore proclaimed himself the patron and protector of the mulattoes, and by his assiduity effectually gained over the entire body.

If the planters had remained united among themselves, it seems probable that the tranquility of the country would have been preserved; but the provincial assembly of the North, counteracted by all possible means, the proceedings of the general assembly at St. Marc. Appearances seemed to indicate an approaching civil war, even before the plan for the new constitution was published. This was contained in the decree of the general colonial assembly of the twenty-eighth of May, which consisted of ten fundamental positions, which are preceded by an introductory discourse or preamble (as usual in the French decrees) wherein, among other considerations, it is stated, as an acknowledged principle in the French constitution, that the right in the crown to confirm the acts of the legislature, is a prerogative, inherent and *incommunicable*. The articles are as follow:

"1. The legislative authority, in every thing

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which relates to the internal concerns of the colony (regime interieur) is vested in the assembly of its representatives, which shall be called, "*The General Assembly of the French part of St. Domingo.*"

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

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

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

5. If the governor general shall send down his observations on any such decree, the same shall be entered in the journals of the general

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

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

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

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and modifications as are prescribed in articles three and five.

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

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

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

Some of these articles are evidently irreconcileable to every just principle of colonial subordination: and the most prevalent opinion was, that a serious intention was entertained of declaring the colony an independent state, in imitation of the English American provinces;

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and it was said that the colony was sold to the English, at forty millions of livres.

Some of the Western parishes recalled their deputies; and the inhabitants of Cape François instantly renouncing obedience to the general assembly, presented a memorial to the governor, requesting him forthwith to dissolve it. This proceeding was sufficiently agreeable to M. Peynier, whose views were promoted by another circumstance. In the harbour of Port au Prince lay a ship of the line, called the Leopard, commanded by M. Galisoniere, who in consequence of co-operating in the design of Peynier and Mauduit, gave offence to his sailors, who withdrew their obedience and declared themselves to be in the interests of the colonial assembly! M. Galisoniere at length quitted the ship, upon which the crew gave the command to one of the lieutenants. The assembly immediately transmitted a vote of thanks, requiring of them, in the name of the law and the king, to detain the ship in the road, and await their further orders. The sailors promised obedience, affixed the vote of thanks on the main-mast of the ship; while some of their partizans took possession of a powder magazine at Leogane.

Two days afterwards, M. Peynier issued a proclamation to dissolve the general assembly;

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charging the members with entertaining projects of independency, and asserting that they had treacherously possessed themselves of one of the king's ships by corrupting the crew. He pronounced them and their adherents traitors to their country and king: declaring his intention of employing all the force he could collect to bring them to condign punishment.

Having determined to arrest the committee of the western provincial assembly, he commissioned M. Mauduit to undertake the enterprise, who being informed that this committee held consultations at midnight, selected one hundred of his soldiers to seize the members. On arriving however at the house, he found it protected by four hundred of the national guards. A skirmish ensued; two men were killed on the part of the assembly; several were wounded on both sides, and M. Mauduit returned without effecting any thing more than seizing, and bearing away in triumph, the national colours.

On receiving intelligence of this attack the general assembly summoned the people to the protection of their representatives, from all parts of the colony, and most of them obeyed; but the Northern provincial assembly joined the party of the governor, and sent to his assistance a detachment from the regular troops in that

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quarter, which was joined by a body of two hundred mulattoes. A much greater force was collected at the same time in the Western province by M. Mauduit, and the preparations on both sides threatened a sanguinary conflict; when, a sudden stop was put to this civil war by the unexpected determination of the general assembly to undertake a voyage to France, and justify their conduct to the king and the national assembly in person. Their numbers were at this time reduced by sickness and desertion to about one hundred members, eighty-five (of whom sixty-four were fathers of families) embarked on board the Leopard, and on the eighth of August took their departure for Europe:—a proceeding which greatly surprised the governor and his party, while it filled the populace with admiration at what they conceived to be a signal instance of virtue and forbearance; for at this moment two thousand men from the Southern and Western provinces, were in full march for Port au Prince to undertake their defence. Tears of sensibility and affection were shed at their departure by all classes of people, and the parties in arms appeared mutually disposed to submit their differences to the king and the national assembly. M. Peynier resumed the government: but with feelings of no inconsiderable apprehension.

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No sooner was one source of contention removed than another still more alarming presented itself in the rebellion of James Ogé, a young mulatto, of about thirty years of age, whose mother had a coffee plantation in the Northern province, about thirty miles from Cape François. She lived very creditably, and found means to educate her son at Paris, where she supported him in some degree of affluence, after he had obtained the age of manhood.

Ogé had been introduced to the meetings of the *Amis de Noirs*, under the patronage of Gregoire, Brissot, La Fayette, and Robespierre, the leading members of that society; and was by them initiated into the popular doctrine of *equality*, and *the rights of man*.

Induced to believe, that the whole body of coloured people in the French islands were prepared to rise up against their oppressors; and that nothing was wanting but a discreet leader to set them in motion, he determined to proceed to St. Domingo; and for this purpose the society procured him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army of one of the German electors. The chief difficulty was to export arms and ammunition from France, without attracting the notice of the government, and awakening suspicion among the planters. Ogé was therefore recommended to make a circuitous

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voyage to North America for that purpose. His whole project however was publicly known at Paris previous to Ogé's embarkation, and notice of the scheme, and even a portrait of Ogé himself, were transmitted to St. Domingo, long before his arrival in the island; where he secretly landed on the twelfth of October 1790.

Six weeks afterwards he wrote to the governor (Peynier,) and after reproaching him and his predecessors with the non-execution of the *Code Noir*, he demanded that the provisions of that statute should be enforced throughout the colony, and that the privileges enjoyed by the whites should be extended to all, declaring himself the protector of the mulattoes by force of arms, unless their wrongs were redressed. The previous period from the time of his landing had been occupied in conjunction with his two brothers, in spreading disaffection, and exciting revolt; but Ogé was able to allure only about two hundred followers to his standard, most of whom were undisciplined and totally averse to order.

His camp was established at *Grande Riviere*, about fifteen miles from Cape François, where his two brothers, and one Mark Chavane, were his lieutenants. These men were of a different character from their chief, who is represented as mild in temper, though enthusiastic in principle;

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while they committed many murders and exercised severe despotism with unhesitating cruelty. A mulatto man of some property being urged to follow them, excused himself by pointing to his wife and children, which being considered as contumacious, the man and his whole family were massacred.

Measures for suppressing this revolt were promptly adopted and vigorously executed. A body of troops, and the Cape regiment of militia, were dispatched to the camp of the revolters, which they soon invested; many of them were killed, about sixty made prisoners, and the rest dispersed. Ogé himself, one of his brothers, and Chavane his associate, took refuge amongst the Spaniards.

These circumstances tended to aggravate the animosity already subsisting between the whites and mulattoes; the latter of whom flew to arms, and formed encampments at Artibonite, Petit Goaves, Jeremie, and Aux Cayes. But the largest and most formidable body assembled near the small town of *Verette;* at which place singly and unattended, Colonel Mauduit had a conference with their leaders, whom he persuaded to influence the mulattoes to retire to their habitations. By what means this was effected it has never been discovered, but they have been represented as not very honorable.

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He was even charged with traiterously persuading them not to desist from their purpose, but only to postpone it to another opportunity; assuring them that the king himself, and all the friends of the ancient government, were secretly attached to their cause, and would avow and support it whenever they could do it with advantage. He is said to have acted in a similar manner at other places; holding secret consultations with the chiefs of the mulattoes, who in consequence of his intimations every where dispersed immediately.

In November, 1790, M. Peynier resigned the government and embarked for Europe; and M. Blanchelande, the new commander in chief, made a peremptory demand of Ogé and his associates from the Spaniards; the wretched chief and his companions were immediately delivered up to a detachment of French troops, and safely lodged in the jail of Cape François, when a commission was issued to bring them to trial. After frequent examinations, sentence was pronounced in the beginning of March, 1791. Twenty of Ogé's followers, among them his own brother, were condemned to be hanged. Himself, and his lieutenant Chavane, were adjudged to be broken on the wheel. The latter met his fate with unusual firmness; but the fortitude of Ogé deserted him altogether. He

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earnestly implored mercy, promising to make great discoveries if his life was spared: a respite of twenty-four hours was accordingly granted; but it was not then known that he divulged any thing of importance; but it afterwards appeared that he not only made a full confession of the facts already recited, but also disclosed a dreadful plot in agitation, and detailed the measures which the coloured people had adopted to excite the negro slaves to rebellion.

The persons before whom this confession, sworn to and signed, was made, were commissioners appointed by the superior council of the Northern province. For what reasons the evidence was suppressed has never been satisfactorily explained. Such however was the fact; and the wretched Ogé hurried to immediate execution.

To return to the eighty-five members of the colonial assembly, who embarked for France. They arrived at Brest on the thirteenth of September, 1790, where they were received on landing by all ranks of people, with every token of respect; but soon afterwards they met with a very different reception at the capital, where deputies had already arrived from the provincial assembly of the North, who had effectually prejudiced M. Barnave, the president of the committee for the colonies. The national

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assembly indignantly dismissed them from their bar, and refused their subsequent solicitation to be confronted with their adversaries. In October, a report of the committee for the colonies was presented by M. Barnave, censuring all the proceedings of the colonial assembly, from its first meeting at St. Marc's; and concluding in these words, "That all the pretended decrees and acts of the said colonial assembly, should be reversed, and pronounced utterly null and of no effect: that the said assembly should be declared dissolved, and its members rendered ineligible and incapable of being delegated in future to the colonial assembly of St. Domingo; that testimonies of approbation should be transmitted to the Northern provincial assembly, to Colonel Mauduit and the regiment of Port au Prince, for resisting the proceedings at St. Marc's; that the king should be requested to give orders for the forming a new colonial assembly on the principles of the national decree of the eighth of March, 1790, and instructions of the twenty-eighth of the same month; finally that the *ci-devant* members, then in France, should continue in a state of arrest, until the national assembly might find time to signify its further pleasure concerning them."

This decree excited the utmost indignation in St. Domingo, where it was considered by most

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other persons as resulting from a dereliction of all principle; and many of the parishes positively refused to choose other deputies till the fate of their members in France should be decided, whom they still considered as the legal representatives of the colony. Mauduit and his regiment became encreasingly the objects of popular resentment, but he was in the end assassinated by those very men who had once shewn him the most devoted attachment.

The circumstance of M. Mauduit's carrying off the colours from a detachment of the national guards, has been already mentioned; the consequence of which was, that not only that detachment, but the whole of the guards throughout the colony, considered this act as an unpardonable insult, and were only restrained from immediate revenge by the dread they felt of the superior discipline of the veterans who composed the regiment which Mauduit commanded. Hence both were regarded with the utmost detestation.

In March, 1791, the frigates Le Fougueux and Le Borée arrived from France with a reinforcement of troops, who having communicated with the crew of the Leopard, the ship that carried out the members of the colonial assembly to France, on their landing at Port au Prince, manifested the same hostility towards

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Mauduit's regiment, as was evinced by the national guards. They refused all intercourse, and treated them as enemies to the colony and traitors to their country. This of course, produced a powerful impression on both officers and privates, mutual reproach spread amongst them, the white feather was indignantly torn from their hats, and dark and sullen looks indicated that their commander had lost their confidence and affection. Mauduit perceived his danger, and fearing to involve the governor and his family in the ruin he anticipated for himself, advised them to make the best of their way to Cape François, which they accordingly did. Mauduit then harangued his grenadiers, proposing to restore the colours which he had formerly taken, and even with his own hands, at the head of his regiment, to deposit them in the church, adding, that he depended on them to protect him from insult, which the faithless grenadiers readily promised.

On the following day the ceremony took place before a vast crowd of spectators: but at the moment he turned to witness the applauses of his soldiers, one of them cried aloud, *that he must ask pardon of the national guards on his knees.* Mauduit started, and presented them instead his bosom bared to their swords:—it was instantly pierced with a hundred wounds,

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inflicted by his own men, to whom he had so frequently shewn every kindness. The spectators stood silent and motionless; two officers only exerted themselves but in vain on his behalf;* and dissatisfied with mere assassination, the most horrible enormities were practised on the dead body. This dastardly proceeding met its proper recompense; the other troops detested the regiment which had perpetrated the deed of blood, and being compelled to lay down their arms, they were sent prisoners to France.

During these transactions, the society of

* This is mentioned in the following communication which Mr. Edwards states that he received from St. Domingo. "Les grenadiers du regiment de Mauduit, et d'autres voix parties de la foule, demandent que le Colonel fasse reparation à la garde nationale. On éxige qu'il fasse des excuses pour l'insulte qu'il lui a fait. Il prononce les excuses qu'on lui demande; ses grénadiers ne sont points satisfaits, ils veulent qu'il les fasse à genoux. Une rumeur terrible se fait entendre: ce fut alors que plusieurs citoyens, *même de ceux que Mauduit avoit le plus vexé*, fendent la foule, et cherchent à le soustraire au mouvement qui se préparoit. On a vu dans ce moment le brave *Beausoleil*, après avoir été atteint d'un coup de feu á l'affaire du 29 au 30 Juillet, en défendant le comité recèvoir un coup de sàbre en protégeant les jours de Mauduit. On peut rendre justice aussi à deux officiers de Mauduit: *Galeseau* et *Germain* n'ayant pas abandonné leur Colonel jusqu'au dernier moment; mais l'indignation des soldats étoit à son comble, et il n'etoit plus temps."

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Amis des Noirs in the mother country was employed in devising projects of still greater enormity. There was reason to believe that the mulattoes were disposed to conciliation with the whites, who also had obvious reasons on their part to desire it. M. Barnave alone, the president of the colonial committee in France, avowed his conviction that any further interference of the mother country would be prejudicial to her essential interests, an opinion which, however entitled to respect from such a man, was heard without effect. The principal members, Gregoire, La Fayette, Brissot, and others, determined to call in the supreme legislative authority of the French government to further their designs. The reader will recollect the national decree of the eighth of March, 1790, by which the national assembly disclaimed all right of interference in the local and interior concerns of the colonies; but as much as possible to nullify this resolution, it had been insidiously proposed, within a few days after it had passed, to transmit with it to the governor of St. Domingo, certain instructions for its due observance. These consisted of eighteen articles, among which was a direction " that every person of the age of twenty-five and upwards, possessing property, or having resided

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two years in the colony, and paid taxes, should be permitted to vote in the formation of the colonial assembly."

The advocates of this measure pretended that it went only to the modification of the privilege of voting in the parochial meetings; but no sooner were they adopted and converted into a decree, than the mulattoes resident in the mother country, as well as the society of *Amis des Noirs*, hastened to apprise their agents in St. Domingo, that the people of colour, not being excepted, were virtually comprised in it, and were at length persuaded to send deputies to France to obtain an explanation of it from the national assembly.

The subject was brought forward by the Abbé Gregoire, who supported with all his eloquence the claim of the free mulattoes to the full benefit of the instructions of the twenty-eighth of March, 1790, and to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the white inhabitants of the French colonies. The news of the death of Ogé arrived in Paris at the same time, and excited indignation in the minds of all ranks of people against the planters, who for a time dared not appear in the streets of Paris. "Perish the colonies," said Robespierre, "rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles." The majority reiterated the sentiment, and the

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decree of the fifteenth of May, 1791, by which it was enacted, " that the people of colour resident in the French colonies, born of free parents, were entitled to, as of right, and should be allowed the enjoyment of all the privileges of French citizens, and, among others, to those of having votes in the choice of representatives, and of *being eligible to seats both in the parochial and colonial assemblies,*" was pronounced amidst the acclamations of the people. The colonial committee, of which M. Barnave was president, immediately suspended its functions, and declared itself useless, and the deputies from the colonies declined any further attendance. The only effect, however, produced on the national assembly, was an order that the three civil commissioners, who had been previously appointed for regulating the affairs of the colonies on the spot, should immediately repair thither, to see to the enforcement of the national decrees.

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CHAP. V.

FROM THE MONTH OF MAY, 1791, TO THE CONFLAGRATION OF THE TOWN OF CAPE FRANÇOIS IN 1793.

Resentment against the decree of the fifteenth of May. — Revolt of the Negroes in the North.—Anecdote of the extraordinary fidelity of a Negro.—Insurrection of the Western division.—Concordat of the eleventh of September.—Proclamation of the General Assembly. — New disturbances. — Civil Commissioners sent by the National Assembly.—Decree of the fourth of April, 1792.—A new governor and other commissioners appointed.—Their violence.—M. Galbaud made Governor.—Disputes with the Commissioners and dispossession of his office.—His brother unites with him to oppose the Commissioners by force.—The latter call in the aid of the revolted Negroes.—Conflagration of the Capital and Massacre of the White Inhabitants.

When the intelligence of the decree of May, 1791, arrived at Cape François, the utmost rage and indignation circulated throughout the colony; especially in the town of the Cape,

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which had hitherto been foremost in professions of attachment to the mother country. It was now unanimously determined to reject the civic oath, and even proposed to seize all the ships, and confiscate the effects of the French merchants then in the harbour. The national cockade was trodden under foot, and the authority of the governor-general, with every idea of colonial subordination, were annihilated in a moment.

The several parishes proceeded, without hesitation, to the election of deputies for a new general colonial assembly which met at Leograve, on the ninth of August, to the number of one hundred and seventy-six, and declared themselves *the general assembly of the French part of St. Domingo.*

M. Blanchelande, during these transactions remained a political cipher. He wrote to the king's ministers, and sent a copy of his communication to the provincial assembly, with a solemn assurance, that he would *suspend the execution of the obnoxious decree, whenever it should come out to him properly authenticated.*

Alarmed at these proceedings, the mulattoes began to collect in armed bodies, without any hindrance from the whites, whose thoughts were universally directed towards the meeting of the new colonial assembly, fondly, but fal-

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laciously expecting from it the immediate redress of all existing grievances.

On the twenty-third of August, just before day-break, a general alarm spread throughout the town of the Cape, that all the negro slaves in the neighbouring parishes had revolted, and were carrying death and desolation over the plantations. The governor, assembled the military officers; but the reports were too confused and contradictory to gain much credit till daylight brought with it many who had scarcely escaped the massacre, and fled to the town for protection.

They disclosed that the insurrection originated on a plantation called Noé, in the parish of Acul, nine miles only from the city, where twelve or fourteen of the ringleaders, about the middle of the night, massacred the principal managers of the plantation; whence they proceeded to the house of a Mr. Clement, by whose negroes also they were immediately joined, and both he and his refiner were massacred.

Similar tragedies were performed on the plantations of M. Galifet and M. Flaville, with circumstances of barbarity however indefensible and terrible, such as an infuriated people were likely to practice. It was soon evident that the negroes acted in concert, a general

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massacree of the whites was the consequence, with the exception only, on a few estates, of the women, who were spared for a severer fate.

Consternation now every where prevailed, and the screams of the women and children, running from door to door, heightened the horrors of the scene. The citizens took up arms, and the general assembly vested the governor with the command of the national guards. The women and children were sent on board the ships in the harbour; and most of the ablest men among the domestic negroes in the town, were sent on shipboard under a strong guard. Still, however, there remained a considerable body of free mulattoes, whose situation became critical, for the lower class of whites, considering the mulattoes as the authors of the rebellion, marked them for destruction; and they would undoubtedly have been murdered if the governor and the colonial assembly had not taken them under their protection. Upon this they offered to march against the rebels, leaving their wives and children as hostages for their fidelity. Their offer was accepted, and they were enrolled in the militia.

The inhabitants, being strengthened by a number of seamen from the ships, and brought into some degree of military order, M. de

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Touzard who had distinguished himself in the service of the North Americans, took the command of a party of militia and troops of the line, and marched to the plantation of a M. Latour, where he attacked a body of about four thousand of the rebel negroes. But though many were destroyed, Touzard found their numbers so constantly renewed and encreased, that he was at length obliged to retreat and thus expose the town to the destruction which more skilful enemies would at that moment have easily accomplished.

At the eastern extremity of the town, the main road from the plain is intersected by a river, which was crossed in ferry boats. To defend this passage, a battery of cannon was raised on boats lashed together; while two small camps were formed on the banks. The other principal road, towards the south, was through a mountainous district, called le Haut du Cap, which was immediately occupied by bodies of troops, with such artillery as could be spared, while a strong pallisade and *chevaux de frize*, in the erecting of which all the inhabitants laboured, encompassed the place on the land side. At the same time, an embargo was laid on all the shipping in the harbour.

Notice of the revolt had been transmitted to the different parishes as quickly as possible,

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and the white inhabitants of many of them had found time to establish camps, and form a chain of posts, which for a short time seemed to check the revolt; but two of those camps at Grande Riviere, and at Dondon, were attacked by the negroes, in conjunction with the mulattoes, and forced with great slaughter. These two districts therefore; the whole of the rich and extensive plain of the Cape, together with the contiguous mountains, were now wholly abandoned to the enemy, whose cruelties were not sparingly exercised, on such of the miserable whites as fell into their hands.

Over particular instances which shock humanity it is best perhaps to draw the veil of concealment, and rather to adopt the more agreeable plan of selecting one of extraordinary fidelity and attachment in a negro, related by Mr. Edwards. Mons. and Madame Baillon, their daughter and son-in-law, and two white servants, residing on a mountain plantation about thirty miles from Cape François, were apprized of the revolt by one of their own slaves, who was himself in the conspiracy, but promised, if possible, to save the lives of his master and his family. Having no immediate means of providing for their escape, he conducted them into an adjacent wood; after which he went and joined the revolters. The

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following night, he found an opportunity of bringing them provisions from the rebel camp, The second night he returned again, with a further supply of provisions: but declared that it would be out of his power to give them any further assistance. After this, they saw nothing of the negro for three days; but at the end of that time he came again, and directed the family how to make their way to a river which led to Port Margot, assuring them they would find a canoe on a part of the river which he described. They followed his directions; found the canoe, and got safely into it; but were overset 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 negro again appeared like the 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 at Port Margot; when telling them they were entirely

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out of danger, he took his leave for ever, and went to join the rebels. The family were in the woods nineteen nights.

The town of the Cape being at length placed in a defensive position, a small army, under the command of M. Rouvray, was sent to the eastern part of the plain, and encamped at a place called Roucrou. A considerable body of the negroes took possession at the same time, of the large buildings on the plantation of M. Gallifet, and mounted some heavy pieces of artillery, which they had procured at different shipping places and harbours along the coast. From this plantation they sent out foraging parties, with which the whites had frequent skirmishes. The negroes seldom stood their ground longer than to receive and return a single volley; as soon as one body was cut off, another appeared, and thus they succeeded in harassing the whites, and spreading desolation in every quarter.

In this terrible war human blood was poured forth in torrents. It was computed that, within two months after the revolt first began, upwards of two thousand white persons of all conditions and ages, had been massacred;—that one hundred and eighty sugar plantations, and about nine hundred coffee, cotton, and indigo settlements had been destroyed (the buildings

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thereon being consumed by fire,) and one thousand two hundred christian families reduced from opulence, to such a state of misery, as to depend altogether for their clothing and sustenance on public and private charity. Of the insurgents, it was reckoned that upwards of ten thousand had perished by the sword or by famine; and some hundreds by the hands of the executioner.

The rebellion hitherto chiefly confined to the northern province, soon began to break forth in the west, where the insurgents were chiefly men of colour, of whom upwards of two thousand appeared in arms in the parish of Mirebalais. These were joined by six hundred negro slaves, who began their operations by burning the coffee plantations in the mountains adjacent to the plain of Cul-de-Sac. Detachments sent against them from Port au Prince were repulsed; and they continued to ravage and burn the country through an extent of thirty miles. At length they approached Port au Prince, with intention of setting it on fire; and its destruction seemed inevitable, when some of the mulatto chiefs finding that their attempts to gain over the negro slaves were not so successful as they expected, intimated that they were not averse to a reconciliation. And M. de Jumecourt, a planter of eminence, procured by a

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well-timed interposition, a treaty called the *concordat*, which was agreed upon about the eleventh of September, between the free people of colour, and the white inhabitants of Port au Prince. The chief provisions were, an amnesty of the past, and an engagement to admit in full force the national decree of the fifteenth of May. The general assembly, by a proclamation of the twentieth of September, declared their ratification of this agreement, and announced an intention to grant considerable indulgences towards such free people of colour as were not comprehended in it, meaning those who were born of enslaved parents. They voted at the same time the formation of certain free companies of mulattoes, wherein the men of colour of all descriptions, possessed of certain qualifications, should be allowed to serve as commissioned officers. But these concessions came too late, and the flames only smothered, soon broke forth again with encreased fury.

It was singular enough, that almost at the very moment when the justice and necessity of the obnoxious decree of the fifteenth of May were acknowledged, and its faithful observance promised by the colonial assembly, its repeal was actually voted by the national legislature in the mother country by a large majority.

No sooner was authentic information received

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in St. Domingo of this repeal, than every hope of concord for ever vanished. The mulattoes could not believe that the planters in the colony were ignorant of the transaction; and so great was their detestation of this supposed treachery, that they scrupled not to declare that one party or the other, themselves or the whites, must be exterminated. In this disposition, the western and southern provinces flew to arms. Port St. Louis was taken; but Port au Prince having been lately reinforced by some troops from Europe, the revolters were driven from the city with great slaughter, but nevertheless found means to destroy more than one-third of the city by fire.

The contest now assumed a diabolical character: each party endeavoured to excel in the infliction of cruelties. The negroes in many places joined the mulattoes, and in the district called Cul de Sac, in a sanguinary engagement, by being ranged in front, and acting without discipline, two thousand of their number were left dead on the field. The whites claimed the victory; which, if it were obtained, their want of cavalry rendered them unable to improve it. Each party seemed anxious to outdo the other in cruelty; and on both sides, whatever prisoners could be obtained, were subjected to the most barbarous executions.

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About the middle of December, three civil commissioners, nominated by the National Assembly, to restore peace and subordination in St. Domingo, arrived at Cape François. Two of them, Mirbeck and Roome, had been known as advocates in the parliaments of Paris; and the third, St. Leger, a native of Ireland, had practised many years in France as a surgeon. They were received with respect and submission; military honours were shewn them, and they were led in public procession to the cathedral, where prayers were presented. After announcing the new French constitution, they published the decree of the twenty-fourth of September, 1791, by which the fatal decree of the fifteenth of May was annulled. In a few days they took upon themselves to proclaim a general amnesty and pardon to all who should lay down their arms, and within a prescribed time, take the oaths required by the new constitution. This measure lost them the confidence both of the white inhabitants and the mulattoes; by the former it was considered as a justification of the most horrible enormities, and as holding out a dangerous example to such of the negroes as preserved their fidelity; and the latter disliked it on account of its being accompanied with a repeal of their favourite decree.

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The indefinite authority claimed by the commissioners, excited considerable alarm in the colonial assembly, who desired to know the nature and extent of their powers: but no satisfactory answer being given, the commissioners sunk into disrepute. Their private conduct was besides calculated to lower them in public opinion. Roome indeed was an inoffensive individual, but destitute of the requisite abilities; so that in a short time, having no troops to support their authority, they returned separately to France in the months of March and April.

Public affairs in France were now hastening to a great crisis, and predicted important changes. Since the flight and seizure of the king, in June 1791, the faction was hourly increasing in numbers which was soon to lay the kingdom in ruins, and bring the monarch himself to the scaffold. The Jacobin party was becoming all-powerful; and the society of *Amis des Noirs* had once more acquired an ascendency in the legislative body. On the twenty-ninth of February, Garan de Coulon, after haranguing against the planters in general, proposed the form of a decree for abrogating that of the twenty-fourth of September, declaring a general amnesty throughout all the French colonies; and enacting, that new colonial as-

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semblies should be formed, to transmit their sentiments not only on the subject of the internal government of the colonies, *but also on the best method of effecting the abolition of negro slavery* IN TOTO. A majority could not at this time be found to vote for this proposition; but in about two months, this assembly passed the famous decree of the fourth of April, 1792, of which the following is a copy.

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

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

2d. The people of colour and free negroes shall be admitted to vote in all the primary and electoral assemblies, and shall be eligible to the legislature and all places of trust, provided they possess the qualifications prescribed by the 4th article of the aforesaid instructions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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report which its colonial committee is directed to make.

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

The new commissioners nominated for St. Domingo were Messrs. Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud, and it was resolved to furnish them with a sufficient force to establish their authority, and speedily terminate the existing disturbances. Eight thousand men were carefully selected from the national guards, with officers whose principles were well known to their employers. M. Blanchelande, was recalled, and a new commission of commander-in-chief given to a Mons. Desparbes. Having landed at Cape François on the thirteenth of September, and finding M. Blanchelande at variance with the colonial assembly, the commissioners instantly dissolved the assembly and sent the governor a state prisoner to France, where, on the seventh of April, 1793, he suffered on the guillotine.

The colony was now thrown into a state of extreme terror: suspicions having arisen respecting the design afterwards avowed, of declaring a general emancipation of the negro slaves, which all parties concurred in reprobating. The commissioners deemed it neces-

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sary to dissemble; and accordingly stated that their views extended no farther than to see the decree of the fourth of April, in favour of the free people of colour, properly enforced; to reduce the rebellious slaves to obedience, and to settle the government of the colony on a solid foundation. The white inhabitants, however, soon perceived that the commissioners held secret communications with the chiefs of the mulattoes in all parts of the colony, and they soon avowed themselves openly the protectors of the free negroes and mulattoes, seizing the persons and effects of all who opposed their proceedings, and sending them in a state of arrest to Europe. Among the persons thus transported, were the superior officers of the Cape regiment.

The white inhabitants now demanded the election of a new colonial assembly, but the commissioners, instead of complying with their wishes, instituted what was called *une commission intermediaire*, consisting of twelve persons, six of whom had been members of the last assembly; and six mulattoes. Their commission extended chiefly to financial objects. Meanwhile, Desparbes, complaining of the disregard with which his authority was treated, was sent after his predecessor as a state prisoner to France. Four out of the six white members of the *com-*

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mission intermediaire, were served in the same manner. Having ventured to offer their opinion on a measure of finance, in opposition to that of M. Santhonax, he treacherously seized them at a supper to which they were invited; and exchanged the room of festivity for the hold of a ship. After this the commissioners disagreed among themselves. and Santhonax and Polverel having got rid of Ailhaud, bestowed largesses on the troops, and by this and other means, became in the beginning of the year 1793, absolute masters of the colony. The lives and property of the white inhabitants were at their unmerciful disposal, and no other amelioration of their condition was obtained than the appointment of M. Galbaud, an officer of artillery and a man of good reputation, as governor. He was sent in one of the national frigates with orders to put the colony into the best possible state of defence, war having been proclaimed against Great Britain and Holland.

At the period of Galbaud's arrival, in May, 1793, the civil commissioners were in the western province, endeavouring to quell an insurrection, so that Galbaud was received with acclamations and submission by the municipality of the town of the Cape; he took the necessary oaths, and entered on his government.

In June the civil commissioners, having re-

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duced Port au Prince and Jacmel, returned; when a serious altercation took place highly disadvantageous to the governor. By a decree of the national assembly, that no proprietor of an estate in the West Indies should hold the government of a colony wherein his estate was situated, M. Galbaud who had a coffee-plantation in St. Domingo, was dispossessed of his new office, and ordered instantly to embark on board the sloop of war La Normande, and return to France; while Mons. de la Salle, who commanded Port au Prince, was invested with the superintendence of the colony.

Galbaud's brother, a man of spirit and enterprize, could not submit to these proceedings; and accordingly collected from among the inhabitants, the Cape militia, and the seamen in the harbour, a strong party to support the governor's authority. In seven days the two brothers landed at the head of one thousand two hundred sailors, and being joined by a considerable body of volunteers, immediately marched in array towards the government house, in which the commissioners were stationed. The latter were defended by the people of colour, a body of regulars, and one piece of cannon. The conflict was fierce and bloody. The volunteers manifested great firmness, but the seamen getting posession of a wine cellar,

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soon became intoxicated and ungovernable; and the column was obliged to retire to the royal arsenal, where they remained the ensuing night unmolested. Many skirmishes took place the next day in the streets, with various success; in one of which Galbaud's brother was taken prisoner by the commissioner's troops, and in another the seamen that were fighting on the part of Galbaud made captive Polverel's son. The governor sent a flag proposing to exchange the commissioner's son for his brother; but Polverel rejected the proposal with indignation; declaring in answer, that his son knew his duty, and was prepared to die in the service of the republic.

A scene of horror now presents itself. When Galbaud first approached with so large a body of seamen, the commisioners dispatched agents to obtain the assistance of the revolted negroes; offering them an unconditional pardon for the past, perfect freedom in future, and the plunder of the city. These offers were rejected by the rebel generals, Jean François and Biassou, till the twenty-first, when a negro chief, called Macaya, with upwards of three thousand of the revolted slaves, entered the town, and began an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children. The white inhabitants fled to the sea side, in quest of protection with the governor

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on board the ships; but their retreat being intercepted by a body of the mulattoes, a dreadful butchery ensued. All the white inhabitants that could be found were murdered, and more than half the city was consumed. The commissioners themselves were terrified and sought protection under cover of a ship of the line: whence they viewed with dismay the wide spreading mischief.

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CHAP. VI.

FROM MIDSUMMER 1793 TO THE EVACUATION OF THE ISLAND BY THE BRITISH TROOPS IN 1798.

Emigrations.—Overtures to the British government. Strength of the Republican party.—Negro slavery abolished by the French commissioners.—Jeremie and the Mole at Cape St. Nicholas surrendered to the British.—Failure of attack on Cape Tiburon.—A second attempt succeeds.—Further operations of the British troops.—Reinforcements under General Whyte.—Conquest of Port au Prince.—Further reinforcements.—Great mortality among the troops.—General Whyte succeeded by Brigadier General Horneck.—Leogane taken by the negroes.—Successes of Lieutenant Colonel Brisbane in Artibonite.—Insurrection of mulattoes at St. Marc.—Rigaud attacks Fort Bizotton—takes Fort Tiburon.—Conspiracy of the French against the British at St. Marc, and at Port au Prince.—Lieutenant Colonels Brisbane and Markham killed.—British reinforcements.—Ravages of disease.—Major General Williamson, Commander in Chief, succeeded by Major General Forbes.—The Spanish part of St. Domingo ceded to the French Republic.—Reinforcements under Brigadier General Howe.—Leogane fortified by the mulattoes.—Major General Simcoe succeeds to the chief command.—Toussaint

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appointed by the French government General in Chief.—General Whyte succeeds General Simcoe, and is soon succeeded by Brigadier General Maitland.—St. Domingo wholly evacuated by the British troops.

FROM the period of the revolt of the negroes in the northern province, numerous emigrations had taken place from St. Domingo to the neighboring islands, and not less than ten thousand were supposed to have passed over to the continent of America. Among these is to be reckoned M. Galbaud, who was accompanied by many respectable families. The principal planters had repaired to Great Britain, many of whom had previously applied to the king's ministers for an armament to take possession of the country for Great Britain. Their representations were at first disregarded; but at length, after the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and France, the English ministry listened to the overtures again made to them, by the planters of St. Domingo; and in 1793, M. Charmilly, one of their number, received dispatches from the secretary of state to General Williamson, the governor of Jamaica, intimating the king's pleasure that he should accept the submission of those inhabitants who solicited the protection of the British government; for which purpose he was to send a

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sufficient force to hold possession of whatever places might be surrendered.

The French commissioners, Santhonax and Polverel had brought from France six thousand chosen troops; which, with the national force already in the colony, and the militia of the country, constituted a body of fourteen or fifteen thousand effective whites; and to these were joined the greatest part of the free negroes and mulattoes, besides a motley band, consisting chiefly of slaves who had deserted from their owners, and negroes collected from the jails, amounting altogether to twenty-five thousand effectives, well armed and inured to the climate. Being however dispersed they were less formidable, of which the commissioners were fully sensible, and accordingly on the first intimation of an attack from the English, they attempted to strengthen their interest by proclaiming the abolition of every species of slavery, declaring that the negroes were thenceforth to be considered as free citizens. Numbers in all parts of the colony availed themselves of this offer of liberty, and withdrawing to the mountains possessed themselves of the natural fastnesses in the interior. Upwards of one hundred thousand are supposed to have formed themselves in this manner into

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a savage republic, resembling that of the black Charaibes of St. Vincent.

In the northern province, a desperate band of revolted negroes, amounting, as it was supposed, to upwards of forty thousand, still continued in arms.

The armament formed at Jamaica amounted to about eight hundred and seventy rank and file, of which the first division, consisting of six hundred and seventy-seven rank and file, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke, sailed from Port Royal the 9th, and arrived at Jeremie, on the 19th of September, accompanied by Commodore Ford, in the Europa, and four or five frigates. The terms of capitulation having been previously adjusted, the British forces had only to take possession of the town and harbour, which was done next morning; the oaths of fidelity and allegiance being taken by the inhabitants with great apparent readiness and satisfaction. On the 22d, the fortress and harbour at Cape St. Nicholas were occupied, the grenadier company of the 13th regiment taking the command of the garrison, which was soon afterwards strengthened by the second division from Jamaica. The town of St. Nicholas, however, continued hostile: most of the inhabitants joined the repub-

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lican army: in fact, the whole of what had hitherto been accomplished, was but an insignificant acquisition, although from the extent of the subjected coast, the people of England glowed with high expectation of the result. It having been represented to Colonel Whitelocke that the acquisition of Tiburon would prove important to the security of Le Grand Ance, and a M. Duval, a planter, pledging himself to co-operate in its reduction with five hundred colonial troops; the British force proceeded from Jeremie, and arrived in Tiburon Bay on the 4th of October. But the expedition completely failed, either through untoward circumstances, or as some have represented in consequence of the infidelity of the French to their promises. The enemy were more formidable than was anticipated, and the invaders retreated with the loss of about twenty men killed and wounded. This proved an extreme discouragement to the troops, among whom, in consequence of unusual fatigue in an unfavorable climate, sickness began to make its appearance to an alarming degree. The general used his utmost endeavours to revive their spirits by sending, though they could be ill spared, the remaining part of the 49th regiment, the 20th, and the Royals, amounting altogether to seven or eight hundred men, as a

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reinforcement, till further assistance should be obtained from England. This measure produced a considerable effect among the French planters, and in the beginning of December, the parishes of Jean Rabel, St. Marc, Arcahaye, and Boucassin, surrendered on the same conditions as had been granted to Jeremie: the example was soon followed by the inhabitants of Leogane. Nothing more was attempted till the ensuing year: when the squadron arrived off Cape Tiburon on the evening of the 2d of February, for the purpose of renewing the attack and retrieving the former failure, the enemy appeared in force, and deliberately waited the arrival of the British; but the fire of the ships soon cleared the beach: they came forward again, and discharged their musquetry at the boats. The troops however landed, and instantly forming, with Major Spencer at their head, routed their line with great slaughter, and immediately took possession of the post. Three only of the English were killed, and seven wounded. Of the enemy, one hundred and fifty surrendered prisoners of war. The magazines were found well stored with ammunition.

The British squadron now commanded the navigation of the whole of that extensive bay which forms the Bight of Leogane; and on the

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arrival of a large armament now daily and anxiously expected from England, Port au Prince was regarded as a certain conquest. It was deemed important in the mean while, to obtain the town of Port Paix, an important station to the eastward of Cape St. Nicholas, by the offer of the sum of five thousand pounds, to M. Lavaux, an old general in the French service, and a man both of bravery and probity, to whom Colonel Whitelocke addressed himself by letter. Lavaux, having silently read it, demanded of the officer who conveyed it, upon the honor of a soldier, if he knew the contents. The officer answered in the negative. The French general then read the letter aloud to the people who surrounded him, and told the British officer, that if he had brought him such a proposal *knowingly*, he would instantly have caused him to be executed on a gibbet. The answer he returned was remarkable: "You have endeavoured to dishonor me in the eyes of my troops, by supposing me so vile, flagitious, and base, as to be capable of betraying my trust for a bribe: this is an affront for which you owe me personal satisfaction, and I demand it in the name of honor. Wherefore, previous to any general action, I offer you single combat until one of us falls; leaving to you the choice of arms, either on foot or horseback. Your situa-

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tion, as my enemy on the part of your country, did not give you a right to offer me a personal insult; and as a private person, I ask satisfaction for an injury done me by an individual."

L'Acul, an important fortress in the vicinity of Leogane, was next attacked on the 19th of February, by Colonel Whitelocke. Baron de Montalembert, with about two hundred colonial troops, and a few of the British artillery, previously embarked on transports, having orders to land and attack the fort at a given hour, and Captain Vincent, with the light infantry of the 49th. and about eighty of the colonial troops, took a mountain road. Owing to the mismanagement of one of the transports, the troops under the command of the Baron de Montalembert could not be landed. The Colonel in consequence came to the determination of attacking the fort by storm; and detached Major Spencer, with the grenadiers of the 49th regiment, and light infantry of the 13th, to join Captain Vincent, and approach the fort by the mountain road, while he himself marched by the great road for the same purpose. At half past four or five o'clock, the two columns moved forward, under a heavy fire of cannon and musquetry, but the orders to advance and gain the fort, were rapidly executed. Lieutenant M'Kerras of the Engineers, and Captain

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Hutchinson of the Royals, were wounded, but continued their exertions till the fort surrendered. Captain Morshead, Lieutenant Tinlin of the 20th grenadiers, Lieutenant Caulfield of the 62d regiment, and some privates, were blown up from the explosion of a quantity of powder and other combustibles in one of the buildings, which was fired by order of the commanding officer. Captain Morshead died the next day; Lieutenant Caulfield some time after followed, and both were interred with military honors. Lieutenant Tinlin recovered.

The next expedition was directed against a strong post and settlement at Bompard, about fifteen miles from Cape St. Nicholas, where a colony of Germans had established themselves. A detachment of two hundred men, from the different corps, were ordered on this service under the command of Major Spencer and Lieutenant Colonel Markham. They were repulsed, however, by superior numbers, with the loss of forty-two men; sixteen killed, and twenty-six taken prisoners, after fighting bravely.

The enemy, however, were repulsed in another quarter. One of the lieutenants of Rigaud, with one thousand five hundred men of different colours, had prepared to attack L'Acul de Leogane; on the day preceding they

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were intercepted by four hundred men, (only one hundred and fifty of whom were of the British legion, and the remainder of the militia of Leogane,) under the command of the Baron de Montalembert, who routed them and took a piece of cannon. They charged with fixed bayonets, and upwards of three hundred of the enemy were killed.

A few British troops also left in possession of Cape Tiburon, were attacked on the 16th of April, by an army consisting chiefly of revolted negroes, amounting to upwards of two thousand, led on by Andrew Rigaud, a man of colour, who commanded at Aux Cayes. The fort was defended with much spirit for six hours, when the besieged, quitting the fort, routed the besiegers with great slaughter, one hundred and seventy of their number being left dead on the field; but it was discovered that no less than twenty-eight of the Brtish soldiers had fallen, and one hundred or more of the colonial troops were severely wounded.

During a period of eight months no re-inforcement had arrived from Great Britain, and the British force in all parts of the island amounted only to about nine hundred effective men. This proved very dispiriting; some of the planters began to declare themselves hostile; and desertions were frequent

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from most of the parishes. The garrison at Jean Rabell, which, a few months before, had voluntarily declared for the British government, compelled their officers to deliver up the post to Lavaux, the French general; and it was feared other places would follow their example.

At this critical juncture, on the 19th of May, his Majesty's ships the Belliqueux, the Irresistible, and the Fly sloop, anchored in the harbour of Cape St. Nicholas, having on board the 22d, 23d, and 41st regiments of infantry, under the command of General Whyte. This event afforded the highest satisfaction, and an immediate hope was indulged of the capture of Port au Prince. Its harbour was known to be crowded with ships, most of which were supposed to be richly laden, and every one anticipated the possession of wealth from the capture.

General Whyte, accordingly, having landed his sick at Cape St. Nicholas, and taken one hundred and fifty of the garrison in their room, proceeded on the 23d to the place appointed in the road of Arcahaye, to concert measures with Commodore Ford, who had for some time blockaded the harbour, and to receive on board such of the colonial troops as were to co-operate. In the evening of the 30th, the squadron cast anchor off Port au Prince: there were

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four ships of the line, the Europa, the Belliqueux, the Irresistible, and the Sceptre, three frigates, and four or five smaller vessels under the immediate command of Commodore Ford. The land forces, under the orders of General Whyte, consisted of one thousand four hundred and sixty-five rank and file, fit for duty.

After making the necessary preparations, early the next morning a flag was sent to demand the surrender of the town, but the letter was returned unopened; when operations were commenced by cannonading Fort Bizotton, which stood on a commanding eminence, and was defended by five hundred men, eight pieces of cannon, and two mortars. The sea-front was attacked by two line-of-battle-ships, but no great impression being made, Major Spencer, with three hundred British, and five hundred of the colonial troops, landed in the evening within a mile of the fort, to attack on the land-side. About eight o'clock at night, a tremendous thunder-storm arose, accompanied with a deluge of rain, of which Captain Daniel of the 41st, being directed to take advantage, he with only *sixty* men rushed forward, and finding a breach in the walls, entered with fixed bayonets, and subdued the fortress. Captain Daniel received a severe wound in the attack, while his brave associate, Captain Wallace,

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the second in command, was killed on the glacis.

The fate of Port au Prince was now decided. It was evacuated by the enemy on the 4th of June; and both the town and the shipping in the harbour were preserved from conflagration, although the republican commissioners had given orders and made preparations for their being set on fire. The commissioners, with many of their adherents, made their escape to the mountains.

In the harbour were found two and twenty top-sail vessels, fully laden with sugar, indigo, and coffee, of which thirteen were from three to five hundred tons burthen, and the remaining nine, from one hundred and fifty to three hundred tons; besides seven thousand tons of shipping in ballast; the value of all which, at a moderate computation, could not be far short of 400,000*l.* sterling; one hundred and thirty-one pieces of cannon regularly mounted in batteries, were on the lines.

A large booty was conveyed away by the commissioners on two hundred mules, besides which they had nearly two thousand persons in their train. Finding the people of colour possessed of the whole natural strength of the island, under the mulatto Rigaud, and a negro named Toussaint l'Ouverture, they soon after quitted the colony

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altogether for France, where they received from the government a sanction of their proceedings.

Immediately after the capture of the town, the same dreadful disease, which had been so prevalent in the preceding autumn, renewed its destructive progress among the troops. The British commanders found it necessary to strengthen the lines, and raise additional intrenchments on that side of the town which fronts the mountains; in consequence of which the soldiers were compelled to dig the ground in the day, and to perform military duty in the night; exposed to the burning rays of the sun; and to the noxious dews and heavy rains of the climate. Most of these men had been confined six months on ship-board, without fresh provisions or exercise, and hence the garrison was daily diminished and enfeebled. The French troops suffered almost as much as the British: otherwise Port au Prince would have been soon retaken.

The arrival of a reinforcement from the Windward Islands on the 8th of June, contributed to the rapid increase and aggravation of their miseries. It consisted of eight flank companies belonging to the 22d, 23d, 35th, and 41st regiments, arrived at Port au Prince, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox. They consisted, on their embarka-

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tion, of about seventy men each, but the aggregate number, when landed, was not quite three hundred. Upwards of one hundred of their number were buried in the deep, in the short passage between Guadaloupe and Jamaica, and one hundred and fifty more were left in a dying state at Port Royal. Such was the mortality, after their arrival, that no less than forty officers, and upwards of six hundred rank and file met an untimely death in the short space of two months.

General Whyte, whose health was much impaired, now returned to Europe; and about the middle of September, was succeeded in the command by Brigadier-General Horneck; who possessed the requisite qualifications for such a station, but had peculiar difficulties to encounter. The only reinforcement which followed him, being fifty men from Jamaica, and no other troops arriving for seven months after, he was compelled to act chiefly on the defensive. The mulattoes, under Rigaud, gained possession of Leogane, and put to death all the French planters who fell into their power.

This was followed by other reverses. Lieutenant-Colonel Brisbane, with only eighty British, and about eleven hundred colonial troops, had obtained great successes in the plain of Artibonite; the negroes had been routed in

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various quarters; and the mulatto inhabitants of the town of St. Marc had entered into engagements of neutrality. But while Colonel Brisbane was pursuing his successes at a distance, having left in St. Marc only a small garrison of about forty British soldiers, the men of colour violated their promises, took up arms, and put to death all who fell in their way, whom they considered as enemies to the French republic. The garrison saved themselves by taking refuge in a fort, from which they were relieved by a frigate from the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas. Colonel Brisbane soon after returned, and recovered possession of the town; but lost all the advantages he had gained on the plain, and the negroes were emboldened to proceed to more active and vigorous hostilities.

Rigaud, who commanded in the south, made a bold effort, which, if successful, must have been followed by the speedy conquest of Port au Prince. On the 5th of December, three columns of his troops, amounting to two thousand men, attacked Fort Bizotton; but were defeated with great slaughter. Not discouraged by this failure, the mulatto chief made immediate preparations for the recovery of Tiburon. The armament, consisting of a brig of sixteen guns, and three schooners of

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fourteen guns each, with a military force of three thousand men, of various colours, sailed from Aux Cayes on the 23d of December. They reached Tiburon, and commenced the attack on the 25th of the same month. The garrison, consisting of only four hundred and eighty men, principally colonists, defended the fort for four days; when three hundred of them having fallen, the survivors, with great bravery, fought their way for five miles through the enemy, till they reached Irois.

While the British commanders were fully employed in resisting the attacks of open enemies, they were in danger of falling victims to the treachery of professed friends. Soon after Colonel Brisbane had driven the mulattoes from St. Marc, a conspiracy was formed against his life by some of the white inhabitants who had placed themselves under British protection. It was most seasonably detected and defeated. About a month after, a more daring and extensive plot was discovered at Port au Prince; where some of the French inhabitants intended to seize the garrison, and put all the English to death. Twenty of the conspirators were tried by a council of war, composed of the principal commanders, naval and military; among whom were five French field officers. They were all condemned to death; and fifteen of them were

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accordingly shot on the 18th of February, 1795.

Colonel Brisbane, however, did not long survive his narrow escape of assassination; being killed while out on a recruiting party, in the beginning of March. By his death the British interest in St. Domingo sustained a loss not easily to be repaired.

In this month the negroes again laid siege to Fort Bizotton, and were again repulsed. Their colours and five pieces of cannon were taken, and six hundred of them were slain. The British had to lament the fate of Lieutenant Colonel Markham, who fell in attacking one of the advanced posts of the besiegers.

About the end of April, the British troops were reinforced by the arrival of the 81st and 96th, and a few of the 82d regiments: but they were immediately incapacitated for action by the pestilential disease, from which many of them were never to recover. The remainder of the 82d regiment arrived in the month of August; they were attacked by the same distemper, and of nine hundred and eighty, only three hundred and fifty remained alive at the end of six weeks.

The operations during this summer were under the direction of Major-General Williamson, the governor of Jamaica; who having

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been appointed commander-in-chief of all the British possessions in the West Indies, arrived at Port au Prince in the month of May. He lost no time in endeavouring to strengthen that capital; and proceeded to establish a long chain of posts across mountains and plains, extending from St. Marc to Cape Tiburon. The number of English troops not being sufficient to occupy these stations, various corps of negroes were formed, many of whom were purchased from French planters for the purpose, and placed under the command of regular officers; but the little efficiency of these corps disappointed the hopes entertained respecting them, and proved very inadequate to the expense of their formation and support. After a few months spent in measures of preparation and precaution, General Williamson was succeeded by Major-General Forbes; who followed up the arrangements of his predecessor, strengthening the cordons, and augmenting the forces by every means he could employ. He was particularly careful to secure the frontiers of Mireballais and Banica, to maintain a communication with the Spanish part of the island, for the purpose of procuring cattle and other necessary supplies.

This year witnessed the termination of the war between France and Spain. By the ninth

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article of the treaty of peace between those powers, concluded on the 22d of July, the king of Spain, for himself and his successors, relinquished all right to the Spanish part of St. Domingo, ceding it to the French republic in perpetual sovereignty:—a month after the ratification of the treaty should be known in the island, the Spanish troops were to be in readiness to evacuate the places, ports, and establishments which they then occupied, in order to give them up to the French troops as soon as they should arrive to take possession of them:—these places were to be delivered up with all the cannons and stores which should be in them at the moment when the treaty should be known in the island:—and the inhabitants of the ceded territory, who should prefer removing with their property into the dominions of the king of Spain, were to be at liberty to do so within the space of a year from the date of the treaty.

Towards the close of this year, the British government having determined on a vigorous effort to revive the drooping cause in St. Domingo, dispatched a reinforcement of about seven thousand troops, under the command of Brigadier-General Howe. But the voyage was stormy and disastrous; more than six months elapsed, between their departure from Cork

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and their arrival at the Mole of St. Nicholas: and then they were under the necessity of remaining on board the transports for several weeks. Such a force, at an early period of the war, would probably have been sufficient for the entire subjugation of the colony; but was now incompetent to maintain the ground still possessed, against the power and discipline of their adversaries.

The town of Leogane being left by the English in a defenceless state, the mulattoes surrounded it with a palisaded ditch, and began to fortify the harbour. General Forbes, regarding it as a station of considerable importance, attempted to dislodge them; but, for want of artillery, was obliged to retire with great loss. Bombarde was invested by a body of British troops, and immediately surrendered by capitulation; but was soon after evacuated. Rigaud attacked the post at Irois, and was repulsed; but the besieged had a hundred men killed and wounded, among the latter of whom was Major-General Bowyer, the commandant.

The British force became daily more and more languid, and the spirit of the enemy more confident and enterprizing. Hostilities were carried almost to the capital itself; in the immediate vicinity of which, the mulattoes

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displayed the greatest activity, erecting batteries and fortifying posts without the least interruption from the English, though within four miles of their head quarters.

In this situation of affairs, the British government determined on confiding the chief command to General Simcoe, an officer of great skill and long experience. He landed at St. Nicholas Mole in March 1797, and without loss of time, entered on the business of his arduous commission. In the same month, the negro, Toussaint L'Ouverture, was appointed by the French government, general in chief of the armies in St. Domingo; an appointment which in reality was merely an honorary sanction of the power he had long exercised. He continued to display the same activity, courage, and talent, which had hitherto distinguished him; so that General Simcoe found him a most powerful opponent. He menaced the frontier post of Mireballais; and, to avoid falling into his hands, the English garrison at once evacuated it, and retired to Port au Prince, abandoning to the enemy the fertile plain of the Cul de Sac, and relinquishing the communication with Banica, and the Spanish part of the island. On the other hand, the negroes were driven from their posts in the vicinity of Port au Prince: Rigaud was repulsed in another attack

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on the English post at Irois; and Toussaint himself was repulsed from the town of St. Marc. These inconsiderable advantages, however, were dearly purchased, and the strength of the British in the island was daily diminishing.

Weary of this petty warfare, General Simcoe left the island in August, and returned to England. His place was filled by Major-General Whyte. Major-General Nesbit was soon after appointed to this difficult station, but died before he could enter upon it. By his death the command devolved on the Honourable Brigadier-General Maitland, who arrived at Port au Prince in April, 1798. This officer was well qualified, by military skill, as well as local experience, for the situation in which he was placed: but the British government had been too fully occupied with the politics and hostilities of Europe, to give much attention to St. Domingo, or to send thither such an additional force as could justify any rational hopes of ultimate success.

General Maitland soon perceived that it only remained for him to terminate the career of disappointment and discomfiture, by retiring from the scene of so many disasters, with the best grace in his power. Having agreed with the enemy on a month's truce, and stipulated

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for the security of all the friends of the English, he evacuated Port au Prince, and retired to Jeremie. Afterwards he retired, with the remainder of his force to the Mole, where he concluded his negotiations with Toussaint; giving up all the possessions of the English, together with their colonial black troops, and entering into some commercial stipulations, which recognized St. Domingo as an independent and neutral power.

Such was the conclusion of an enterprize, which, abstracted from all considerations of justice and humanity, and examined only by the rules of political prudence, ought never to have been undertaken. If the object of the British ministry was in reality what was professed, to obtain possession of the whole of the French part of the island, the means employed, in comparison with the numbers and exertions of the inhabitants, were altogether contemptible. If their real object was to preserve the British islands from the revolutionary spirit, and to prevent their separation from the mother country, the sacrifices made were too immense for the value of those colonies ever to repay.

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CHAP. VII.

FROM THE EVACUATION OF THE ISLAND BY THE BRITISH IN 1798, TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN JULY 1801.

Several Negro chiefs.—All superseded by Touissant.—His birth.—His early character.—His kind treatment by his Master.—His diligence and proficiency in learning.—Not concerned in the first insurrection.—His gratitude and generosity to his master.—Joins the black army, and is appointed an officer.—Soon advanced to the command of a division.—His talents for war—and government.—His prudence, benevolence, activity, and veracity.—First espoused the cause of royalty—but afterwards acknowledged the republic.—His kindness to General Laveaux.—Forgiveness of injuries.—Honourable conduct towards General Maitland.—Promotion of agriculture.—The increase of population.—State of society.—Tour of Touissant through the island.—Constitution formed.—Declaration of independence.

CIVIL wars and revolutions afford favourable opportunities for the expansion of latent talent; and often elevate to stations of high importance those who before occupied, and seemed destined

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always to occupy, the lowest places in society. The revolution of St. Domingo soon furnished ample proof, that among those whom European injustice had stigmatized as an inferior race of beings, and doomed to perpetual servitude, were heads endued with legislative wisdom, hearts pregnant with heroic energies, and hands capable of wielding the sword of war, or swaying the rod of empire.

The principal leader of the Blacks, in the first period of the commotions, was Jean François. To this general, were afterwards added several others. The most eminent were Biassou, Boukmant, and Rigaud. These chiefs, who were all negroes, displayed great personal bravery and military skill; and, in some cases, a depth of political prudence. But when Toussaint L'Ouverture came forward into public life, he soon attained the pre-eminence above them all. The part which he acted in the affairs of the island, was so conspicuous, and his character so remarkable, that some particulars respecting his history, can hardly fail of being interesting to the reader.

Some have asserted that Toussaint was born in Africa: but those who appear to have had the best means of information, say that he was born in a state of slavery, in or about the year 1745, on the plantation of the Count de Noé,

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in the northern province of St. Domingo, not far from Cape François.

The early years of a slave are not likely to furnish many incidents for the historian or biographer; and very little has been recorded of the first forty-five years of the life of Toussaint. It is commonly reported among his countrymen, that he displayed peculiar benevolence towards the brute animals, and possessed a patience of temper which scarcely any thing could ever discompose. At the age of twenty-five, in opposition to the licentiousness by which he was surrounded, he attached himself to one woman, by whom he had several children, the objects of his tender affection and paternal solicitude.

His regular and amiable deportment conciliated the favour of the bailiff or manager of the plantation, M. Bayou de Libertas. By the kindness of this gentleman, according to some accounts; or by his own unassisted efforts, according to others: he learned to read and write, and made some progress in arithmetic. These attainments, which not one negro in ten thousand could boast, gave him great distinction among his fellow slaves, and attracted further notice from M. Bayou, who took him from the fields, and appointed him his postillion. Compared with the condition of field negroes, this was a post of considerable dignity, and no little

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profit. The increased leisure which this promotion afforded, was employed in cultivating his talents, and collecting those stores of information, which enriched his mind, polished his manners, and prepared him for a more extensive and important sphere of action.

When the insurrection of the negroes took place in 1791, Toussaint was still a slave on the plantation, on which he is said to have been born. Among the leaders were several of his friends, who were anxiously desirous of his sanction and co-operation. But, whether from general humanity of disposition, revolting at the prospect of cruelty and massacre; or from personal regard to a master, who could hardly escape being ruined by the explosion, but to whose ruin gratitude forbad him to be accessary; he refrained from taking any part in the first revolutionary movements.

The former tyranny and cruelty of many of the owners and managers had fixed in the minds of the slaves, a mortal hatred of the planters in general; which was not a little confirmed and extended by the exasperations of the present struggle. The spirit of vengeance by which they were impelled, not content with a retaliation of wrongs and sufferings on the individuals by whom they had been inflicted, menaced alike the humane master and the

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barbarous tyrant; and most of the negroes were only to be satisfied with the extermination of all who bore the same complexion as their oppressors. Happy did those planters esteem themselves who could escape from the island, though it were to go with their families into a foreign country, unprovided with the means of subsistence, and doomed to experience the melancholy reverse of all their former luxury and splendour.

The master of Toussaint, now his master no more, was one who not having made an early escape, was on the point of falling into the hands of the infuriated blacks. In that event he would certainly have been put to death. But his humane and beneficent treatment of this worthy negro was not forgotten. Not without some danger of bringing the vengeance of the multitude on his own head, Toussaint delivered his fallen master from the impending destruction. He prepared for the emigration of M. Bayou de Libertas to North America: found means to embark a considerable quantity of sugar to support him in his exile; procured his escape with his family; and contrived every plan for his convenience. Nor did his care end here: for after M. Bayou's settlement at Baltimore in Maryland, he availed himself of every opportunity to send some additional proof of

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his gratitude and friendship. Small, it must be confessed, is the debt of gratitude which the best treatment under the iron yoke of West Indian slavery can create; but a noble mind will not scrupulously weigh the claims of gratitude or mercy. Toussaint looked less at the wrong of keeping him in slavery, than at the kindness which had lightened his chain: and M. Bayou was happy enough to find in a liberated negro, a higher degree of virtue than is often exhibited among the most polished natives of Europe.

Having performed this act of gratitude and generosity, Toussaint no longer refrained from entering into the army of his country, which had now begun to assume a regular form. He joined the corps commanded by Biassou, and was appointed next in command under him. Biassou possessed shining military talents; but they were tarnished by a ferocity of disposition, which betrayed him into cruelties not long to be endured. He was degraded from his station, and Toussaint was invested with the chief command of the division.

The excellences of his character unfolded themselves more and more, as opportunities were afforded for their developement. The same humanity and benevolence which had adorned his humble life, continued to distinguish him in his elevation. He never imitated

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the conduct of the other leaders, in flattering the multitude, encouraging them in crimes, or urging them to revenge and slaughter:—on the contrary; mercy, industry, and order, were always inculcated by his counsels, recommended by his example, and enforced by his authority. The fertility of his invention, the correctness of his judgment, the celerity of his movements, the extent of his labours, in the combined and multifarious business of war and government, astonished both friends and foes. The following description was given by one of his enemies: "He has a fine eye, and his glances are rapid and penetrating. Extremely sober by habit, his activity in the prosecution of his enterprises is incessant. He is an excellent horseman, and travels, on occasion, with inconceivable rapidity, arriving frequently at the end of his journey alone, or almost unattended; his aid-de-camps and domestics being unable to follow him in journeys often extending to fifty or sixty leagues. He generally sleeps in his clothes, and allows very little time, either for his repose, or for his meals."

If there was one trait in his character more conspicuous than the rest, it was his unsullied integrity. *That he never broke his word,* was a proverbial expression common in the mouths of the white inhabitants of the island, and of the

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English officers who were employed in hostilities against him. Of the reliance placed on his engagements, even in circumstances of peculiar delicacy and difficulty, by persons who had the best means of estimating their value, an unequivocal specimen was exhibited by many of the exiled planters and merchants; whom his invitation and promise of protection induced to return from North America, and other places, to which they had fled. He restored them to the estates of which they had been deprived; nor did his subsequent conduct ever prove him unworthy of their confidence.

When Toussaint was first raised to dignity and power, the contest between the blacks and their former masters was terminated; and the French commissioners who endeavoured to govern the colony, acknowledged the liberty of the negroes, and avowed their determination to maintain it. But another civil war soon arose, and was carried on for some time with great fury, between the friends of the dethroned French king, and those of the convention. In this conflict men of all complexions were found on both sides; and the two parties had nearly an equal number of blacks and of whites.

Toussaint espoused the cause of royalty, and his courage and talents soon rendered this cause as triumphant in St. Domingo, as it had

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been unsuccessful in France. His services in this warfare were deemed so important and meritorious, that before Spain deserted the coalition formed by the great powers of Europe against French republicanism, he received a commission conferring upon him the rank of general in the Spanish army, and was honored with the ancient military order of that country.

But events occurred which led Toussaint to think it inconsistent with good policy and true patriotism, to persevere in his hostility against the existing government of France. When the planters and royalists solicited the assistance of Great Britain, their object in that solicitation, however favorable to French royalty, was decidedly adverse to the freedom of the negroes: it was less for the sake of restoring the sovereignty of France to the Bourbons, than with the hope of recovering the iron sceptres of their own plantations, that most of those men desired to see the British flag flying at St. Domingo. Toussaint found himself under the necessity of making amicable terms with the French commissioners, or of uniting with British invaders, and with Frenchmen whom he knew to be determined foes of the liberty of his race. In this alternative he could be at no loss which course to adopt: he gave peace to the republicans whom he had con-

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quered, and acknowledged the authority of the convention.

From this period he shewed himself a faithful servant of France, under every change in its government. The successive rulers of the republic sent out various commissioners, who carried across the Atlantic the same fondness for confiscation and plunder as their masters exhibited at home. Every man of property was in danger of being proscribed as a traitor. But their schemes of exaction and murder found a powerful check in the justice and generosity of Toussaint; whose consummate prudence avoided all offence and disrespect to the French government, while he reduced its representatives to a state of political impotence. Securing them from insult and injury, requiring his followers to give all due honor to their office, and treating them himself with external demonstrations of respect, he contrived to leave them only a nominal authority. Some commissioners were recalled and succeeded by others, and among them were men of considerable ability; but Toussaint was more than a match for them all. He retained the real power, and they were obliged to lean upon him for protection. He protected the planters from the commissioners, and both from the jealousy of the negroes.

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His benevolent interposition to avert the stroke of popular fury, was once experienced in the most critical circumstances by General Laveaux. When the negroes of Cape François, suspecting that commander of designs against their freedom, had risen against him and thrown him into prison, and were preparing to put him to death, Toussaint, with a band of faithful followers, marched into the town, and delivered him out of their hands. Laveaux publicly acknowledged his obligation for this deliverance, and declared his resolution to regulate all his future proceedings in the island by Toussaint's advice.

Though Toussaint, for a considerable time, possessed unlimited power, he has never been charged with its abuse. The acts of rigour which took place under his administration, were performed in the regular execution of martial law, or in the progress of arrangements demanded by existing circumstances; while he sought every opportunity of exercising the lenity so congenial to his native disposition. In some cases in which the established regulations of military discipline would have united with strong resentments of personal injury, to prescribe the infliction of exemplary vengeance, he displayed a generosity of forgiveness which would have done honor to the heart of the

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most enlightened potentate in Europe. Of this rare generosity, the following incident affords a memorable specimen.

Four Frenchmen who had deserted him with aggravated treachery, were retaken. Every one expected that they would be put to a cruel death. Leaving them, however, in suspense as to their fate, Toussaint ordered them to be produced in church on the following Sunday; and, while that part of the service was pronouncing which respects mutual forgiveness, he went with them to the front of the altar; where, after endeavoring to impress their minds with the flagitiousness of their conduct, he ordered them to be discharged without further punishment.

His negociations with General Maitland exemplified the unimpeachable probity which marked all his official transactions with other countries, and exhibited a fine contrast to the execrable perfidy which he was solicited to practise by an unprincipled commissioner of the French republic.

During the treaty by which the British troops were to evacuate St. Domingo, and the island was to remain neutral to the end of the war, Toussaint visited General Maitland at his head quarters: and, another personal interview being desirable for the purpose of settling some

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points before the embarkation of the troops, General Maitland engaged to return the visit at Toussaint's camp. With perfect confidence in the integrity of his character, the general did not hesitate to go to him with only two or three attendants, though it was at a considerable distance from his own army, and he had to pass through a country full of negroes, who had lately been his mortal enemies. Monsieur Roume, the French commissioner, thought this visit afforded a most favorable opportunity for serving the cause of his government: and having, it would seem, no scruples of honor or conscience about the lawfulnes of any means likely to accomplish a desired purpose, he wrote to Toussaint, urging him, as a true republican, to detain the British general as a prisoner. While general Maitland was on the road towards the camp, he received a letter from a private friend, informing him of Roume's plot, and warning him not to trust himself in the power of the negro chief: but consulting the good of the service in which he was engaged, and still relying upon Toussaint's honor, he bravely determined to proceed. When he arrived at the head quarters, Toussaint was not to be seen, and the general was desired to wait, and was kept in waiting a considerable time. He could not but feel much dissatisfac-

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tion at a reception apparently so uncivil; and, perhaps, began to regret his neglect of the caution which had been given him on the road. But at length Toussaint entered the room, with two letters open in his hand. "There, general," said he, "before we talk together, read these: one is a letter just received from Roume, and the other is my answer. I would not come to you, till I had written my answer to him; that you may see how safe you are with me, and how incapable I am of baseness." General Maitland, on reading the letters, found one an artful attempt to persuade Toussaint to seize his guest, as an act of duty to the republic; and the other, a noble and indignant refusal. "What?" said Toussaint to the perfidious Frenchman, "Have I not passed my word to the British general? How then can you suppose that I will cover myself with dishonor by breaking it? His reliance on my good faith leads him to put himself in my power; and I should be for ever infamous, if I were to act as you advise. I am faithfully devoted to the republic; but will not serve it at the expense of my conscience and my honor."

With such talents and virtues, it is not to be wondered at that Toussaint was beloved to enthusiasm by the negroes who had raised him to the dignity he enjoyed, and was honored

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with signal demonstrations of respect and esteem from public persons of other nations with whom he had occasion to communicate.

When he found himself at ease from the complicated warfare in which he had been involved, he devoted his undisturbed attention to the arts of peace; and the policy of his legislation was characterised by the same sagacity and prudence, the same mildness and humanity, which had distinguished his exploits in the field. One of the first objects of his care was the regular cultivation of the soil, upon which the prosperity of every country must principally depend. When he restored many of the planters to their estates, there was no restoration of their former property in human beings. No human being was to be bought or sold. The cruel treatment which the negroes had experienced in their state of slavery, would naturally create in their minds a strong aversion to agricultural labour; and hence arose one of the greatest difficulties which Toussaint had to overcome in his exertions for the good of the people who had placed themselves under his government. Severe tasks, flagellations, and scanty food, were no longer to be endured. The planters were obliged to employ their labourers on the footing of hired servants; and the negroes were required to

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labour for their own livelihood. The amount of remuneration was not left to individual generosity, or private agreement; but it was fixed by law that the cultivators of the land should have for their wages, a third part of the crops; a large compensation, in a country where the chief productions are sugar and coffee. While this ample encouragement was afforded for the excitement of industry, penalties were at the same time denounced for the punishment of idleness.

These laws were enforced by military power, for there were no civil authorities to act. To the establishments of civil life, the negroes in their former condition must have been entire strangers. A slave has no country; the will of his master is his only law; the overseer is at once accuser and witness, judge and jury; the driver is both constable and beadle. During the war there was no place for any but military institutions: and Toussaint, when it was necessary to enforce laws for the public good, had consequently no officers of civil justice to whom he could resort. The idle vagrant who would not work, and the deserter from the army, therefore stood on the same ground; and were equally liable to be punished, after a fair trial, by a court martial: but so mild were his punishments, that the severest one for a la-

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bourer was being compelled to enlist as a soldier.

The effects of these regulations were soon visible throughout the country. So great was the progress of agriculture from the time of their adoption, that, notwithstanding the ravages of nearly ten years' war, and other impediments which retarded its improvement, the land produced in the next crop full one-third of the quantity of sugar and coffee which it had ever before yielded in its most prosperous season.

Obliged to work, but in a moderate manner, and for handsome wages; and at liberty, for the most part, to choose their own masters: the plantation negroes were in general contented, healthful, and happy.

Another beneficial consequence of the new order of things was visible in the state of the population. While in Jamaica and other West India islands, in the midst of peace and plenty, there was a constant diminution among the negroes, and the merchants and planters were confidently affirming the impossibility of keeping up their numbers without annual importations from Africa; in St. Domingo, on the contrary, such was the salutary result of the more moderate labours of the men and the rest enjoyed by pregnant women, that the same race of

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people had considerably increased, in spite of war both foreign and civil, of frequent massacres, and of all the wants and miseries which had fallen upon that afflicted island for so many years.

The state of society at this period presented many interesting objects to the contemplation of an attentive observer. Some situations of trust and responsibility were filled by free negroes and mulattoes, who had been in respectable circumstances under the old government; but others were occupied by negroes, and even by Africans, who had recently emerged from the lowest condition of slavery. They were chiefly the able and the artful, who, in the chaos of revolution, had raised themselves to eminences of opulence and power.

The superior class had arrived at a high degree of sumptuousness in their mode of living, and possessed all the enjoyments to be derived from rank or dignity. Many of their houses were furnished with a splendor equalled by few Europeans: there was a general fondness for shew, interspersed with individual instances of true taste and real elegance. Their etiquette had reached a degree of refinement scarcely to be credited; and the services of their domestics were performed with surprising promptitude and celerity. The most perfect ease was con-

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spicuous in every face, and gaiety of heart seemed to season every repast. In conversation, no subject was inadmissible, except that of their own former condition; the remembrance of which could not fail of exciting astonishment at the acuteness of argument and brilliancy of wit by which the social circle was often entertained. But to mention the claims of their country would kindle fresh fire in every eye, and call forth patriotic acclamations from every tongue; frequently accompanied by expressions of contempt and abhorrence towards their traitorous brethren, who had deserted from the black army, and abandoned the cause of general liberty.

It has been stated by a writer who visited the island at this time, that the men were, in general, sensible and polite, often dignified and impressive; that many of the women were elegant and engaging; that the intercourse of the sexes was on the most rational footing; and that the different shades of colour which remained had lost most of their former hostility. Many Americans had married mulatto ladies, who never appeared to feel the least inferiority from their difference of complexion or nation.

After the cessation of the war the churches were re-opened, and public worship was restored,

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according to the forms of the Romish communion.

Dramatic exhibitions were also revived. Most of the performers were blacks, and displayed considerable theatrical talents. The performances were chiefly comedy and pantomime. Some attention was beginning to be paid to painting. Music was universally practised: instruments of all kinds were used; but stringed instruments obtained the general preference.

The principal buildings possessed much elegance, though they were not conformed to the laws of regular architecture. In one of the squares of Cape François the blacks had erected a kind of temple in memory of their emancipation from slavery. It consisted of a circular dome, supported by seven pillars nearly resembling the Tuscan order. Beneath the dome were two seats, ascended by a flight of steps extending all round the building. Above the seats was an inscription, on two tablets placed upright, and side by side; between which was fixed a pole with a cap of liberty on its top. This edifice was raised as a tribute of respect to Santhonax and Polverel, the French commissioners; and an extract from one of their speeches formed part of the inscription.

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The elegance of this structure presented an agreeable contrast to the desolation which deformed its vicinity. For the greater part of this once superb city had been suffered to remain in ruins ever since its conflagration in 1793. The wealthy blacks appeared reluctant to restore its former magnificence, as if in rebuilding the mansions of their fallen masters they should create for themselves new oppressors.

The principal tavern, denominated Hotel de la Republique, in appearance and accommodations, was but little inferior to a London coffee-house, and sometimes exhibited a superior degree of splendor. This house was the usual resort of American visitors, who were very numerous, and was also much frequented by the sable inhabitants. Here the usual gradations of society were entirely disregarded. In the intercourse of the social hour all was perfect equality: officers and privates, the colonel and the drummer, were frequently seen partaking, without distinction, of the same repast, and joining, without reserve, in the same amusements. Toussaint himself often dined there, but never sat at the head of the table; from an opinion, it was said, that the subordinations of rank should be confined to the field.

The etiquette of the field formed a com-

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plete contrast to the familiarity of the tavern. Sixty thousand men were frequently reviewed and exercised together on the plain of the Cape. On these occasions two thousand officers were seen in the field, carrying arms, from the general to the ensign, yet with the utmost attention to rank; without the smallest symptom of the insubordination indulged in the leisure of the hotel. Each general officer had a demi-brigade, which went through the manual exercise with a degree of expertness seldom witnessed; and performed equally well several manœuvres applicable to their method of fighting. At a whistle a whole brigade would run three or four hundred yards, then separating, throw themselves flat on the ground, changing to their backs or sides, keeping up a strong fire the whole of the time, till they were recalled: then they would form again, in an instant, into their wonted regularity. This single manœuvre used to be executed with such facility and precision, as totally to prevent cavalry from charging them in bushy and hilly countries. Such complete subordination, such promptitude and dexterity, prevailed the whole time, as would have astonished any European soldier who had the least knowledge of their previous situation.

Those who formed the great bulk of the

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Those who formed the great bulk of the people, and who lived in humble privacy, discovered the same passions and propensities which are conspicuous in negroes in all conditions. Their fondness for infancy and youth, their reverence for age, their tenderness for all the relations of life, seemed rather strengthened than impaired by the acquisition of liberty. Their favorite amusements were now indulged without restraint; but the good order which generally prevailed, rendered the interposition of public justice, and the infliction of punishment, events of rare occurrence.

Though the Spanish colony had been formally ceded to France in 1795, and different posts had, in consequence, been actually surrendered, and occupied by the republican troops; yet the city of St. Domingo, the capital of that part of the island, still remained in the hands of the Spaniards. To obtain possession of that metropolis, and to establish such regulations as might be required on its change of government, Toussaint resolved to repair thither in person. For the purpose of visiting many other places of importance, reviewing the troops in the different provinces, appointing officers to command them, settling the districts, directing the distribution of military stores, and completing various other arrangements with greater

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accuracy and success, than could be done at a distance; he at the same time determined on taking a regular journey throughout the island.

The people were every where prepared to regard a visit from the chief as a distinguished favour. The fame of his martial achievements, and the excellence of his general character, had rendered him an object of their affectionate admiration and esteem: and his personal appearance and manners were calculated to strengthen the universal attachment. Of a manly form, and a little above the middle stature, he had a countenance bold and striking; terrible to his enemies, but displaying the most attractive sweetness to his friends. His manners and deportment were, in general, easy and familiar; occasionally, elegant. When addressed by any inferior, he bent with the most obliging courteousness; and, without any apparent effort of condescension, adapted himself to their peculiar circumstances. The general respect voluntarily paid to him in public, he was solicitous to return, or rather to anticipate, by the most pleasing civilities. His uniform was a blue jacket, with a broad red cape, red cuffs, with several rows of lace on the arms, and a large gold epaulette on each shoulder; scarlet waistcoat, and pantaloons, with half boots;

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round hat, with a national cockade, and a red feather: to which was added, a sword of the largest size.

The reception he met with in his progress through the land, was such as might have gratified the heart of the greatest potentate on earth. The satisfaction inspired by his presence was testified in various forms, from the simple garland, to more laborious and costly devices,—from the complacent look to the loudest acclamation. Superb decorations covered the principal houses as he passed along; and triumphal arches graced his entry into all the towns. Wherever he went, the sincerest welcome was expressed in every countenance. The military received him in their proudest array; and the whole population hailed his arrival, and blessed him at his departure.

This tour proved highly beneficial to every part of the island. Among the good effects which it produced, were—a more uniform organization of the municipal governments; a better disposition of the military force; the establishment of armed posts, forming a complete chain of communication; and provisions for the advantage of trade, in the facilities afforded to commercial intercourse with the neighbouring islands, and the continent of America. Having accomplished the objects of

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his journey, Toussaint returned to Cape François, where he was received with the cordiality and respect due to his services in the public cause.

In consequence of the total subversion of the ancient colonial administration, the want of any new system established in its room, and the almost entire cessation of official intercourse with France, Toussaint thought it necessary for the public interest to frame a regular constitution for the future government of the island. In this work he was assisted by several Europeans of considerable talents, of whom the principal were, Pascal, a descendant of the same family as the celebrated Blaise Pascal; the Abbe Moliere, and an Italian ecclesiastic named Marinit. When the form of constitution had been prepared, it was submitted by Toussaint to a general assembly of representatives, convened from every district; by whom it was approved and adopted. It was afterwards promulgated in the name of the *people*, and the island was declared to be an independent state. This proclamation was made in due form on the first of July 1801.

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CHAP. VIII.

FROM JULY 1801, TO THE SEIZURE AND TRANSPORTATION OF TOUSSAINT IN JUNE 1802.

Peace between France and England.—The French Government resolves on the re-conquest of St. Domingo.—Sailing of the expedition.—Its arrival at the island, and formation into several divisions.—Capture of Fort Dauphin by General Rochambeau.—Le Clerc with the main body arrives off Cape François.—Correspondence with Christophe.—Proclamation of Bonaparte.—Landing of the French.—Cape François burnt and evacuated by the blacks.—Toussaint in the interior.—His letter to Domage.—Mission of Coismon to Toussaint.—Letter to him from Bonaparte.—His interview with his sons.—He prefers resigning them rather than betraying his country.—Le Clerc's attempts to produce defection among the blacks.—Commencement of the campaign.—Operations of the different divisions.—Battle with Toussaint.—Defection of the negroes. Toussaint driven to the mountains.—Successful operations of the French in the south.—Le Clerc orders the restoration of slavery.—The blacks renew the war with fresh vigour.—Great reverses sustained by the French.—Le Clerc deceives them by a new proclamation.—Negociations.—Peace with the negroes.—Retirement of the chiefs.—Toussaint

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seized by order of Le Clerc,—Sent to France with all his family.—His separation from them—imprisonment—and death.

THE autumn of the year 1801 beheld every part of St. Domingo in quiet submission to the authority of the negro chief, and rapidly improving in wealth and happiness under his wise administration. But this prosperity was soon to be interrupted by calamities as tremendously severe as any which ever visited that afflicted island.

The cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and France, which took place on the signing of the preliminaries of peace in the month of October, left the French navy, which for several years had not been able to quit its ports with impunity, once more at liberty to traverse the ocean. Bonaparte, who now held the supreme power, under the title of First Consul, immediately determined on sending an expedition across the Atlantic. If his real object had been only to restore to France the sovereignty of St. Domingo, and the monopoly of its trade, it is highly probable that it might have been effected by the gentle means of persuasion and negociation. But this would neither silence the importunity of the expelled or fugitive planters, who languished after their

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lost possessions; nor satisfy the cupidity of mercantile speculators, who contemplated an advantageous investment of capital: both parties united in urging the absolute recovery of the colony, the reinstatement of the former proprietors, and the subjugation of the emancipated slaves. Besides, the compulsion of force was more agreeable to Bonaparte's temper and habits than the gentle influence of peaceful conciliation. There is reason to believe that he regarded Toussaint with an eye of suspicion, if not of envy, and considered him as a rival to his fame. He also wanted employment for some of his numerous army, and hoped to gain new laurels which should preserve his popularity among a nation always fascinated with military glory. The preparations were such as inspired all the friends of the expedition with the strongest confidence of its success: already in imagination they saw the negroes deprived of their newly acquired freedom, and reduced to their former state of servitude.

A fleet of twenty-six ships of war was collected in the harbours of Brest, L'Orient, and Rochfort. On board the fleet and the transports which accompanied it, was embarked an army of twenty-five thousand men, the flower of the French soldiery, and completely equipped.

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At the head of the army was placed General Le Clerc, brother-in-law of the First Consul, assisted by several of the most able and experienced generals that France could produce for such a service. One of the divisions was commanded by General Rochambeau, who had been a proprietor of an estate in the island, and was well known for his attachment to the cause of negro slavery. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Villaret, who had been in the royal service before the revolution; and under him were Rear-admiral Latouche and Captain Magon. To participate in the expected triumphs, Madame Le Clerc accompanied her husband, as did also her younger brother Jerome Bonaparte.

The First Consul, however, not relying entirely on force for the accomplishment of his purpose, determined on employing every method that could be devised, to secure the co-operation of Toussaint, or at least to prevent his active hostility.

Sensible of the importance of education, and not having the means of procuring at home that instruction for his children which he thought necessary to qualify them for the sphere in which they were likely to move, Toussaint had sent his two elder sons to France for that purpose. These youths were taken from their

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studies, and sent on board the fleet, as hostages for the conduct of their father.

The fleet sailed on the 14th of December, 1801, and after a most prosperous voyage arrived in the bay of Samana, on the eastern coast of St. Domingo, on the 28th of the following month. General Le Clerc now dispatched three divisions of his force, which he wished to fall, like so many sky-rockets, on three principal places of the island nearly at the same time. General Kersevan was sent with one division to the city of St. Domingo. Rear-admiral Latouche was ordered to carry another, under General Boudet, to Port-au-Prince; and Captain Magon to land the troops under General Rochambeau in Mancenilio Bay, near Fort Dauphin. Le Clerc himself, with the rest of his troops, proceeded to Cape François, and reached that harbour on the 2d of February.

It is not easy to ascertain what information Toussaint had obtained, or what precise opinion he had formed, respecting the nature and design of this expedition. On one hand, it has been affirmed,—that, lest the news of the armaments that were preparing should alarm him and put him on his guard, means were used to deceive him both as to their magnitude and destination;—that he expected only such a squadron and such a body of troops, as the

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French government might naturally send in time of peace to an obedient colony;—that he supposed them to come with no other than friendly views, and by proclamation enjoined the negroes to receive them with respect, affection, and confidence;—and that he made no preparation for defence, not even so much as to give the necessary orders to his subordinate generals who commanded in the different towns on the coast. On the other hand, it has been stated, with equal confidence,—that he had been aware of the hostile designs of the consular cabinet;—that he had obtained considerable information of the large force prepared for the prosecution of those designs;—that he had been apprized of the successful intrigues of French hostility with some of the inhabitants both white and black, who had promised to assist the invaders;—that he had exerted the vigilance which these circumstances demanded, and that to every point where invasion was expected, or the smallest signs of defection appeared, he had applied every means in his power to prevent the advance of an enemy towards the interior of the island.

Before the other parts of the armament could get round to their points of attack, on the 2d of February General Rochambeau with his division arrived at Fort Dauphin, and the

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troops were instantly landed. No summons was sent, to give the poor colonists a chance of saving their lives by submission. The troops were immediately drawn up in battle array on the beach. The negroes ran in crowds to behold the strange sight, and, without having the least notice of what was designed against them, they were charged with the bayonet; great numbers were killed, and the rest fled, leaving the French masters of the fort.

On the next day, the main body of the fleet and army, under Villaret and Le Clerc, arrived off Cape François, and immediate preparations were made to land and take possession of the town. But Christophe, the black general, who commanded at this important post, on the approach of the fleet, sent on board a mulatto, who exercised the office of post-captain, to inform the commander of the expedition, that the general-in-chief being absent in the interior country, no disembarkation of any military force could be permitted to take place, till the return of a messenger who had been dispatched to acquaint him with the arrival of the French, and to receive his commands;—that if the French should refuse to wait, and should attempt to force a landing, all the white inhabitants would be considered as hostages for their conduct, and that an attack upon the

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town would be followed by its immediate conflagration. General Le Clerc, thinking it necessary to accompany his demonstrations of power with professions of kindness, replied that he would write to General Christophe, and inform him of the friendly intentions with which he came. He accordingly wrote the following letter, which he sent by one of his own officers, detaining the captain of the port as a hostage; and the French fleet stood off to sea:

"*The General-in-Chief of the Army of St. Domingo, Captain-General of the Colony, to the General of Brigade, Christophe, Commandant at the Cape.*

"I learn with indignation, Citizen General, that you refuse to receive the French squadron, and the French army that I command, under the pretext that you have received no orders from the Governor General.

"France has concluded a peace with England; and its government sends to St. Domingo forces capable of subduing the rebels, at least if any such are to be found in the island. As to you, General, I confess it will grieve me to account you among them.

"I give you notice, that if in the course of this day you do not surrender the forts Picolet and Belair, with all the batteries on the coast,

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fifteen thousand troops shall be disembarked to-morrow at day-break.

" Four thousand men are at this moment landing at Fort Liberté; and eight thousand more at Port Republicain.

" Herewith you will receive my proclamation, which expresses the intentions of the French government; but, remember, whatever individual esteem your conduct in the colony may have inspired me with, I hold you responsible for what may happen.

" I salute you.

(Signed) LE CLERC."

This disingenuous composition of conciliation and menace drew from Christophe the following dignified reply; a reply not unworthy of a Roman general in the best times of the republic:

" *Henry Christophe, General of Brigade, Commandant of the Arrondissement of the Cape, to the General in Chief, Le Clerc.*

" Your aid-de-camp, General, has delivered to me your letter of this day. I have the honor to inform you, that I could not deliver up the forts and posts entrusted to my command, without previous orders from the governor general, Toussaint Louverture, my immediate chief, from whom I hold the powers with

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which I am invested. I am fully convinced that I have to do with Frenchmen, and that you are the chief of the armament called the expedition; but I wait the orders of the Governor, to whom I have dispatched one of my aid-de-camps, to acquaint him with your arrival, and that of the French army; and cannot permit you to land until I have received his answer. If you put in force your threats of hostility, I shall make the resistance which becomes a general officer: and, should the chance of war be in your favour, you shall not enter Cape Town till it be reduced to ashes; nay, even in the ruins I will renew the combat.

"You say, the French government has sent to St. Domingo forces capable of reducing the rebels, if any such be found. It is your coming, and the hostile intentions you manifest, that alone could create them among a peaceable people in perfect submission to France: the mention of rebellion is an argument for our resistance.

"The troops which you say are at this moment landing, I consider as so many pieces of cards, which the slightest breath of wind will dissipate.

"How can you hold me responsible for the event? You are not my chief. I know you not; and can therefore make no account of you

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till you are acknowledged by Governor Toussaint.

"As to the loss of your esteem, General, I assure you that I desire not to earn it at the price you set upon it; since to purchase it, I must be guilty of a breach of duty.

I have the honour to salute you.'

(Signed,) H. CHRISTOPHE."

The French officer returned with this letter on the next day, the 4th of February. A deputation from the terrified inhabitants, headed by the mayor, went on board the fleet, and entreated the general to take their unfortunate circumstances into consideration; for that the blacks were determined on the first signal for disembarkation, to set fire to the city, and to put all the white people to the sword. The general received the deputation with great politeness, but dismissed them without any promise of refraining from hostile measures: he only directed them, on their return, to read the proclamation of the First Consul in the town, and to represent his kind intentions towards all the inhabitants.

The proclamation was drawn up in the same insidious style, which characterized many other productions of the revolutionary cabinet; being intended to delude the mass of the negro popu-

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lation into a belief, that the designs of the French government were altogether friendly, and that no violence would be employed, but in the event of a rejection of its offered fraternity.

"INHABITANTS OF ST. DOMINGO,

"Whatever your origin or your color, you are all French; you are all free, and all equal, before God, and before the Republic.

"France, like St. Domingo, has been a prey to factions, torn by civil commotions, and by foreign wars. But all has changed; all nations have embraced the French, and have sworn to them peace and amity: the French people, too, have embraced each other, and have sworn to be all friends and brothers. Come also, embrace the French, and rejoice to see again your friends and brothers of Europe.

"The government sends you Captain-General Le Clerc: he brings with him numerous forces for protecting you against your enemies, and against the enemies of the Republic. If it be said to you, These forces are destined to ravish from you your liberty; answer, The Republic will not suffer it to be taken from us.

"Rally round the Captain-General; he brings you peace and plenty. Rally all of you around him. Whoever shall dare to separate himself

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from the Captain-General, will be a traitor to his country, and the indignation of the Republic will devour him, as the fire devours your dried canes.

" Done at Paris, &c.

(Signed) " The First Consul, BONAPARTE.

" The Secretary of State, H. B. MARET."

Le Clerc was not disposed to wait for the arrival of dispatches from Toussaint, much less for his return in person; but was rather willing to profit by the absence of a chief of his acknowledged talents. He therefore only waited to be informed that Rochambeau had effected a landing at Fort Dauphine, and was ready to co-operate. This intelligence he received on the 5th day of the month, and immediately prepared to commence his operations on the day following.

To avoid the loss likely to be sustained by disembarking under the guns of the fortifications, and in hope of gaining the heights of the Cape before the negroes could put their threats of fire and sword into execution, Le Clerc landed his troops at Du Limbé, a point of land a few miles to the westward. Villaret, early in the morning, taking advantage of a favorable breeze, proceeded towards the town, and the rest of the squadron followed. But

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no sooner were the movements announced to the negro commandant, than knowing the town not to be defensible, especially with the disaffection which he well understood to be generally prevalent among the white inhabitants, he immediately gave orders for setting fire to it in various places. In the evening, when Le Clerc came within sight of it, he beheld it in flames. The whole squadron anchored at the Mole in safety; the crews were immediately disembarked, and, together with a body of twelve hundred troops under General Humbert, who had landed and made a diversion in favour of Le Clerc, exerted themselves with great diligence in endeavoring to extinguish the flames; but a few houses in the lower parts of the town were all they could save from the general destruction.

Having thus executed a menace, the fulfilment of which, however it may have excited the censures and reproaches of disappointed Frenchmen, was perfectly consistent with the laws of defensive warfare acknowledged by civilized nations; Christophe, with the troops under his command, retreated in good order, and without much loss. As to the sanguinary threat which he is said to have issued, of massacring the white inhabitants, it must be mentioned to his honor, that he never gave any

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orders, nor made the least attempt, for the perpetration of such an outrage. In his retreat he carried off more than two thousand of them as hostages; but not one of them was put to death.

While these transactions were taking place, which occupied scarcely five days, Toussaint was in the interior of the island, at too great a distance from the coast to give any timely assistance or orders at either of the points of attack. As soon as he was apprized of the events that had occurred, he lost no time in giving those directions which existing circumstances appeared to him to require. The orders issued by him to his subordinate generals, both before and after the invasion of the French, were described by the consular gazettes as exhibiting indications of cruelty and barbarity beyond all example.

The same gazettes described, in most exaggerated terms, an insurrection which had taken place during the preceding autumn, and the military executions which had followed. The story was related so as to convey ideas of extreme barbarity and insubordination in the insurgents, unrelenting severity in Toussaint and his friends, and a dreadful state of manners in both. Not a hint was given, of what was indeed the truth, that Toussaint's rigor on this

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occasion was in pursuance of his humane and determined purpose to protect the French from the resentment and violence of his brethren. General Moise, and many officers and troops under his command, had revolted, not with views hostile to Toussaint and his government, but solely to indulge their vengeance against the whites, many of whom they actually massacred. The insurrection, however, was soon quelled; and Toussaint, in this case, departed from his characteristic lenity, and became severe and inexorable. Moise was his nephew, his confidential friend, and his second in command: yet he brought him, and about thirty of his officers, to a court martial for their bloody conduct; and on their conviction ordered them, though with the deepest concern, to be publicly executed at the Cape. This sacrifice of the feelings of the man to the duties of the governor, he deemed absolutely necessary, to protect from further violence those to whom his faith and humanity were pledged.

But the agents of the French government hesitated not at the employment of any calumny, to blacken the character of the chief who was regarded as the principal obstacle to the success of their invasion; and whose destruction it was determined to accomplish, either by force or by fraud. His letters which they intercepted or

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obtained from negro deserters, were affirmed to characterize a soul equally hypocritical and atrocious. But the impartiality of truth compels the conviction that these charges, unsupported as they are by a tittle of evidence, prove nothing more than the virulent malice of the accusers. The only letter they thought proper to publish, of all which they pretended to have in their possession, contains nothing inconsistent with the most humane and honorable mind. It was written three days after the loss of Cape François, and addressed

" *To Citizen Domage, General of Brigade, Commander-in-Chief of the district of Jeremie.*

" My dear General,

" I send to you my aid-de-camp, Chaney, who is the bearer of the present dispatch, and will communicate to you the business with which I have charged him.

" The whites of France, and of the colony, united together, wish to take away liberty. A great many ships of war and troops have arrived and taken possession of the Cape, of Port Republicain,* and of Fort Liberty. The Cape, after a vigorous resistance, has fallen: but the enemy has found there little more than

* The revolutionary name for Port-au-Prince.

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a plain of ashes. The forts have been blown up, and every thing is burned. The town of Port Republicain has been delivered up to them by the traitor, Age, general of brigade: and the Fort Bizotton surrendered without firing a shot, through the cowardice and treason of the chief of battalion, Bardet, formerly officer of the South. The general of division, Dessalines, supports at this moment a cordon at Croix des Bouquets, and all our other places are upon the defensive.

" As the place of Jeremie is very strong from its natural advantages, you will maintain yourself there, and defend it with the courage which I know you possess. Put no confidence in the whites; they will betray you if they can. Their wish, evidently manifested, is the restoration of slavery. I therefore give you a carte blanche. Every thing that you do, will be done well. Raise the cultivators in mass, and make them fully sensible of this truth, that they must place no confidence in those artful persons who may have secretly received proclamations from the white men of France, and would circulate them clandestinely in order to seduce the friends of liberty.

" I have given orders to the general of brigade, Laplume, to burn the town of Cayes, the other towns, and all the plains, if they

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should not be able to resist the force of the enemy; and then all the troops of the different garrisons, and all the cultivators will go to increase your numbers at Jeremie. You will maintain a perfectly good understanding with General Laplume, in order to execute well and with ease whatever may be necessary. You will employ all the female cultivators in planting provisions in great quantities.

"Endeavor as much as possible to acquaint me with your situation.

"I rely entirely upon you, and leave you wholly to your own discretion to do every thing that may be requisite to free us from the most horrible yoke with which we are threatened.

"Health and friendship.

(Signed) "TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE."

All the divisions of the French force having made good their landing, Le Clerc thought it was the proper time, before any attempt to penetrate into the interior, to make trial of the scheme intended to be practised upon the feelings of Toussaint. Bonaparte's letter to him was now to be delivered, and an interview was to be effected between him and his two sons, whom the caresses of the First Consul and the enjoyment of every indulgence, had impressed

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with a belief that it was the interest of their father to comply with the proposal to be made to him by Le Clerc.

From the smoking ruins of Cape François an emissary was accordingly dispatched to Ennery, Toussaint's country residence, about ten leagues from the Cape. The man commissioned to deliver Bonaparte's letter and to introduce the two youths to their father, was Coisnon their tutor; who had accompanied them from France, and was one of the chief and confidential agents in this expedition. His orders were to let his pupils see and embrace their parents, but not to suffer them to remain, unless their father would promise entire acquiescence in the wishes of the First Consul. If Toussaint should accept the offers made to him, he was to be required immediately to repair to the Cape, to receive the commands of Le Clerc, and to become his lieutenant-general: but if he should be found proof against all the attacks of fraud and sophistry, his sons were to be torn from his arms, and brought back again as hostages. If nothing else could move him, it was hoped that the yearnings of parental affection would overcome the resistance of patriotism, and bend his otherwise inflexible virtue. But to provide for the event of his rejecting the fraudulent proposals, a passport

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was obtained from him or his lieutenant-general; and the faith of a soldier whose word had never been violated was engaged for the return both of the envoy and of his pupils.

When Coisnon and the two youths reached Ennery, Toussaint was absent, having been called on urgent public business to a distant part of the island. His faithful wife received her two sons as an affectionate and tender mother might be expected to welcome children who had been separated from her for seven or eight years; and, improved both in stature and accomplishments, were now returned in all the vigour and loveliness of youth, and one of them fast advancing towards manhood. She invited their tutor, whom her unsuspecting heart regarded with misplaced gratitude and respect, to wait the return of Toussaint; an invitation which the crafty Frenchman readily accepted, in hopes of persuading her to become his auxiliary in the negociations with her husband. He professed to her, as he had declared to all the negroes whom he met on his journey, that the Consul had no designs whatever against their freedom, but wishes only for peace, a revival of their colonial relation to France, and submission to the authority of the republic. The fond mother was ready to believe all his declarations; she at least wished that her husband

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with his superior knowledge and judgment might see reason to confide in these assurances of peace and friendship.

Justice to the character of the negro chief requires it to be stated that the account of this mission furnished by Coisnon himself, the only account indeed which has ever been given to the world, places it beyond all doubt, that, if Toussaint had any object in view beyond securing liberty and happiness for himself and his brethren, it was neither known nor suspected by the wife of his bosom.

A courier had been immediately dispatched to inform Toussaint of the arrival of his children, accompanied by a messenger from the First Consul with offers of the most advantageous nature. His distance from home was so great that though he set out on his return immediately on receiving this intelligence; and travelled with more than his usual rapidity, he did not arrive at Ennery till after the middle of the second night.

The two sons ran to meet their father, and he, with emotions too big for utterance, clasped them silently in his arms. Few, it is to be hoped, are the partakers of our common nature, who, on witnessing the embraces and tears of parental and filial sensibility, could have proceeded, at least without powerful relentings of

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heart, to execute the commission with which Coisnon was charged. But this cold-blooded emissary of France beheld the scene with a barbarous apathy, worthy of the cause in which he was employed. When the first burst of paternal feeling was over, Toussaint stretched out his arms to him whom he regarded with complacency as the tutor of his children, and their conductor to the roof and embraces of their parents. This was the moment which Coisnon thought most favorable to the perpetration of his treacherous design. "The father and the two sons," says he, "threw themselves into each others' arms. I saw them shed tears, and wishing to take advantage of a period which I conceived to be favorable, I stopped him at the moment when he stretched out his arms to me."

Retiring from the embrace of Toussaint, Coisnon assailed him in a set speech, persuading him to accede to the overtures of the Consul; describing in glowing colors the advantages to be gained by joining the French standard, and denouncing the most implacable hostility and dreadful vengeance as the inevitable consequence of a refusal; expatiating on the hopelessness of any efforts to resist armies which had conquered the legions of combined Europe; and which now had no enemy to contend with

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but the rebels of St. Domingo; declaring that no designs were entertained of infringing the liberty of the blacks; and desiring him to reflect on the situation of his children, who, unless he would submit, were immediately to be carried back to the Cape, never more perhaps to gladden the hearts of their parents. The orator concluded by putting into Toussaint's hands a letter from General Le Clerc, and the following epistle from the First Consul.

"*To Citizen Toussaint Louverture, General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo.*

"CITIZEN-GENERAL,

"Peace with England and all the powers of Europe, which places the Republic in the first degree of greatness and power, enables, at the same time, the government to direct its attention to St. Domingo. We send thither Citizen Le Clerc, our brother-in-law, in quality of Captain-General, as first magistrate of the colony. He is accompanied with the necessary forces, to make the sovereignty of the French people respected. It is under these circumstances that we are disposed to hope that you will prove to us, and to all France, the sincerity of the sentiments which you have constantly expressed in the different letters you have written to us. We have conceived for you

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esteem, and we wish to recognize and proclaim the great services you have rendered to the French people. If their colours fly on St. Domingo, it is to you, and your brave blacks, that we owe it. Called by your talents, and the force of circumstances, to the chief command, you have terminated the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of some ferocious men, and restored to honor the religion and the worship of God, from whom all things come.

"The situation in which you were placed, surrounded on all sides by enemies, and without the mother country being able to succour or sustain you, has rendered legitimate the articles of that constitution which otherwise could not be so. But, now that circumstances are so happily changed, you will be the first to render homage to the sovereignty of the nation, which reckons you among the number of its most illustrious citizens, by the services you have rendered to it, and by the talents and the force of character with which nature has endowed you. A contrary conduct would be irreconcileable with the idea we have conceived of you. It would deprive you of your numerous claims to the gratitude and the good offices of the Republic, and would dig under your feet a precipice, which, while it swallowed you up, would contribute to the misery of those brave

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blacks, whose courage we love, and whom we should be sorry to punish for rebellion.

"We have made known to your children, and to their preceptor, the sentiments by which we are animated. We send them back to you. Assist with your counsel, your influence, and your talents, the Captain-General. What can you desire?—the freedom of the blacks? You know that in all the countries we have been in, we have given it to the people who had it not. Do you desire consideration, honors, fortune? It is not after the services you have rendered, the services you can still render, and with the personal estimation we have for you, that you ought to be doubtful with respect to your consideration, your fortune, and the honors that await you.

"Make known to the people of St. Domingo, that the solicitude which France has always evinced for their happiness, has often been rendered impotent by the imperious circumstances of war; that if men came from the continent to nourish factions, they were the produce of those factions which destroyed the country: that in future, peace, and the power of the government, ensure their prosperity and freedom. Tell them, that if liberty be to them the first of wants, they cannot enjoy it but with the title of French citizens; and that every act

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contrary to the interests of the country, the obedience they owe to the government, and to the Captain-General who is the delegate of it, would be a crime against the national sovereignty, which would eclipse their services, and render St. Domingo the theatre of a cruel war, in which fathers and children would massacre each other.

" And you, General, remember, that if you are the first of your colour that attained such great power, and distinguished himself by his bravery and his military talents, you are also, before God and us, the principal person responsible for their conduct.

" If there be disaffected persons, who say to the individuals that have borne a principal part in the troubles of St. Domingo, that we are coming to ascertain what they have done during the times of anarchy, assure them that we shall take cognizance of their conduct only in this last circumstance; and that we shall not recur to the past, but to find out the traits that may have distinguished them in the war carried on against the Spanish and English, who have been our enemies.

" Rely without reserve on our esteem, and conduct yourself as one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation in the world ought to do.

" The First Consul, BONAPARTE."

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Isaac, the eldest son, next addressed his father, representing the great kindness with which his brother and himself had been treated by Bonaparte, and the high esteem and regard which the consul professed for Toussaint and his family. The younger son added something that he had been taught to the same effect; and both, with artless eloquence of their own, endeavored to win their father to a purpose, of the true nature and probable consequences of which they had no suspicion. To their persuasions were added the tears and entreaties of their distressed mother. Toussaint appeared to hesitate amidst these tender solicitations. His features seemed to indicate an inward conflict of passion and principle. Coisnon observed these appearances with savage pleasure, and began to anticipate a victory. With more zeal than caution, he now suggested the necessity of Toussaint's immediately hastening to the Cape to join General Le Clerc. Confirmed in his suspicions of the snare that was laid for him, Toussaint suddenly composed his agitated countenance, gently disengaged himself from the embraces of his wife and children, took the tutor into another apartment, and gave him this dignified decision:—"Take back my children, since it must be so. I will be faithful to my brethren and my God." Finding all his elo-

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quence unavailing, Coisnon endeavored to draw Toussaint into a negociation with General Le Clerc; and Toussaint, ready to treat upon any terms by which the direful fate intended for his brethren might be avoided without the horrors of war, promised to send an answer to the French general's letter. He would not, however, prolong the painful domestic scene by staying to write it at Ennery, nor would he risk another sight of his children, but within two hours from the time of his arrival, he mounted his horse again, and rode to the camp. On the next day he returned a formal answer to Le Clerc's letter, and sent it by the tutor of his younger sons, a Frenchman of the name of Granville, who overtook Coisnon and his pupils on their way to the Cape. Toussaint's answer produced a reply from Le Clerc; and a further correspondence took place between these two generals, which occupied several days; a truce being agreed upon for that purpose, which Le Clerc expected would terminate in a peace.*

The truce having expired without any prospect of Toussaint's submission being obtained by negociation, Le Clerc became impatient of delay; and upon the arrival of Admiral Gantheaume with two thousand three hundred

* For a copy of the answer said to have been addressed by Toussaint to Bonaparte, see Appendix II.

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troops, and in the expectation of Admiral Linois with a further reinforcement, he determined on an instant renewal of hostilities with all possible vigor.

On the 17th of February he issued a proclamation, in which he declared "General Toussaint and General Christophe" to be "put out of the protection of the law;" and ordered "all citizens to pursue them, and to treat them as the enemies of the French republic." The proclamation was followed by a renewal of the war in all parts of the island; and the adoption of every artifice that French ingenuity could devise, to procure defection among the black troops, and among the inhabitants in general.

Le Clerc knew that it was more easy to seduce the multitude than to deceive men who had been accustomed to govern; and that the lower classes in all countries often become discontented with their rulers, when they feel the pressure of those evils which war, though defensive and necessary, must always produce. He was also aware, that the laboring negroes had very reluctantly submitted to the industry required from them, and had not been altogether satisfied with Toussaint for imposing restraints upon idleness, and inflicting punishment on vice. He therefore resolved to adopt every method likely to promote the disaffection of the culti-

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vators, or at least to obtain their neutrality in the contest.

He cautiously refrained, at first, from attempting any change in the condition of the laboring negroes, in the districts occupied by his troops. Though he was accompanied by many of their former masters, to whom the consul had promised the restoration of their estates, not a hint was given of the restoration of slavery and the resumption of the cart-whip. The general published in his own name, and in that of the consul, solemn declarations, that the freedom of all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, of all colors, should be preserved inviolate; while, in the same publications, he accused Toussaint and his adherents of ambition, and endeavored to fix upon them the blame of all the calamities that were about to fall upon the colony. To corrupt the fidelity of the black soldiers, and especially of their generals and officers, he held out the most tempting offers of immediate employment and preferment in the service of the republic; and a few who had deserted the cause of their country and joined the French on their first landing, were promoted to important commands, and caressed in the most flattering manner.

To these nefarious arts, as well as to the prowess of his troops, was Le Clerc indebted

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for successes which were not inconsiderable. Considering the disadvantages of the country, the French soldiers fought with great courage and perseverance; but if they had not been powerfully assisted by negro allies, and if the cultivators had not been so generally induced to remain quiet spectators of the war, the invaders would have found it much more difficult, if not altogether impossible, to advance far from the coast.

Toussaint prepared for a conflict more obstinate and terrible than any that he had yet experienced. Expecting the principal exertions of the French to be made in the northern part of the island, where they had fixed their headquarters, he went with a body of chosen troops and formed a camp at Breda. Here he remained for some time, waiting the approach of Le Clerc.

The negro troops were in a state of admirable discipline. They were all versed in the management of artillery, but chiefly excelled in the use of the bayonet. Their musquets were of extraordinary length; and with bayonets fixed, their infantry were superior to an equal number of cavalry or artillery. Their mode of warfare was dictated by the nature of their country. They would frequently place whole lines in ambush, sometimes reaching from one

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post to another, and sometimes extending to a considerable distance from each wing of a camp. By their astonishing celerity, their enemies were often disconcerted and thrown into disorder, and sometimes when the French thought themselves on the point of a victory, detachments in ambush suddenly made their appearance, and mortified them with a defeat.

On the 17th of February, the day on which Le Clerc issued his warlike proclamation, the campaign actively commenced. Orders having been given for a junction of all the troops landed in the northern province, the division of General Desfourneaux advanced to the Limbé, that of General Hardy to the Grand Boucamp and the Mornes, and that under General Rochambeau against La Tannerie and the wood of L'Ance. A small corps, composed of the garrisons of the Cape and Fort Dauphin, advanced against St. Luzanne, Le Tron, and Valliere. These divisions had to contend with great disadvantages of ground, and were much annoyed by the movements of the blacks, who concealed themselves in the forests which bordered the vallies, and who had a secure retreat in the fastnesses. The columns, however, obtained possession of the positions which they had been ordered to occupy.

On the 18th, the three divisions made a

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further movement, and encamped near Plaisance, at Dondon and St. Raphael. On the 19th, that of Desfourneaux took possession of Plaisance without resistance; the black commander of the district abandoning the cause of his country, and joining the French with two hundred cavalry and three hundred infantry. General Hardy's division, at the same time, made themselves masters of Marmelade, which was defended by General Christophe: who was induced to evacuate the place in consequence of the loss of the Morne at Borspen; which the treachery of the commandant had previously given up to General Hardy. Christophe retreated in good order, with twelve hundred troops of the line, beside a considerable irregular force. On the same day, General Rochambeau took up his position at St. Michael, where he found but little resistance, though it was defended by four hundred men.

In the mean time, the blacks under General Maurepas had gained some advantage over General Humbert. Le Clerc was, therefore, very desirous of dislodging that general from the entrenched post which he occupied near Port Paix; and detached General Debelle for that purpose. But in this attempt, on the 20th of February, the French experienced a repulse, and were compelled to retreat with considerable loss.

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General Boudet, who had been ordered to advance from Port au Prince, marched against La Croix des Bouquets, which on his approach the negroes immediately set on fire and deserted. Dessalines, the black general who commanded in that district, made a rapid movement across the mountains, and set fire to Leogane in the sight of a frigate which the French admiral had dispatched for its preservation. The disappointments thus experienced by the French were partly compensated by the accession of an eminent black chief, La Plume, who submitted to General Boudet, with all the troops under his command.

On the 22d, the divisions of Desfourneaux and Hardy advanced against a fort near Plaisance, which had just been abandoned by La Plume. Christophe, in order to cover an important depôt of the blacks, attempted to prevent this movement of the French, but was obliged to content himself with cutting off part of their force, and retiring to Bayannai. He still, however, continued to act on the defensive, and, after several skirmishes, retreated to Gonaives.

On the 24th, General Rochambeau, with his division, entered the ravine a-Coleuvre, where Toussaint, with his guard, consisting of fifteen hundred chosen and tried grenadiers, four hun-

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dred dragoons, and twelve hundred other troops, had taken a strong position, and waited to receive them. This was the only battle with troops led into action by Toussaint himself, of which his enemies have thought proper to give any description. Their account is, that it was a combat of man to man; and that the blacks fought with great courage and obstinacy, but at length were obliged to retreat, leaving eight hundred of their number dead on the field of battle. The blacks had not yet commenced the publication of gazettes, or they might with equal accuracy have attributed a retreat to the French. The truth is, that after a hard fought day, in which both armies and their commanders had put forth all their energies of courage and skill, and the ranks on both sides had been thinned by an immense slaughter, neither party seemed to be in a condition to contend for the honor of remaining masters of the field: Toussaint retired to the banks of La Petit Riviere, and Le Clerc to Gonaives.

In Le Clerc's dispatches, dated two days after this battle, he says;—"It is absolutely necessary to see the country, in order to be enabled to form an adequate idea of the difficulties which it presents at every step. I have never seen in the Alps any obstacles equal to those with which it abounds."

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On the 27th General Boudet was master of St. Marc; but Maurepas still retaining his positions, which gave him the command of that district, Le Clerc prepared to concentrate his force, with the intention of compelling him to surrender. When he had taken the necessary measures for this attempt, he was prevented from the attack by an overture from Maurepas, which terminated in his submission and that of all the troops under his command, on condition that himself and his officers should be continued in their rank. Maurepas had with him two thousand regular troops, and seven pieces of cannon.

So powerfully did the hostilities carried on in various quarters at once, by the French and their sable confederates, assist the insidious offers and promises of Le Clerc, that most of the negro troops who still adhered to Toussaint began to be weary of the contest, and every day, almost, some leading man among them went over to the enemy. So many of the regular troops had been induced to join the French, or at least to lay down their arms, and so great a proportion of the rest had been killed in action, that, by the end of the month of February in which the war began, the black generals were chiefly supported by such of the cultivators as the influence of Toussaint could

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preserve from French delusion, and engage to fight in the cause of their own freedom.

But these men formed a very small proportion of the whole population; and were, besides, but inexpert soldiers, not having been previously taught the military exercise, and being very badly armed. These cultivators too began to desert the standard of their chief, when he was obliged to retire into the interior of the island; where, with only a few hundred followers, he rapidly removed from one fastness to another, contending with innumerable difficulties, and enduring a variety of hardships.

Yet even in this depressed state of his affairs, the constancy of Toussaint did not forsake him. Though unable to meet his enemies in the field, he was still unconquered. While the invaders were harassing themselves by forced marches, and contending for positions untenable or useless, he and his followers changed their situation at pleasure, never being overtaken in a retreat, or surprised on a march, but frequently falling on their enemies when no apprehension was entertained of their approach, and filling them with consternation and dismay.

With the remembrance of what had occurred, and the experience he must have acquired, in the course of a war with former invaders, it was not unnatural for Toussaint to

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calculate on the probability that the French, with all the supplies they could obtain, would in time exhaust themselves. Driven as his forces had been from the various points on the coast, and much as their numbers had been diminished by desertion and death; yet the natural impracticability of the situation, the constitution of the negroes inured to the climate, the desultory mode of warfare which they practised, were resources which still remained, and which he might hope would ultimately baffle all their enemies. And if any thing in the conduct of the French since their landing had excited his conjecture, that they might be betrayed into a premature developement of the real designs of their government against the freedom of the negroes before the chains of slavery should be too firmly rivetted, he might contemplate a return to the standard of liberty on the part of those whose desertion of it had been the effect of delusion rather than of corruption; and this anticipation would inspire him with fresh resolution to meet all the sufferings and dangers of war, rather than accept an insidious peace from the mortal enemies of his country.

In the beginning of March, Le Clerc arrived at Port-au-Prince, which, having been easily taken by General Boudet, was found

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uninjured; and fixing his head quarters there, he proceeded to prosecute the war with fresh vigor.

The first object to which the attention of the captain-general was directed in the vicinity of his new station, was Crete-a-Pierrot, a post between Port-au-Prince and St. Marc, and eight leagues from the latter place. The fortress, which had been regularly built by the English during their possession of this part of the island, had since been occupied by the blacks, who had made it one of their depôts.

Almost the whole of the French army was employed in carrying on the siege of this place, and in occupying positions in the neighbourhood with a view to prevent the retreat of the garrison, which was under the command of Dessalines, one of the most courageous, enterprising, and skilful of all the negro generals. The savage ferocity displayed by the French was such as seldom stains the history of modern warfare. General Hardy, with his troops, surrounded six hundred blacks, and put them all to the sword. A part of the same division acted a similar tragedy at Trianon, a post which they carried with the bayonet. General Salines, with a considerable force, surrounded a small negro camp, and every individual found in it was murdered on the spot. Rochambeau

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spread devastation through the various villages in his march, murdering the inoffensive inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex. The siege was commenced and carried on with all possible vigor; and the defence was conducted in a manner that would not have disgraced the first general in Europe. After having removed almost every thing that was valuable, and defeated all the efforts of the assailants till his ammunition and provisions were nearly consumed, Dessalines, with a division of the troops, sallied forth in the night and departed. Three nights after, the remainder of the garrison made a similar attempt, in which only part of them succeeded, and the rest were surrounded by the besiegers, and immediately put to the sword. Thus the French obtained possession of a fortress, which was a very inadequate compensation for the loss of some of their best generals and many of their finest troops.

Intoxicated with the success he had gained, and fondly concluding that he had nothing more to fear from the black troops, Le Clerc imagined that the sooner he put the plantation negroes again under the drivers and the whips, the better he should secure his conquest, and the more honor he should obtain; for this was the real design, and every where but in St. Domingo had, from the beginning, been the

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acknowledged object of all his bloody labors. About the middle of the month of March, he accordingly published an order, expressly restoring to the proprietors or their attornies all their ancient authority over the negroes upon their estates.

This act of consummate baseness almost equally surprised the planters and the negroes. The planters thought it so premature and imprudent that many of them were unwilling to return to their estates, and thought it at present altogether impracticable to carry the general's order into execution. The poor cultivators now found their mistake in listening to the French general, who, within six weeks before, had pledged his own word, and that of the first consul and the French republic, for the maintenance of their liberty.

The negro troops, also, who had united with the invaders, could not but be equally alarmed at this nefarious proceeding: for they had joined the French standard in a reliance on the most positive assurances of freedom, not only to themselves, but to all their brethren; and the proclamation for re-enslaving their brethren taught them to expect the same fate whenever it should appear, to their perfidious friends, to be a convenient time for its infliction. But they dared not immediately to revolt or

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give any indications of dissatisfaction; for they had been prudently broken into small bodies, placed at a distance from each other, and mixed with the white troops: by the discharge, upon various pretences, of great numbers from each of their corps, they had also been much reduced in strength, and at the same time were closely watched by the European French.

In this imprudent wickedness of his enemies, the indefatigable Toussaint saw the means of retrieving his affairs; and the defenceless state in which the northern province had been left by the concentration of the French force in the neighbourhood of Crete-a-Pierrot, invited his first attention to that quarter. Early in April, he effected a junction with Christophe, who had still preserved about three hundred soldiers; and, instead of continuing his flight among the mountains, hastened towards the north coast of the island, where the cultivators were very numerous. Reaching Plaisance by an unexpected route, he defeated the troops under the command of Desforneaux, and passed on without interruption through Dondon and Marmelade. Wherever he came he summoned the cultivators to arms, and they were no longer deaf to his call, but flocked to his standard in multitudes. They were badly armed, or rather,

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for the most part, not armed at all, except with hoes, and a kind of cutlass which is used in the West Indies for trimming the green fences. But their numbers and zeal enabled their leader to surmount the greatest difficulties. He poured his troops, like a torrent, over the whole plain of the north, every where seizing the French posts, and driving their divisions before him till they found refuge within the fortifications of Cape François.

Toussaint had no battering artillery; yet he surrounded the town, and would certainly have taken it, if the French fleet had not been lying in the harbour. General Boyer, the commandant, called to his aid all the marines and twelve hundred seamen from the fleet, but was unable to oppose any successful resistance to the intrepid assailants, by whom he was quickly driven back under the very hospital. New batteries were raised, and the ships were hauled in upon the shore, where their broadsides might play upon the besiegers. Yet after all, the place must have yielded to Toussaint and his rustics, if General Hardy, with a grand division of the French army from the south, had not advanced by forced marches, and thrown himself into the town. The captain-general was obliged to follow by sea, quitting all his conquests in the south, after having

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marched back all his detachments from the interior to the coast.

This great alteration in the state of the campaign had all been effected within a fortnight. At the end of March, the French were at the summit of their successes and confidence; and before the middle of April they were reduced to such extremities, that Le Clerc, besieged at the Cape, and scarcely able to maintain his position there, had serious thoughts of evacuating the place, and retreating by sea to the Spanish part of the island.

The negroes in general were now become as hostile to the French as they were disposed to be friendly before. But the chief struggle was at Cape François, and there the greatest inconveniencies and calamities were experienced. The assemblage of the multitude of people which now crowded the place, was soon followed by the appearance of a dreadful contagion. Till this reverse of fortune, the French troops had been remarkably healthy, but now the whole city was soon converted into a grand lazaretto; and great numbers who had escaped the sword of the blacks, fell victims to the devouring pestilence. Powerful reinforcements arrived from France: but Toussaint still pressed the siege, and all the efforts of the large garri-

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son were barely sufficient to defend themselves within their walls and trenches.

Le Clerc now felt, and deeply regretted, his error. He had prematurely dropped the mask of friendship to negro freedom, and perceived that unless some new means of delusion could be devised, there was no hope of accomplishing the object of the expedition. Yet with all the simplicity of the cultivators, and all their aversion to the privations and miseries of war, it seemed exceedingly difficult to delude them again. It was judged, however, not to be impossible, that artful professions of a change of measures, and new declarations in favor of liberty, might gain credit with the blacks, and again divide the multitude from their leaders. The captain-general, therefore, determined to try the experiment, and, in the event of its success, to proceed with more caution and certainty than before, in effecting the purpose which he wished the negroes to believe was sincerely and finally abjured,

With these views, combining the most fraudulent cunning with the most abject meanness, he framed and issued the following proclamation:

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" LIBERTY. EQUALITY.

" In the Name of the French Government,

" A PROCLAMATION.

" *The General in Chief to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.*

" Citizens,

" The time is arrived when order will succeed to that chaos which has been the natural consequence of the opposition made by the rebellious to the landing of the army in St. Domingo.

" The rapid operations and progress of the army, and the necessity of providing for its subsistence and establishment, have, hitherto, prevented my attending to the definitive organization of the colony. I could not, moreover, have any fixed or certain ideas of a country with which I was totally unacquainted, and consequently could not, without mature deliberation, form an opinion of a people who have been, for ten years, a prey to revolutions.

" 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 organization comprises:

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" 1st. The administration of justice.

" 2nd. The interior administration of the colony, combined with those measures which its interior and exterior defence require.

" 3d. The imposition of duties, the means of raising them, and their application.

" 4th. The regulations and ordinances relative to agriculture.

" 5th. The regulations and ordinances rela- to commerce.

" 6th. The administration of the national domains, the means of making them most beneficial to the state, so as to be less burthensome to agriculture and commerce.

" As it is of infinite interest to you, citizens, that every institution should, in an equal degree, protect agriculture and commerce, I have not determined upon this important work, without having first had recourse to, and consulted with, the most distinguished and enlightened citizens of the colony.

" I have, in consequence, given orders to the generals of the south and west divisions, to select for each of these departments *seven* citizens, proprietors and merchants (*without regard to colour*), who, with *eight* more, which I shall myself choose for the department of the north, are to assemble at the Cape in the course of the present month, to impart their observations to

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me on the plans which I shall then submit to their consideration.

"It is not a deliberative assembly that I establish. I am too well acquainted with the evils which meetings of this nature have brought upon the colony, to have that idea. The citizens who are thus chosen being honest and enlightened men, to them will I communicate my views; they will make their observations upon them, and will be able to impress on the minds of their fellow citizens the liberal ideas with which the government is animated.

"Let those men, who are thus to be called together, consider this appointment as a flattering proof of my consideration for them. Let them consider that, for want of their counsels and advice, I might pursue measures disastrous to the colony, which would ultimately fall upon themselves. Let them consider this, and they will find no difficulty in leaving, for some time, their private avocations.

"Done at the Head-quarters of the Cape, 5th Floreal, year 10 of the French Republic.

(Signed)

"The General in Chief, LE CLERC.

A true copy,

(Signed)

"The Deputy Adjutant-General, D'AOUST."

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In this paper, it may be observed, that without expressly acknowledging the injustice of his past measures, or his designs against liberty, and even without ceasing to represent the first resistance he had received from the armed negroes as rebellious, Le Clerc artfully begins with an implied apology for his late attempts, on the pretence of his ignorance of the colony and of the character of the people; dexterously passing over his own orders for the restoration of slavery, and treating what had been notoriously done to that end as having arisen from the delay of forming a free government, for which his warlike occupations had not left him sufficient time; as if the attempts to restore the drivers and resume the whips had been natural and necessary consequences of the want of such positive regulations to the contrary, as he had hitherto been too busy to make.

He next proposes to give to the colony a constitution, of which liberty and equality to all the inhabitants, without distinction of colour, was to be the basis. But what was designed to be understood as an assurance of liberty, was rendered perfectly nugatory by the construction of the sentence in which it was conveyed. The promised benefit was "not to be definitive till approved of by the French government:"

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and the position of this clause exhibited a further specimen of the duplicity of its author; for it admits of being applied, either to "the basis of liberty and equality," or to the crude scheme of "provisionary organization," which he professed to found upon that basis.

The convocation of an assembly of representatives from all parts of the island, to be appointed without distinction of colour, is guarded by limitations of the powers of that assembly, with as much care as if a permanent system of representation were sincerely intended to be established. The crafty Frenchman was well aware that the negroes were not such profound politicians as to concern themselves about those limitations, but that they were likely to be perfectly satisfied at receiving an acknowledgment of their freedom, accompanied with a proposed admission of some of their number to a share in the government.

This fraudulent proclamation was dated the 25th of April, and was instantly sent into the black camp, and quickly dispersed over every part of the island. It produced all the immediate effect that its author could have wished. The negroes in general were weary of the war. Their exclusion from the chief ports, and the reluctance of foreigners to trade with them under existing circumstances, deprived them

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of the comforts and necessaries with which commerce used to supply them. The cultivators felt themselves much aggrieved by the exposure to hardships and dangers, and the separation from their families, caused by a state of warfare. They saw no prospect of speedy deliverance from those evils but by a peace. The frequent arrival of reinforcements from France precluded all hope of being able to terminate the war by expelling the invaders from the fortified towns on the coast. The only object they thought worth suffering and fighting for, was their liberty; and this they fondly flattered themselves was now secured.

These sentiments and feelings caused considerable defection in the negro army, and disposed some of the chiefs to entertain proposals for a negociation which was soon commenced. Christophe demanded, as the conditions of his compromise, a general amnesty for his troops, the preservation of his own rank and that of all the other officers; and the extension of the same terms to his colleague Dessalines, and to Toussaint, the general-in-chief. To these terms the haughty Le Clerc found it difficult to submit; but his impatience to obtain the praise of restoring the colony to the mother country, overcame his reluctance; and the arrangement with Christophe was completed. The accession

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of Christophe was followed by that of Paul Louverture, the brother of Toussaint, with two thousand negroes under his command.

Negociations were next entered into with Toussaint and Dessalines, who, there is reason to believe, gave no credit to the French general for the sincerity of his present professions, but thought themselves obliged by the circumstances in which they were now placed, to conclude a peace of experiment, with a sincere intention of fulfilling both its letter and spirit, till it should be violated on the part of the French. They wished for no other terms than those which had been granted to Christophe, with a dignified retirement from all the cares of public life. To these wishes, after a few days hesitation, Le Clerc acceded, and by the end of the first week in May, a peace was concluded with Toussaint, and all the generals and troops under his command, and the sovereignty of France over the island of St. Domingo, was acknowledged by all its inhabitants.

The official papers, in which the French government announced to their own and other nations the completion of this event, gave no faithful account of the way in which hostilities had been terminated. Toussaint and Dessalines were represented as making their most humble submission, suing for pardon as

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guilty rebels, and obtaining it from the triumphant Le Clerc with great difficulty. But the captain-general's proclamation of the 25th of April, and his own gazette, published at Cape François, sufficiently prove that the snbmission and concessions had been made by him rather than by them. The Cape gazette, of the 8th of May, contains a letter from Le Clerc to Toussaint, which intimates nothing of abject submission having taken place on the part of the negro chief; and evinces a desire on the part of the Frenchman, to maintain the appearance of sincere and confidential communication. It contained the following passages:

"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 burden of 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 to the colony of St. Domingo, as to believe that you will employ the moments of leisure which you may have in your retreat, in communicating to me your sentiments respecting the means proper to be taken, to make agriculture and commerce again to flourish. As soon as a list and statement of the

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troops under General Dessalines are transmitted to me, I will communicate to you my instructions as to the positions they are to take."

Toussaint retired to a small plantation, called by his own name, Louverture, and situated at Gonaives, on the south-west coast of the island, at a little distance from the town of St. Marc. There, in the bosom of his remaining family, (for his two sons who had been under the care of Coisnon were never heard of after their return to Cape François with their perfidious tutor), he entered upon the enjoyment of that repose of which he had long been deprived. But the French general no sooner perceived the negro chief in his power, and the tranquillity of the colony apparently re-established, than he meditated one of the basest acts of treachery that ever disgraced any government in any age.

About the middle of May, in the dead of night, the Creole frigate, supported by the Hero, a seventy-four-gun ship, both dispatched on purpose from Cape François, stood in towards the Calm Beach, near Gonaives. Several boats with troops immediately landed, and surrounded the house of Toussaint, where he was at rest with the faithful companion of all his cares and dangers, and his family lay wrapped in sleep, all unconscious of their approaching fate. Brunet, a brigadier-general, and Ferrari,

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aid-de-camp to Le Clerc, entered the chamber of the hero with a file of grenadiers, and demanded his instant surrender, requiring him to go, with all his family, on board the frigate. The lion was in the toils, and resistance was useless. Toussaint expressed immediate submission to his own fate, but requested that his feeble wife and harmless children might be suffered to remain at home, This condition, however, was not to be granted. An irresistible military force appeared, and before the neighbourhood was generally alarmed, the whole family, including the daughter of a deceased brother, were on board the frigate and under sail. Thence they were removed to the Hero, which proceeded with them immediately to France.

To justify a proceeding, the cruelty and malignity of which has justly excited the indignation of Europe, Le Clerc alleged, that Toussaint had "engaged in a conspiracy, and was anxious to regain his former influence in the colony." But of this crime, some evidence, at least, ought to have been offered to the public. Not a shadow of proof has been furnished of the alleged offence, which rests wholly on the assertion of the French commander; an assertion which derives as little credibility from known circumstances, as from the general character of its author. From the peace with

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Toussaint to the hour of his seizure, there was not time enough to meditate, much less to organize, a plan of conspiracy; and the ships of war must have been sent from Cape François, almost as soon as he had arrived at his home.

The French general had been so cautious in his measures, in the contemplation of this outrage, that the negro troops and officers, who were indignant at such treachery, could make no effectual resistance. They had been previously dispersed through the island, in different garrisons, and mixed with European troops, by whom they were very closed watched. Two chiefs in the immediate neighbourhood of Gonaives, flew to arms, and attacked the banditti who were carrying off the abdicated general; but their attempt to rescue him was unavailing, and cost them their own lives. They were taken by the French; and Le Clerc, in one of his dispatches, written just after, says,—"I have ordered them to be shot." In the same letter he states, that about a hundred of the principal confidential friends of Toussaint had been arrested, and, without proof or allegation of any other crime than the possession of his friendship, proceeds to say, that some of them had been sent on board the frigate La Muiron, which was under orders for

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the Mediterranean, and that the rest had been distributed among the different ships of the squadron. What became of these unfortunate men is not certainly known. The mention of the Mediterranean induced a supposition at the time, that they were sold as slaves on the coast of Barbary. But from the entire silence of the French government as to their ultimate disposal, it is highly probable that they were thrown overboard at sea and drowned; a fate which is well known to have befallen many of their brethren not long after.

On the voyage from St. Domingo to France, Toussaint was refused all intercourse with his family; he was confined constantly to his cabin, and the door was guarded by soldiers with fixed bayonets. On the arrival of the ship at Brest, no time was lost in hurrying him on shore. On the deck only was he permitted to have an interview with his wife and children, whom he was to meet no more in this life. The agonizing separation of this faithful pair and their beloved offspring, excited in all who witnessed it compassion for their fate. He was conveyed in a close carriage, and under a strong escort of cavalry, to the castle of Joux in Normandy, where he was committed to the strictest confinement, with a single negro

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attendant, who during his continuance there, which was but for a short time, was as closely confined as his master.

Toussaint's wife and family were detained at Brest for two months, and then were removed to Bayonne. From this time they disappeared from the land of the living, but by what means is unknown.

From the castle of Joux, Toussaint, at the approach of winter, was removed to Besançon, and there immured in a cold, damp, and gloomy dungeon, like one of the worst of criminals. This dungeon may be regarded as his sepulchre. Let the reader imagine the horrors of such a prison, to one who had been born, and lived near threescore years, in a West Indian climate; where warmth and air are never wanting, even in jails; and where the beams of the sun are only too bright and continual. It has been confidently asserted by respectable authority, that the floor of the dungeon was covered with water. In this deplorable condition, without any comfort, or alleviation of his sufferings, he lingered through the winter, and died in the spring of the following year. His death was announced in the French papers of the 27th of April, 1803.

Thus terminated the career of this truly great man, whose sufferings and death left an

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indelible infamy on the government under whose merciless oppression he perished.

The silence of this history respecting his failings must not be considered as arising from a supposition that he had attained unerring perfection. Faultless perfection is not an attribute of mortal man. The universal experience of the world, and the dictates of inspired wisdom, place it beyond all doubt that his character had its blemishes; though the historian, having never heard what they were, has it not in his power to record them. But it is no rhetorical exaggeration, it is only the sober language of historic truth, to say, that the talents and virtues of Toussaint Louverture, entitle him to the grateful recollections of his liberated countrymen; and that, notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances of his birth and situation, his character will bear a comparison with that of the most virtuous and patriotic leader or governor of ancient or modern times.

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CHAP. IX.

From June 1802, to the expulsion of the French forces in December 1803.

Colonial Regulations of Le Clerc.—The Blacks again take up arms.—Distressed state of the French, from disease, and defection.—Their cruel attempts to exterminate the negroes, by massacres, by drownings, and by blood-hounds employed to hunt them down.—Death of General Le Clerc.—The chief command devolves on General Rochambeau.—Further decline of French affairs.—Several skirmishes.—Battle of Acul.—Five hundred prisoners murdered by the French.—Retaliation of the Blacks.—War renewed between Great Britain and France.—A British squadron appears on the coast.—The French in Cape François blockaded by sea and land.—Their extreme distress, capitulation, and final evacuation of the island.

Immediately on the seizure and removal of Toussaint, Le Clerc assumed the title of general-in-chief, in addition to that of captain-general, with which he came from France. On the 22d of June he issued a decree, in which he affected to organize a new system of govern-

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ment for the island. Most of the regulations, however, both municipal and military, were the same as had been established by the negro chief. Martial law was continued with certain modifications. The administration of the districts was committed to the respective military commandants, assisted by councils of notables, or representatives. Each commune was to provide for its own expences, to be fixed by the general-in-chief, and levied on the district by the assembly of notables. These councils were to hold an immediate correspondence with the sub-prefects, and all other assemblies of citizens were prohibited.

The outrage on the person and family of Toussaint opened the eyes of the negroes to the real designs of the French government. They found themselves to be deceived and betrayed. Dessalines, Christophe, and Clerveaux, were justly alarmed with the apprehension of being destined to share the fate of their deluded colleague; and were soon found at the head of considerable bodies of troops, ready to renew the struggle for liberty, and determined to succeed or perish in the attempt.

Before these generals openly declared themselves, and while they were preparing to recommence hostilities against the enemies of their race, other chiefs arose in the interior of

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the island, and began to make excursions from the mountains. Among those from whom the French experienced peculiar annoyance, were, a negro of the Congo tribe, who committed considerable depredations, but could never be discovered: and another, a nephew of Toussaint, of the name of Charles Bellair, who, with his heroic wife, spread slaughter and devastation among their foes; till after a while they were both taken, and died under the most dreadful tortures.

Of the situation of the French during the summer of 1802, some faint ideas may be formed from the account of this period, given in a dispatch of General Boyer, some months after.—"The heat became excessive; it was impossible to make any movement: the lowest mernes presented obstacles to us, proportioned to the inconvenience of the temperature. The brigands" (the hostile negroes) "increased in numbers. Our hospitals were crowded with sick, and disease daily made new ravages. The brigands calculated its progress with a secret joy. In the south, partial insurrections took place. Domage revolted, and burnt several plantations: this *wretch* was arrested, tried, and put to death.—The northern part is a prey to the most dreadful disturbances." The captain-general himself found his health consider-

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ably impaired; the most able officers of his staff had fallen; and their successors, recently arrived, being unacquainted with the country, and unprepared for the warfare to which they were condemned, sunk into despondency, and furnished new victims for the devouring pestilence.

In addition to the havock of disease, the French army was further diminished by defection. This was not confined to the blacks, or to privates and subalterns among the whites. Even General Dugua, the chief of the staff, disgusted with the horrors of the war, and shocked with the barbarous execution of Bellair and his wife, was making arrangements for quitting his post; when he was discovered, and took the dreadful resolution to elude the vengeance intended for him by destroying himself.

In this season of convulsion and terror, the French had recourse to barbarities, worse than had ever before stained the annals of any people pretending to the character of civilization. Knowing the preference of death to slavery to be the general sentiment of the negro population, and having determined on the utmost exertions to leave this beautiful island a desolate wilderness, rather than the happy abode of a nation of free blacks, the French general lost

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no time in endeavoring to exterminate all who resisted, or were suspected of intending to resist, the designs of their oppressors.

From their first landing in the island, the invaders had given no quarter in the field. This was admitted by the consular gazettes; and the inhabitants of Cape François witnessed the daily execution of all the negro soldiers who were brought prisoners into that town. Now, however, not only the prisoners taken in arms, but almost all the male negroes and mulattoes of whom the French could obtain possession were coolly murdered, and often with circumstances of shocking barbarity.

Near Cape François a pit was dug, about thirty feet deep, on the margin of which the victims were made to kneel; and being shot in that position, they fell down to the bottom. If only wounded, they were left to endure the tortures of a lingering death, among the dead and putrefying carcasses of their predecessors. At least five hundred are said to have perished in this way, among whom were Bellair and his wife.

But drowning was deemed a more convenient mode of dispatching the objects of this murderous proscription. Great numbers were hurried on board the various ships in the different harbours. Some were crowded into the

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holds and suffocated, and then thrown into the sea: others were chained, and forced overboard alive. Among the objects of this barbarity were the soldiers of a black regiment stationed in Cape François, who, in defending the place had acted with perfect fidelity to their European masters; but about half the corps stationed at an outpost, receiving information that they were suspected and doomed to destruction the next day, went off to the enemy. As soon as this was known, the division in the town were seized, sent on board frigates, and drowned. This was the fate of thousands. Some of these atrocities were committed so near the land, that multitudes of the corpses were driven in by the tide, and cast upon the shore.

Many parties were surrounded and massacred by hundreds at a time. Such massacres were daily perpetrated, especially in the neighbourhood of Cape François, so that the air became tainted by the putrefaction of the bodies: and the invading troops being driven from the field, and obliged to fortify themselves in the principal towns, confined space and additional numbers increased the contagion, and all the French stations presented scenes of complicated and extreme distress.

The ferocity of the invaders seems to have

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been increasingly sharpened by every successive discomfiture and disappointment. To complete the climax of more than savage cruelty, they resorted to the use of blood-hounds, which they obtained chiefly from the island of Cuba. These dogs were trained with great care, and much perverse ingenuity, to inspire them with an attachment to all persons of white complexion, and with an insatiable thirst for the blood of the blacks; whom they were afterwards employed in hunting down with unrelenting fury, like so many wild beasts of the forest.

On more than one occasion, some of the prisoners, whom their merciless oppressors were pleased to denounce as criminals, were thrown alive to the blood-hounds. Of this unparalleled enormity the authors made no secret, at the scene of its perpetration, giving public notice of the time and place at which the horrid spectacle would be exhibited. The ordinary day for such exhibitions was Sunday. A large ring was lined with the military under arms; the ferocious dogs were in the centre, and the human victims were delivered naked to their rage. The reader's feelings shall not be tortured with a description of what followed, which made the white inhabitants of Cape

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François, who attended as spectators, to repent of their ill-judged curiosity.

Nor were the ravages of these brute auxiliaries limited to the particular missions assigned them by their employers. Being but slenderly fed, in order to sharpen their voracity for the required service, they would frequently break loose and devour infants from the public way. At other times they would hasten to the neighbouring woods, and surprizing a family of harmless cultivators at their homely repast, or during their nightly repose, would involve them all in one common destruction. But even for these horrors, though not specifically designed, the responsibility must be charged on those who trained and employed the animals for so abominable a purpose. The whole conduct of the principal agents of the French government throughout this expedition, betrayed an entire destitution of every principle of justice, and every sentiment of humanity.

But all the efforts of their barbarous policy were insufficient to ensure success, and only served to enflame the ardor of the blacks. By the middle of October the French had lost Fort Dauphin, Port Paix, and several other posts of considerable importance, and the pestilence continued to rage with unremitting fury. To-

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wards the end of that month, the General-in-chief, who had tried every means in his power for the restoration of his impaired health, suddenly became worse, and on the night of the first of November he died. The body was immediately opened for medical examination, then embalmed, and conveyed on board the Swiftsure man-of-war. Madame Le Clerc followed the corpse of her deceased husband, Admiral Latouche, the commander-in-chief of the fleet, undertaking to escort her home, accompanied by the first aid-du-camp of the departed general, whose hat and sabre were placed, with great formality, upon the bier on board, in the presence of all the officers who were able to attend on the occasion.

By the death of Le Clerc, the chief command devolved on General Rochambeau, who was then at Port-au-Prince, but hastened without delay to Cape François. His arrival effected little alteration in the state of affairs. Great expectations, indeed, were entertained, from his knowledge of the island, and his former experience of the character of the blacks; but it is doubtful whether he possessed talents capable of employing this knowledge and experience to advantage; and still more doubtful, whether any talents could have been successful in the situation in which he was placed. The

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French army was daily more and more weakened and dispirited; and that of the blacks was every day gaining fresh strength, and advancing in military ardor, and confidence of ultimate success.

Several actions of little importance were fought between the detachments of the different armies. The most considerable one took place on the plains of St. Nicholas Mole, where the French appear to have maintained their ground better than on most other occasions at this period of the war. The battle continued during the night, when the combatants precipitated each other into the sea. But all the advantages gained by the French, the renewed attacks of their enemies obliged them soon to relinquish. They were rather more successful at Fort Dauphin, which, after it had for some time withstood a powerful attack, both by sea and land, surrendered to General Clauzel.

By the end of the year, not less than forty thousand Frenchmen are believed to have fallen; and, though troops continued to be sent from Havre and Cherbourg, each division was less effective than the preceding; and the reinforcements at length consisted of none but raw conscripts from the countries which had been overrun by the republican armies.

The commencement of the year 1803 was

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not distinguished by any active operations in the field. The French were sitting down within their fortifications, in a state of exhaustion, waiting for the arrival of further reinforcements. The blacks were daily increasing in numbers, and preparing to renew hostilities with augmented vigor; in hope of bringing the contest to a speedy termination. With this view, Dessalines, who had been unanimously appointed their general-in-chief, collected a considerable force upon the plain of the Cape; which induced Rochambeau to withdraw the French troops from every other point, for the defence of the capital.

Thus both armies became prepared for a battle, which both generals endeavored for some time to avoid:—but several skirmishes having taken place in the neighbourhood of Acul, Rochambeau at length resolved to hazard an action. When it was on the point of commencing, a body of troops who were marching to strengthen one of the wings of the French army, were surrounded by the blacks and taken prisoners. Rochambeau began the attack with impetuosity, and the blacks for some time retreated before him; but they afterwards became assailants in their turn, repulsed him with considerable loss, and at night remained masters of the field.

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In the course of the day, the French had taken about five hundred prisoners, and, equally at variance with justice and sound policy, devoted them to that end to which they regretted that the fortune of war did not enable them to devote all their brethren. Without the least consideration of his own men who were prisoners in the negro camp, the French general ordered these unhappy captives to be immediately put to death. Many of the victims of this infamous cruelty, however, were not deprived of life at once; but were left in a state of mutilation too dreadful to describe. The shrieks and groans extorted by their agonies interrupted the stillness of the night; and, being heard at a considerable distance, excited universal horror. Dessalines was immediately informed of this atrocious conduct, and determined on signal retaliation:—he ordered the instant erection of five hundred gibbets, selected all the French officers who had been taken prisoners, and adding privates to make up the number, caused them to be all hung up by break of day in the sight of the French army. The blacks then advanced upon the French with the most vigorous impetuosity and in the finest order, raised their camp, threw their whole line into confusion, and pursued them to the gates of Cape François.

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In the month of April, the last reinforcement arrived from Europe. In May, war was renewed between Great Britain and France; and in July an English squadron appeared on the coast of St. Domingo. By this time the French were entirely confined to the city of Cape François, and a district not exceeding two miles round it. The place was closely blockaded by Dessalines; who, on the arrival of the English, sent off a flag of truce, inviting the commander to act in concert against their common enemies, and soliciting supplies of military stores. The British commander considered himself not authorised to enter into any formal treaty upon this application of the blacks; but hesitated not to maintain a friendly correspondence with them, and, in the event, rendered essential service to their cause by blockading the harbour of Cape François. One of the frigates stationed at the eastern end of that harbour, soon captured a number of vessels that were attempting to convey provisions from the Spanish part of the island. Thus the French were prevented from receiving any reinforcements or supplies by sea. The spirit and courage of the blacks increased with the difficulties which their foes had to encounter; and they were too vigilant to permit the introduction of any succours by land.

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The French general continued to maintain his station with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause; but the miseries sustained by the besieged were such as the annals of war have seldom recorded, and were fast approaching the extremity of human endurance. Rochambeau afterwards described himself and his comrades at this period as "pressed almost to death by absolute famine, and wretchedly appeasing the desperate calls of hunger by feeding on their horses, mules, asses, and even dogs." Dogs were of course the last of those animals which the necessities of starvation would compel them to accept—but this at length was the shocking fact; and it is one of those remarkable events which sometimes almost disclose to mortal view the invisible hand of a righteous providence, that the French were actually obliged, for several weeks, to subsist on those very blood-hounds which they had procured for the purpose of hunting down the negroes.

About the middle of November, the besieging army forced some of the out-works, and were making preparations for taking the city by storm. The inflexibility of the French commander was now constrained to give way. Knowing that the storm, if attempted, would certainly succeed, and dreading the conse-

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quences of falling into the hands of an enraged enemy, whose sword he could not reasonably expect that any who bore arms would in such an event be permitted to escape,—Rochambeau offered articles of capitulation, which Dessalines thought proper to accept. These articles were signed on the 19th of November, and stipulated that the French were to evacuate Cape François and its dependent forts, at the end of ten days, with all the ordnance, ammunition, and stores, in their existing condition; retiring in their own ships, with the honors of war and all their private property; and leaving their sick and wounded in the hospitals, to be taken care of by the blacks till their recovery, and then to be embarked for France in neutral vessels. These were certainly terms which the conduct of the French towards the negroes, through the whole of the invasion, had not been such as to entitle them to expect, and which impartial justice must pronounce to have been far more favorable than they deserved.

On the same day which witnessed this convention with Dessalines, the French general, with a duplicity that would have disgraced the meanest subaltern, sent two officers with proposals to treat for the evacuation of Cape François, with the commander of the British

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squadron. The terms proposed were rejected, and other terms offered; which Rochambeau, in his turn, declared to be inadmissible. He flattered himself, perhaps, with the hope, that the stormy weather which the squadron was then experiencing would afford an opportunity for his escape. But the intelligence of the capitulation, communicated by Dessalines, stimulated the English to increased vigilance, during the few more days which they now had to continue the blockade.

The duplicity and prevarication of the French general nearly proved fatal to himself and the remnant of his force. He appears to have retired at last rather in a way of tardy and reluctant flight, than in the open and honorable fulfilment of the terms of capitulation.

The erection of the standard of the blacks on the walls of Cape François was not to be procrastinated. On the 30th of November, their colours were displayed at the different forts; and the English commodore, seeing no appearance of the departure of the French from the harbour, dispatched one of his captains to inquire respecting the disposal of Rochambeau and his troops. On entering the harbour, this officer met one of the French captains, who entreated him to go on board

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the Surveillante, and enter into some capitulation which would put the French under the protection of the English, and prevent the blacks from sinking them with red-hot shot, as they had threatened, and were preparing to do. What was the immediate or avowed cause of this threat, is not certain:—but the request of the French was liberally complied with by the English; and, a few articles being instantly drawn up and signed, information was immediately transmitted to General Dessalines, that all the ships and vessels in the port had surrendered to the British arms, and he was requested to desist from firing till the wind, which was then blowing directly and strongly into the harbour, should be fair for carrying them out. A promise of the solicited forbearance was with some difficulty obtained. Embracing the first instant of a favorable breeze, the ships, consisting of three frigates and seventeen smaller vessels, sailed out, according to agreement, under French colours, fired their broadsides, and then hauled down their colours and surrendered. The prisoners of war amounted to about eight thousand.

A small French force still retained possession of the Mole, under the command of General Noailles, who was summoned by the British commodore to capitulate; but he

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refused, asserting that he had supplies for five months. In the course of the following night, however, December the second, he evacuated the place, embarking his troops in six vessels. A brig, with the general on board, was the only one that escaped:—the other five vessels were captured by the English; and, with those surrendered by Rochambeau, were conveyed to Jamaica.

Thus ended an expedition, the commencement of which had excited universal interest in France, stimulating the ardor of the army, attracting the cupidity of the merchants, amusing the vanity of the people, and flattering the ambition of the government;—the progress of which had exhibited horrors and atrocities more nefarious and shocking than any which had afflicted France during the worst periods of her revolution;—and the discomfiture and ultimate failure of which, furnishing an awful example of the fatal consequences and condign punishment of perfidy and oppression, must be contemplated with cordial satisfaction by every friend to the liberty and happiness of the human race.

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CHAP. X.

FROM DECEMBER 1803 TO THE SIEGE OF THE CITY OF ST. DOMINGO AT MIDSUMMER 1804.

Preparations for the new order of things on the departure of the French.—Proclamations.—Revival of the name of HAYTI.*—Dessalines appointed governor for life.—Measures to increase the army, and the male population.—Inflammatory Proclamations of Dessalines against the French.—General massacre of them.—Attempt to conquer the Spanish part of the island.*

THE time between the cessation of hostilities and the departure of the French, had been employed by the blacks in preparing for the new order of things which was about to commence. The first act of the general in chief had been to issue a proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of Cape François, " to tranquillize the fears by which they might be alarmed," in expectation of the approaching change. He stated " that the war, which had been waged, had no relation whatever to the inhabitants of the colony, and that he had uniformly held out protection and security to the inhabitants of every complexion." He declared " that on the

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present occasion he would adhere to the same line of conduct;" observing, "that the manner in which the inhabitants of every description, of Jeremie, of Cayes, and of Port au Prince, had been treated, afforded a certain pledge of his good faith and honor." He invited "those who were averse to leave their country, to remain," assuring them "that they should enjoy protection and security under his government;" and concluded with saying, "that all who were disposed to follow the French army were free to do so."

The day before the evacuation took place, another proclamation was published, signed by Dessalines, Christophe, and Clerveaux:

"In the name of the black people and men of colour;—

"THE independence of St. Domingo is proclaimed. Restored to our primitive dignity, we have asserted our rights; we swear never to yield them to any power on earth. The frightful veil of prejudice is torn to pieces: be it so for ever. Woe be to them who would dare to put together its bloody tatters.

"Oh! Landholders of St. Domingo, wandering in foreign countries! by proclaiming our independence, we do not forbid you, indiscriminately, from returning to your property;

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far be from us this unjust idea. We are not ignorant that among you there are some that have renounced their former errors, abjured the injustice of their exorbitant pretensions, and acknowledged the lawfulness of the cause for which we have been spilling our blood these twelve years. Toward those men who do us justice, we will act as brothers: let them rely for ever on our esteem and friendship; let them return among us. The God who protects us, the God of freemen, bids us to stretch out towards them our conquering arms. But as for those, who, intoxicated with foolish pride, interested slaves of a guilty pretension, are blinded so much as to believe themselves the essence of human nature, and assert that they are destined by heaven to be our masters and our tyrants, let them never come near the land of St. Domingo: if they come hither, they will only meet with chains or deportation. Then let them stay where they are: and, tormented by their well-deserved misery, and the frowns of the just men whom they have too long mocked, let them still continue to move, unpitied and unnoticed by all.

"We have sworn not to listen with clemency towards all those who would dare to speak to us of slavery: we shall be inexorable, perhaps even cruel, towards all troops who, themselves

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forgetting the object for which they have not ceased fighting since 1780, should come from Europe to bring among us death and servitude. Nothing is too dear, and all means are lawful, to men from whom it is wished to tear the first of all blessings. Were they to cause rivers and torrents of blood to run; were they, in order to maintain their liberty, to conflagrate seven-eighths of the globe, they are innocent before the tribunal of Providence, that never created men, to see them groaning under so harsh and shameful a servitude.

"If, in the various commotions that have taken place, some inhabitants against whom we had not to complain, have been victims of the cruelty of a few soldiers or cultivators, too much blinded by the remembrance of their past sufferings to be able to distinguish the good and humane land-owners from those that were unfeeling and cruel, we lament, with all feeling souls, so deplorable an end, and declare to the world, whatever may be said to the contrary by wicked people, that the murders were committed contrary to the wishes of our hearts. It was impossible, especially in the crisis in which the colony was, to be able to prevent or stop those horrors. They who are in the least acquainted with history, know that a people, when assailed by civil dissensions, though they may

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be the most polished on earth, give themselves up to every species of excess, and the authority of the chiefs, at that time not firmly supported, in a time of revolution cannot punish all that are guilty, without continually meeting with new difficulties. But now-a-days the Aurora of peace hails us, with the glimpse of a less stormy time; now that the calm of victory has succeeded to the troubles of a dreadful war, every thing in St. Domingo ought to assume a new face, and its government henceforward be that of justice.

"Done at the Head Quarters, Fort Dauphin, November 29, 1803.

(Signed) "DESSALINES.
"CHRISTOPHE.
"CLERVEAUX."

The ability displayed in this and other publications, and the military skill and prowess which had vanquished the veteran legions of France headed by commanders accustomed to victory, furnished many practical and not unseasonable proofs of the despicable futility of those reasonings which would degrade the negro below the level of our species, and make him merely an intermediate link in the chain of being, connecting the human with the brute. The style of the proclamation was evidently

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borrowed from the French revolutionary school; but the degree of moderation exhibited in it, formed a striking contrast to the violent language and sanguinary conduct of the expelled invaders.

The liberated blacks now determined on discarding the appellations which the island had received from Europeans, and reviving the name of HAYTI, by which it was designated by the aboriginal inhabitants when first visited by Columbus.

On the first day of the year 1804, the generals and chiefs of the army, in the name of the people of Hayti, signed a formal declaration of independence, and took a solemn oath to renounce France for ever, pledging themselves to each other, to their posterity, and to the universe, to die rather than submit again to her dominion. At the same time they appointed Jean Jacques Dessalines governor-general for life, with power to enact laws, to make peace and war, and to nominate his successor.

One of the first acts of his government was to encourage the return of negroes and mulattoes from the United States of America. In the early commotions, many wealthy planters had quitted the island and gone to the continent, taking with them a number of their slaves, whom the want of funds to support their former

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establishment had afterwards obliged them to abandon: others had voluntarily emigrated thither at different periods: and many of both classes were now in circumstances of distress, without the means of returning to their country. Dessalines published a proclamation, offering to the captains of American vessels the sum of forty dollars for each individual native black, or man of colour, whom they should convey back to Hayti. The general character of Dessalines will hardly permit this measure to be considered as the result of pure humanity. It seems to have originated in a wish to recruit his army, and to restore his exhausted male population.

The same motive dictated another measure of a very different character. In treating with a British agent from Jamaica, Dessalines, among other commercial advantages, offered to open his ports to the slave ships, and to allow the people of Jamaica the exclusive privilege of selling negroes in Hayti. But this was to be for the importation of men only, and those not for slavery, but for military service. To an American gentleman who had more than one conversation with him on the subject, and expressed his disapprobation of the plan as liable to be construed into an encouragement of the slave trade, Dessalines defended it by observing, that so many men would be brought from

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Africa, whether he adopted the measure or not, and that instead of doing them any harm, his plan would secure them from a dreadful slavery in the English islands, to make them freemen and soldiers. The doctrine of political expediency has seldom, perhaps, been urged with more plausibility, though it certainly fails of a satisfactory vindication of the plan.

Though, on the evacuation of Cape François, the French inhabitants had leave and opportunity to depart with their armed countrymen, the insecurity of any attempt to remove their money and other moveable effects, determined almost all of them to remain behind. Seeing the British squadron cruising off the harbour, and knowing that whatever property they should embark would be captured and condemned as prize, they thought it better to stay, trusting to the faith and mercy of Dessalines, than to depart without the means of subsistence. Former experience of the mildness and humanity of the blacks inspired a hope of forgiveness and good treatment, notwithstanding the remembrance of recent circumstances which might seem to preclude all expectation of mercy from that insulted and injured people.

The astonishing forbearance of Toussaint, and of all who had served under him, encouraged a persuasion that their humanity was not

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to be wearied out by any provocation. All the white inhabitants who had been carried off as hostages by Christophe on his retreat from Cape François, had returned in safety, when the peace was made with Le Clerc: and it was known that, during the whole time of their absence, they had been well treated by Toussaint and his followers; though the French, during that period, were refusing quarter to the negroes in the field, and murdering in cold blood all whom they took prisoners. Though Toussaint was now no more, there is reason to believe that the hopes of the white inhabitants of Cape François, and other places, would, nevertheless, have been realized, if the human feelings of the negroes in general had been seconded by the sentiments of his successor, or if that successor had been any one but Dessalines.

Whatever were the secret intentions of this sanguinary chief, when he was promising protection and security to these unfortunate people, but few weeks elapsed before he evidently meditated their destruction. Just after his appointment to the office of governor for life, he published a most inflammatory proclamation, stating the enormous crimes of the French, and urging his countrymen to vengeance.

"It is not enough," says he, "to have driven

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from our country the barbarians who, for ages, have stained it with blood: it is not enough to have repressed the successive factions which, by turns, sported with a phantom of liberty which France placed before their eyes. It is become necessary to ensure, by a last act of national authority, the permanent empire of liberty in the country which has given us birth. It is necessary to deprive an inhuman government, which has hitherto held our minds in a state of most humiliating torpor, of every hope of enslaving us again.—Those generals, who have conducted your struggles against tyranny, have not yet done. The French name still darkens our plains: every thing reminds us of the cruelties of that barbarous people. Our laws, our customs, our towns, every thing bears the impression of France.—What do I say? There still remain Frenchmen in our island. Victims for fourteen years of our own credulity and forbearance! conquered not by French armies, but by the artful eloquence of the proclamations of their agents! When shall we be tired of breathing the same air with them? What have we in common with that bloody-minded people? Their cruelties compared to our moderation—their colour to ours—the extension of seas which separate us—our avenging climate—all plainly tell us they are not our brethren; that

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they never will become so; and, if they find an asylum among us, they will still be the instigators of troubles and divisions. Citizens, men, women, young and old, cast round your eyes on every part of this island; seek there your wives, your husbands, your brothers, your sisters—what did I say? Seek your children—your children at the breast, what is become of them? Instead of those interesting victims, the affrighted eye sees only their assassins—tigers still covered with their blood, and whose frightful presence upbraids you with your insensibility, and your slowness to avenge them. Why do you delay to appease their manes? Do you hope that your remains can rest in peace by the side of your fathers, unless you shall have made tyranny to disappear? Will you descend into their tombs, without having avenged them? Their bones would repulse yours. And ye, invaluable men, intrepid generals, who, insensible to private sufferings, have given new life to liberty, by lavishing your blood; know, that you have done nothing unless you give to the nations a terrible, though just example, of the vengeance that ought to be exercised by a brave people who have recovered their liberty, and are determined to maintain it. Let us intimidate those who would dare to attempt depriving us of it again: let us

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begin with the French; let them shudder at approaching our shores, if not on account of the cruelties they have committed, at least at the terrible resolution we are about to make—To devote to death whatever native of France dares to soil with his sacrilegious footstep, this land of liberty.

"*Slaves*—leave to the French nation this odious epithet; they have conquered to be no longer free—let us walk in other footsteps; let us imitate other nations, who, carrying their solicitude into futurity, and dreading to leave posterity an example of cowardice, have preferred to be exterminated, rather than to be erased from the list of free nations. Let us, at the same time, take care, lest a spirit of proselytism should destroy the work;—let our neighbours live in peace. Peace with our neighbours, but accursed be the French name—eternal hatred to France: such are our principles.—Swear then to live free and independent, and to prefer death to every thing that would lead to replace you under the yoke; swear to pursue for ever the traitors, and enemies of your independence."

In the month of February, the governor-general issued another proclamation, less intemperate, and which nothing but his breach of the promised amnesty rendered objectionable.

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It enjoined judicial proceedings against the actors and accomplices in the inhuman massacres coolly perpetrated under the government of Le Clerc and Rochambeau; in which he asserted that more than sixty thousand of his brethren had been drowned, suffocated, hanged, shot, and otherwise put to death. "This measure," he says, "is adopted in order to inform the nations of the world, that although we grant an asylum and protection to those who act with candor and friendship toward us, nothing shall ever avert our vengeance from those murderers who have delighted to bathe themselves in the blood of the innocent children of Hayti."

So strongly were the people, and the army in general, disposed to moderation and clemency, that all his instigations, sufficient as they seem, in connection with the remembrance of recent outrages, to have excited a popular massacre in any country upon earth, wholly failed of producing that effect. Having for some time labored in vain to make the people at large the instruments of his sanguinary purpose, he at length determined to accomplish it by a military execution. The various towns where any French inhabitants remained were successively visited by him, and those unhappy people, with certain exceptions, were put to the sword, under his personal orders and inspection, by

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the troops whom he appointed to this horrible service.

The work of blood was perpetrated most systematically, in exact obedience to the cruel mandate of the chief. Precautions were adopted to prevent any other foreigners from being involved in the fate of the French. In Cape François, where the tragedy took place on the night of the 20th of April; lest, from mistake or some other cause, any of the American merchants should be molested, a strong guard was sent in the evening to each of their houses, with orders not to suffer any individual to enter, not even one of the black generals, without the consent of the master; who was apprized of these orders that he might be under no apprehensions for his own safety. These orders were so punctually obeyed, that one of those privileged individuals who had given shelter to some Frenchmen was able to protect them to the last.

The French priests, and surgeons, and others, who during the war had manifested humanity to the negroes, were spared, to the amount of about one tenth part of the whole number. The massacre, in other respects, was indiscriminate. Neither age nor sex was regarded. The personal security enjoyed by the Americans did not prevent them from feeling it a night of

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horrors. At short intervals they heard the pick-axe thundering at the door of some devoted neighbour, and soon forcing it. Piercing shrieks almost immediately ensued, and these were followed by an expressive silence. The next minute the military party were heard proceeding to some other house to renew their work of death.

There was one act in this tragedy, which stamps the conduct of Dessalines with the character of most flagitious perfidy, as well as cruelty. A proclamation was published in the newspaper, stating, that the vengeance due to the crimes of the French had been sufficiently executed, and inviting all who had escaped the massacre to appear on the parade, and receive tickets of protection, after which it was declared, they might depend on perfect security. As the massacre had been expected, many hundreds had contrived to secrete themselves; most of whom now came forth from their hiding places, and appeared on the parade. But instead of receiving the promised tickets of protection, they were instantly led away to the place of execution and shot. The rivulet which runs through the town of Cape François was literally red with their blood.

The vindictive measures of the chief were far from being generally applauded, even by

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his brethren in arms. The disapprobation of Christophe was well known, though a regard to his own safety restrained him from any open opposition. Telemaque and another officer expressed their horror at such scenes; and were punished by being compelled to hang, with their own hands, two Frenchmen then in the fort. The military execution, with all its enormity, must be imputed to Dessalines alone. In the following address "to the inhabitants of Hayti," with the publication of which he concluded the month of April, he ostentatiously claimed the procedure as his own, gloried in his superiority to the vulgar feelings which would have opposed such severity, and evidently labored to reconcile his followers to his sanguinary conduct by insisting upon its justice and necessity; at the same time affecting to contrast his system with that of the mild and humane Toussaint, charging him with a want of firmness at least, if not of faithfulness, and warning his own successors against following the same conciliatory plan.

"Crimes the most atrocious, such as were hitherto unheard of, and would cause nature to shudder, have been perpetrated. The measure of their cruelty overflowed. At length the hour of vengeance has arrived, and the impla-

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cable enemies of the rights of man have suffered the punishment due to their crimes.

" My arm, raised over their heads, has too long delayed to strike. At that signal, which the justice of God has urged, your hands, righteously armed, have brought the axe to bear upon the ancient tree of slavery and prejudice. In vain had time, and more especially the infernal politics of Europeans, surrounded it with triple brass. You have stripped it of its armour; and have placed it upon your heart, that you may become (like your natural enemies,) cruel and merciless. Like a mighty and overflowing torrent, that bears down all opposition, your vengeful fury has swept away every obstacle to its impetuous course. Perish thus! all tyrants over innocence, all oppressors of mankind!

" What then? Bent for many ages under an iron yoke, the sport of the passions or injustice of men, and of the caprices of fortune; mutilated victims of the cupidity of white Frenchmen; after having fattened by our toils, these insatiate blood-suckers, with a patience and resignation unexampled, we should again have seen that sacrilegious horde attempt our destruction, without any distinction of sex or age; and we, whom they call men without energy, of no virtue, of no delicate sensibility, should not we have plunged in their breast

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the dagger of desperation? Where is that Haytian so vile, so unworthy of his regeneration, who thinks he has not fulfilled the decrees of the Eternal, by exterminating these blood-thirsty tygers? If there is one, let him fly; indignant nature discards him from our bosom; let him hide his infamy far hence; the air we breathe is not suited to his gross organs; it is the air of liberty, pure, august, and triumphant.

"Yes, we have rendered to these real cannibals, war for war, crime for crime, outrage for outrage. Yes, I have saved my country; I have avenged America. The avowal I make in the face of earth and heaven, constitutes my pride and my glory. Of what consequence to me is the opinion which contemporary and future generations will pronounce upon my conduct? I have performed my duty; I enjoy my own approbation: for me that is sufficient.

"But what am I saying? The preservation of my unfortunate brethren, and the testimony of my own conscience, are not my only recompence: I have seen two classes of men, born to cherish, assist, and succour one another—mixed in a world, and blended together—crying for vengeance, and disputing the honor of the first blow. Blacks and Yellows, whom the refined duplicity of Europeans long endeavored to divide; you who are now consolidated, and make but

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one family; without doubt it was necessary that your perfect reconciliation should be sealed with the blood of your butchers. Similar calamities have hung over your proscribed heads; a similar ardor to strike your enemies has signalized you: the like fate is reserved for you, and the like interests must therefore render you for ever one, indivisible, and inseparable. Maintain that precious concord, that happy union amongst yourselves; it is the pledge of your happiness, your salvation, and your success; it is the secret of being invincible.

"It is necessary, in order to strengthen these ties, to recal to your remembrance the catalogue of atrocities committed against our species; the intended massacre of the entire population of this island, meditated in the silence and *sang-froid* of the cabinet: The execution of that abominable project to me was unblushingly proposed, when already begun by the French, with the calmness and serenity of a countenance accustomed to similar crimes. Guadaloupe pillaged and destroyed; its ruins still reeking with the blood of the children, women, and old men, put to the sword; Pelage (himself the victim of their craftiness), after having basely betrayed his country and his brethren; the brave and immortal Delgresse, blown into the air with the fort he defended, rather than

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accept their offered chains. Magnanimous warrior! that noble death, far from enfeebling our courage, serves only to rouse within us the determination of avenging or of following thee. Shall I again recal to your memory the plots lately framed at Jeremie? the terrible explosion that was to be the result, notwithstanding the generous pardon granted to these incorrigible beings at the expulsion of the French army? the deplorable fate of our departed brethren in Europe? and (dread harbinger of death) the frightful despotism exercised at Martinique? Unfortunate people of Martinique, could I but fly to your assistance, and break your fetters! Alas! an insurmountable barrier separates us; yet, perhaps a spark from the same fire which enflames us, will alight on your bosoms: perhaps, at the sound of this commotion, suddenly awakened from your lethargy, with arms in your hands, you will reclaim your sacred and indelible rights.

"After the terrible example I have just given, that sooner or later Divine justice will unchain on earth some mighty minds, above the weakness of the vulgar, for the destruction and terror of the wicked; tremble! tyrants, usurpers, scourges of the new world! Our daggers are sharpened, your punishment is ready! Sixty thousand men, equipped, inured

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to war, obedient to my orders, burn to offer a new sacrifice to the manes of their assassinated brethren. Let that nation come, who may be mad or daring enough to attack me. Already, at its approach, the irritated Genius of Hayti, arising from the bosom of the ocean, appears; his menacing aspect throws the waves into commotion, excites tempests, and with his mighty hand disperses fleets, or dashes them in pieces; to his formidable voice the laws of nature pay obedience; disease, plague, famine, conflagration, poison, are his constant attendants. But why calculate on the assistance of the climate and of the elements? Have I forgotten that I command a people of no common cast, brought up in adversity, whose haughty daring frowns at obstacles, and increases by dangers? Let them come, these homicidal cohorts! I wait for them with firmness, and with a steady eye. I abandon to them freely the shore, and the places where cities have existed, but woe to those who may approach too near the mountains! It were better for them to be received by the sea into its profound abyss, than to be devoured by the anger of the children of Hayti.

"'War, even to death, to tyrants!' this is my motto; 'Liberty! Independence!' this is our rallying cry.

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"Generals, officers, soldiers, somewhat unlike him who has preceded me, the Ex-general TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE, I have been faithful to the promise I made to you, when I took up arms against tyranny, and whilst a spark of life remains in me I will keep my oath. 'Never again shall a colonist or European set his foot upon this territory with the title of master or proprietor.' This resolution shall henceforward form the fundamental basis of our constitution.

"Should other chiefs, after me, by pursuing a conduct diametrically opposite to mine, dig their own graves, and those of their own species, you will have to accuse only the law of destiny, which shall have taken me away from the happiness and welfare of my fellow-citizens. May my successors follow the path I shall have traced for them! It is the system best adapted for consolidating their power; it is the highest homage they can render to my memory.

"As it is derogatory to my character, and my dignity, to punish the innocent for the crimes of the guilty, a handful of whites, commendable by the religion they have always professed, and who have besides taken the oath to live with us in the woods, have experienced my clemency. I order that the

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sword respect them, and that they may be unmolested.

"I recommend anew, and order all the generals of departments, &c. to grant succours, encouragement, and protection, to all neutral and friendly nations, who may wish to establish commercial relations in this island."

The most important charge exhibited in this document, against the French inhabitants remaining in the island after the expulsion of the invading army, is the allusion to plots in which, notwithstanding the mercy recently shewn them, they are declared to have been engaged. Of the reality of such plots the proclamation may be deemed very questionable evidence; but that they were at least credibly imputed and generally believed by the people, may be reasonably presumed from this appeal to the knowledge of the public. Nor is there any thing incredible in the fact itself, to those who remember the situation of affairs, and the character of the supposed conspirators. The French frigates and troops which had taken shelter in Cuba, were cutting off supplies from without, and apparently menacing the negroes with a new invasion from a coast within sight of their own. And after their behaviour to the

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generous Toussaint, by whom they had been brought back from exile, protected, and restored to their estates, there is no favorable presumption due to the planters of this island against a charge of perfidy and ingratitude.

All this, however, if strictly true, and that to the most considerable extent, could neither justify nor extenuate an extra-judicial military execution, and especially the slaughter of unoffending children!

To an American with whom Dessalines repeatedly conversed on the subject of the massacre after its perpetration, he chiefly used to urge the necessity of satisfying his troops by the death of those who had murdered their fathers, children, and friends; for that the French in general were chargeable with the guilt of those enormities: that as an encouragement to his troops in the siege of Cape François, he had promised them the plunder of the town, and the destruction of the monsters within it; and that they had become discontented in consequence of his not having sooner fulfilled that engagement. It seems not to have entered into his thoughts that any degree of validity which this defence might otherwise possess, must have been wholly destroyed by his subsequent promises to the inhabitants at the time of the

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capitulation: but there is little room to wonder at a breach of compact in this ferocious and illiterate negro, after the examples given to him by Le Clerc, Rochambeau, and the government of France. He appeared to value himself on retaliating upon the French their own maxims and conduct, in entire contrast to what he deemed a blamable weakness in his predecessor, Toussaint.

A small detachment of French troops still retained possession of the city of St. Domingo: and the Spanish inhabitants of the eastern part of the island, who, on the evacuation of Cape François, had acknowledged the new government, had since, under the influence of their priests, withdrawn their promised obedience, and espoused the cause of the French. The first objects which engaged the attention of Dessalines, after the massacre in the month of April, were the subjugation of the Spaniards, and the expulsion of the French from the last of their strong holds. He determined also on proceeding all round the coast, to examine every station, and enforce, where it should be necessary, all the regulations he had established.

A few days before the commencement of his journey, he issued a proclamation, addressed "to the inhabitants of the Spanish part of the

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island," upbraiding them with their treachery, and calling upon them to return to their violated allegiance; announcing his approach at the head of his victorious legions; inviting their submission by assurances of his protection and favor, and threatening to punish their hostility with the most tremendous vengeance. "A few moments more, and I shall crush the remnant of the French under the weight of my mighty power. Spaniards! you to whom I address myself solely because I wish to save you; you who for having been guilty of evasion shall soon preserve your existence only so far as my clemency may deign to spare you;—it is yet time; abjure an error which may be fatal to you, and break off all connection with my enemy, if you wish that your blood may not be confounded with his. I give you fifteen days, from the date of this notification, to forward your last intentions, and to rally under my banners. You know what I can do, and what I have done: think of your preservation. Receive the sacred promise which I make, to do nothing against your personal safety or interest, if you seize upon this occasion to shew yourselves worthy of being admitted among the children of Hayti."

On the 14th of May, Dessalines set out from Cape François, by the way of the Mole, Port

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Paix, and Gonaives, employing himself at the different places in repairing the injuries of war, and settling every thing that required his interference and authority. After going through the western and southern provinces, he proceeded on his march to the Spanish part of the island, with a confidence of success which no circumstances warranted his entertaining. His recent cruelty, notwithstanding the attempt in his proclamation to prevent its being turned to his prejudice with these Spaniards, could not but have inspired them with horror; and they were not, like Europeans, inferior from the influence of the climate. They were chiefly descendants of negroes, or a mixture of the African race, and their numbers, according to the best accounts, at the time of Toussaint's conquest of their country, were above a hundred thousand free persons, and about fifteen thousand slaves. The species of slavery there was so mild that the subjects of it were generally and strongly attached to their masters; and both masters and slaves inherited a national prejudice against all the inhabitants of the other part of the island.

Dessalines laid siege to the city of St. Domingo, which appears to have made a more vigorous resistance than he anticipated. He would probably have persevered in the attempt,

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but the arrival of a French squadron with a reinforcement of troops, leaving him little hope of a speedy conquest, he raised the siege, and marched back again without having accomplished either of the objects of his expedition.

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CHAP. XI.

FROM MIDSUMMER 1804, TO THE DEATH OF DESSALINES IN OCTOBER 1805.

Dessalines takes the title of emperor.—His coronation.—New constitution framed.—Outline of it.—Remarks.—State of the cultivators.—Productions.—Population and military force.—Plan of defence.—Religion.—Education.—Character and anecdotes of Dessalines.—His tyranny and death.

THE return of Dessalines, from his expedition to the Spanish part of the island, was soon followed by his exchange of the title of governor for that of emperor; and on the 8th of October he was crowned with great pomp, according to a schedule of ceremonies previously fixed by those who were denominated the constituted authorities of the country.* The imperial dignity, and its investment in the person of Dessalines, were further recognized and confirmed by a new constitution

* For the particulars of this Ceremonial, see Appendix III.

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for the island, which was promulgated on the 8th of May in the following year.

This constitution purported to have been framed by twenty-three men, whose names were prefixed, and who professed to have been legally appointed the representatives of the people. "In the presence of the Supreme Being, before whom all mankind are equal, and who has distributed so many species of creatures on the surface of the earth, for the purpose of manifesting his glory and his power by the diversity of his work; and in the presence of all nations by whom they had been so unjustly and so long considered as outcast children; they declared the constitution to be the free expression of their hearts, and the general will of their constituents.

The preliminary declaration decreed the erection of the empire of Hayti into a free, sovereign, and independent state; the abolition of slavery for ever; the equality of ranks; the equal operation of the laws; the inviolability of property; the loss of citizenship by emigration, and the suspension of it by bankruptcy; the exclusion of all white men, of whatever nation, from acquiring property of any kind, excepting only such whites as had been naturalized, and their children, together with the *Germans* and *Polanders*, who had been natu-

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ralized; and the adoption of the generic name of BLACKS for all the subjects of Hayti, of whatever colour. It was further declared, that no one was worthy of being a Haytian, who was not a good father, a good son, a good husband, and especially a good soldier; parents were not allowed to disinherit their children; and every citizen was required to profess some mechanic art.

The empire of Hayti, one and indivisible, was divided into six military divisions, with a general over each, who was to be independent of the others, and to correspond directly with the head of the government. The government was vested in a first magistrate, to be called Emperor and Commander-in-chief of the Army: and JEAN JACQUES DESSALINES, "the avenger and deliverer of his fellow-citizens," was appointed to this office. "The title of Majesty" was conferred upon him, as well as upon his august spouse, the Empress." Their persons were declared inviolable, and the crown elective; but the emperor was empowered to nominate his successor, for whom a suitable provision was to be made. An annual income was to be assigned to the empress for life; and "to the children acknowledged by his majesty:" and his sons were to pass successively from rank to rank in the army. Any emperor at-

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taching to himself any privileged body, under the name of guards of honour, or any other name, was to be deemed, *ipso facto*, at war with the community, and to be removed from the throne, which was to be filled by one chosen by the counsellors of state from among themselves. The emperor was to make, seal, and promulgate the laws; to appoint and remove, at his pleasure, all public functionaries; to direct the receipt and expenditure of the state, together with the coinage; to make peace or war; to form treaties; to distribute, at pleasure, the armed force; and to have the sole power of absolving criminals, or commuting their punishment.

The generals of division and brigade were to compose the council of state. There was to be a minister of finance, having charge of the interior department; a minister of war, having the marine department; and a secretary of state.

All persons might decide their differences amicably, by arbitration. Each commune was to have a justice of peace, with a jurisdiction extending to suits of not more than one hundred dollars, and with a right of appeal to a district tribunal. Military crimes were subjected to special councils.

No predominant religion was admitted.

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Freedom of worship was tolerated. The state was not to provide for the maintenance of any religious institution.

State crimes were to be judged by a council appointed by the emperor. All houses of citizens were declared inviolable. All property belonging to any white Frenchman, was claimed as the property of the state. Marriage was declared to be an act purely civil, and divorce was allowed in certain cases.

This constitution was placed under the safeguard of magistrates, fathers and mothers, citizens and soldiers; and recommended to their descendants, "and to the friends of liberty, to philanthropists of all countries, as a signal pledge of the goodness of God, who in the course of his immortal decrees, had given them an opportunity of breaking their fetters, and of constituting themselves a people free, civilized, and independent." It was accepted by the emperor, and ordered to be immediately put in force.

Whatever wisdom or folly may be thought to characterize this constitution, it certainly was no contemptible effort of legislation for the persons by whom it was framed, and was not ill adapted to the exigencies of the people for whom it was designed. If the moral and amiable qualities of the sovereign had been

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equal to his military talent and courage, the administration of this constitution would probably have been attended with much individual happiness and national prosperity. Nor can it be denied that a considerable degree of general happiness was actually enjoyed.

The condition and treatment of the cultivators were the same as under the system of Toussaint. They worked for wages, which were fixed at one-fourth of the produce. Provisions of all kinds were abundant. There were no whips, not even for punishment. Idleness was treated as a crime, but was only punished by confinement. They worked in general very regularly and contentedly, about two-thirds as much as in the days of slavery. It was expected that they should work on the estates to which they had been formerly attached; but if they had any plausible reason for changing, the commissary, or commanding officer of the district, gave them leave. Most of the estates were in the hands of the government, as confiscated, but were let at an annual rent. The rent was generally fixed according to the number of cultivators, without respect to the quantity of land. Mulattoes and mustees, who could trace any relationship, though illegitimate, to the old white proprietors, were admitted as heirs to their estates. The mustees, or children

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of whites and mulattoes, were very numerous.

The sugar plantations having been mostly destroyed, and the necessary works and buildings for its manufacture not having been rebuilt, very little sugar was made. The chief produce was coffee: the crop of 1805 exceeded thirty millions of pounds, which would load about fifty ordinary ships. There was also in the island a considerable quantity of mahogany and other valuable timber.

In a census, taken in 1805, of the inhabitants of the part of the island under the government of Dessalines, the returns were about 380,000; to which, perhaps, not less than 20,000 should be added for those who, from dispersion or other causes, were not included in the returns: so that the whole population at that time might be considered at about 400,000: of these the adult males constituted too small a proportion. The slaughter had fallen chiefly upon them. The majority of cultivators were women. Marriage, solemnized according to the rites of the Roman church, was almost universal, and its duties were in general well observed. The emperor, however, was licentious.

The regular army consisted of 15,000 men, of whom 1500 were cavalry. They were well disciplined and armed, but badly clothed. The

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uniform was blue, turned up with red. In addition to this force, almost all the adult males fit for service were trained as a militia; there being, for that purpose, four regular times of exercise in a year, during which they were embodied for several days.

Since the expulsion of the French, Dessalines had been very anxious to prevent any diminution of their numbers by further emigration. The severest penalties were denounced against those who should take any citizen of Hayti from the island; and he acquiesced in the conduct of the British cruizers, which would not suffer vessels belonging to the island to go beyond certain limits from the shore, because he found it greatly conducive to what he deemed a most important object.

The negroes were not without apprehensions that the French would seize the first interval of peace with Britain, or other favorable opportunity, to make another effort for their subjugation. The plan for defending their liberty and lives in the event of another invasion had been deliberately settled by Dessalines and the other chiefs, and the requisite preparations were made for carrying it into execution.

On the first appearance of an invading force, the towns, which were all on the coast, were to

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be destroyed, and the negro army to retreat to forts built in very strong positions in the interior of the country. The positions they had chosen were well selected, and strongly fortified. The artillery of the Cape, which consisted chiefly of brass cannon, and was in great abundance, had been removed to these hill forts, where great magazines of ammunition were also collected. The sides of the hills, and ravines connecting them, were all cleared, and planted with bananas, plantains, yams, and other native provisions, which flourished so much, and were so quickly re-produced, that they calculated on the garrisons being subsisted without foraging beyond the reach of their guns. Many of the hills were of a conical form, with an agreeable ascent, on the summit of which the forts were constructed, so as to sweep the sides to the utmost range of cannon shot, and, as they believed, to make it impossible for an enemy to cut off their communication with these native magazines. These positions were also well supplied with water, the want of which had obliged Dessalines, in Toussaint's war, to abandon the strong position of Crete-à-Pierrott.

There was a sufficient number of priests, not only from the French clergy who remained and were spared in the massacre, but from a considerable supply of Spanish ecclesiastics

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who had been brought, or induced to migrate, from the other division of the island, to render the celebration of public worship very general. On all public days, as well as Sundays, prayers or mass, began and ended the solemnities of the day. Whether from policy, or from any better motive, Dessalines protected the clergy, and paid a decorous attention to the exterior forms of the church. All children were brought to the font; and such religion as popery amounts to, was an object of public and general interest.

Considerable attention was paid to the subject of education. Schools were established in almost every district. Seeing the ascendency of those who had been educated, the negroes were exceedingly anxious for the instruction of their children; and the young Haytians were very generally taught to read and write.

Dessalines, at the time of the insurrection in 1791, was slave to a negro, whose name was Dessalines, and Jean Jacques took that surname from him. This man was living in Cape François, to witness his former slave become his sovereign. He was a shingler, or what in this country would be called a tiler; and the future emperor had worked with him at that trade. He used to say, that the emperor had always been "a stubborn dog, but a good workman." Dessalines retained a great affec-

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tion for his master, and appointed him to the office of his chief butler. When asked whether he could find no more honorable station for him? he answered, none that the old man would have liked half so well. He was highly gratified with the appointment, and made amends for the abstemiousness of the emperor; who, though he kept a good cellar, drank nothing but water.

Dessalines could not read, but had learned to sign his name. He employed a reader, and used to sit in a most attentive attitude to hear the papers that were read to him. Among those, some of Mr. Wilberforce's speeches on the slave trade, were translated and printed by his order in the Gazette of Cape François.

This sovereign of Hayti was short in stature, but strongly made; of great activity, and undaunted courage. His military talents were thought superior to those of Toussaint; but in general capacity he was very inferior to that ill-fated chief, and could not be considered as rising above mediocrity. He commanded great respect, but it was chiefly by the terror he inspired. Yet sometimes he was open and affable, and could even be generous. He was distinguished by some strange caprices, evidently the effect of personal vanity. He was fond of embroidery and other ornaments, and dressed

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often with much magnificence, at least according to his own taste: yet sometimes he would exhibit himself publicly in the meanest clothes he could find. But what was still more singular and ridiculous, he had a great ambition to be an accomplished dancer; and actually carried about with him a dancing master in his suite, to give him lessons at leisure hours. Nor was it possible to pay him a more acceptable compliment, than to tell him that he danced well, though, different from the negroes in general, he was very awkward at that exercise.

He had daughters by a former wife, but no son. His present wife had been the favorite mistress of a rich planter, at whose expense she had been well educated. She was one of the most handsome and accomplished negresses in the West Indies; her disposition was highly amiable, and she used her utmost endeavors to soften the natural ferocity of her husband, though, unhappily, with little success.

His cruelties were not confined to the whites. Suspicions and jealousies constituted a sufficient inducement to him to deprive of life many of his own subjects and officers, without even the formality of a trial: and every attempt thus to terminate danger and suspicion, tending, in the natural order of things, only to increase them, his conduct was at length distinguished

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by all the caprices and atrocities of tyranny. These crimes inevitably suggested projects for their counteraction. He was conspired against by his army, and arrested most unexpectedly at the head quarters, on the 17th of October, 1806, when, in struggling to escape, he received a blow which terminated his tyranny and his life.

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CHAP. XII.

FROM OCTOBER, 1806, TO THE ACT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE ESTABLISHING ROYALTY, AND CONFERRING ON CHRISTOPHE THE TITLE OF KING, IN 1811.

Christophe assumes the government at Cape François.—Character and anecdotes of him.—Proclamation on his accession.—Petion assumes the government at Port au Prince.—Some account of him.—Fierce contest between these two rivals.—Battle.—Petion defeated.—Christophe besieges Port au Prince, but soon retires.—Calls a council at Cape François.—New constitution formed.—Outline of it.—The title of president given to Christophe.—His proclamation on the publication of the new constitution.—He frustrates a conspiracy for the disturbance of Jamaica.—Sanguinary war between Christophe and Petion.—The surrender of the Mole of St. Nicholas to Christophe, followed by a cessation of hostilities.—Friendly communications between the Spanish part of the island and the part under the government of Christophe.—The French expelled from the city of St. Domingo.—The title of king given to Christophe by an act of the Council of State.

THE removal of Dessalines gave general satisfaction to the people; who had become

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completely weary of his tyranny: and it was indeed a very auspicious event for the liberties and happiness of the negro state. Christophe, whose name has been mentioned in several preceding chapters of this history, and who, since the expulsion of the French, had been second in command, immediately assumed the supreme power.

Henry Christophe is said to have been born in the island of Grenada, and to have been a slave in St. Domingo at the revolution in 1791. He had been an early friend and faithful adherent of Toussaint, to whom he displayed considerable similarity of character. He was known to be a man of great bravery and military skill, and his disposition was generally considered as very humane and benevolent; though many have since represented it as severe and sanguinary. He had the character of being a good husband and a good father, and observant of the duties of morality and the offices of religion. He was eminent for hospitality, kept good wine, and partook of it freely, though not to excess. As commander in chief at Cape François he often gave public dinners, and his entertainments were handsome, not to say magnificent. Officers of the British navy, as well as foreign merchants, were frequently among his guests. He had a propriety and

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even dignity of manner seldom attained by an uneducated man. He evinced considerable strength of natural talent; used to speak in the assembly of the island in a very able and forcible manner; and understood the English language enough to converse in it with ease.

Christophe had once an opportunity of shewing his good sense and moderation of temper, at the expense of the captain of a British man of war. This officer had the command of a ship on the Jamaica station, and was frequently on shore at Cape François, where his countrymen had always been treated with the greatest respect. He went one night to the theatre, which continued open till the time of the massacre; and took with him a large party of marines. When the seamen, at a late hour, were returning to their boats, the black sentinel on the wharf stopped one of them who carried a large bag or sack; it being contrary to the regulations that any goods should be conveyed from the shore at night. The boatmen would not give way to the sentinel, who gave the alarm; and the news of the dispute being carried to the theatre, the captain marched his marines to the wharf, and, instead of paying respect to the laws, was very outrageous with the black soldiery. Christophe, being then sent for, hastened to the place to prevent mis-

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chief. On his arrival, he gently and respectfully expostulated with the captain, on the impropriety of breaking through the necessary regulations of the harbour. "You, and your officers, and people," said he, "may go on board at any hour you please, though even this is contrary to rule; but the sentinel did right, and must be supported, in preventing the embarkation of any goods at this hour." In return, the captain loaded the black chief with abusive epithets, and used other language of the most offensive kind. A word or a sign from Christophe would have been certain destruction to the whole party; but he preserved the most perfect self-command, and reproved the vulgar insolence of the captain with a dignified moderation; saying, "You are a disgrace to the English navy; but I shall not judge of your countrymen in general from you. I consider, and shall treat you, as a boy. Go off in safety; but learn to behave yourself better in time to come." This captain refrained from landing any more, and his brother officers, in general, kept aloof from the island. But their successors, of the next squadron which arrived on that station, were on very good terms with the Haytians, often entered the harbour of Cape François, and were hospitably and handsomely entertained by Christophe and the other black chiefs.

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The regulations adopted by Christophe on his accession to the sovereignty, displayed great good sense, and a mind much enlightened on subjects of general policy. Discarding the pompous title of emperor, he contented himself with the modest designation of *Chief of the Government of Hayti;* and immediately made various beneficial arrangements on the subject of foreign commerce, as well as with respect to the internal affairs of the island. The following passages of a proclamation, addressed by him to neutral nations, and dated October the 24th, 1806, exhibited a pleasing and correct account of the flourishing state of cultivation, and pointed out the line of conduct which he proposed to pursue.

"Our whole attention is now turned to the cultivation of valuable produce. Our industry has procured us a most abundant recompence for our exertions. The riches of our soil offer a pleasing prospect to your speculations. Our warehouses, filled with all the productions of the Antilles, only wait the arrival of your fleets, to make an exchange of the manufactures which we need, for those which you require. If a system unfavourable to the progress of commerce has hitherto interposed to prevent its success among us, that disastrous influence will shortly cease. So far is our government, in its

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present state, from opposing the freedom of commerce in our ports, that it offers facilities to you, which cannot be granted by any other government. It is of no consequence under what colours you may appear: the protection of your property, the security of your persons, and a rigid maintenance of the laws in every thing that relates to you, are guaranteed to you on the faith of government. Duties, arranged in proportion to the difficulties that you may experience in gaining our ports, and equitably collected; great dispatch in expediting your vessels; with men of integrity in the direction of the public offices: such are the changes on which you may have a perfect reliance. The government has already directed the suppression of exclusive consignments; of the tax on the price of articles; of the privileges granted for the sale of coffee, as well as the objection to take cargoes of sugar, &c. Every one will be at liberty to sell and to buy on the conditions that he shall judge most for his advantage. Those regulations, produced by ignorance, will no longer offer impediments to your speculation: your confidence will no longer be forced in favour of individuals, who were equally strangers to you and the welfare of their country.*

* Dessalines had appointed Patent Commissioners, who alone had the right of selling the cargoes that were imported.

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Your friends, your own particular factors, shall have the possession of your property; and the government engages to grant them all the protection which they can desire. The sanguinary horrors which have too notoriously marked the commencement of a cruel reign, will no more renew the sad spectacle of scenes that are past. Come with perfect confidence to traffic in our ports: come and change the fruits of your industry for our riches; and be persuaded, that you will never have cause to repent of a reliance on us.

"At the same time, while the government is exerting all its efforts to procure you the advantages of a brilliant commerce, it requires of your agents the same loyalty and good faith which it will exercise towards you. It also expresses its hope that the base conduct of the privateers of Louisiana will not be imitated; and that it will have no cause to regret that its too great confidence has been abused.

"The ports are—The Cape, Fort Dauphin, Port Paix, Gonaives, St. Marc, Port au Prince, Aux Cayes, Jeremie, and Jacmel; where you may send your cargoes with the certainty of an advantageous return.

"The well known exactness with which the government of Hayti fulfils its engagements, is a solemn pledge for the execution of the treaties

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it may enter into with you. Notwithstanding the misfortunes which preceded our independence, and the disastrous wars which it necessarily produced, the means of government have never failed of keeping pace with its wants. Such is the extent of our resources, that even the vices of the preceding administration did not prevent the liquidation of all its contracts. Judge then, what will now be our prospect as well as yours, when a wise economy shall take the place of prodigality, and an equitable collection of the revenues will determine the rights of government as well as those of individuals."

The tranquillity of the country was soon disturbed by the appearance of another candidate for sovereign power, in the person of Petion. Petion was a mulatto general, who, on the decease of Clerveaux, had succeeded to the rank of third in command; and, at the death of Dessalines was commander-in-chief at Port au Prince, in the immediate vicinity of which that event took place. He was educated at the military academy of Paris, and known to be a man of letters, of mild disposition and engaging manners. He was the principal engineer among the blacks, and was thought very expert in most branches of the military art.

Each chief, in support of his claim, had recourse to arms; various encounters took place;

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and the struggle between them soon became very fierce. On the first of January, 1807, a battle was fought between the two armies; when Petion was defeated, and obliged to save himself by flight, and Christophe pursued him to the gates of Port au Prince. In hope of completing the triumph over his rival, Christophe laid seige to that city; but the necessity of his presence in order to the establishment of his authority in other parts, generally favorable to him, but not without partial disaffection to his cause; together with an apprehension that the conquest of the city, if practicable, would require a long time and great sacrifices; induced him to raise the siege, and retire towards Cape François.

He found no difficulty in establishing his sway over the northern districts of the island; the success of his first campaign placed his power on too firm a foundation to be shaken by any subsequent attempts of his rival in the south. In his several addresses to the army and people, he manifested a spirit, which, though modestly flushed with victory, was chastened by the warmest principles of rectitude and philanthropy; by a desire to heal the wounds of his distracted country, and to promote its agriculture, its commerce, its wealth, and its happiness.

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A council was speedily convened at Cape François, composed of the generals and principal citizens; who formed a new constitution for the future government, which was published on the 17th of February, 1807. This constitution declared, that every person residing on the territory of Hayti was free, in the fullest sense; and that slavery was for ever abolished in Hayti. The government was vested in a chief magistrate, who was to take the title and quality of president and generalissimo of the forces both by sea and land. This office was for life; but the president had a right to choose his successor, from among his generals only. The usual powers were conferred on the chief magistrate in respect to foreign treaties, as well as peace and war. The council of state consisted of nine members, of whom two-thirds were to be generals. This council, was a deliberative body. The government, therefore, approached nearly to an oligarchy, having however the strongest features of a monarchical preponderance, though without the name of royalty; the appointment of the members of the council being confided to the president. Wise rules and arrangements were made for a speedy administration of justice; and, notwithstanding regular judges were appointed, it was optional to every citizen to refer his cause to arbitration;

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a species of appeal which certainly leaves every case open to the decision of human wisdom and equity, unfettered by the shackles of sweeping regulations. The Roman catholic religion was declared to be that of the state; but the exercise of every other was to be tolerated. Schools were to be established in each district, and every Haytian, from sixteen years of age to fifty, was liable to military service. It was carefully announced as a fundamental part of the act of state, that the government would give no disturbance to the colonies of other nations; and that the Haytians would make no conquests out of their own island.*

On the day on which this constitution was published, Christophe issued the following proclamation :—

"Henry Christophe, President and Generalissimo of the Military and Naval Forces of the State of Hayti, to the army and people.

"The light has broken in upon us, and a beneficent constitution has put an end to the plots and machinations, of which you were on the point of becoming victims. A wise code, adapted to our manners, our climate, and our customs, has sprung, as it may be said, out of chaos, and fixed once more the destinies of Hayti.

* See Appendix IV.

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"Long had I in vain sought to present you with this precious gift: in vain did I assemble the districts, and urge them to send deputies to Port au Prince, to give you a constitution. My anxiety, instead of being followed with the desired success, only operated as an additional incitement to the factious, to pervert the public opinion, and to establish a constitution favorable to their interests, and those of their adherents, but as hostile to the liberty of the people, as it was to the principles of sound reason.

"Fellow-citizens, you have all been witnesses to the purity of my views, and the sincerity of my intentions. You know how this sincerity has been abused by the miscreants who fomented revolt, and kindled civil war. Their efforts never intimidated me for a single moment, or diverted me from my design of serving my country. By night or by day I have never ceased to occupy myself in providing for the public safety. What have I not done to effect it? What have I not suffered in counteracting the secret wiles and plots of the factious?

"I have always been in the midst of you; and you can say whether my conduct has ever been influenced, or my honor tarnished, by ambition. Invested with the supreme power, this day, by the wish of my fellow-citizens and my companions in arms, I have yielded to their

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desires: and I have consented to bear this weighty but honorable burden, because it was their wish that it should be trusted to my hands, and because I am willing again to serve my country. Happy shall I be, if my efforts are crowned with success, and if they tend to the happiness of my fellow-citizens!

"But, to attain this, my efforts alone will not be sufficient.

"The laws and constitution which have just been presented to you must be observed. It provides for the religious preservation of your rights: it secures to every citizen his personal liberty, his right of property, and that of his family.

"The fatal consequences of the wars in which we have been engaged, and still more the immoral example held out to us by the French, had almost destroyed every principle of religion. The moral system was publicly laughed at; and a corrupted youth abandoned itself, without remorse, to all the licentiousness of its age: public education was degraded, and confined to mercenary instructors.

"It was necessary to restore to religion its dignity,—to cause it to be respected and cherished. It was necessary to revive morality, to give it due distinction; to inculcate into the minds of youth its sacred principles, and those

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of honor also; in short, to convince the people, that without religion and morality human society could not exist.

"Your interests will be secured to you by proper tribunals: the judgments pronounced by their ministers will be dictated by equity and justice. It remains for the people of Hayti to make themselves distinguished by their probity and good faith. Essentially a trading country, as well from its situation as from the nature of the commodities it produces, it is necessary that it should attract the merchants of every country on the globe, both by its equity and its produce.

"Trade being the source of all our wealth, it is important that the foreign merchants who frequent our ports, should be equally protected with our fellow-citizens; and that they should receive all the hospitality due to this useful class of society.

"To feed this trade, to give it a new spring, —agriculture must be prosecuted with perseverance and vigour. Placed under the finest climate of the world, favored by nature with her most precious gifts, even to profusion, the husbandman has not at Hayti to contend with the rigours of a frozen clime, or to fortify himself against the inclemencies of the seasons. A little labour is sufficient to enrich him, and to

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place him on a level with the manufacturers of other countries. Exert yourselves, then, industrious cultivators, to fill your warehouses with the produce of our fertile soil. Display to the eyes of the merchants of Europe all that can tempt their desires, and you will soon see your trade flourish much above your most sanguine expectations.

" After having re-established religion, defeated immorality, restored manners, and encouraged agriculture and trade, we shall have still great labours to encounter. We must not neglect the use of arms. The enemy watches our movements, and observes our proceedings. We have as yet no guarantee of the affections of our friends. We must bind the latter to us by treaties; we must be ready to meet the former in the field. Abandoned to ourselves, our resources are in ourselves. They are in you, soldiers, who are ready generously to spill your blood, sooner than yield to a haughty enemy your liberty, which is the reward of your courage! They are in you, inhabitants and industrious cultivators, from whom the state derives its wealth! It is your union, your submission to the laws, which are to be the cement and bond of our independence.

" The line of politics which foreign powers will pursue with respect to us, is not yet mani-

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fested. Whatever it may be, let us place ourselves in such a situation, that, without holding out any defiance to them, we may, at the same time, have nothing to dread from those who may entertain hostile intentions.

" Let those who wish a political connection with us, or who would enjoy the advantage of our commerce, find an equitable reciprocity. To the rest let us only offer death and battle.

" At the same time that we are occupied with these thoughts, let us never forget that the safety of a free people is best maintained by arms. Its cultivation employs a part of our fellow-citizens: let us remember that we are all soldiers, and that they have been warlike nations alone who have been able to preserve their liberty. Let us call to mind that a handful of Greeks, devoted to their country, confounded the rage of a million of barbarians, who endeavoured to wrest from them their liberty. Let us swear to imitate their example: let us swear to observe our sacred constitution, to cause it to be observed, and to perish sooner than allow it to be violated in the smallest degree."

Christophe had already had an opportunity of evincing his regard for good faith and moderation, and proving the sincerity of his avowed

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determination to refrain from all interference with the colonies of other nations. Some restless spirits in the southern part of St. Domingo had opened a clandestine correspondence with various disaffected persons in Jamaica, with a view to disturb the tranquillity of that island. This intrigue was detected by the sagacity and vigilance of Christophe, who immediately arrested the parties concerned in the conspiracy. The British ministry were so well pleased with this demonstration of integrity, that they issued an order of council, in February, 1807; permitting English merchantmen bound for Buenos Ayres and La Plata, to dispose of their cargoes at any port in St. Domingo, which was not subject to France or Spain, to ship the produce of the country, and either to return with their investments to any part of the united kingdom, or to place them on board the vessels of neutrals, for the purpose of selling them in the foreign settlements of hostile powers: and the owners of the cargoes were suffered to bring the proceeds of them in the neutral ships to any harbour in Great Britain or Ireland. This act of the British government shewed the sense they entertained of Christophe's honorable conduct, and at the same time most materially assisted the commercial views of the Haytians, while it revived in no small degree the depressed

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enterprize of British merchants, and thus proved highly beneficial to all parties.

The struggle for sovereignty still continued, and a sanguinary war was carried on between the rival chiefs for several years. Many battles were fought; in some of which the standard of Christophe was victorious, and in others that of Petion. Much territory and many towns were successively occupied and evacuated, taken and retaken, by the hostile armies. The towns of St. Marc, Arcahaye, Gonaives, and Port Paix, were scenes of fierce and obstinate conflicts. But the chief seat of contest was the Mole of St. Nicholas; where numerous exploits of personal bravery were achieved on both sides. At length this place, which was occupied by a part of Petion's army, was formally invested by Christophe in person, and after twenty days of regular siege, in which two of their commanders lost their lives, the garrison surrendered at discretion, and were united to the army of the conqueror. After this event, which took place in October, 1810, the principal part of the besieging army were allowed to go to their homes, and their chief himself returned to Cape François.

Christophe had taken advantage of the state of anarchy which prevailed in Spain, to endeavour to effect a good understanding with the Spanish inhabitants of Hayti; who manifested

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a corresponding disposition, and amicable and commercial relations were accordingly established between them. Christophe furnished some supplies of arms and military stores, to assist in their operations against the French who still held two posts in that part of the island. In November, 1809, the town and port of Samana, and a number of vessels in the harbour, were taken by a small British squadron; the French troops were made prisoners, the vessels were seized as prizes, and the place was delivered up to the Spaniards. In July, 1810, a British force, under the command of General Carmichael, went from Jamaica to co-operate in the reduction of the city of St. Domingo, the last post which the French retained in the island. At first, the governor Barquier expressed his determination not to surrender: but when General Carmichael had made judicious and decisive preparations to carry the place by assault, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garrison were allowed to march out with military honors, the officers were sent to France on their parole, and the private soldiers became prisoners of war. Thus the Spaniards regained possession of their capital after it had been in the hands of the French about eight years.

In the spring of the year 1811, Christophe exchanged the title of president for that of king.

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This alteration was made under the authority of the council of state, assembled at Cape François, "for the purpose of revising the constitution of February, 1807, and deliberating upon the alterations which it required." They professed to have considered it, at the period of its formation, as very imperfect, though adapted to the existing exigencies; and declared the fit time to be now come for retouching and perfecting their work, amending their code of laws, and fixing permanently the only mode of government adapted to their country.

They declared their own opinion, and the opinion of the people at large, to be, that it was necessary to establish an hereditary monarchy; the government of one individual being the least subject to troubles and reverses, and uniting in the highest degree the power of maintaining their laws, protecting their rights, and defending their liberty at home, and of making them respected abroad:—that the title of governor general conferred upon Toussaint, was not suitable to the dignity of the supreme magistrate of a country; that the title of emperor given to Dessalines was inappropriate, except to one who possessed authority over various states and territories; that the title of president hardly conveyed the idea of supreme power; and that no title was so proper as that of king. They further declared the

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establishment of royalty in the person and family of the chief who had governed them for several years, with so much credit to himself and advantage to the people, to be an act of necessary duty and national gratitude.

With the establishment of a throne they decreed the foundation of a rank of hereditary nobility; into which were to be admitted all such distinguished persons as had rendered important services to their country, either in the magistracy or the army, or in the departments of literature or science.

On this basis the council of state framed a constitutional act,* establishing the regal dignity in the person and family of Christophe, appointing the various officers of state, and making such other additions to the constitution of 1807, as the alteration in the form of government was thought to require. This act was soon after publicly promulgated, and appears to have been received by the people at large with general satisfaction.

* See Appendix V.

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CHAP. XIII.

FROM MARCH 1811, TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1817.

Christophe and Petion suspend hostilities, and apply themselves to the improvement of their people.—Coronation of Christophe.—Regular organization of his dominions, and those of Petion.—The French, on the accession of Louis the Eighteenth, entertain thoughts of attempting to recover the island.—Absurdity of their expectations.—Sentiments and feelings of the Haytians on hearing of the peace in Europe—and afterwards on being informed of the designs of France against their independence.—Manifesto of Christophe.—Commissioners from France to gain information concerning Hayti, and to sound the dispositions of the chiefs.—Correspondence with Christophe.—Resolutions of the Council.—Negociations with Petion.—Answer of the public authorities.—President's proclamation.—French preparations for an expedition—frustrated by the return of Bonaparte.—Overtures from Bonaparte—and from the cabinet of Louis after his restoration—all rejected with disdain.—Patriotic labors both of Christophe and Petion.—Progress of education, and prospect of its general extension.

In the long and sanguinary war which had been carried on between the rival chiefs, the preponderance of success was rather in favor

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of Christophe; but their forces proved to be, on the whole, so nearly balanced, as to preclude all expectation that in any short time one would be able to subdue the other. In this case, too, it could not have escaped the observation of either party, that continued hostilities would eventually have enfeebled them both, so as to render them an easy prey to their former oppressors.

A Haytian writer, who occupies a situation in one of the departments of government at Cape François, makes this reflection with much feeling. —"Hence," he observes, "arises a most melancholy consideration for humanity. We know that our dissensions give joy to the friends of slavery; that our common tyrants calculate upon nothing less than a total annihilation of the population of Hayti, which they wish to be able to replace with a new race of wretches transported from the regions of Africa. We know the whole depth of their villainy, and we discover an emulous eagerness to assist them effectually by destroying each other. O delirium of the passions! O inconceivable fatality! To what lengths do ye not carry men who listen to the deceptive illusions of ambition!"

In consequence, probably, of these sentiments entertained by both parties, hostilities were at length suspended, as if by mutual

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consent. No battle has been fought, nor has any hostile movement taken place, for more than six years; so that, though there has been no treaty of peace, or formal armistice concluded, yet perfect tranquillity has prevailed throughout the island.

A period of public tranquillity furnishes not many incidents for the pen of the historian, and the records of a series of peaceful years are often comprised in a few pages. The island of St. Domingo, from the year 1811, exhibits the pleasing spectacle of a people making the most rapid advances in the career of civilization and general improvement. Both Christophe and Petion appear to have applied themselves with great assiduity to the encouragement of industry and good morals, and the increase of knowledge in their respective territories, and to the preparation of adequate means of defence against any attempts that should be made on their liberty and independence.

Immediately after the act of the council of state, in March, 1811, Christophe assumed the title of king, and surrounded himself with all the usual appendages of royalty. On Sunday, the 2d of June following, Henry and his wife were crowned, with great pomp, in the Champ de Mars, at Cape François, now called Cape Henry. After the ceremony of consecration, the king and queen, and some of the great offi-

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cers of state, received the sacrament from the hands of the archbishop; and the day was closed with an entertainment of uncommon splendor.

The various institutions of this new kingdom were copied from the monarchies of Europe, and particularly from France:—they had their princes of the blood, their dukes and counts, barons and chevaliers; their grand marshal grand almoner, and master of the ceremonies; their levee days and drawing-rooms; their royal birth days, coronation day, and other national festivities; their royal palaces, chamberlains, pages, and body guards; their royal and military order of St. Henry; their chancery, and other courts; their notaries, solicitors, barristers, and judges; their intendants, surveyors, and directors of different departments; their royal academy and theatre royal:*—and some of their arrangements were announced to the world in a style which exhibited a mixture of oriental inflation and French gasconade. But this will excite no surprise, when it is remembered from what a condition the people had emerged, what complete success had crowned their struggle for independence, and the example afforded them in the proceedings and language of the imperial cabinet of Paris. But no im-

* See Appendix VI.

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partial observer could withhold his admiration from the high state of order and civilization which prevailed in the dominions of Christophe.

The organization of the districts under the government of Petion, though differently and more modestly constructed, was not less complete. No titles of nobility were adopted by him; but there were the same gradations of military rank, the same distribution of administrative offices, the same care in keeping up and disciplining a military force, and the same solicitude on the grand subject of public instruction.

The full occupation which Bonaparte found for his armies in Europe, and the exclusion of his squadrons from the sea by the naval power of Britain, preserved the island of St. Domingo from any further annoyance on the part of imperial France. But no sooner had Bonaparte ceased to reign, and Louis the Eighteenth ascended the throne of his fathers, than the ex-colonists renewed their attempts for the recovery of their lost possessions. With this view, they presented a petition to the chamber of deputies, calling its attention to the state of the island. The petition was referred to a committee; and the chairman, General Desfourneaux, who had formerly served in the colony, soon reported the result of their deliberations.

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He began with a most unfair and exaggerated statement of the commercial advantages which had accrued to France from the possession of St. Domingo, which were displayed in a manner adapted to excite the cupidity of all classes of the community. He next proceeded to examine the means of re-establishing the colony. No authentic information, he observed, had yet been obtained by government respecting the dispositions of the chiefs who divided this colony between them; but from his own knowledge of both Christophe and Petion, he fully believed that they would be eager to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king. And in that case, it was proposed, that the king should be entreated to grant to them, and to various other black chiefs named in the report, all the marks of honour, and all the pecuniary advantages befitting their situation and that of the colony:—but that, as this hope, however, might by possibility be disappointed, his majesty should be advised to send a sufficient number of land and sea forces to occupy the colony, and to hoist there the white flag as the signal of a general amnesty. Taught by the experience of past failures, it was argued, such an expedition could not now but be crowned with success. And even if the most tranquillizing assurances should be received

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respecting the intentions of the chiefs, it was observed, it would still be necessary to transport thither, along with the colonists, a sufficient force to put them in possession of their estates, and to secure them in it. The reporter proposed to the chamber, to pray his majesty to present to them laws for the interior regulation of St. Domingo, as well with a view to the blacks already there, as to those *who should hereafter be introduced;* for fixing the civil and political rights of men of all colors, possessed of property in the colony; and for other objects of a pecuniary and commercial nature. The reporter strongly advised immediate celerity in fitting out the proposed expedition, to which he confidently promised the most successful issue.

Nor were these sentiments confined to the ex-colonists and their immediate connections. The re-possession and re-cultivation of this island appear to have been favorite objects with a considerable number of the leading men of the nation; and, in the hope of effecting them, the French cabinet, though placed in circumstances which prevented the total rejection of the proposal of Great Britain for an abandonment of the African slave trade, yet refused an immediate relinquishment of that abominable traffic, and stipulated for its continuance for five years, promising, by treaty, its definitive cessation at

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the end of that period. Five years they thought would be sufficient to supply the plantations of St. Domingo with as many cargoes of slaves as should be wanted, in addition to the myriads of negroes and mulattoes who were again to be brought under the yoke.

But if the experience of the world did not exhibit numerous instances of persons entertaining the most chimerical hopes of accomplishing whatever happens to be the object of their ardent wishes, it could scarcely be credited that men of understandings not below mediocrity should have amused themselves with the absurd expectation,——that the chiefs of St. Domingo would eagerly acknowledge the sovereignty of France, and submit themselves to its government; that the intelligent, wealthy, and valiant population of the island (the swords still in their hands with which they asserted their independence in the hearts' blood of one of the most numerous and best appointed armies that ever crossed the Atlantic), would permit a French force to prescribe to them the hours and conditions of labor, and to reinstate the planters, with their cart-whips, in their former plenitude of abused power; that they would relinquish, at the bidding of Gallic intruders, properties at least as fairly acquired as those bought in France at the national sales, and confirmed to

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the purchasers by the new constitution ;—that they would exchange the ease, the comforts, the luxuries of their new situation,—the pride, and pomp, and circumstance of their military array,—for the tender mercies, already too well known, of French planters, attorneys, managers, overseers, and drivers

If any disinterested observer could have questioned the absurdity of these expectations, it must soon have been placed beyond all doubt by the first communications both from Cape Henry and from Port au Prince.

In a dispatch, addressed to M. Peltier, London, and dated June the 10th, the Comte de Limonade, secretary for foreign affairs to Christophe,—after giving an account of the satisfaction of his sovereign at hearing of the fall of Bonaparte, and mentioning the preparations he had long been making for the defence of his kingdom, preparations which the expectation of a peace between the powers of Europe had lately induced him to increase ;—proceeded to declare, that the vessels of French merchants were at liberty to enter the Haytian ports upon the same footing as those of other nations ; and expressed the wish of his sovereign for a good understanding with the new sovereign of France, at the same time distinctly stating, that the

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king of Hayti would treat with France only as one independent power with another.*

The sentiments and feelings entertained in the south part of the island, were not less unequivocal than in the north. It was officially notified by the government, that on the first appearance of a hostile force, fire would be communicated to all the buildings in the cities, and every thing destroyed that could not be removed to the mountains. The arsenals were filled with torches ready to be lighted. If a suggestion was whispered at the government-house, calling in question the policy of such a measure, the doubt was immediately silenced by a reference to Moscow, the destruction of which had saved Russia, and even Europe, from the power of France.†

As soon as the designs of the French government were known in St. Domingo, there was published, in the royal gazette of Hayti, an address to the people, explaining to them the new political relations in which they were placed by the peace between France and the other powers of Europe. After expressing the joy which the blacks could not but feel at the downfall of Bonaparte, who had endeavoured to exterminate them, or to subject them again to the yoke

* See Appendix VII. † See Appendix VIII.

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of bondage, and with whom they had determined never to enter into any amicable engagements, this paper intimated that there existed not the same reasons for rejecting peaceful overtures from the new monarch of France, but that, in the event of his manifesting a friendly disposition, it would be advisable to form with him a treaty of amity and commerce, compatible with the honour, liberty, security, and independence of Hayti. It proceeded to call upon the Haytians to make every exertion in defence of their liberty against any who should attempt to enslave them; and in the following energetic language, bade defiance to their foes: "If we desire the benefits and enjoyments of peace, we fear neither the fatigues nor the horrors of war. Let our implacable enemies the planters, who have not ceased, for twenty-five years, to indulge the extravagant dream of slavery, and to pester each succeeding government with their memoirs, and projects of conquest and subjugation, exciting only pity, disgust, or abhorrence for their criminal and wretched authors;—let these traders in human flesh, these vile and perfidious plotters, come to execute their grand schemes of servitude and destruction. Let them place themselves at the head of the columns to direct their march;—they will be the first victims of our vengeance, and the land

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of liberty will rejoice in being watered with the blood of its oppressors. Then will, indeed, be waged a war of extermination: no quarter will be given, no prisoner made. Then shall we prove to the world what a nation of warriors, armed in the most just of causes, can effect in the defence of our homes, our wives, our children, our liberty, our independence." Then followed a number of directions as to the mode of warfare proper to be pursued in case of invasion; and the paper concluded thus: "It is in vain that our tyrants conceive the mad hope of sowing disunion among us. Their appearance will be the signal for our union. Who can now deceive us as to our true interests? Who is there among us that would now allow himself to be seduced by the treacherous and deceitful promises of an enemy whom we know too well? Who is the weak wretch that would even think of prolonging his days, in order to be burnt alive, drowned, or hanged, six months after? No: if we must have war, we must either be all exterminated, or live free and independent!"

This address appeared on the 15th of August, and on the 18th of September was published a manifesto of King Henry, giving a detailed narrative of the events which had produced and accompanied the independence of Hayti; justifying, before the tribunal of nations, the legi-

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timacy of that independence; and expressing a firm resolution to maintain it. It is no exaggerated applause, to say that this manifesto, in eloquence and argument, will bear a comparison with the most celebrated state papers of the most eloquent and enlightened nations of the world. The length of its historical details, referring to events narrated in the preceding pages of this history, prevents its insertion here; but the reader will find it among the papers in the appendix. It concluded with the solemn declaration that Henry would never consent to any treaty, or any condition, that should compromise the honor, the liberty, and the independence of the Haytian people.*

In the month of June, 1814, Malouet, the minister of the colonies to Louis the Eighteenth, sent to the West Indies three commissioners, for the avowed purpose of obtaining and transmitting to the French government, information respecting the state of St. Domingo, and the disposition of its chiefs. The selection of agents for this business betrayed the same folly which characterised the whole of the scheme. Their names were Dauxion Lavaysse, de Medina, and Draverman. The first had been a member of the committee of public safety, at Paris, under the infamous Robespierre; the second had served in St. Domingo, in the army

* See Appendix IX.

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of Toussaint, and being entrusted with an important post, had betrayed it to the French under Leclerc. Agreeably to their instructions to repair without delay to Porto Rico or Jamaica, these emissaries proceeded to England, and sailed from Falmouth in a packet for Jamaica, where they arrived in the latter end of the month of August.

On the 6th of September, at Kingston, in that island, Lavaysse, the chief of the mission, commenced his proceedings with a letter to Petion; in which he endeavoured to allure him, in a manner, however, but ill adapted to the end he had in view, to acknowledge the authority of Louis the Eighteenth.

On the 1st of October, Lavaysse addressed a letter to Christophe, containing a strange mixture of stupid flattery, and still more stupid intimidation. He urged the black chief, by various arguments and persuasives, to acknowledge the sovereignty of France, and threatened him with the combined force of Europe if he should refuse to proclaim Louis the Eighteenth. A compact, he stated, had been signed by all the European sovereigns, and Great Britain, he affirmed, was the soul of the confederacy, to destroy all the governments which had arisen out of the French revolution, and among the rest that of Hayti, if Christophe should be so blind to his true interests as not to yield to the

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invitations of the restored monarch. The slaves which France was at that moment purchasing on the coast of Africa, he added, would be converted into soldiers for the purpose of destroying the refractory. He, at the same time, intimated his persuasion, that Christophe was too wise not to prefer becoming an illustrious servant of the great sovereign of France, to continuing in the precarious situation of a chief of revolted slaves. The letter was filled with the grossest mis-statements of fact, in reference to the events which had recently taken place in Europe, and abundantly proved the entire ignorance of the writer, and of the minister under whose instructions he was acting, as to the state of information in Hayti; where every occurrence that passes in Europe, was as fully known as on the Exchange in London.

On receiving this letter, which Lavaysse had accompanied with a copy of his letter to Petion, King Henry, with true magnanimity, convoked an extraordinary council of the nation, and laid before them these documents, desiring them calmly to deliberate on their contents, and form such resolutions as they should deem necessary for the welfare of the country. This confidence of the king was repaid by a unanimous address from the council, expressed in the warmest terms of patriotic energy.

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"The most abominable of tyrants," they said, "when they have wished to impose their oppressive yoke on the people, have employed treachery, and have covered their criminal purposes under some specious pretexts; but the envoy of the king of the French has impudently dispensed with all disguise. He has dared to propose to a free people the alternative of slavery or death. And to whom do they dare thus to speak of *master* and *slave?* To us, a people free and independent; to warriors covered with noble wounds gained in the field of honor; who have destroyed to their very roots, ancient prejudices and slavery: to those warriors who, in a thousand combats, have made so many of those barbarous colonists bite the dust; the residue of whom, escaped from our vengeance, now dare to speak to us of restoring their abhorred system, which we have proscribed for ever.—The conduct pursued by the French shows that they place us beyond the pale of nations: for to what other people on earth would they dare to propose conditions so vile and degrading? They contemn us; they are so impressed with the notion of our stupidity, as to suppose that we want the ordinary instinct which impels animals to seek their own preservation. Is it in return for the benefits we have received from the French, that we are

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now to resume the chains of slavery? Is it for a sovereign who is wholly unknown to us, who has never done any thing for us, and in whose name we are insulted, that we should now change our state? Is it to be delivered anew to torture, or to be devoured by dogs, that we are to renounce the fruit of twenty-five years of battles and blood? What have we still in common with this people. We have broken every tie that bound us to them. We have now no points of union with the French, who have never ceased to persecute us, and whom we abhor? Why then must we be condemned to groan under their oppressive yoke?" If it were a question, they observe, whether they should prefer slavery or extermination, they would unanimously embrace the latter alternative. But no, they say, that is impossible: "Hayti will be invincible. The justice of her cause will enable her to triumph over all obstacles." They conclude with offering their arms, their property, and their lives, to the service of their king, their country, their liberty, their independence.

The misrepresentations and falsehoods of Lavaysse, especially in reference to the pretended confederacy among the powers of Europe, and the interest taken by Great Britain in the alleged object of that alliance,

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was triumphantly refuted by the Chevalier Prezeau, secretary to Christophe; whose answer to Lavaysse's letter manifests a thorough knowledge of the particular questions at issue, as well as much general information, and considerable acuteness of intellect. "I perceive," says Prezeau, "in the course of your letter, that one of your great objects is to generate distrust between us and the brave and loyal British nation, by threatening us with the co-operation of her arms against us. But could you for one moment persuade yourself that we should be the dupes of your perfidy and falsehood; when in the public prints we witness all the efforts which the English government and the virtuous philanthropists of that nation have been making in our favor? I can, moreover, assure you, that we have various extra-official documents, which prove to us, that the views of the powers of Europe towards us, are very remote indeed from those which you would assign to them. Far from having gained ground, see what you have in effect done. You have thrown light on our course. You have given us new motives for attaching ourselves to the great British nation; and new grounds of execration against you, and distrust of your criminal schemes."

Colonel de Medina was sent by Lavaysse to

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Cape Henry, to conduct the negociation with Christophe. There he was recognized as a native of St. Domingo, an ex-officer of the army, and a traitor to the cause:—on this account, and because he was without any credentials from the French government, he was arrested, and his papers seized. From these papers it appeared, that the real object of his mission, which he pretended to be wholly pacific, was to excite discord and insurrection among the Haytians. He was, therefore, brought before a special military commission, and tried as a spy. If any doubts could have been entertained at Cape Henry of the ulterior designs of the French government, the papers found upon this man, and the answers given by him to the interrogatories put by the president of the court, would have been sufficient to convince the inhabitants of St. Domingo, that they had no more favor or friendship to expect from the cabinet of Louis than from that of Bonaparte.

It has already been stated, that on the 6th of September, Lavaysse addressed a letter to Petion. This letter was quite vague and indistinct in its proposals. On the 24th of the same month, the president sent a complimentary answer; inviting Lavaysse to Port-au-Prince. Lavaysse accordingly embraced the first oppor-

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tunity, and sailed for Port-au-Prince, in an English vessel. On his arrival, he addressed the president in a second letter, in which, after attributing all the sufferings of the Haytians to "the men who were a disgrace to the French name, the enemies of the house of Bourbon, the disciples of Robespierre, Marat, and Carrier, and the worthy satellites of their successor, the Corsican tyrant:"—he formally proposed,—

1. "That the president should recognize and proclaim the sovereignty of the French king.

2. "That the president and other leading men, in imitation of what had been done in France, at the epoch of Bonaparte's deposition, should form themselves into a provisional government, subject to the authority of Louis the Eighteenth.

3. "That they should hoist the French flag."

In the event of a compliance with these terms, he, in return, promised the president and his colleagues honorable distinction and rewards: and he assured them that the progress of knowledge, in France, had destroyed the tyranny of hurtful prejudices; and that Louis, "like the Divinity of whom he was the representative," felt equal affection for his subjects, with-

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out distinction of color. In this letter, Lavaysse again took occasion to inveigh with fury against the "Corsican;" as well as against the "Bashaw Le Clerc," and "the other brigands who were sent to Hayti, in 1802, by the usurper;"—amongst whom, it may be observed, was General Desfourneaux, who lately hoped, by his falsehoods and sophistry, to prevail on the French government to send him out on a similar expedition.

The president replied by an enumeration of the evils which Hayti had suffered from revolutionary France. He reminded Lavaysse, that the national cockade was the first incitement to massacre in St. Domingo; that many of the colonists, now so clamorous at the court of the Bourbons, but lately, for the most part, satellites of Bonaparte, were, in the first period of the revolution, violent democrats, as was fully proved by the lamented assassination of Colonel Mauduit, a particular friend and confidant of Monsieur. Petion concluded by stating that he had convoked the chief authorities of the republic, and would lay before them the propositions made by Lavaysse.

On the 21st of November, the general assembly of the Haytian authorities was held at Port-au-Prince; and unanimously resolved on rejecting the French proposals. This resolution was

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formally communicated to Lavaysse, by the president, with a statement of the reasons on which it was founded: but it was added, that, wishing to re-establish commercial relations with France, and to manifest the respect which they had always felt for his majesty, Louis the Eighteenth, the Haytian republic was willing to fix the basis of a pecuniary indemnity for the losses which the French colonists had sustained, and must continue to suffer, in consequence of the separation of Hayti from France.

To this very liberal offer Lavaysse was not authorized to give any answer. He, accordingly, on the 29th of November, with many acknowledgments for the civilities he had received, personally demanded his passports; and soon afterwards left the island in a vessel which he had hired for that purpose.

All the official documents relative to this transaction were printed and published at Port-au-Prince, preceded by the following dignified and eloquent address, from the president

"TO THE PEOPLE AND ARMY.

"Never, throughout the annals of the republic, did a more interesting epoch present itself, than that which you are now called to witness: never was there one which demanded that the

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national character should exert itself with greater magnanimity.

"Haytians! during four and twenty years, we have fought for our rights, for our liberty. Our independence is the fruit of our labors. Without this, there can be no warrant, no security for the continuance of our present constitution. Already celebrated for our military character, and our honorable qualities, every eye is fixed upon us, waiting the result of our conduct. It will be an example to posterity. I will not revert to any of the glorious traits by which those men were distinguished, who immortalized themselves in former contests for freedom. History has not forgotten them. By her will their remembrance be perpetuated.

"I address myself to those men whose hearts glow with the purest patriotism, to a people free in fact and in right, and who will not fail to demonstrate to the universe that they are worthy of being so. Generosity and greatness of soul constitute the very elements of the patriot's character. In you I have ever observed these noble qualities; and lately I have received an additional proof of them; for which I must do myself the honor of offering to you the liveliest expressions of my heartfelt gratitude.

"France, having concluded a treaty of peace, renews her claim to St. Domingo. Though she

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has for ever forfeited all her pretensions to Hayti, and though this loss is owing to the French themselves, she determines nevertheless to revive them; and for this purpose has chosen rather to make use of methods of conciliation, than to employ those arms which will always prove impotent. The French general, Dauxion Lavaysse, was sent hither as her agent. You received and welcomed him; performed the sacred rites of hospitality; and admitted him amongst you with confidence. He spoke to you in the language of his mission; and, at the distance of a thousand leagues from his country, was not deterred, by any consideration, from urging with vehemence the pretensions of his government. Your chiefs and magistrates were assembled in consultation. They listened calmly to the proposals of France. A government firmly established on the solid basis of reason and justice, is capable, not only of hearing every thing with calmness, but of judging of every thing with discrimination. The propositions of the French government being incompatible with your principles and institutions, were unanimously rejected. This will ever be the fate of all such as shall tend to lead your steps backward, in the career you have so gloriously run. Without shrinking from war, you were willing, however, to evince your desire of

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peace; and to avert from your families and your children the calamities which follow in its train, by offering to submit to pecuniary sacrifices, in order to silence your persecutors, whose cries and complaints importune the French throne for the restitution of possessions, which they would be afraid to attack, if they knew that at their approach they would be burnt to ashes. Your chiefs, the depositaries of the intentions you had previously expressed, especially subsequently to the continental peace, were commissioned, in your name, to make this generous proposal. It is a high honor to you; and will convey a high opinion of your wisdom, as well as awaken the greatest dread of your resentment.

"Haytians! you have done what you ought to have done. The right of arms has given you possession of the country. It is your unalienable property: and, as its masters, you are free to make what use you please of that which belongs to you. By mutual agreement, and a compact from which they never deviate, nations respect the rights of individuals. The character of an envoy is always held sacred, even though his intentions are ever so criminal. The French general, Dauxion Lavaysse, is gone; having executed the mission with which he was entrusted. You have not to reproach yourselves

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with having been wanting in what you owe to yourselves. You have not violated this fundamental principle, which establishes between governments those necessary communications which are required by their political relations. You have done that which renders you estimable in your own eyes: you deserve to appear so in the eyes of other nations. Victory ever accompanies the cause of justice. Is not this telling you that it is yours, if the French venture to molest you. Should this be the event, you shall see me at your head, proud to lead you on to victory, or to perish with you.—Whatever may be the fate which heaven has reserved for us, it is our duty to prepare ourselves for it. Let it be the care of those chiefs whose paternal authority directs you, in the districts of which the command is confided to them, to establish secure retreats for the inhabitants in the interior of our mountains. For this purpose, let them employ the workmen under their orders. Let them also multiply the plantations of every sort of provisions. It is the duty of the magistrates and justices of the peace, to promote unanimity, concord, the love of labor, and mutual confidence among their fellow-citizens. The republic relies on every man's doing his duty. I hope to set you an example. I have given orders that the documents shall be printed, which relate to our

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communications with the French government. They will be submitted to your inspection at the close of this address. You will see what it is that they propose to you, and what answer it becomes you to return.

"Given at Port-au-Prince, Dec. 3d, 1814;
"11th year of independence.

(Signed) "PETION."

When these transactions were known in Paris, the king of France formally and officially disclaimed any participation in the proceedings of Dauxion Lavaysse, whose mission was declared to have been directed to the single point of procuring information to guide the deliberations of the French government. The tone adopted in his letters to the Haytian chiefs, therefore, was wholly disavowed. But however the general character of the French monarch may have given credibility to the disavowal, as far as related to his individual conduct in this affair; the well-known character of Malouet, the minister by whom the commissioners were sent, left little room to doubt that the conduct of the agents had been conformable to the spirit, at least, of the secret instructions received from their employers: and the subsequent disclosure of those

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instructions established this fact beyond all contradiction. It was, probably, a happy circumstance for the cause of Haytian freedom, that these instructions were framed with such entire fatuity as could not but conduce to the confirmation, if any thing could further confirm, the liberty and independence of Hayti.

The ex-colonists, however, were too much enamoured of their golden dreams to desist from further efforts to convert them into realities. What it was found impossible to accomplish by fraud, they used every art of persuasion to induce the government to attempt by force. Their party was so powerful at the court of Louis, that preparations were actually made, and an expedition was intended to sail in the spring of 1815, for the purpose of reducing the inhabitants of St. Domingo to their former servitude, or sweeping them from the face of the earth.

But the month of March was distinguished by an event which no human sagacity had anticipated. Bonaparte returned from Elba, and suddenly seated himself again upon the throne of France. This revolution prevented the sailing of the expedition, and defeated the projects of the colonists. Bonaparte thought it politic to issue an edict for the abolition of the slave trade, and soon after sent overtures to St. Do-

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mingo, which had for their object to bring back the island to the condition of a French colony; but his propositions were immediately rejected with disdain. During the short period that passed before his second fall, he was too much occupied with European warfare, to admit of his annoying the inhabitants of Hayti.

As soon as Louis the Eighteenth was replaced upon his throne, the ex-colonists renewed their intrigues, and employed subaltern and ex-official agents to make further overtures to the Haytians, with the same insidious purpose of reducing them again under the power of France. Many months elapsed before the government could find time for attention to this object of its ambition and cupidity. But in July, 1816, the king of France, on the report of the secretary of state for the department of the marine and the colonies, issued an ordinance, naming and appointing several commissioners to St. Domingo; who were to be invested with the administration of all the affairs of the island, both civil and military.

These commissioners, who were all ex-colonists, and men who had become particularly obnoxious to the negroes and people of colour, proceeded towards the intended scene of their mission; and skulking along the coast in an American vessel, sent on shore letters addressed

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to Monsieur General Christophe; a superscription, which having become obsolete, and being deemed injurious and insulting to the existing order of things in Hayti, caused the papers to be instantly returned unopened. They then resorted to the expedient of enclosing their communications in an envelope addressed to the commandant of the port of Gonaives. These papers served only to excite the contempt of the Haytians, to enflame them with increased abhorrence of their former oppressors, to produce fresh abjurations of all connection with France, and to strengthen their resolutions to maintain their liberty and independence.

However the French government may since that time have sympathized with the ex-colonists, and cast many a longing, lingering look towards this fairest and most important of all their former West Indian possessions, no attempt has been made for its re-conquest; and it seems probable that all hope of its recovery, in any manner, has ere now been for ever relinquished.

Though the two governments which rule the northern and southern districts, have not established any relations of mutual amity, they have remained in a state of perfect tranquillity, and have devoted their attention to the cultivation of their respective territories, and to the civilization and general improvement of their people.

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They have both shown the most laudable solicitude for the instruction of the rising generation. Christophe has examined the rival claims of the two popular systems of education practised in England, and has decided in favor of Lancaster's, in preference to Dr. Bell's. Schools have been established at Cape Henry, Sans Souci, Port Paix, and other places. They are denominated *National Lancasterian Schools*. In mechanism, arrangement of the rooms, lessons, and every other particular, they are exactly on the model of the British and Foreign School Society's Central School, in the Borough-road, London. This system is also adopted by Petion, who has established a school, under a master sent out from the British and Foreign School Society, at Port au Prince.

In the schools established by King Henry, both the French and English languages are taught—and it is the king's declared intention to endeavour to bring the English language into general use, in hopes that it will in time supersede the French as the vernacular language of the people at large.

Henry has likewise appropriated a considerable fund to the erection and endowment of a college, in which professors of every branch of literature and science are to be established and liberally rewarded.

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From the zeal manifested by both chiefs in this noble cause, and the progress already made in carrying their wise and benevolent designs into effect, there is great reason to hope that in a few years the island of Hayti will exhibit a population as generally educated as that of any country on the face of the globe.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX I.

STATISTICAL TABLES RELATIVE TO THE FRENCH PART OF ST. DOMINGO.

No. I.

General Statement of the Productions and Manufactures of the French Part of St. Domingo, in the year 1791.

Drawn up by order of the Legislative Assembly of France.

Chief Places or Jurisdictions.	Quarters or Parishes.	Sugar Plantations. White.	Sugar Plantations. Coarse.	Coffee Plantations.	Cotton Plantations	Indigo Plantations.	Tanneries.	Distilleries for Rum.	Cocoa Plantations.	Lime Kilns.	Brick-yards and Potteries.	Number of Negroes.
Northern Part. — The Cape	The Cape and its dependencies	1	—	2	—	—	1	3	—	2	1	1,16213
	La Petite Ance and the Plain of the North	43	7	37	1	5	2	3	—	4	2	11,122
	L'Acul, Limonade, and Ste. Suzanne	52	4	157	3	6	—	9	—	1	1	19,876
	Morin and La Grande Rivière	35	1	255	2	1	—	5	5	7	—	18,554
	Le Dondon and Marmelade	—	—	216	1	—	—	1	1	32	2	17,376
	Limbé and Port Margot	22	3	272	5	11	—	7	1	2	2	15,978
	Plaisance and Le Borgne	—	—	324	2	4	—	—	—	3	5	15,018
Northern Part. — Fort Dauphin	Fort Dauphin	29	7	71	2	10	—	4	—	3	8	10,004
	Ouanaminthe and Valliere	25	2	151	—	2	—	4	—	—	3	9,987
	Le Terrier rouge and Le Trou	56	1	123	1	37	—	5	—	4	1	15,476
Northern Part. — Port Paix	Port Paix, Petit St. Louis, Jean Rabel, and Le Gros Morne	6	2	218	9	369	—	4	18	26	4	29,540
Northern Part. — The Mole	The Mole and Bombarde	—	—	31	14	15	—	—	—	—	—	3,183
Western Part. — Port au Prince	Port au Prince and La Croix des Bouquets	65	75	151	22	15	—	29	1	20	1	42,848
	L'Arcahaye	11	36	62	24	48	—	14	—	23	5	18,553
	Mirebalais	3	—	27	19	322	—	—	2	5	—	10,902
Western Part. — Léogane	Léogane	27	39	58	18	78	—	25	1	14	1	14,896
Western Part. — St. Marc	St. Marc, La Petite Rivière, Les Verettes and les Gonaives	22	21	298	315	1,184	—	10	1	71	12	67,216
Western Part. — Le Petit Goave	Le Petit Goave, Le Grand Goave, and Le Fonds des Négres	11	16	52	25	31	—	11	2	9	—	18,829
	L'Anse a Veau and Le Petit Trou	6	11	11	7	185	—	7	1	9	2	13,229
Western Part. — Jérémie	Jérémie and Cape Dame Marie	3	5	105	30	44	—	6	25	14	—	20,774
Southern Part. — Les Cayes	Les Cayes and Torbeck	24	86	69	76	175	—	18	2	32	8	30,937
Southern Part. — Cape Tiburon	Cape Tiburon and Les Coteaux	1	1	24	12	160	—	—	4	7	1	8,153
Southern Part. — St. Louis	St. Louis, Cavaillon, and Aquin	9	23	39	28	157	—	8	2	18	1	18,785
Southern Part. — Jacmel	Jacmel, Les Cayes, and Baynel	—	1	57	89	129	—	—	3	7	1	21,151
Total	51 Parishes	451	341	2,810	705	3,097	3	173	69	313	61	455,000

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No. II.

Statement of the Productions of St. Domingo, exported to France in the year 1791.

Departments.	Sugar.		Coffee.	Cotton.	Indigo.	Hides and Skins.		Molasses.	Rum.
	White.	Coarse.				In the Hair.	Tanned.		
	Livres.	Livres.	Livres.	Livres.	Livres.	Packages.	Hides or Skins.	Hogsheads.	Puncheons.
Northern Part.									
The Cape	43,864,552	1,517,489	29,367,382	——	195,099	2,006	6,975	10,654	
Fort Dauphin . . .	8,609,258	1,639,900	2,321,610	1,200	2,005	1,134	160	2,731	
Port Paix	473,800	824,500	1,829,754	38,752	61,472	120	——	272	25
The Mole	22,500	105,680	294,550	29,236	6,294	31	——	84	6
Western Part.									
Port au Prince . .	7,792,219	53,648,923	14,584,023	1,370,021	176,918	1,601	752	8,350	36
Léogane	1,492,983	7,688,537	1,786,484	154,084	12,520	112	——	95	45
Saint Marc	3,244,673	6,993,966	5,521,237	3,008,163	357,530	——	——	73	49
Le Petit Goave . .	218,866	855,237	1,395,690	84,865	320	——	——	206	6
Jérémie	19,804	476,445	4,453,331	189,194	1,075	100	——		
Southern Part.									
Les Cayes	4,375,627	18,984,425	1,843,403	720,770	105,456	67	——	6,938	136
Cape Tiburon . . .	63,150	278,500	305,740	34,325	1,954	——	——	99	
St. Louis	2,000	9,600	90,706	42,497	2,064				
Jacmel	48,266	67,910	4,357,270	613,019	7,309	15			
Total	70,227,708	93,177,512	68,151,180	6,286,126	930,016	5,186	7,887	29,502	303

Note.—The sums in these tables are all stated in livres of colonial currency, which were reducible to livres Tournois, by deducting one third of the amount.

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No. III.

Schedule of the Territorial Wealth of the Plantations, in full Culture, in the French Part of St. Domingo. 1791.

Description of Capital.	Number.	Average Value of each.	Total Value.		Total General Value.
			In Lands, Buildings, and Plantations.	In Negroes and Cattle.	
Sugar Plantations { White	451	at . . 230,000	103,730,000	—	103,730,000
Sugar Plantations { Coarse	341	at . . 180,000	61,380,000	—	61,380,000
Coffee Plantations	2,810	at . . 20,000	56,200,000	—	56,200,000
Cotton ditto	705	at . . 30,000	21,150,000	—	21,150,000
Indigo ditto	3,097	at . . 30,000	92,910,000	—	92,910,000
Rum Distilleries	173	at . . 5,000	865,000	—	865,000
Cocoa Plantations	69	at . . 4,000	275,000	—	275,000
Tanneries	3	at . . 160,000	480,000	—	480,000
Lime Kilns, Brick Yards, and Potteries	374	at . . 15,000	5,510,000	—	5,510,00
Negroes: old and young, great and small	455,000	at . . 2,500		1,137,500,000	1,137,500,0000
Horses and Mules	16,000	at . . 400		6,400,000	6,400,000
Horned Cattle	12,000	at . . 120		1,440,000	1,440,000
Total Amount of the Property employed in Cultivation			342,500,000	1,145,340,000	1,487,840,000

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APPENDIX II.

BESIDE the epistolary communications to Le Clerc, it has been asserted that Toussaint returned an answer to the letter addressed to him by Bonaparte: and some time after, a paper was circulated purporting to be a copy of it; which, if genuine, reflects no less credit on his heart than on his understanding; while it may serve, in some degree, to account for the treacherous conduct which he afterwards experienced. There has not appeared, however, sufficient external evidence to authorize its insertion in the history; but compared with his other letters, of the genuineness of which no doubt has been expressed, the internal evidence in its favor will hardly admit of its being wholly passed over. It is therefore inserted here.

"CITIZEN-CONSUL,

"Your letter has been transmitted to me by Citizen Le Clerc, your brother-in-law, whom you have

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appointed *Captain-General* of this island, a title not recognized by the constitution of St. Domingo. The same messenger has restored two innocent children to the fond embraces of a doating father. What a noble instance of European humanity! But dear as these pledges are to me, and painful as our separation is, I will owe no obligations to my enemies, and I therefore return them to the custody of their gaolers.

"The forces necessary to make the sovereignty of the French people respected, have effected a landing also, and they are spreading slaughter and devastation around them. Why is it thus? For what crimes, and by what authority, are a rude, but inoffensive people, to be consumed by fire and by the sword? We have dared, it seems, to form a constitution adapted to our circumstances; containing, as you admit, many good things, but containing others, forsooth, derogatory from the sovereignty of the French people! In whom does it reside, and how far does it extend? Is it to be beyond control, without measure and without bounds?

"St. Domingo, a colony forming an integral part of the French republic, aims at independence, it is said. Why should it not? The United States of America did the same; and with the assistance of monarchical France they succeeded and established it. But there are defects as well as presumption in our

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constitution. I know there are. What human institution is without them? Yet I will challenge the system you have imposed upon the republic you govern, to shew a greater regard to personal or political liberty, to the freedom of speech, or the freedom of man. The high situation I fill is not of my own choosing; it has been forced upon me by imperious circumstances. *I have not overturned a constitution I had sworn to maintain.* I saw this wretched isle a prey to frantic and contending factions. My character, my complexion, gave me some influence with the people who inhabit it, and I was almost by their unanimous voice called to authority. I crushed sedition; I put down rebellion; I restored tranquillity; I established order in the place of anarchy; I gave them peace, and I gave them a constitution. Have you, Citizen-Consul, another or a better title to the commanding situation you occupy? If they enjoy not under it as great a portion of liberty as is to be found under other governments, the cause is in their habits of life, and in the ignorance and barbarity inseparable from a state of slavery. I established for an unfortunate race of beings, who were just loosened from the yoke, the only system of rule that was suited to their conditions or capacities. That it leaves room, in many instances, for coercion and despotism, cannot be denied; but is the constitu-

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tion of the republic of France, the most enlightened part of enlightened Europe, quite free from them? If thirty millions of Frenchmen find their happiness and security, as I am told, in the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, surely I should not be envied the love and confidence of the poor blacks, my countrymen. It will be for posterity to decide, whether we have ruled through affection, or through apathy and fear.

"You offer freedom to the blacks, and say, that in all the countries you have been in, you have given it to the people who had it not. I am not perfectly acquainted with the circumstances that have recently happened in Europe; but the reports that have reached me do not accord with this assertion. In fact, it is of little consequence. The liberty that is to be found in France, or Belgium, or Helvetia, or in the republics, Batavian, Ligurian, or Cisalpine, would never be cordially received, or cheerfully acquiesced in, by the people of St. Domingo. Such changes, or such freedom, are far, very far, from being desired, even by us.

"You ask me, whether I desire consideration, honors, fortune. Most certainly I do, but not of your giving. My consideration is placed in the respect of my countrymen, my honors in their attachment, my fortune in their disinterested fidelity. Has this *mean* idea of personal aggrandisement been held out, in the

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hope that I would thereby be induced to betray the cause I have undertaken? You should learn to estimate the moral principle of other men by your own. If the person who claims a right to that throne on which you are seated, were to call on you to descend from it, what would be your answer? The power I possess has been as *legitimately* acquired as your own and nought but the decided voice of the people of St. Domingo shall compel me to relinquish it.

"It is not cemented by blood, or maintained by the artifices of European policy. 'The ferocious men whose persecutions I put a stop to,' have confessed my clemency, and I have pardoned the wretch whose dagger has been aimed at my life. If I have removed from this island certain turbulent spirits, who strove to feed the flames of civil war, their guilt had been first established before a competent tribunal, and finally confessed by themselves. Is there one of them who can say that he has been condemned *unheard* or *untried?* And yet these monsters are to be brought back once more, and, aided by the blood-hounds of Cuba, are to be uncoupled and hallooed to hunt us down and devour us; and this by men who dare to call themselves Christians. Why should it excite your praise and surprise, that I have upheld 'the religion and worship of God, from whom all things come?'

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Alas! that all-bounteous Being, whose holy word has but lately found favor in your republic, by me has ever been honored and glorified. In his protecting care I have sought for safety and consolation amidst dangers and difficulties, when encompassed by treachery and treason, and I was never disappointed. Before him and you I am, as you say, to be the person principally responsible for the massacres and murders that are perpetrating in this deserted isle. Be it so. In his all just and dread disposal be the issue of this contest. Let him decide between me and my enemies; between those who have violated his precepts and abjured his holy name, and one who has never ceased to acknowledge and adore him.

(Signed) "TOUISSAINT LOUVERTURE."

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APPENDIX III.

Order of the Ceremonies appointed to be observed on the Coronation of Jean Jacques, the first Emperor of Hayti.

Port-au-Prince, Sept. 8.

On the 8th of October all the troops of the garrison, in the best order possible, will march under arms to the Champ de Mars, at two o'clock, A. M. precisely, and form in square battalions.

A detachment of grenadiers immediately to form a line to the house of the commandant-general of division.

At three o'clock the members of all the civil and military authorities, having assembled at the government-house, will thence proceed to the Champ de Mars in the following order:—

A platoon of grenadiers—the public teachers, conducting a great number of their pupils—the deputation

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of the body of artisans, preceded by a chief artisan—a deputation of agriculturists, preceded by one of their principal members—a deputation of foreign commerce, preceded by one of its members—a deputation of national commerce, preceded by one of its members—the members of justice, and the ministerial officers—the health officers of the army, attached to the division—the officers of the military marine—the état major of the place, connected with that of the circuit—the administrators, and those in their employ—the general commanding the divisions, accompanied by his état-major—a platoon of grenadiers.

When they arrive at the Champ de Mars, all the drums shall beat a march, and the procession shall advance to an amphitheatre, which shall be prepared for its use.

The act, announcing the nomination of the "Emperor" (Dessalines), shall be read in a loud and intelligible voice!

A discharge of musketry and cannon, which shall be repeated by all the forts of the city, and vessels in the harbour, shall follow the reading of the act.

The ceremony of the coronation shall next take place on a throne, elevated in the midst of the amphitheatre, and surrounded by all the great officers of the empire.

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The ceremony shall be announced by a triple discharge of cannon and musketry.

After the ceremony, the troops shall file off to the church, and form in order of battle.

The procession, in the order above-mentioned, shall also advance to the church, where a *Te Deum*, in thanksgiving for this memorable day, shall be sung.

During the *Te Deum*, a third discharge of cannon and musketry shall take place.

After the *Te Deum*, the procession shall return, in the same order, to the house of the general of division.

The fete shall terminate by a grand illumination in all parts of the city.

Done at Port-au-Prince, the 6th September, 1804, the first year of Independence.

The general of division.

(Signed) A. PETION.

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APPENDIX IV.

New Constitution of Hayti.

THE undersigned mandatories, charged with the powers of the people of Hayti, being legally convoked by his Excellency, the general-in-chief of the army, penetrated by the necessity of making their constituents enjoy the sacred, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights of man, proclaim, in the presence and under the auspices of the All-powerful, the articles contained in the present constitutional part:

TITLE I. *Of the Condition of Citizens.*

1. Every person residing on the territory of Hayti, is free, in the fullest sense.

2. Slavery is for ever abolished in Hayti.

3. No one has a right to violate the asylum of a citizen, nor to enter forcibly into his dwelling, without

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an order, emanating from a superior and competent authority.

4. All property is under the protection of the government. Every attack upon the property of a citizen, is a crime which the law punishes.

5. The law punishes assassination with death.

TITLE II. *Of the Government.*

6. The government of Hayti is composed:—First, of a chief magistrate, who takes the title and quality of president and generalissimo of the forces of Hayti, both by land and sea: every other denomination is for ever proscribed in Hayti;—Secondly, of a council of state.

The government of Hayti takes the title, and will be known by the denomination of "The State of Hayti."

7. The constitution names the general-in-chief, Henry Christophe, president and generalissimo of the forces, both by sea and land, of the State of Hayti.

8. The trust of president and generalissimo of the forces, is for life.

9. The president has the right of choosing his successor, but only from among the generals, and in the manner hereafter prescribed:—This choice must be secret, and contained in a sealed packet, which shall be

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opened only by the council of state, solemnly assembled for that purpose. The president shall take all necessary precautions for informing the council of state where this packet shall be deposited.

10. The armed force shall be under the direction of the president, as also the administration of the finances.

11. The president has the power to make treaties with foreign nations, as well for the purpose of establishing commercial relations, as to secure the independence of the state.

12. He is to conclude peace, and to declare war, to maintain the rights of the people of Hayti.

13. He has also the right to consider of the means of favoring and increasing the population of the country.

14. He is to propose the laws to the council of state, who, after having adopted them and drawn them up, are to send them back to him for his sanction, without which they cannot be executed.

15. The appointments of the president are fixed at 40,000 dollars a year,

TITLE III. *Of the Council of State.*

16. The council of state is composed of nine members, nominated by the president; of whom two-thirds, at least, are to be generals.

17. The functions of the council of state are to

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receive the propositions of laws from the president, and to draw them up in the manner they may judge advisable; to fix the amount of taxes, and the mode of collecting them; to sanction the treaties concluded by the president; and to fix upon the mode for recruiting the army. An account shall be presented to them, annually, of the receipts and expences, and of the resources of the country.

[The IV. V. and VI. titles respect the appointment of a superintendant general of the finances, the marine, and the interior; and also the appointment of a secretary of state, and the tribunals.]

Title VII. *Of Religion.*

The catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion is the only one acknowledged by the government.

The exercise of other religions is tolerated, but not publicly.

Title VIII. *Of public Education.*

There shall be established a central school in each division, and particular schools in each subdivision.

Title IX. *Of the guarantee of the neighbouring Colonies.*

The government of Hayti declares to those powers

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who have colonies in its neighbourhood, its fixed determination to give no disturbance to the government of these colonies.

The people of Hayti make no conquests out of their own island; and they confine themselves to the preservation of their own territory.

[After these nine heads, follow some general regulations, the principal of which are,—that every Haytian, from sixteen to fifty, can be called into the army, whenever the safety of the state requires it; that the government solemnly guarantees to foreign merchants the security of their persons and properties; divorce is strictly forbidden; and agriculture, which is declared to be the most ancient, noble, and useful of all the arts, is to be encouraged and protected.]

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APPENDIX V.

Constitutional Law of the Council of State for the establishment of Royalty in Hayti.

ACT I.

Of the Supreme Authority.

ARTICLE I.

THE president, Henry Christophe, is declared king of Hayti, under the name of Henry.

This title, with its prerogatives and privileges, shall be hereditary in the male and legitimate descendants of his family in a direct line, by elder birthright, to the exclusion of females.

Art. 2. All the acts of the kingdom shall be in the name of the king, published and promulgated under the royal seal.

Art. 3. In default of male children in a direct

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line, the succession shall pass into the family of the prince nearest akin to the sovereign, or the most ancient in dignity.

Art. 4. In default of an heir-apparent, it shall be lawful for the king to adopt the children of such prince of the kingdom as he shall judge proper.

Art. 5. If there happen to be male children born after such adoption, their right of succession shall prevail over that of the adopted children.

Art. 6. At the decease of the king, and until his successor be acknowledged, the affairs of the kingdom shall be governed by the ministers and the king's council, who shall jointly form a general council: their decisions to be determined by a majority of votes, and the secretary of state to keep a record of the deliberation.

ACT II.

Of the Royal Family.

Art. 7. The king's consort is declared queen of Hayti.

Art. 8. The members of the royal family shall bear the title of Princes and Princesses: they are to be styled Royal Highnesses, and the heir-apparent is to be denominated Prince Royal.

Art. 9. The princes are to take their seats as

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members of the council of state, on their coming of age.

Art. 10. The royal princes and princesses are not at liberty to marry without the approbation of the king.

Art. 11. The king himself directs the organization of his palace in a manner conformable to the dignity of the crown.

Art. 12. There shall be established, by the orders of the king, palaces and castles in those parts of the kingdom which he shall judge proper to fix upon.

ACT III.

Of the Regency.

Art. 13. The king is a minor until he shall have completed his fifteenth year: during his minority he shall be styled Regent of the kingdom.

Art. 14. The protector shall be at least twenty-five years of age, and shall be chosen from among the princes most nearly related to the king (to the exclusion of females), and in default of such, from among the great dignitaries of the kingdom.

Art. 15. In default of the appointment of a protector on the part of the king, the general council shall select one in the manner prescribed in the foregoing article.

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Art. 16. The protector is to exercise, until the king be of age, all the attributes of the royal dignity.

Art. 17. He cannot conclude any treaty of peace, alliance, or commerce, nor make any declaration of war, but after mature deliberation, and with the advice of the general council: their opinions shall be taken according to the majority of votes; and in case of equality, that side which accords with the opinion of the protector shall preponderate.

Art. 18. The protector cannot nominate, either to the great dignities of the kingdom, or to the situations of general officers in the land or sea forces.

Art. 19. All the acts of the regency are in the name of the king, who is minor.

Art. 20. The care of the king, during his minority, is confided to his mother; and in default of a mother, to the prince appointed by the late king.

Neither the protector, nor his descendants, shall be eligible for the charge of the king, who is minor.

ACT IV.

Of the Great Council, and of the Privy Council.

Art. 21. The great council is composed of the princes of the blood, of princes, dukes, and counts,

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nominated and chosen by his majesty; who is also to fix their number.

Art. 22. The king is to preside at the council, and when he does not preside in person, shall appoint one of the dignitaries of the kingdom to fulfil that office.

Art. 23. The privy council shall be chosen by the king from among the great dignitaries of the kingdom.

ACT V.

Of the Great Officers of the Kingdom.

Art. 24. The great officers of the kingdom are grand marshals of Hayti: they are to be chosen from among the generals of all ranks, according to merit.

Art. 25. Their number is not limited; but to be determined by the king at every promotion.

Art. 26. The places of great officers of the kingdom are for life.

Art. 27. When, by the king's order, or on account of being invalided, any one of the great officers of the kingdom shall cease to be actively employed, he shall nevertheless retain his titles, his rank, and the half of his pay.

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ACT VI.

Of the Ministry.

Art. 28. There shall be four ministers chosen and appointed by the king:

The minister of war and marine;

The minister of finances and of the interior;

The minister of foreign affairs; and

The minister of justice.

Art. 29. The ministers shall be members of the council, and have a deliberative voice.

Art. 30. The ministers shall account directly to his majesty, and receive his orders.

ACT VII.

Of the Oaths.

Art. 31. The king at his accession, or on his coming of age, shall take an oath upon the gospels, in the presence of the great authorities of the kingdom.

Art. 32. The protector, before entering upon the exercise of his functions, shall also take an oath, with the same formalities.

Art. 33. The principal clergy, the great officers,

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the ministers, and the secretary of state, shall also take the oath of fidelity at the king's hands.

ACT VIII.

Of the Promulgation.

Art. 34. The promulgation of all the acts of the kingdom shall begin in the following form:

"WE, by the grace of God and the constitutional law of the state, king of Hayti, to all present and to come, greeting."

And all public acts shall conclude thus:

"WE do hereby order and command, that these presents, sealed with our seal, be addressed to all courts, tribunals, and administrative authorities, to be transcribed into their registers, to be observed and caused to be observed throughout the kingdom; and the minister of justice is charged with the promulgation thereof."

Art. 35. The executory proceedings in judgments of the courts of justice and of the tribunals, are to run thus:

"WE, by the grace of God and the constitutional law of the state, king of Hayti, to all present and to come, greeting."

Then shall follow the copy of the judgment or decree: "We order and command all constables and

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other officers, on this requisition, put into execution the said judgment, and our attorneys in the tribunals to promote the same; and the commandants and officers of the public force to assist, whensoever they shall be legally required so to do. In testimony of which the present judgment has been signed by the president of the court, and the register."

Done by the council of state of Hayti, at Cape Henry, the 28th March, 1811, the 8th year of independence.

SIGNED—*Paul Romain, senior; Andrew Vernet, Toussaint Brave, Jean Philippe, Daux, Martial Besse, Jean Pierre Richard, Jean Fleury, Jean Baptiste Juge, Etienne Magny, Secretary.*

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APPENDIX VI.

Abstract of the Royal Almanack of Hayti, for the year 1814.

It commences with a calendar for the year, containing all the usual information which calendars are intended to give; and, among the rest, the saints' days of the Romish church; also the festivals of the patron saints of all the parishes into which Christophe's dominions are divided, and the national festivals, of which there are seven, viz.—the festival of independence; of the foundation of the monarchy; of the coronation of the king and queen; of the birthdays of the king, queen, and prince royal; and of agriculture.

Next follows a very brief sketch of the kingdom of Hayti. The principles of the feudal government are said to be unknown; but titles of hereditary nobility, and the royal and military order of St. Henry, are the recompences destined for those who devote their lives to the public service, or who shed their blood for their

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king and country. A great council of state, and a privy council, composed of the great dignitaries and other officers of the kingdom, consult on such matters as the king submits to them. The business of the state is conducted by four ministers, viz.—of war and the marine, of the finances, of foreign affairs, and of justice; and a secretary of state. A selection from the army, equipped with the utmost care, forms the royal guards. The army itself is inured to war, and well disciplined: its battalions are always complete; its officers, of tried valour and skill; and the military employment is that which is most highly honoured in Hayti: it is the great object of the ambition of parents for their children. "The legislation consists of a code of laws, simple, clear, precise, and adapted to the manners, usages, and character of the people." "An agricultural code; a thing unexampled among other nations, which it has occupied the main solicitude of the king to form, regulates the reciprocal duties of proprietors, tenants, and cultivators; the police of the plantations; the culture and preparation of the different products of the soil; and, in short, the whole rural economy of Hayti. The principles of this code are laid in justice, equity, and humanity. The labourers have been restored to the rank of freemen. Industry is encouraged as the parent of virtue; and

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idleness, repressed by law, as the source of vice. In short, the traces of the former odious system have vanished for ever from the soil of Hayti." The government does all in its power to encourage agriculture, as the grand source of prosperity. But beside this, various manufactures have been established, with a fair prospect of success. Great attention is paid to morals and manners. Marriage is honoured, protected, and encouraged; no Haytian who is unmarried can fill any place of distinction. Divorce is not permitted. The Catholic religion has resumed its splendor: the hierarchy consists of an archbishop, three bishops, and a curè in each parish. Great encouragement is held out to foreign merchants to settle in Hayti: the king is ready even to assist them with capital, and many have received important aid from him.

Next follows the "Livre Rouge," the "Court Calendar" of Hayti.

The first chapter is entitled the "Royal Family," and gives the usual particulars respecting his majesty Henry, king of Hayti, and her majesty Maria Louisa, queen of Hayti: their children, of whom there are four, two sons and two daughters; and the princes of the blood.

The second chapter contains the names and titles of the great officers of state: the colonel-general of the

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Haytian guards, the grand marshal of Hayti, the minister of foreign affairs and secretary of state, the archbishop, grand almoner to the king, the grand master of the ceremonies.

The third chapter contains a list of the nobility, consisting, beside the princes of the blood, of three "princes of the kingdom," eight dukes, twenty counts, thirty-seven barons, and eleven chevaliers.

The fourth chapter gives the household establishment of the king, queen, prince royal, and princesses royal, and the king's household troops. It mentions nine royal palaces and eight royal chateaus. One of the palaces is called "Le Palais de Sans Souci;" and one of the chateaus, "Le Chateau des Delices de la Reine." There are the usual number of chamberlains, secretaries, librarians, pages, governors of palaces, physicians, surgeons, &c. &c. The "Maison Militaire du Roi," consists of the "Etat Major General," a corps of horse artillery, two companies of body guards, three squadrons of light horse, and a regiment of grenadier infantry, consisting of five battalions.

The fifth chapter contains a list of the grand council of state and the privy council. The grand council of state forms also the high court of justice for the trial of royal or noble delinquents, and of public functionaries charged with malversation in office. To it is also

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committed the trial of treasonable attempts or conspiracies; and it forms, moreover, a court of appeal from the inferior tribunals.

The sixth chapter contains an account of the royal and military order of St. Henry. The order is endowed with an annual income of 300,000 livres.

The seventh chapter contains a detail of the different departments of the state, the secretary of state's office, the chancery, the department of war and marine, that of the finances and the interior, that of justice, and that of grand admiral.

The eighth chapter is entitled, "The Clergy." The Roman Catholic religion is stated to be the only one recognized and publicly exercised in Hayti. The archbishop, who was consecrated by the archbishop of Palermo, has a chapter, a seminary, and a college, attached to his metropolitan see, and all well endowed. He has also three archi-episcopal palaces assigned to him. The bishops have each a chapter and a seminary, endowed with considerable revenues. "The royal and parochial church of Sans Souci," it is stated "is a majestic structure, erected by the king, and stands a monument of his royal munificence and piety." The pope had been supplicated to confirm the ecclesiastical appointments.

The ninth chapter is entitled the "Military Orga-

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nization of the Kingdom," and occupies fifty-seven pages. It contains a list both of the army and navy; the army consisting of fifty battalions, and the navy of two rear-admirals, two chiefs of division, two captains of ships, four captains of frigates, &c.

The tenth chapter gives a list of the intendants and officers of the finances, customs, &c.; of the surveyors of gardens, waters, forests, buildings; directors of the mint; superintendents of weights, measures; &c.

The eleventh chapter contains the judiciary organization; a list of the supreme court, and the barristers and solicitors of the superior courts; of the judges and officers of the courts of admiralty, and parochial jurisdiction: and of the notaries, surveyors, and auctioneers.

The twelfth chapter details the regulations of the post-office.

The thirteenth chapter is entitled "Public Instruction," and gives an account of the schools established by the king, who supports the professors and teachers, and gives annual prizes to the most distinguished scholars.

The fourteenth chapter is entitled the "Fine Arts," and contains a list of the royal academy of music, and of the royal painters.

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The fifteenth chapter gives a list of the performers at the theatre royal: and the sixteenth, a list of the persons who have charge of the royal breeding studs, and flocks of sheep.

The whole closes with an account of the etiquette of the court; the ceremony of presentations and audiences; of levee days, which are fixed for every Thursday, at ten in the morning; and of drawing-room days, which are fixed at five in the afternoon of the same day. Petitions may be presented to the king, and answers will be given on the following Thursday.

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APPENDIX VII.

Dispatch from Comte de Limonade, secretary of state, and minister for foreign affairs of Christophe, to M. Peltier, in London; dated from the palace of Sans Souci, June 10th, 1814.

"SIR,

"Your dispatches of the 21st of March and 5th of April last, and their duplicates, reached me by the English brig Vigilant, Captain Flanagan, which entered the port of Cape Henry, on the 19th of May; and by the Bedford, Captain Stuckfield; and the Smolensk, Captain Jowsey, which entered yesterday; bringing me your Ambigus, gazettes, and other papers, &c.

"I have laid these dispatches before the king, who heard them read with all the attention which they merit.

"The details which you give us of the great events that have taken place in Europe, and particularly in France, have afforded the king much satisfaction. The

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king, who had attentively observed the train of events which took place after the retreat of Napoleon from Moscow, and successively those of Germany, had concluded that Napoleon, without the entire support of the French people, by a levy en masse, could never make head against his numerous enemies, who were so much the more formidable, because they were instructed by experience; because they had long-standing quarrels to revenge; because the safety and the honor of their thrones were at stake; because they felt the necessity of uniting, to form a mass of active force which nothing could withstand. His majesty, calculating the immense losses sustained by the French, and the new sacrifices which it would be necessary to make, foresaw, that if Napoleon were not seconded by the people, he would inevitably sink. His majesty thought besides, that if Napoleon fell, he would not fail to bury himself under the ruins: but his majesty could never have divined that he would close his career in a manner so little worthy of a soldier. His majesty's prognostics have been partly verified in the subjugation of the implacable enemy of the world; but the repose of the world will never be secure while Napoleon lives.

"In the return to philanthropic principles, which the governments of Europe appear desirous of adopting, his majesty perceives new means of security to his

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kingdom. His majesty, however, since the expulsion of the satellites of Napoleon from the soil of Hayti, has never ceased preparing himself for war, and for the most obstinate resistance, in the event of an invasion of his kingdom. His preparations have been still further augmented by the complete organization of his troops, the provisioning of his fortresses, and other means of defence which have been recently taken, since the first overtures for peace between Napoleon and England, through the mediation of Austria, which we learned here from the newspapers; and especially in consequence of the various notices and valuable information which you have given us, and which has enabled his majesty to take all suitable measures.

"If, on the one hand, the policy of his majesty has led him to measures of prudence necessary for his safety, he has not, on the other, neglected to cause cultivation to flourish, as you will be convinced by the immense quantity of colonial produce which issues from the ports of this island.

"You must have seen, from the various acts of his majesty's government, since his accession to the throne, that his majesty has never confounded the French people with the governments which oppressed them. To peaceable merchants he has always offered security, protection, and commerce, at the same time that he

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was determined to repel every kind of enemy who should attempt to reduce us to slavery.

"You may declare, Sir, as you are now authorised to do, that his majesty will with pleasure receive the vessels of French merchants, which shall be legally cleared out for the ports of Hayti. They shall be protected and treated like the subjects of other friendly powers who trade peaceably with Hayti, provided they punctually conform to the laws of the kingdom. You may give this assurance to the French merchants, and even publish it in your journals.

"A new order of things arises: his majesty embraces the consoling hope of finding a just and philanthropic government, which, convinced that force is powerless to reduce us to subjection, will not forget, among our claims, that of having combated its most implacable enemy from the commencement of his reign to his fall, and never having listened to any of those proposals which his agents from all countries have made to us. His majesty flatters himself that he will find humane sentiments in a sovereign instructed by misfortune.

"In our state of uncertainty as to the measures of the new sovereign of France with regard to us, we cannot take any direct course or step, as you invited us, until we are positively informed as to his intentions.

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It is for you, Sir, who, with unbounded attachment and fidelity, have constantly defended the interests of the too-long unfortunate monarch whom you serve; it is for you, who are much attached to the cause of King Henry, and who possess information respecting this country, to prepare the channels by which the two powers may come to an understanding for their mutual interest, and the benefit of their respective subjects. When this is done, you need not doubt that his majesty will listen to such just and reasonable proposals as may be made to him, and will hasten to appoint an accredited representative, to stipulate for his interests, and those of his kingdom.

(Signed) "DE LIMONADE."

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APPENDIX VIII.

Letter from an English merchant, at Port-au-Prince, dated August 1st, 1814.

"THE present is to give you some idea of our situation and prospects since the late great change of affairs on the continent. I really anticipate, with feelings of horror, the scenes of bloodshed and massacre that must take place in this island, in the event of the French attacking it. The people, according to their present feeling, could not hear with patience any proposal from France inconsistent with principles of independence. I have been on intimate terms with president Petion for years, and can assure you, a more virtuous and amiable man I never knew. He is the idol of the people, and their confidence in him is unbounded; but even he would be removed from power, were he supposed capable of a wish to transfer this colony to France. Our information bids us to

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expect an attack in December. It has been officially notified by government, that, on the first appearance of the enemy, fire will be communicated to all the buildings in the cities, and every thing will be destroyed. With this information we have the consoling promise, that, whenever the enemy is driven out, and the finances put in order, we shall all be paid our debts and losses.

" It is, indeed, a sight that makes humanity shudder, to see the preparations making for the destruction of the cities and every thing in them, not portable to the mountains. The arsenals are filled with torches ready to be lighted. If a suggestion is whispered at the government-house, questioning the policy, the reply is, 'Look at Moscow:' adding, 'that had Moscow not been destroyed, Napoleon would still remain the despot of Europe.'

" I confess the reasoning appears sound. For my part, I hope I shall so far close my affairs, that I shall not be an eye-witness of the tragical scenes that must take place here. The two parties, those of Petion and Christophe, can bring into the field upwards of sixty thousand fighting men, in the event of a French invasion; and the soldiers are inured to fatigue and danger. In truth, I have witnessed, in the siege of this city, acts of bravery, in whole regiments, that would do

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honor to the finest troops in Europe. All their forts and strong places in the mountains are filling with cured provisions of the country, and ammunition. Such is the present state of Hayti, and such are the preparations making for human destruction; and all under the administration of an enlightened, virtuous man. My soul sinks within me when I contemplate it. The idea of destroying so many human beings, is 'neither charitable in conception, nor easy in execution.' A few months will decide, whether the finest country in the western world is to be a dreary desert or a flourishing state."

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APPENDIX IX.

KINGDOM OF HAYTI.

Manifesto of the King.

SOVEREIGN of a nation too long oppressed, a nation which has suffered the most cruel persecutions, and which, by its energy, constancy, courage, and valor, has succeeded in acquiring liberty and independence; the only object of our constant solicitude has been to give it a place among civilized states, by incessant labors for the happiness of the virtuous, brave, and generous people, who have entrusted us with their destinies.

It is under the present favorable circumstances, now when liberal and healing opinions appear to efface the memory of those disastrous times, in which mankind groaned under the most dreadful oppression; now, when we see the sovereigns of Europe occupied in

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promoting the welfare of their subjects, that we deem it our duty to raise our voice, to justify, at the tribunal of nations, the legitimacy of our independence.

A simple statement of facts, a plain narrative of the events which have led to our independence, will be sufficient to demonstrate to the whole world our rights and the justice of our cause.

We will not attempt to describe the deplorable situation into which we were plunged before the epoch of our emancipation. The world knows how, for more than a hundred and fifty years, we groaned under the grievous yoke of slavery, doomed to contempt and suffering. The tale of our long-continued misfortunes, and the description of the horrible tortures that we endured beneath the colonial system, are the province of history, which will transmit them to posterity.

We hasten from this period of disgrace and iniquity, to arrive at the epoch when universal liberty was proclaimed by the agents of the French government, and sanctioned by France herself, during several years of connexion and communication, and of mutual and uninterrupted correspondence, between the governments of the two countries.

We merited the blessings of liberty, by our faithful attachment to the mother country: we proved our gratitude to her, when, reduced to our own resources,

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deprived of all communication with the parent state, we resisted every seduction; when, inflexible to menaces, deaf to propositions, inaccessible to artifice, we braved misery, famine, and privations of every kind, and finally triumphed over her enemies, both external and internal.

We were then far from anticipating, that twelve years after, as a reward for so much perseverance, so many sacrifices, and so much blood, France would desire to deprive us, in a manner the most barbarous, of that most precious of all possessions, Liberty.

Under the administration of the governor-general, Toussaint Louverture, Hayti was rising from its ashes; every thing seemed to promise a happy futurity. The arrival of General Hedouville entirely changed the aspect of affairs, and gave a mortal blow to public tranquillity. We shall not enter into a detail of his intrigues with the Haytian General Rigaud, whom he persuaded to rebel against his legitimate chief; we shall only say, that, before he quitted the island, this agent brought every thing into confusion, by throwing among us the brands of discord, and lighting up the torch of civil war; and it was not till after torrents of blood had been shed, that tranquillity was re-established.

Always intent upon the restoration and establish-

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ment of peace, Toussaint Louverture, by his paternal administration, had reinstated, in full force, law, morals, religion, education, and industry. Agriculture and commerce were flourishing. He favored the white colonists, particularly the planters; and his attentions and partialities had been carried to such a length, that he was loudly blamed for being more attached to them than to people of his own colour. Nor was this reproach without some foundation; for, a few months before the arrival of the French, he sacrificed his own nephew, General Moise, because he had disobeyed his orders for the protection of the colonists. That act of the governor, and the great confidence he placed in the French government, were the principal causes of the feeble resistance which the French met with in Hayti. Indeed, so great was his confidence in that government, that he had discharged most of the regular troops, and sent them back to the cultivation of the soil.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the peace of Amiens was negociating. It was scarcely concluded. when a formidable armament disembarked upon our coasts a numerous army, which took us by surprise when we supposed ourselves in the most perfect security, and plunged us at once into an abyss of calamities.

Posterity will scarcely believe, that in an en-

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lightened and philanthropic age, an enterprise so abominable should ever have taken place. From the midst of an intelligent people a swarm of barbarians issued forth with the nefarious design of exterminating a civilized and unoffending nation, or reloading them with the fetters of perpetual bondage.

It was not enough to come with force ; but, the better to insure success to the expedition, it was deemed necessary to employ perfidious and infamous means : it was necessary to sow dissension amongst us, in order to produce a diversion in favor of their destructive projects. They neglected nothing to attain their execrable ends. The chiefs, of different colours, who were to be found in France, even the sons of the Governor Louverture himself, were pressed into the service for the expedition. They were, like ourselves, deceived by that master-piece of perfidy, the proclamation of the first consul, in which he told us, "*You are all equal and free before God and the republic.*" This was his declaration, at the same time that his instructions to General Leclerc expressly enjoined the restoration of slavery. It was not enough to call upon men to witness his falsehood, but the Deity himself must be insulted by this horrible blasphemy.

The greater part of the population, deceived by these fallacious promises, and long accustomed to con-

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sider themselves as French, submitted without resistance. So little did the governor expect to have an enemy to combat, that he had given no orders to his generals to resist, in case of attack; and when the French armament arrived, he was making the circuit of the eastern side of the island. If some generals did resist, it was only because the menacing and hostile manner in which they were summoned to surrender, obliged them to consult their duty, their honor, and the circumstances in which they were placed.

[To prove these assertions, reference is made to some official documents, annexed to the manifesto.]

After a resistance of some months, the governor-general yielded to the pressing entreaties of General Leclerc, and to his solemn protestations that perfect liberty was intended to be maintained, and that France would never destroy its most beautiful work. On this basis peace was negociated with the French: and the Governor Toussaint, resigning his authority, peaceably retired to the retreat which he had chosen.

Scarcely had the French extended their dominion over the whole island, and that more by cunning and persuasion than by the force of arms, when they began to put in execution their horrible system of slavery and destruction.

To promote the accomplishment of their projects, a

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correspondence was fabricated by mercenary and Machiavelian scribblers; and designs were imputed to Toussaint which he never thought of. While quietly reposing in his habitation at Pongaudin, in the faith of solemn treaties, he was seized, loaded with fetters, dragged, with his family, on board the Hero, and transported to France. All Europe knows how he terminated his unfortunate career in the tortures and horrors of the dungeon of the Chateau de Joux, in Franche-Comté.

Such was the recompence reserved for his attachment to France, and for the eminent services he had rendered to the colonies.

That moment was the signal given for arrests throughout the island. All those who had displayed strength of intellect, or superiority of character, at the time when we claimed the rights of man, were the first to be seized. Even the traitors who had most contributed to the success of the French armies, by conducting their advanced guards, and pointing out their fellow-citizens for vengeance, were not spared. At first, attempts were made to sell them in foreign colonies; but this plan not succeeding, it was resolved to convey them to France, where oppressive labor, galleys, fetters, and dungeons, awaited them.

Then the white colonists, whose numbers had pro-

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gressively increased, thinking their power sufficiently restored, threw off the mask of dissimulation, openly declared the re-establishment of slavery, and acted in conformity with that declaration. These men had the impudence to claim, as their slaves, men who had distinguished themselves by signal services rendered to their country, as well in a civil as in a military capacity: virtuous and honorable magistrates; warriors covered with scars, whose blood had flowed in the cause of France and liberty, were again to be subjected to the yoke of slavery. These colonists, scarcely reinstated in their plantations, while their power was yet hanging upon a thread, already marked out and selected those who were to be the first victims of their vengeance.

Then arrived the infamous decree of Bonaparte, which confirmed the re-establishment of slavery. The better to insult our misery, he also employed towards us the same dialect of delusion which he had been in the habit of using towards the people of Europe. This decree was brought by a black officer, named Hercule, who had sold himself to Bonaparte.

The proud and *liberticide* faction of the colonists, and dealers in human flesh, which, since the commencement of the revolution, has pestered every successive government of France with plans, projects, and extravagant and atrocious memorials, all tending to our

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destruction; these factious men, tormented by the remembrance of the despotism which they had exercised in Hayti, agitated by a tempest of different passions, employed all the means they could devise, to reseize the prey that had escaped from them. Independents under the Constituent Assembly; Terrorists under the Jacobins; and, lastly, zealous Bonapartists; they assumed the borrowed mask of every party, to obtain their countenance and favor. It was thus that, by their insidious counsels, they urged Bonaparte to undertake the unjust expedition against Hayti. It was this faction which, after having persuaded him to this measure, furnished him with pecuniary resources by subscription lists which were opened at that period. In a word, it was this faction which caused the blood of our fellow countrymen to flow in torrents; which instigated the unheard-of tortures that we have experienced; tortures which could be devised only by colonists habituated to, and hardened by, every species of crime. It is to the colonists that France owes the loss of a numerous army, which perished in the plains and morasses of Hayti; it is to them that she owes the shame of an enterprize which has impressed an indelible stain on the name of Frenchmen.

We are persuaded, after the cruel experience we

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have had of the spirit which animates these colonists, these traffickers in human flesh, and their vile satellites, that they will again employ their accustomed artifices to engage the French cabinet in a new enterprize against us.

If ever this enterprize take place, which we can hardly believe, it is to this cast, the enemies of the human race, that we shall be indebted for it; for we are very far from imputing to those Europeans who are unacquainted with the colonial system, of which we have been the victims, the dreadful evils that we have endured. What interest had the French people in carrying the horrors of war into the heart of a nation which was proud of belonging to them? What interest had they in coming to bury themselves in our destructive climate, and in becoming the instruments and tools of the colonists, to satiate their thirst for riches and for vengeance?

However, the majority of the people began to take up arms for the preservation of their lives and liberties. This first movement alarmed the French, and appeared sufficiently serious to General Leclerc to induce him to convoke an extraordinary assembly of the colonists, in order to adopt the most suitable measures to restore a better state of things; but these

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colonists, far from relaxing in their atrocious principles, from the imperious sense of danger, unanimously answered in these words, 'No slavery, no colony.'

As a member of this council, in vain we raised our voice to prevent the completion of the ruin of our country; in vain we represented the extreme injustice of replunging free men into slavery; in vain, well knowing the spirit of liberty which animated our countrymen, we denounced this measure as the only means of ruining the country, and detaching it from France for ever. All was to no purpose. Convinced that there remained no hopes of conciliation, that we must choose between slavery and death,—with arms in our hands, we undeceived our fellow-citizens, who had their eyes fixed upon us; and we all unanimously took up arms, resolved to expel the tyrants for ever from our soil, or to die.

General Leclerc had already announced the reduction of the island, and had even received, from almost all the maritime towns in France (where the advocates of the slave trade chiefly resided), letters of congratulation on the pretended conquest. Ashamed of having given rise to delusive expectations, mortified at his inability to complete his detestable enterprize, and dreading the approach of a terrible war, despair shortened his days, and hurried him to the tomb.

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Among the catalogue of crimes which distinguished the administration of General Leclerc, his conduct to the Haytian General Maurepas, would excite the indignation of any persons in the smallest degree susceptible of pity:—Maurepas, a man of mild and gentle manners, esteemed by his fellow-citizens for his integrity, had been one of the first to join the French, and had rendered them the most signal services; yet this man was suddenly carried off to Port Paix, and put on board the admiral's vessel, then at anchor in the Cape roads, where, after binding him to the main-mast, they, in derision, with nails such as are used in ship-building, fixed two old epaulettes on his shoulders, and an old general's hat on his head. In that frightful condition, these cannibals, after having glutted their savage mirth, precipitated him with his wife and children into the sea. Such was the fate of this virtuous and unfortunate soldier.

To the command of Leclerc succeeded Rochambeau. This monstrous agent of Bonaparte, a worthy accomplice of the colonists, polluted himself with every species of crime: he spared neither sex, nor infancy, nor age; he surpassed in cruelty the most accomplished villains of ancient or modern times. Gibbets were everywhere erected; drownings, burnings, the most horrible punishments, were practiced by his orders. He

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invented a new machine of destruction, in which victims of both sexes, heaped one upon another, were suffocated by the smoke of sulphur.

In his insensate rage, he procured from Cuba, at a great expence, a multitude of blood-hounds. They were brought by a Frenchman named Noailles, of an illustrious family, who was the first after the revolution to betray his benefactors; and the human race was given up to be devoured by dogs that will partake of the frightful immortality of their masters. What was our crime? What had we done to deserve such a proscription? Must our African original be our perpetual opprobrium? Must the colour of our epidermis be the seal of our eternal degradation?

According to an exact return made by order of the government, during the space of twenty-one months that the French remained in this island, more than sixteen thousand of our fellow-countrymen perished under the tortures we have specified. The barbarities committed by these modern conquerors upon the children of Hayti, far exceeded the crimes of the Pizarros, the Cortez, the Bodavillas, those early scourges of the new world.

In spite of all their efforts, we have succeeded in expelling these oppressors from our soil.

To secure ourselves for ever from the return of such barbarities and unheard-of crimes, to protect ourselves

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from similar perfidy and injustice, we resolved to cast off for ever the yoke of foreign domination; and accordingly, on the 1st of January, 1804, in a general assembly of the national representatives, the independence of Hayti was solemnly proclaimed, and we pronounced the oath to die free and independent, and never again to submit to any foreign power whatsoever.

Like other people, our first years were checquered with error and trouble; like them we passed through the vicissitudes inseparable from revolutions.

Since our accession to the throne, our first object has been to elevate the name and dignity of the people of Hayti. Convinced that good faith, candor, and probity in our dealings, the inviolability of property, and the personal rights of men, could alone attain that end in our internal and external relations; convinced that it is the laws which constitute the happiness of men united in society; our first measure was to frame a code of laws suitable to our usages, our climate, and our manners. After assiduous application, with the inspiration and assistance of the Almighty, we have at length put the finishing hand to this basis of our social edifice.

We have constantly protected and encouraged agriculture and commerce, which are the channels of public prosperity; abundant harvests have crowned the toil-

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some exertions of our cultivators; a considerable quantity of produce has been exported from our harbours since we proclaimed our independence, and particularly in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, by foreign nations, who have carried on a traffic with us equally safe and lucrative.

Amidst our solicitude to adopt every means for reviving our internal prosperity, we have never diverted our attention from the events which were passing in Europe, during the bloody struggle that she has had to sustain, nor have we ever lost sight, for one instant, of our system of military defence.

In this attitude we waited till Bonaparte, that enemy of the world, should come to attack us, with his usual weapons of perfidy and force; not forgetting that, after the peace of Amiens, his first object was the famous expedition for our extermination.

But the God of armies, who raises up and casts down thrones at his nod, has, in his justice, not willed that this oppressor of nations should accomplish this horrible design, We trust that his fall will give repose to the world; we hope that the return of those liberal and sound principles which influence the European powers will cause them to acknowledge the independence of a people who ask only to enjoy peace and

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commerce, those desirable objects to all civilised nations.

It is in vain to attempt again, by means of force or seduction, to make us return under a foreign yoke. We are no longer in danger from the absurd system of deceiving men in order to govern them. Taught by experience, we come to the knowledge of truth, of reason, and of our own strength.

We can no more be the victims of credulity and good faith; we can never forget that an attempt has once been made upon our liberty. The heart-rending impression of the horrible torments which have precipitated our fathers, our mothers, our wives, our children, into the tomb, will never be effaced from our memories.

We are no longer liable to deception: we know the craft of our enemies: we have before our eyes the memoirs and the projects of Malouet, of Barré de Saint-Venaut, of the Pages and the Brulleys, and other colonists. The political creed of these dealers in human flesh, these counsellors of evil, is well known to us. It is comprised in two words, *slavery* and *destruction!* We are not ignorant of the criminal intrigues and shameful practices of those apostles of crime and falsehood; they have taught us by their writings, even more

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than by the tortures we have endured, that the only solid guarantee of our political rights, of our very existence, is the preservation of our independence.

We appeal to all the sovereigns of the world, to the brave and loyal British nation, which has been the first to proclaim, in its august senate, the abolition of the infamous traffic in negroes; which has employed the ascendancy of victory for the noble purpose of recommending the abolition to all other states with which she has concluded alliances: we appeal to the philanthropists of all nations; in fine, to mankind at large, to the whole world: and we ask, what people, after twenty-five years of battle and bloodshed, having won their liberty and independence with the sword, would consent to lay down their arms, and become again the sport and the victims of their cruel oppressors? What people would stoop to such a depth of baseness? The last of the Haytians will breathe out his last sigh sooner than renounce his independence.

We will not do any power the injustice to suppose it capable of forming the chimerical hope of establishing its authority in Hayti by the force of arms. The power that should undertake this enterprize, would have to march a long way over ruins and dead bodies: and if, after having wasted all its means, and

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consumed the flower of its troops, it should at length make itself master of the country, which yet we believe to be impossible; what would it have gained by the loss of so much treasure and so much blood?

It would not be presumptuous to believe that his majesty, Louis XVIII. following the impulse of the philanthropic spirit which has reigned in his family, and imitating the example of his unfortunate brother, Louis XVI. in his political conduct towards the United States of America, will tread in the steps of that monarch, and acknowledge the independence of Hayti. It would be but an act of justice, a poor reparation for the evils we have suffered from the government of France.

It is in vain that our calumniators still have the hardihood to allege that *we must not be considered as a political body aspiring to independence,* and collectively occupied in the means of attaining it.* This absurd assertion, invented by the craft, wickedness, and sordid selfishness of the advocates of the slave trade, merits the profoundest contempt and indignation of good men of all countries; and is sufficiently belied by eleven years' actual enjoyment of independence and

* Introduction to the Memoirs of St. Domingo. MALOUET, vol. iv. p. 56.

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its happy results. There is no example of any people having made so rapid a progress in civilizatton.

Free by right, and independent, in fact, we will never renounce these blessings; no, never will we consent to witness the subversion of the edifice we have raised, and cemented by our blood; at least, without being buried beneath its ruins.

To commercial powers inclined to form connections with us, we offer our friendship, the security of their property, and our royal protection to their peaceable subjects who shall land upon our shores with the intention of carrying on their commercial affairs, and who shall conform to our laws and customs.

King of a free people, a soldier by profession, we dread no war, nor enemy. We have already declared our determination not to intermeddle, in any manner, in the internal government of our neighbours: we wish to enjoy, at home, peace and tranquillity, and to exercise the prerogative, enjoyed by all other nations, of making such laws for ourselves as our exigencies require. If, after the free exposition of our sentiments and of the justice of our cause, any invader, in violation of the laws of nations, should plant a hostile foot upon our territory, our first duty will then be to repel the act of aggression by every means in our power.

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We solemnly declare, that we will never become a party to any treaty, or any condition, that shall compromise the honor, the liberty, or the independence of the Haytian people. Faithful to our oath, we will rather bury ourselves beneath the ruins of our country, than suffer the smallest infringement of our political rights.

Given at our palace of Sans Souci, the 18th of September, 1814, in the 11th year of independence, and the 4th of our reign.

(Signed) HENRY.

(By the King)

Comte de LIMONADE,

Secretary of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs.



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