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State of Manners on the Establishment of Independence, &c. in St. Domingo, with a Memoir of the Circumstances of the Author's Visit to the Island.

THE white population of St. Domingo, now still farther decreased by the emigrations which followed the evacuation of the English, presented but a dismal semblance of the flourishing French colony; added to which, many of the whites who were encouraged to remain, now spread through the eastern districts with a spirit of wild speculation, and became more solitary, when they might have been expected to associate with stronger ties than ever. Of the Spaniards, widely scattered, in their most tranquil state, many had emigrated, but more had been sent from the island, on the surrender of the Spanish territory to Toussaint. Although the defection of the whites was striking in the towns where they had been most numerous, that of the blacks was increased in a proportion so large, as to astonish those who had witnessed their losses, and the decrease

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which was remarked after the first insurrections of the negroes. This is accounted for in a satisfactory manner, by the greater degree of comforts experienced by the females, and the decrease of general labor.* Although, for some time, the change of government appeared to tinge with a melancholy hue, the parts of the island formerly in the possession of the English, yet the rude happiness of those who had now become its possessors, soon suppressed every other effect; and, notwithstanding the despotic rule of martial law, circumstances in general began to wear a promising appearance.

At this period the narrator of their history became possessed of an opportunity of judging of the state and power of the people, who form the subject of his present disquisition; and his personal observations during his detention among them, will supply the information submitted in the present chapter.

A violent hurricane having dismasted the little bark,† in which he was proceeding from Jamaica to join his regiment at Martinique, (having been before accommodated in the cabin of his friend, Admiral Smith, ‡ as far as the Mole St. Nicholas,) it was driven under the walls of Cape François, and in that state compelled to wait the relief of the brigands, an appellation which

* Malouet, Memoires sur les Colonies.

† The Maria, Danish schooner, commanded by James Frazer.

‡ The liberal reception which the military always met with on board the Hanibal, is too well known to require any compliment on the present occasion.

the superior policy that already appeared in this extraordinary republic, had not yet obliterated from its members. To avoid the suspicion in which, notwithstanding the recent treaty, the English yet continued to be viewed, and to prevent the probability of injury to his companions, the writer was induced to assume the character of an American, which was easy to be effected, as the vessel was ultimately bound to that continent. The crew were permitted to land after certain ceremonies, and the first object which excited their attention, was no less than the hero of this novel empire. Toussaint was conversing with two privates of his forces on the batteries, and when he saw the Europeans approaching, immediately walked towards them, and, addressing them in French, inquired the news, from whence they came, and their destination. One served as respondent for the whole, who spoke in such terms as his character demanded, and the General civilly took his leave.

The number of Americans at this port could not fail to attract particular notice, and every attention seemed to be paid to the accommodation of their commerce, and a striking degree of interest in every occurrence that concerned them. Even the women seemed to renew a fondness long repressed for the whites, in favor of the meanest of the American sailors. The present writer, however, requiring some rest after his recent voyage, hastened, on receiving his directions to the purpose, to the Hotel de la Republique, the principal house, usually resorted to by Americans, an edifice of rather elegant appearance; and on his way,

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except the preponderancy of the black complexion, perceived but little difference from an European city. On entering the house, however, he immediately perceived that the usual subordinations of society were entirely disregarded, and that he was to witness, for the first time, a real system of equality.

Here were officers and privates, the colonel and the drummer, at the same table indiscriminately; and the writer had been scarcely seated at a repast in the first room to which he was conducted, when a fat negro, to initiate him in the general system, helped himself frequently from his dish, and took occasion to season his character by large draughts of the wine, accompanied with the address of "Mon Americain." The appearance of the house, and its accommodations, were not much inferior to a London coffee-house, and on particular occasions exhibited a superior degree of elegance. Toussaint not unfrequently dined here himself, but he did not sit at the head of the table, from the idea, (as was asserted,) that the hours of refection and relaxation should not be damped by the affected forms of the old regimen, and that no man should assume a real superiority in any other place than the field. He was in the evenings at the billiard-table, where the writer conversed and played with him several times; and he could not help, on some occasions, when a want of etiquette disturbed him for a moment, congratulating himself, that if he experienced not the refinement of European intercourse, he saw no room for insincerity: and that if
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delicate converse did not always present itself, he was free from the affectation of sentiment.

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In traversing the once superb city of the Cape, though presenting a tolerable appearance from the shore, desolation every where presented itself. On the site where elegant luxury had exhausted its powers to delight the voluptuary, all was magnificent ruin! and to mark the contrast stronger, of the wrecks were composed temporary houses for the American merchants, and petty shops inhabited by the natives. Several spacious streets towards the centre, displayed the walls of superb edifices of five and six stories, with gilded balconies, of which the beautiful structure exhibited the devastation that had occurred, with additional horror. Nor was this all, for in different parts of these ruins the sad remains of the former possessors were visibly mingled with the crumbling walls:

“ There---heedless of the dead,
The shelter-seeking peasant rears his shed,
And wonders man could want the larger pile.”

Having been informed of a review which was to take place on the plain of the Cape, the writer availed himself of the opportunity, accompanied by some Americans, and a few of his own countrymen who resided there under that denomination. Of the grandeur of the scene he had not the smallest conception. Two thousand officers were in the field, carrying arms, from the general to the ensign, yet with the utmost attention to rank;

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without the smallest symptom of the insubordination that existed 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 ran three or four hundred yards, then separating, threw 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; they then formed again, in an instant, into their wonted regularity. This single manœuvre was 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 smallest idea of their previous situation.

The pleasing sensations inspired by the ability manifested in this review, were checked by the additional monuments of human ferocity which presented themselves on his return to the city; the conflagration of which, and of the surrounding plantations, was still in the memory of several Americans, who described the effect, as awfully grand beyond conception.

In one of the squares in the north-west quarter was placed an edifice that made some amends for the desolation appearing in its vicinity, from the elegance of its execution. It was an ascent to a canopy, or dome, of which the architecture was not perfectly

perfectly regular, beneath which were two seats, and above them an inscription, that eminently exhibited the tolerance of Toussaint. There were two centinels to guard it, who, being asked if any one might ascend the steps, answered in the affirmative, but with a strict prohibition against touching the cap of liberty, which crowned it. It was a tribute of respect to the memory of Santhonax and Polverel, the French commissioners, and had been erected by some of their advocates at a time when their largesses obtained for them what they would not otherwise have enjoyed, a transitory popularity. An extract from a speech of one of them formed part of the inscription, in French, and which countenanced the opinion, that the abolition of slavery was a primary object of their mission. It was to the following effect:

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“ My Friends,

We came to make you free.

Frenchmen give Liberty to the World.

You are free.

Guard your Freedom.

Vive la Liberté.

Vive la Republique.

Vive Robespierre.

The remainder of the inscription consisted of a selection from the proclamation for abolishing slavery. The prevailing opinion of these men, notwithstanding they had been execrated for their conduct, was favorable to their talents, and to their spirit.

Though impressed with the necessity of caution, it would have required much more *sang-froid* than was possessed by the ob-

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server, to resist the numerous impulses of mingling with a people whose conduct presented the most generous hospitality, and objects of the most interesting contemplation. He obtained access to the houses of most whose intercourse could furnish either information or pleasure; nor did he reject the negro hut at other times, though certainly of less attraction.

As in all states of human society, particularly in the vortex of a revolution, which effected so complete a change, the able and the cunning had elevated themselves above those who were of the same rank of life. Negroes, recollected in the lowest state of slavery, including Africans, filled situations of trust and responsibility; they were, likewise, in many instances, occupied by those who had been in superior circumstances under the old regimen, free negroes, and mulattoes.

The superior order had attained a sumptuousness of life, with all the enjoyments which dignity could obtain, or rank confer.—The interior of their houses was, in many instances, furnished with a luxe beyond that of the most voluptuous European, while no want of trans-atlantic elegance appeared; nor, amidst a general fondness for shew, was the chasteness of true taste always neglected. Their etiquette extended to a degree of refinement scarcely to be conceived; and the service of their domestics, among whom were, from what cause was not ascertained, some mulattoes, was performed with more celerity than in many instances in Europe. A conscious ease, and certain *gaieté du*

cœur, presided over every repast. Conversation had free scope, except as related to their own former circumstances, but when the defence of their country was the subject, every eye filled with fire, and every tongue shouted—Victory! The names of some, who had seceded from the black army were, the only objects that seemed to excite detestation. In many instances the writer has heard reasoning, and witnessed manners of acuteness and elegance, the relation of which would appear incredible, from those who were remembered in a state of servitude, or whose parents were in situations of abject penury; while sallies of wit, not frequently surpassed, have enlivened many an hour. It would ill become him, notwithstanding the tide of prejudice, which has always pervaded his assertions, to suppose his readers capable of gratification from the chit-chat of a St. Domingo table; and it would be equally unjust to employ the opportunities afforded him by unguarded kindness, in the accumulation of fleeting anecdotes, arising from domestic privacy; he therefore contents himself with stating, that the enjoyments of life were to be found in a high degree in the capital of St. Domingo, and that their alloy did not exceed, nor perhaps always equal, that of ancient European cities.

The men were in general sensible and polite, often dignified and impressive; the women frequently elegant and engaging. The intercourse of the sexes was on the most rational footing, and the different degrees of colour which remained, had lost

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most of that natural hostility which formerly existed. Several Americans had intermarried with ladies of colour very advantageously, and to appearance happily. They were, generally, very agreeable women, and felt no inequality in their difference of complexion or nation. Like Sappho, they could plead, (in many instances, in point of wit, sprightliness, and pathos, little inferior to the Lesbian muse, though without her powers of song)

“ Brown though I am, an Ethiopian dame
 Inspir'd young Perseus with a generous flame;
 Turtles and doves of different hues unite,
 And glossy black is pair'd with shining white.”

The drama, that source of rational delight, always so prevalent in St. Domingo, existed, in more strength and propriety than it had done before; and that licentiousness which appears inseparable to it in a higher state, was actually restrained. The representations were chiefly comedies *en vaudeville*, and a sort of pantomime;—sometimes serious representations, allusive to local circumstances, and sometimes merely humourous burlesques.—The conduct of the whole was highly creditable to the talents of the performers, some of whom yet remained from the French school, who, although driven to seek a livelihood under such doubtful auspices, might have shone with equal lustre to their more fortunate contemporaries on an European stage. The black performers, who preponderated in number, were not behind in talents; the writer saw a play of Moliere's performed

with an accuracy that would not have disgraced the first theatre in Europe.—Even painting, from some recent specimens, appeared to be encouraged, and cultivated as an accomplishment, in a slight degree. A young lady of colour, of the name of La Roche, presented a large company, of which the writer was one, in the course of a few minutes, with their likenesses, very accurately cut in profile.—Music, also, though it must be confessed, not such as to vie with the harmony of the spheres, was every where prevalent to an excess, and the practice of most kinds in use, though stringed instruments were preferred.—Yet, with an ardent sensibility that appeared in many instances, and which could not fail to be cultivated under present circumstances, the rich blacks suffered the greater part of the capital to lie in ruins; they appeared to shrink from re-instating it, as if in rebuilding their former residences, they should create new masters.

The situation of those who still remained in humble privacy, and who formed the great bulk of the people, was indeed very greatly changed. Their condition, agreeably to their capacities of enjoyment, approached nearer happiness than many others which are considered its ultimatum. Crimes were by no means frequent, and those rather attributable to accident than vice. They were perfectly at liberty as regarded themselves, and were more ready to perform their social duties, than the state was urgent in requiring them. Those qualities conspicuous in the negroes under their worst circumstances, their regard for all the relations of life, and tendernesses to each other, seemed expanded
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with their freedom, and many of the little prejudices that had existed wore away. Those amusements, which were formerly suppressed, had now free scope, but they restrained themselves from public annoyance with more regularity than could have been effected by the strictest police.

The *menage* of the labourer in the town and its vicinity, was improved in a proportion equal to his condition. A rough, yet neat couch, supplied the place of the wretched bedding of a former period, and the visitor was not unprovided for, though it is lamentable to state, that in several instances the furniture of the cottage was beholden to the public commotions, and in one instance, painfully risible, a beautiful fire-screen, the dextrous workmanship of some fair sufferer, concealed a dog then roasting from some of their fellows, who considered it opprobrious to be *mangeurs des chiens*.*

In one instance, the writer was introduced by a brigand† of peculiar intelligence, with whom he had frequent conferences, on

* Let it not excite wonder that the blacks, deriving their origin from some peculiar parts of Africa, are remarkably fond of the flesh of this animal, (of which an account may be seen at large, I believe, in *Du Tertre*,) for it has been often found an excellent substitute for other food at sea, and has been used with success by convalescents. See *Cook's Voyages*. I quote the incident from memory.

† In the recollection of my stay at Cape François, I use the term *negro* and *brigand*, (both derogatory of the ruling power of St. Domingo,) not as by any means appropriate to the people they describe at present, but as the means of distinguishing them to the European, who cannot so easily assimilate himself with their present condition.

the military tactics of the black army) to the cottage of a black laborer, of whom an account may not be uninteresting. He had a family of thirteen children; eight of them by one woman, and the remainder by two others; the former only lived with him in the same cottage, with his mother, who was aged and infirm; the other two, separately, at a small distance. This man was an epitome of legislature, and his family a well regulated kingdom in miniature. His cottage consisted of three irregular apartments, the first of which was his refectory, where, as often as possible, and always on *jours de fêtes*, his subjects assembled, including on those occasions his three wives. The furniture of this apartment was entirely of his own making, even to the smallest utensil, and with an ingenuity beyond what might be expected from perfect leisure; notwithstanding the artificer, during the process, had been obliged to attend his labor in the fields, and was a considerable time in arms. On a neat shelf, appropriated peculiarly to their use, lay a mass book, and a mutilated volume of Volney's Travels, some parts of which he understood more than his visitor. Every thing convenience required was to be found on a small scale, and the whole so compact, and clean, with such an air of *propreté* throughout as was absolutely attractive. His own bed-room was furnished with an improved bedstead, supported by trussels, with a mattress and bedding of equal quality with the other furniture, but that of his children and mother surpassed the whole. One bedstead contained them, yet separated the male from the female,

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on original principles.—Every individual employed a portion of his time in labor, and received an allotted part of the produce for his reward, while all took the field, from a sense of duty to themselves. A perfect combination appeared in their conduct, and every action came directly from the heart. More than sixty thousand men were frequently exercised together on the plain of the Cape, in excellent discipline, whose united determination against an invading enemy, would be victory or death. Little coercion was necessary, and punishment was chiefly inflicted by a sense of shame produced by slight confinement, or the like. Labor was so much abridged, that no want of leisure was felt; it would be a great gratification to the feeling heart, to see the peasant in other countries with a regulated toil similar to that of the laborer in St. Domingo.

Such is a general sketch of the state of society, as it appeared in the capital of St. Domingo, which spread internally as far as its effects could be expected to reach.—There was no possibility of acquiring correct accounts of the plans of government, which had been submitted to Toussaint, much less of the forms he was disposed to adopt. A regular municipal establishment existed, and martial government, dispensed every where in all its vigour, rendered civil jurisdiction of little avail.

The writer observed, with pleasure, the delay in repairing the vessel, which afforded him an opportunity of examining objects which

which might never return. For several weeks he continued to amuse himself with observations on the manners of the people, which he had no idea at that time of preserving beyond the information and amusement of his own friends, and by sketching draughts of the principal posts that were accessible. He enjoyed the habits of a metropolis, and, except the anxiety which would obtrude on account of the delay from his duty, participated in the general happiness.

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When the time arrived for the departure of the vessel, at an unexpected moment; such is the human heart, he lingered on a spot which he would have before avoided at the hazard of his life. The ship had been repaired—all was ready—and bidding farewell to new connections which had just begun to engage him, he returned on board with the agreeable hopes of a speedy arrival at St. Thomas's: but—

“Heaven from all creatures hides the book of fate!”

After beating about upon the coast for three days, in the most perilous circumstances, the unfortunate vessel sprung a leak, when they were compelled to put into Fort Dauphin, or, according to the revolutionary nomenclature, Fort Egalité.

In this situation the master of the vessel and the writer apprehended no danger or impropriety in going on shore. Hoisting therefore Danish colours, they came to anchor under a small fort, when in less than half an hour the latter was arrested after landing
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by four blacks, and a mulatto officer of great ferocity. They returned with him on board, and placed him under the care of two black centinels. These informed him, in answer to his anxious inquiries, that he was suspected of being a spy, that he would be tried on the morrow, and of course be condemned. Such was the complacent idea attached to the trial of a stranger, who was afterwards to defend the character of their chief.

Apprehensions of different kinds now crowded his imagination: he did not know whether suspicions might not have occurred at Cape François; and the commandant of the district have been prepared for his arrival. He was aware, that, in a few instances, he had ventured farther than he should have done. He had also been allowed access to many of the principal people, and he knew not what might have taken place after his departure. He was, however, left unmolested, and, except his freedom, without any other deprivation; a circumstance of the most fortunate kind, as it afforded him an opportunity of destroying his baggage and papers, including a variety of documents, which must have been dangerous in the highest degree.* These he disposed of, by putting them out of the cabin-window in the middle of the night, with a weight attached

* Besides his military appointments, they included correct views of Fort Piccolet and other works, and several plans, which he hoped to have had the honour of presenting to the Duke of York; his Royal Highness having condescended to regard, with attention, other attempts which he had the honour of presenting to him.

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sufficient to sink them. Having succeeded in this affair, and the proceedings of the ensuing day continuing to occupy his attention, his situation became most unpleasant. The silence of the night, interrupted by the murmurs of the ocean, the clamours of the guard, and the distant sounds from the shore, produced the strongest melancholy; while confused surmises of the determination of the morrow, and a contemplation of the shame, rather than the terror of an ignominious death, revolving in his mind, deprived him of the possibility of rest, and totally unfitted him for the slightest preparation.

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Early in the morning he was taken on shore, and examined by a black general, named Muro, the commanding officer of the district. He could not help thinking that his appearance augured well, for he bore the principal mythological characteristic of Justice. He was totally blind of one eye, and appeared to see but little through the other. He, however, relieved the prisoner from the apprehension of any charge existing previous to the moment; for he began his examination by insisting, that he was not an American, but an English spy, reconnoitering the coast; and closed it by acquainting him, that a court-martial, already summoned, would assemble on the morrow, and his trial would be prompt and decisive. He was then conducted to a dark prison, (which wanted none of the usual concomitants of such a place,) and treated with the utmost indignity. There was no bed; nor had he any other provision than some coarse, dry fish, which he could not eat—a treatment he was afterwards informed

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formed was used to prisoners during the space between apprehension and trial, to prevent any opportunity for the contrivance of evasion. At the hour of ten he was brought before a regular military court, composed of twelve black general officers, the etiquette of which astonished him. General Christophe, a relative of Toussaint, being in a neighbouring district, presided, and Muro sat on his right-hand. They interrogated him with the utmost discrimination and acuteness, appearing perfectly conversant with the nature of the business. But, for the commandant already named, not a look nor an attitude escaped him—and he darted his eye, in which both seemed to have centered an uncommon degree of fire, over every part of the prisoner, the form of whose very head-dress, he insisted, was not *en Americain!*

He was put on his defence in equal form, but all he could urge had not the smallest effect, as he had no passports nor any American papers to exhibit. Notwithstanding every appearance to the contrary, they had had some decisive testimony of imprudent liberty on the island; and, after several hours deliberation, he was condemned to suffer death as quick as possible. The master of the vessel behaved with dignity of character, and the utmost solicitude. He protested against the judgment, but without effect; and the prisoner was remanded till the sentence should be transmitted to the General-en-Chef, for his approval.

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: He was then remanded to a different kind of prison, which, though little superior in point of accommodation, had the advantage of air, and the communication of the human species, though only by stealth. It was the remains of a dilapidated building, the part of which appropriated to the prisoner, was secured with strong iron-bars, in a fashion then very prevalent: he had also the incumbrance of a chain from the right arm to the left foot. For fourteen days he lay in the agony of suspense between life and death, with every evening the cruel intimation, that he would certainly be hanged on the next morning.

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Even in this situation he could not resist the opportunity which his prison, or rather cage, afforded him, of observing the surrounding scene, which was more delightful than even fancy could picture. It was situated in the midst of a rich valley, through which a stream from the neighbouring hill meandered in romantic form. A church was nearly hid in the vale, and the rising ground was fortified in every direction. Over the whole the most exquisite foliage exhibited its charming fruits, with all the richness of a tropic region. Beneath the spreading cocoa, and the taller yam, he was nightly amused with the cheerful dance, the negroes assembling when they quitted labour, without any seeming appointment, but as a natural habit; sometimes they had, on *jours de fêtes*, or holidays, a particular entertainment of activity, the principal part of which was the Calenda, or "dance of love." On these occasions they were dressed with peculiar care: those who had been recently employed in arms retaining some part of

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their uniform, and the females bedecked with various jewels: they had also a refectory. The animation displayed by both sexes in the dance was astonishing, which consisting entirely of amatory history, was equal to many ballets which are performed on the French or Italian stage, while the dancers might have been called, without any dereliction from the Cytherean goddess, though not exactly comporting with her in complexion,

——— "fair Venus' train."

The *hauteur* with which they passed the prison of "the white man taken" was astonishing; yet some seemed willing to pity and relieve, but it arose rather from ostentation than mercy. One circumstance, however, occurred that remains deeply impressed in his bosom, and relieves his mind while recording it, which would have done honor to the most dignified of a different complexion.

After lying two nights on a couch, formed of dried sugar-canes, with a very slender supply of food, the prisoner had resigned himself to the vacuity of despair; he was stretched out in silent agony, when, as the night closed in, and the mirthful troops had progressively retired, a gentle female voice, with the tenderest accents, aroused his attention. How long the benign object had been there, he could not ascertain; but, when he looked up, and beheld her, his feelings were indescribable: she was a fine figure, rather tall, and slender, with a face most beautiful, and a form of the finest symmetry, improved by the melancholy air which

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the scene had given her. She was dressed in a superior style, and possessed all the elegance of European manners, improved by the most expressive carriage. She held a basket, containing the most delicate food, with the finest fruits: she entreated him to receive them silently, and to destroy any remnants, as a discovery would be fatal to her, and prejudicial to himself. He was about to reply with the ardour of gratitude, when, in an instant, she was gone! On the following evening, she returned, and endeavoured to comfort him with the most obliging expressions; and, by evincing extreme anxiety on his behalf, once more light up the illusion of hope in his breast, which he had abandoned, with all human prospects, for ever. The next evening she repeated her visit, and condescended to favor him with more extensive communication. Still not a word occurred to disclose her name, or situation: once, indeed, she made some distant allusions to the English, which led him to imagine, she had been impressed with gratitude towards the country by some obligation. Whatever her name, or whatever her circumstances, if this slight memorial should live to reach that delightful isle, in which, as an angelic representation of mercy, she may yet stay the hand of the destroyer, it will bear to her the sincere effusions of a grateful heart, which, though bruised by those of a fairer skin, can never discharge its sense of duty.*

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* I have ever conceived this adventure as highly illustrative of the character of the sex conveyed in the eulogium of Lediard, which contains sentiments I have always delighted to repeat.---"I have," says he, "always remarked, that women, in all countries, are civil,

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The faithful commander of the vessel, from whose mishap this dreadful circumstance arose, never long quitted the spot, and frequently ventured to whisper consolation, though with the greatest danger to himself; for it appeared a political method to expose the victims of justice, none being knowingly permitted to approach them. Whatever he heard, however, to relieve the dreadful suspense of his friend, the taciturnity of the jailor tended to contradict, as little could be obtained of information from him, except his assuring him every night, that he would be certainly hanged on the morrow.

However, on the morn of the fifteenth day, when he had ventured to disengage himself of a part of his dress, for the purpose of a temporary relief from the weight of his chains, the answer of Toussaint arrived, bringing, instead of (as was fully expected) the confirmation of the sentence, an order from that truly great man for his release, and to be suffered to proceed on his voyage, with this prohibition, conveyed with much shrewdness, but the greatest magnanimity, "That he must never return to this island without *proper passports!*"

obliging, tender, and humane; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest; and, that they do not hesitate, like men, to perform a kind, or generous action. Not haughty nor arrogant, not supercilious, they are full of courtesy, and fond of society---more liable in general to err than man, but in general, also, more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he. To a woman, whether civilized or savage, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise."

With many opportunities of judging in various countries, and in various situations, I warmly subscribe to this just encomium.

To describe his feelings on such an unexpected reverse, would be difficult and useless. Restored to himself once more, he did not long remain on a part of the island where his sufferings would have tended to efface the agreeable impressions received at Cape François. Once he tried to trace the haunts of his benevolent incognita, but in vain. She was impervious. He again bade adieu to this interesting soil, and at length reached his long-desired destination, the island of Martinique.*

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* It is necessary to add, that on his arrival he met with the usual kindness and urbanity of the commander in chief, General Cuyler, who ordered him a remuneration for the loss of his baggage, and to whom he is indebted for many polite attentions since. He has been also informed, that he was honored with a congratulatory letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, which, from some unaccountable accident, he did not receive.

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*View of the Black Army, and the War between the French Republic
and the Independent Blacks of St. Domingo.*

THE close of the eighteenth century, a period marked by the grandest operations and the most gigantic projects, presented to the world, a new and organised empire, where it was not only supposed to be impossible to exist, but, where even its existence was denied, although it was known by those connected with that quarter of the globe to have taken place, and under the most flourishing auspices. The beneficent and able black, Toussaint L'Ouverture, devoid of the extraneous policy of the governors of ancient states, no sooner found himself at ease from the complicated warfare with which, from the first moment of his government he had been surrounded, than he evinced equal talents for the arts of peace, with those which he had invariably displayed in the field; and that mercy which had ever accompanied him in victory, now transfused itself in a mild and humane policy in the legislature. His first care was to establish,

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View of the
Black army.Toussaint
General in
Chief.

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on a firm foundation, the ordinances of religion, according to the existing constitutions of society, to watch over the morals, and excite the industry of those who had committed themselves to his charge.

The effects of these exertions were quickly evident throughout his dominion. Such was the progress of agriculture from this period, that the succeeding crop produced (notwithstanding the various impediments, in addition to the ravages of near a ten years war) full one third of the quantity of sugar and coffee, which had ever been produced at its most prosperous period. The increase of population was such, as to astonish the planters resident in the mother country, who could not conceive the possibility of preventing that falling off, in the numbers of the negroes, which formed their absolute necessity for supplying them by the slave-trade. Health, became prevalent throughout the country, with its attendant, cheerfulness, that exhilarator of labor.

Having introduced in a prominent light the surprising character, to whose talents and energies, the inhabitants of this regenerated island were indebted for their then existing advantages, it becomes necessary to present the reader with a view of the circumstances which accompanied a life so important in the history of St. Domingo.

Life and
character of
Toussaint
L'Ouverture.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE was born a slave in the year 1745, on the estate of the Count de Noé, at a small distance from Cape François,

François, in the northern province of St. Domingo, a spot since remarkable as the very source of revolution,* and site of a camp, (that of Breda,) from whence its native general has issued mandates more powerful than those of any monarch on the earth.

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MS. account.

While tending his master's flocks, the genius of Toussaint began to expand itself, by an attention towards objects beyond the reach of his comprehension; and without any other opportunity than was equally possessed by those around him, who remained nearly in impenetrable ignorance, he learnt to read, write, and use figures. Encouraged by the progress he rapidly made in these arts, and fired with the prospect of higher attainments, he employed himself assiduously in the further cultivation of his talents. His acquirements, as is oftentimes the case, under such circumstances, excited the admiration of his fellow slaves, and fortunately attracted the attention of the attorney, or manager of the estate, M. Bayou de Libertas. This gentleman, with a discrimination honorable to his judgment, withdrew Toussaint from the labor of the fields, to his own house, and began the amelioration of his fortune, by appointing him his postilion, an enviable situation among slaves, for its profit, and comparative respectability.

This instance of patronage by M. Bayou, impressed itself strongly on the susceptible mind of Toussaint. True genius and ele-

* See Chap. III. of this work.

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vated sentiments are inseparable; the recollection of the most trivial action, kindly bestowed in obscurity, or under the pressure of adverse circumstances, warms the heart of sensibility, even in the hour of popular favor, more than the proudest honors. This truth was exemplified by the subsequent gratitude of Toussaint towards his master. He continued to deserve and receive promotion, progressively, to offices of considerable confidence.

Oral tradition.

Among other traits fondly preserved in St. Domingo of the conduct of Toussaint during the early period of his life, are his remarkable benevolence towards the brute creation, and an unconquerable patience. Of the former, many instances are related which evince a mind endued with every good quality. He knew how to avail himself so well of the sagacity of the horse, as to perform wonders with that animal, without those cruel methods used to extort from them the docility exhibited in Europe; he was frequently seen musing amongst the different cattle, seeming to hold a species of dumb converse, which they evidently understood, and produced in them undoubted marks of attention. They knew and manifested their acquaintance, whenever he appeared; and he has been frequently seen attending with the anxiety of a nurse any accident which had befallen them; the only instance in which he could be roused to irritation, was when a slave had revenged the punishment he received from his owner upon his harmless and unoffending cattle. Proverbial became his patience, insomuch that it was a favorite amusement of the young and inconsiderate upon the same estate,

to endeavour to provoke him by wanton tricks and affected malignity. But so perfectly he had regulated his temper, that he constantly answered with a meek smile, and accounted for their conduct by such means, as would render it strictly pardonable. To the law of self-preservation, or the misfortune of not knowing the delight of philanthropy, he would attribute an act of brutal selfishness; while he imputed to a momentary misapprehension, an inclination to rude and malicious controversy. Thus was his passive disposition never in the smallest degree affected, being ready on all occasions to conciliate and to bear, in circumstances whether frivolous or of the highest importance.

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At the age of twenty-five Toussaint attached himself to a female of similar character to his own, and their union cemented by marriage, which does not appear to have been violated, conferred respectability on their offspring. Still he continued a slave; nor did the goodness of M. Bayou, although it extended to render him as happy as the state of servitude would admit, ever contemplate the manumission of one who was to become a benefactor to him and his family. Such is the effect of ancient prejudice, in obscuring, the highest excellence of our nature; he who would perform godlike actions without hesitation, from any other cause, shrinks from a breach of etiquette, or a violation of custom!

In the comforts of a situation possessing a degree of opulence, Toussaint found leisure to extend the advantages of his early acquisitions,

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Memoires du
General
Toussaint.

acquisitions, and by the acquaintance of some priests, who possessed little more of the character than the name, acquired the knowledge of new sources of information, and a relish for books of a superior order than first attracted his attention; the author of whom he became the most speedily enamoured, was the Abbé Raynal, on whose history and speculations in philosophy and politics he was intent for weeks together, and never quitted, but with an intention to return, with renewed and additional pleasure. A French translation of Epictetus for a time confined him to its doctrines, which he often quoted; but he soon sought higher food for his capacious mind, and found in a portion of the ancient historians, the summit of his wishes. He was there seen studiously consulting the opinion of those who teach the conduct of empires, or the management of war; yet, he neglected not those who aim to harmonize the mind, and teach man himself; the only difference in his habits imbibing these treasures created, was, an external polish, which imparted an uncommon grace to his manners.*

MS. account.

* The following books were conspicuous in the library of Toussaint, a list of which was handed to the author in consequence of his inquiries respecting the progress of his mind:

Scriptores de re Militari.

Cæsar's Commentaries, French translation, by De Crisse.

Des Claison's History of Alexander and Cæsar.

D'Orleans' History of Revolutions in England and Spain.

Marshal Saxe's Military Reveries.

Guischard's Military Memoirs of the Greeks and Romans.

Herodotus, History of the Wars of the Persians against the Greeks.

Le Beau's Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belle's Lettres.

Lloyd's Military and Political Memoirs; the Works of the English Socrates, Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos, &c. &c. &c.

Thus proceeded this illustrious man: like the simple acorn, first promiscuously scattered by the winds, in its slow but beautiful progress to the gigantic oak, spreading its foliage with august grandeur, above the minor growth of the forest, defending the humble shrub, and braving the fury of contending elements.

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Continuing on the estate on which he was born, when the deliberations preceding the actual rebellion of the slaves, were taking place upon the plantation of Noè, the opinion of him who was always regarded with esteem and admiration was solicited. His sanction was of importance, as he had a number of slaves under his command, and a general influence over his fellow negroes. Among the leaders of this terrible revolt were several of his friends, who he had deemed worthy to make his associates for mutual intelligence; yet, from whatever cause is not ascertained, he forbore in the first instance to join in the contest of liberty. It is probable that his manly heart revolted from cruelties attendant on the first burst of revenge in slaves about to retaliate their wrongs and sufferings on their owners. He saw that the innocent would suffer with the guilty; and that the effects of revolution regarded future, more than present justice. When the cloud charged with electric fluid becomes too ponderous, it selects not the brooding murderer on the barren heath, but bursts, perhaps, indiscriminately, in wasteful vengeance, o'er innocent flocks reposing in verdant fields.

There

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There were ties which connected Toussaint more strongly than the consideration of temporary circumstances. These were, gratitude for the benefits received from his master, and generosity to those who were about to fall,—not merely beneath the stroke of the assassin, for that relief from their sufferings was not to be allowed to all, but likewise the change of situations of luxury and splendour, to an exile of danger, contempt, and poverty, with all the miseries such a reverse can accumulate.

Toussaint prepared for the emigration of M. Bayou de Libertas, as if he had only removed for his pleasure, to the American continent. He found means to embark produce that should form a useful provision for the future; procured his escape with his family, and contrived every plan for his convenience: nor did his care end here, for after M. Bayou's establishment in safety at Baltimore, in Maryland, he availed himself of every opportunity to supply any conceived deficiency, and, as he rose in circumstances, to render those of his *protégée* more qualified to his situation, and equal to that warm remembrance of the services he owed him, which would never expire.

Having provided for the safety of his master in the first instance, Toussaint no longer resisted the temptations to join the army of his country, which had (at this period) assumed a regular form.* He attached himself to the corps under the command

* It is pleasing to reflect, that Toussaint was not the only instance of a similar conduct to the present. It occurred, with many variations, in numerous cases; an eminent instance of which will be found in the third chapter of this work.

of a courageous black chief, named Biassou, and was appointed next in command to him. Though possessed of striking abilities, the disposition of this general rendered him unfit for the situation which he held; his cruelty caused him to be deprived of a power which he abused. No one was found equally calculated, to supply his place, with the new officer, Toussaint; therefore, quitting for ever a subordinate situation, he was appointed to the command of a division.

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Du Broca,
Vie de Toussaint, &c.

If during this early period of his life, the black general had shone conspicuously, through every disadvantage, with the brightest talents and the milder virtues, he now rose superior to all around him, with the qualities and rank of an exalted chief. Every part of his conduct was marked by judgment and benevolence. By the blacks, who had raised him to the dignity he enjoyed, he was beloved with enthusiasm; and, by the public characters of other nations, with whom he had occasion to communicate, he was regarded with every mark of respect and esteem. General Laveaux called him "the negro, the Sparacacus, foretold by Raynal, whose destiny it *was* to avenge the wrongs committed on his race:" and the Spanish Marquis d'Hermona declared, in the hyperbole of admiration, that "if the Supreme had descended on earth, he could not inhabit a heart more apparently good, than that of Toussaint L'Ouverture."

His powers of invention in the art of war, and domestic government, the wonder of those who surrounded, or opposed him,

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1800.

Oral tradi-
tion.

him, had not previously an opportunity for exhibition as at the period to which we have arrived in this history. Embarrassed by a variety of contending factions among the blacks, and by enemies of different nations and characters, he was too much occupied in evading the blows constantly meditated in different quarters, to find leisure for the display of that wisdom and magnanimity which he so eminently exercised. Nevertheless, a variety of incidents are recorded in the fleeting memorials of the day to corroborate the excellence of his character, and still more are impressed on the memory of all who have visited the scene of his government. Notwithstanding the absoluteness of military jurisdiction, which existed with extra power, no punishment ever took place without the anxious endeavours of the General-in-Chief to avoid it, exerted in every way that could be devised. No object was too mean for his remonstrance, or advice; nor any crime too great to be subjected to the rules he had prescribed to himself. The punishment of the idle or immoral laborer was, being withdrawn from agriculture, and condemned to a military service dangerous or severe. In cases of treason he was peculiarly singular in his ideas, and the following incident will afford a specimen:—

Shortly after General Maitland arrived upon the island, four Frenchmen were retaken who had deserted the black chief with aggravated treachery. Every one expected a vindictive punishment, and of course a cruel death. Leaving them, however, in suspense as to their fate, he ordered them to be produced in church

church on the following Sabbath, and, while that part of the service was pronouncing which respects mutual forgiveness, he went with them to the front of the altar, where, impressing them with the flagitiousness of their conduct, he ordered them to be discharged without farther punishment.

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It probably may be expected that something should be mentioned of the general character of Toussaint; and, if there was any object predominant in the wishes of the writer during his sojourn at the Cape, it was—to ascertain the traits of peculiarity in that individual,—to judge of the views, and of the motives that actuated him. The result of his observations was in every respect favorable to this truly great man. Casual acts of justice and benignity may mark the reign of anarchy itself, and complacency sometimes smooth the brow of the most brutal tyrant; but when the man, possessed for a considerable period, of unlimited power, (of whose good actions no venal journalist was the herald, but, to transcribe his errors a thousand competitors were ready) has never been charged with its abuse; but, on the contrary, has preserved one line of conduct, founded by sound sense and acute discernment on the most honorable basis, leaning only to actions of magnanimity and goodness; he has passed the strongest test to which he can be submitted; who, with the frailties of human nature, and without the adventitious aids of those born to rule, held one of the highest situations in society.

Character.

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His government does not appear to have been sullied by the influence of any ruling passion; if a thirst of power had prompted him alone, he would have soon ceased to be a leader of insurgents; had avarice swayed him, he, like many others, could have retired early in the contest, with immense riches, to the neighbouring continent; or had a sanguinary revenge occupied his mind, he would not so often have offered those pathetic appeals to the understanding, which were the sport of his colleagues, on crimes which the governors of nations long *civilized* would have sentenced to torture! His principles, when becoming an actor in the revolution of his country, were as pure and legitimate, as those which actuated the great founders of liberty in any former age or clime.

Such was the character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, as regarded his office of Commander in Chief, and Governor of the island of St. Domingo. In his relations towards other countries, he appears to have excited admiration for his justice, and the courtesy of every enlightened state: the charges of his most inveterate enemies never extended to a fact that can diminish the well-earned eulogies he has obtained. His rules of conduct were the emanations of a mind capacious and well informed; and but for the exertions of his talents, or those of some chief equally able, indefatigable, and sincere, the country, now blooming with culture, and advancing in true civilization, might have been a ruined state, sacrificed to the conflicts of disappointed ambition, revenge, and the whole train of evils which a multiplicity of factions could create.

create. That there should be found partizans of each of these factions in the then divided state of France, to complain of every arrangement formed by this astonishing individual, is to be expected, rather than wondered at; and to these motives alone, there is no reason to doubt, may be ascribed all the calumnies which have been vented against him.

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In his private life, Toussaint lost none of the excellence of that character which is conspicuous in his public actions. With much sensibility, he supported an even temper in domestic privacy; and in contra-distinction to the general custom of other great men, might be considered equally an hero in the closet as the field. To his wife, a sensible and affectionate woman, he behaved with the most endearing tenderness and consideration, and to his children imparted all the warmth of paternal affection; yet he had no overweening fondness to conceal their faults from his notice, even the smallest want of proper attention to an inferior, was censured with severity proportionate to the difference of their condition. If they obtained not knowledge from the transitory nature of human circumstances, so necessary to check the pride of birth or situation, almost always manifest in children reared in affluence, it was not the fault of a father whose life was conspicuous for humility of disposition, and a diffidence of his powers, proportionable to the elevation of his rank, or the accumulation of his honors. As his children grew to an age capable of that education which his individual acquirements instructed

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him as necessary to the sphere of life in which they were to move, Toussaint procured for them the best tutors he could obtain, and afterwards sent them to France under their care, for the advantages of higher instruction.—His leisure, which was not great, was occupied in relieving those who suffered in any way undeservedly; nor did he, as is often the case in the world, weigh guilt by incapacity or distinction. The weak of every description were his peculiar care; the strong in intellect, the mighty in war, or the amiable in domestic life, shared alike his esteem.

In person, Toussaint was of a manly form, above the middle stature, with a countenance bold and striking, yet full of the most prepossessing suavity—terrible to an enemy, but inviting to the objects of his friendship or his love. His manners and his deportment were elegant when occasion required, but easy and familiar in common;—when an inferior addressed him, he bent with the most obliging assiduity, and adapted himself precisely, without seeming condescension, to their peculiar circumstances. He received in public a general and voluntary respect, which he was anxious to return, or rather to prevent, by the most pleasing civilities. His uniform was a kind of blue jacket, with a large red cape falling over the shoulders; red cuffs, with eight rows of lace on the arms, and a pair of large gold epaulettes thrown back; scarlet waistcoat and pantaloons, with half boots; round hat, with a red feather, and a national cockade; these,

these, with an extreme large sword, formed his equipment.—He was an astonishing horseman, and travelled with inconceivable rapidity.

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Thus are given the rough outlines of the character of Toussaint; for the shades it will be necessary to consider what foibles could have existence with the virtues described. It is not intended to sully the present account by the absurdity of attempting to hold him up as a perfect character; but thus much is certain, that if he had any peculiar vices, he had the address to conceal them from the most scrutinous and industrious observer.

Toussaint, surrounded by men of letters and science, whom various circumstances had brought from the mother country found little difficulty in the formation of a temporary constitution, of which justice and equality (of right only, not of property) should be the basis. Among those from whom he received important assistance was the Citizen Pascal, a descendant of the celebrated writer of that name, who inherited the talents of his ancestor. He had been sent to Cape François by the Executive Directory, in the fourth year of the revolution, as secretary to the agents of the republic; when he married the daughter of a mulatto in office, named Raymond, and acquired by the connection a considerable property. He attached himself early to Toussaint, with the Abbé Moliere, and an Italian ecclesiastic,

CHAP. V. ecclesiastic, of considerable talents, named Marinit, who were
 1800. always about his person.*

Having settled the grand object of his care, particularly as regarded the safety of the white inhabitants, he next devoted himself to the regulation and increase of his army, on a scale fitting the importance of the country under his care. At the time of his treaty with General Maitland, his force in the northern province amounted to something less than 40,000 men, but they were soon increased to nearly double that number, and at this time exceeded all conception.† As they were necessarily divided in the different provinces, he prepared for a journey round the island for the purpose of reviewing them, and appointing the districts, as well as settling the officers to command them, with greater success and accuracy than could be done at a distance. Vast quantities of ordnance and stores of different kinds were accumulated at different posts, which would be more useful when distributed. He was desirous of becoming known to a

* Filling every public office with men of talents and letters in France, (as they confessedly do,) it was scarcely possible to appoint any but persons of ability to the foreign departments; which accounts for the easy acquisition of such persons, to the liberal Toussaint.

† Colonel Chalmers, in his "Remarks on the late War in St. Domingo," supposes certain muster-rolls, which he describes to have been in the possession of Toussaint's adjutant-general at the Mole, stating the force (in that quarter) at 35,000 men, to contain the whole effective force of the island, and even then ridicules the idea of its being so strong! It causes an involuntary smile to see such opinions seriously delivered, or to observe the mutual censures of General Maitland and Toussaint, for not continuing a war of annihilation, by Colonel Chalmers on one side, and Stephen Mentor, the black seceder, on the other.

great

great number of brave men who were attached to his army, many of whom had received a military education in the mother country, and could be placed in situations of responsibility; others, too, required local appointments, for the purpose of residing in situations with which they were acquainted; and it was the wish and policy of Toussaint, to know and gratify them all. —The animation of his presence was also necessary to troops, (in some few instances, perhaps, languid,) who were ambitious of being seen by their General in Chief, whose very name acted with electric force on all. In the capital of the Spanish part of the island, another reason proved the necessity of a visit from the General in Chief. Notwithstanding the cession of the Spanish colony to France in 1795, and that it had been taken possession of by the generals Paul L'Ouverture, (the brother of Toussaint,) and D'Hebecour, who had garrisoned the different posts, a force still remained in the city of St. Domingo, under Don Joachim Garcia, insubordinate to the present government; Toussaint, therefore, with that promptitude for which he was remarkable, though not without due consideration, set out upon this important tour.

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1800.

Black republic.

Manners, &c.

The reception the General met with in every town and village through which he passed, and at every port he visited, was such as to have gratified the vanity of the proudest potentate. All orders, civil or military, vied with each other in their modes of respect, while the women and children lined the road sides, to bless the pacificator of their country. On every face was depicted

Tour of Toussaint L'Ouverture through the island.

content

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1800.

content and health, and in every place appeared universal satisfaction. Every means were used to declare the general pleasure with which he was viewed. Garlands, and fantastic wreaths, were woven by those who could do no more. Superb decorations covered the houses of proprietors, and triumphal arches graced his entry to every town. The military, in their proudest array, were anxious to obtain approbation by a soldier-like appearance, and a variety of plans were formed by the maritime people to testify their accordance with the public respect. Innumerable instances might be mentioned which would assume the air of romance, of the singular testimonies which occurred to honor him, and do justice to his character.

Condescension of the General in Chief.

In one place, a respectable negro, of the age of ninety-nine, seated on a wicker chair, presented to him ten sons, the children of one wife, employed in agriculture, but ready to devote themselves to the service of their country whenever it should be necessary. Three sisters hung over their father, as if fearing to lose the protection of their brothers. All produced certificates of propriety and industry from their employers, and their neighbours, a part of whom surrounded them. Toussaint leaped from his horse, and knelt at the feet of the old man. "Respectable age," said he, "it is to such members as you, that your country is this day indebted for peace and freedom!" As he arose, an aid-de-camp directed his attention to a solitary youth, who stood at a short distance, unnoticed. "Who is that," exclaimed the General, "apparently miserable on such a day?" He was informed

formed it was one who had disgraced the family now presented to him, in many instances, and had lately encouraged his sister in vice. At this moment an interesting female rushed from the crowd, holding an infant in her arms, with the appearance of extreme anguish, exclaiming, "It is for me, General, that the poor Antony is calumniated."—Her tears interrupted her.—"I could not part with my child, though rejected by his father, and denied even permission to labor in the same plantation with my family, because I quitted it, and nearly starving, engaged myself to another less desirable.—My affectionate brother lent me all the aid his own labors could spare, and when I was to remove, solicited an addition from my other brothers and sisters. He was refused, and he"—"He robbed them, perhaps, to supply you," interrupted the General; "thereby violating his duty to his family, his country, and himself;—this is wrong;—there was something, likewise, erroneous in withholding your child from the protection it would have received; yet," turning to the old man who had claimed his approbation, "we must not, father, reject the unfortunate; it is not sufficient to be just, we must also be merciful, recollecting how much need we all have for mercy. Sully, not, therefore, the happiness you enjoy, with the recollection of one individual less happy by your means, much more your son, (leading him towards the old man,) or your daughter, (doing the same). The impressive manner of the General (though the transaction lasted but a few minutes) drew tears from the whole; the family instantly caressed their brother and

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1800.

sister, and Toussaint, re-mounting his horse, was quickly out of sight.

He never stopped to court the attention of the multitude, but having returned the civilities which every where crowded upon him, galloped on, leaving his aides, or whoever accompanied him, frequently out of sight. Innumerable acts of discriminative goodness are related of him during this route, and the day, wherever he was, was a day of peace and pleasure.

The effects of this tour were very evident, by the uniform reformation in every part of the island. The municipal governments were brought into one general system, and a chain of communication established. The different brigades were rendered more effective by the better arrangement of the troops composing them, and armed posts were established throughout the island, well supplied with the ordnance his enemies had left behind. In fact, every part was put in a situation to withstand the utmost force of an enemy, however powerful, and to dispute with them every inch of ground. Nor, during an attention to the internal safety of the country in a military view, were its maritime interests forgotten, every commercial encouragement was offered to the neighbouring islands and the continent; the safety of the whites was established, and their power of injuring the state curtailed.

Toussaint

Toussaint returned to the Cape, accompanied by a numerous suite, in which was a selection of the principal talents of the island. He was received with redoubled pleasure to what he had previously experienced on returning to the capital, from the length of his absence, and the reports of his conduct, which had preceded him from every quarter. Neither was this fame confined to the boundaries of St. Domingo; it ran through Europe, and in France his name was frequently pronounced in the Senate with the eulogy of polished eloquence.

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1800.

It being necessary that the constitution, which in effect now existed, should be published, for the assurance of its permanent execution, and the proper understanding of the different inhabitants and relations of the island, it was proclaimed on the 1st of July 1801. At the head of the ceremony appeared the General in Chief, and the code was promulgated in the name "*of the people.*"

1801.
Declaration
of Independ-
ence.

The intercourse between France and St. Domingo, which had been decreasing for some time previous to the proclamation, now ceased altogether, except by private correspondence, which was considerably checked. Still the late proprietors resident in or near the French metropolis, languished for the recovery of their former importance, and every account of the flourishing state of their beloved colony, awakened each lingering wish to new, but vain hopes of a restoration. They even imagined, in every amelioration of the island, an additional chance of succeeding to their

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1801.

desires, till they had schemed plans of operation, and imagined means of execution, which themselves only could have devised or understood. These were constantly obtruded on the French government, who were too much employed in the complicated politics of Europe to admit them into their views, and all that they obtained was the promises with which they were bribed, as the price of forbearance from anti-revolutionary projects at home.

But a time was approaching when accident produced in a moment what the labor of years could not effect, and obtained for these misguided persons, the interference their restless spirits desired. The government of France, having assumed a novel and original form under the influence of a victorious dictator, for whose firm establishment it required an interval of peace; and the politics of that country, which was the remaining enemy of the republic, and the only nation in Europe capable of contending with her, suggesting a similar measure, the two countries, after communicating with *political* sincerity, came to the determination of a cessation of hostilities, and the preliminaries were accordingly executed. Thus the naval power of France, which for nine years had not sailed from her ports with impunity from the terror of the British flag throughout the globe, was at liberty to perform all its crippled state would permit, and to improve that state with every possible advantage.*

This

* It is painful (and dangerous) to hear the prevalence of an opinion, even from those who should be better informed, that the creation of a French navy is impossible, and that it is not

This was but a part of the circumstances arising from the peace of Europe favorable to the expatriated colonists of St. Domingo. The labors of Bonaparté, First Consul of the Republic, hitherto limited in exertions of military prowess, whose rapidity and effect gave no opportunity for objection or scrutiny, were now to be submitted to the test of cool examination. That personal courage which had conquered a great part of the continent of Europe, subverted foreign states, and removed a divided senate at home, would not avail in the convictions of philosophy, or the conciliation of jarring interests in a state of peace. It became, therefore, necessary to obtain a powerful influence in the cabinet as well as in the field, and to assure to himself other interests than those of humanity.

CHAP. V.
1801.

At this period the party who had constantly beset the existing ministry, did not neglect a single opportunity of redoubling their appeals to the present government, or of availing themselves of every circumstance, to attach to their cause a more powerful weight than it then possessed. They held out, in temptations of the most florid description, the advantages daily lost to commerce; and those who had till now been occupied in fitting out numbers of privateers, began to think of an advantageous employment of their capital; others, whom the war had confined to France, contemplated with pleasure trans-atlantic views, and the

an object of contemplation in the present ruler of France. That it is both the one and the other is most certain, and the writer will be less prophetic than he has been, if a very few years do not exhibit a confirmation.

enterprizing

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1801.

enterprizing regarded the troubles in St. Domingo, as an inviting opportunity of distinguishing themselves. In fact, every description of people became interested in the recovery of the colony, forgetting what had passed in regard to the abolition of slavery in the same metropolis; it became a popular cause, was introduced into the assemblies, and the ladies became partizans, headed by the favorite sister of the First Consul, the lady of General Le Clerc. The mania spread into England with the beauties of the Consular court, and that nation, where the ministry and people had blindly desired the abolition, at the expence of a portion of their empire of commerce, and the ruin of a large body of colonists, still more blindly joined in the popular wish of returning to slavery, those who were completely emancipated.

Bonaparté viewed the growing spirit with silence, and, it may be, not without some regard to the character the victorious Black had obtained in the mother country. A variety of circumstances contributed to convince him of the necessity of some attention (in the first instance) to the powerful requests which poured in from every quarter; the instance, also, of a power bidding him defiance in a country which had not, by any regular process, become separated from that government over which he was called to preside, was repugnant to his feelings in the rank in which he was elevated. Madame Le Clerc, partaking in the ambition ascribed to her brother, urged the measure of reducing the island, to procure for her husband and herself something

more than was to be derived from basking in the beams of the First Consul; and the appointment of General Le Clerc to a splendid conquest, was confining the dignity of it to the family. When the inclination of Bonaparté was understood to be favorable to the prospects of the colonists, means were found to interest the most powerful merchants in their behalf, and urged by those, on whose aid (in the present stage of his government) he was aware much was to depend, this penetrating man, without any other information than that derived through so partial a medium, consented to an expedition that was to become an eternal blot upon a career, if not often just or humane, at least always able, and frequently magnificent.

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As, to devise and execute were the same thing with the First Consul, this baneful expedition was no sooner determined on, than after forming a plan for the government of the colonies, and submitting to the British government the circumstances of its destination, to prevent the alarm which it must naturally create, its preparation was commenced, to add another shade to the darkened side of human nature.

At the head of the expedition was placed General Le Clerc, and such was the confidence of its success, that he was accompanied by his lady, and her younger brother, Jerome Bonaparté. General Rochambeau, who had been a proprietor, assisted with his advice the commander in chief, and also

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of the French
Republic
against St.
Domingo.

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also commanded a division. To them were added Generals Kerversan and Boudet, with a force of twenty thousand men. The two sons of Toussaint L'Ouverture who had been educated in France, were sent as hostages for the reception of the French army by their father, under the care of the tutors who had accompanied them. Admiral Villaret (who was in the service of the regal government of France) commanded the fleet, under whom were Rear-Admiral Latouche, and Captain Magon. The fleet consisted of some of the best ships of the line, and a proportionable number of frigates, transports, &c. The prevalent sentiment seemed to be, that after the first attack, a compromise would be effected with Toussaint and the different chiefs, which would enable the French force to establish itself throughout the island, and complete the subjugation of the armed blacks.*

In the month of December the expedition sailed, amidst the acclamations of all, who were either interested in its success, or

* The absurdity of this idea, when the state of St. Domingo at the time is considered, and the accumulated strength which the General in Chief had acquired from the defeat of every enemy, as well as the experience which the different contentions had afforded him, is a sufficient proof of the inconsideration with which Bonaparté was hurried into this ill-contrived and ruinous measure. The writer did not omit any means, both with those in power and otherwise, to convince them of the futility of the scheme, and to caution the British government against the temptation afforded to Admiral Villaret, to turn his course to a more accessible destination. But such was the pre-determined state of the public mind, that his opinions and his cautions were alike disregarded. Both have, however, been fully corroborated; and if the "*feeble and divided*" blacks had not given a better account of the French expedition, worse effects of such an inattention might have been experienced. As a curiosity, when compared with the French General's dispatches, the anticipation of his fate, as published at the Military Library in London in the beginning of 1802, will be found in the Appendix to this work.

imagined themselves so; and arrived in the bay of Samana, on the eastern coast of the island, on the 28th of the same month.

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When General Kerversan was dispatched with a division to the city of St. Domingo; Rear-Admiral Latouche was ordered to carry the troops under the command of General Boudet to Port-au-Prince; and Captain Magon to land a division under General Rochambeau in Mancenillo Bay, on the northern coast. These divisions were directed so as to surprize different points of the island at the same period; General Le Clerc proceeded, with the remainder of the troops, to the attack of the Black capital, the city of Cape François, where he arrived on the 5th day. Two frigates and a cutter being sent to reconnoitre the entrance of the road and adjacent posts, were fired on from Fort Piccolet.

In the mean time, the secret operations of the Consular cabinet had not been neglected; a few civic officers among the blacks, and several whites in that part of the country, intended to be first attacked, were prepared, as far as they could, to assist the designs of the invading army. The vigilance, however, of Toussaint had been exerted, and to every part of the island where invasion was expected, or the smallest signs of defection appeared, he had applied every means in his power to prevent their approach towards the interior. He had many faithful adherents distributed through the posts of danger and honor, whose confidence in him nothing could alter. Although cau-

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tious of admitting any sanguinary law in his government, he had proved to every officer under his command the impartiality by which he was guided, in the sacrifice of his own nephew, General Moyse, when a charge of injustice had been proved against him. By attending to the prosecution of the necessary measures for the internal defence of the island, General Toussaint was away from Cape François at the time the expedition arrived.

General Christophé, who was left in command, on perceiving the approach of the French fleet, sent the port captain, an experienced black officer, named Sangos, to acquaint the commander of the expedition with the absence of the General in Chief; and “that it was necessary to wait the return of a courier he had dispatched to him, previous to any steps for the disembarkation of a military force; on a refusal of which he should consider the white people in his district as hostages for the conduct of the French; and that the consequence of attack upon any place would be its immediate conflagration.”

Upon this intimation, General Le Clerc conceived it expedient to dissemble awhile, till the effects of his interest, strength, and success (in which was included the mayor of the city) should be known, and accordingly began to administer the palliatives with which he had been furnished from France. He wrote a mild letter to General Christophé, stating the benign intentions of the First Consul

Consul and himself towards the island, and inviting him to return to his duty as a French citizen, with the most specious promises. He enclosed copies of the proclamations brought with him, and a private letter from General Bonaparté to the General in Chief, Toussaint. In this letter the Black General receives ample indemnity for all that is passed, and the most encouraging promises for the future. "We have conceived for you esteem," says the ruler of France, "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 closed the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of ferocious men, and restored to honor the religion and worship of God, from whom all things come." Also, "The situation in which you were placed, surrounded by enemies, and without the mother-country being able to succour or sustain you, has rendered legitimate the articles of that constitution, which otherwise would not be so."* This dispatch was borne by a naval officer, named Le Brun, who received in return a repetition in effect, but more strongly expressed of the intimation received by Sangos.

A deputation from the town, headed by the mayor, went on board the fleet, who represented, with visible terror, that,

* See Moniteur, (the official journal of France,) March 21, 1802.—Dispatch of Le Clerc.

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“ on the first signal of a debarkation, the city and adjoining estates would be set on fire, and the white people put to the sword; and entreated General Le Clerc to take their unhappy circumstances into consideration.” He received this deputation with the greatest complacency, and sent them back with a commission to read the proclamation of the First Consul in the town, and to declare his good intentions towards the inhabitants; Cæsar Telemache, the mayor, fulfilled their wishes in the most open manner. The result was the same as before; notwithstanding the daring conduct of the chief municipal officer and others, and the satisfaction of some whites, (who had been protected and encouraged by the blacks,) at the prospect of the recapture of the colony.

General Le Clerc, conceiving his friends to be sufficiently ripe and numerous for his reception, and impatient to open his splendid career, arranged his plan for landing the troops at a point of land called Du Limbé, a few miles to the westward, from whence he conceived he might be able to gain the height of the Cape before the negroes executed their threatened purpose, or at least, land with less injury than he should be able to do, in the face of a well fortified capital. Admiral Villaret was ordered to attack the town by sea at the same time, which, with the descent of Rochambeau at Fort Dauphin, would form a powerful diversion in their favor. The whole was executed with the utmost difficulty, the blacks acting up to their orders, which were, “ To de-

fend themselves against the French to the last extremity; if possible, to sink their vessels; and when a position could not be maintained, to set fire to every thing in their retreat."* In the evening, when Le Clerc came within sight of Cape François, the city was entirely in flames. The troops halted with dismay to behold a scene so dreadful, the effects of which they could not arrest, and the squadron beheld it in awful horror from the water. The next morning they approached the ruins, when every remaining habitation was deserted, and the fields lying in waste. The emissaries of the French rallied around their Chief, among whom was Cæsar Telemaque, who was immediately reinstated in the mayoralty. General Humbert, who had landed a body of twelve hundred men, and reduced a fort to facilitate the entry of Le Clerc, had employed his men in extinguishing the fire, and saving the city from total destruction.

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Two detachments were immediately dispatched to occupy Port Paix and the Mole, who contrived, from the means which had been used before the landing of the troops, to enlist (according to their own account) upwards of a thousand black soldiers. They, and several of the municipal officers, were attracted by the proclamations plenteously dispersed, which were as follow:

* Moniteur, March 22.

“ Paris,

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" *Paris, Nov. 8, 1801.*

" INHABITANTS OF ST. DOMINGO,

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

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

" The government sends you the Captain-General Le Clerc: he has brought sufficient force for protecting you against your enemies; and against the enemies of the Republic. If it be said to you their 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 abundance and peace. Rally all of you around him. Whoever shall dare to separate himself from the Captain-General, will be a traitor to his country, and the indignation of the country 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."

In

In the mean time, Toussaint, who had been long preparing for the event, had carefully examined the interior, and was approaching the scene of devastation. Notwithstanding the hostile form in which the French armament had approached his seat of government, he was anxious to find, from their conduct, if he had to expect an amicable proposition, or any intention to support with integrity the relation in which he stood to his countrymen. Well acquainted with the political state of Europe, he could not conceive that the man, who had confessedly (however advantageous to his country) usurped a dictatorial power in France, could contemplate the reduction of one who had been called to equal power by the most legitimate of all authority, the voice of the people. He knew, that presenting a vast extent of coast, it would be impossible to prevent a debarkation at one point or the other, therefore had pre-determined to suffer the French to land, if they insisted upon it, after a slight annoyance from the forts, or adjacent posts; but, that previous to their landing, every preparation should be made for securing the property of the inhabitants of the metropolis, or any other town, which should then be set on fire, thus preventing them from taking that rest which, after the voyage, they would naturally require, and impede their penetration into the interior. These operations had been carefully performed, and with so much attention to the whites in particular, that many of them returned to their houses, in full possession of their property after the capital was in possession of the French. Toussaint, satisfied with the state in which he found every preparation

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preparation for defence in the interior, determined to wait the event of the future motions of the French commander in chief.

The letter which the First Consul had written to Toussaint remaining undelivered, the scheme, which a reliance on the feelings of Toussaint had dictated, was not yet executed. Advices had been received from the other divisions, that they had with difficulty made good their landing, but all remained, as well as Le Clerc, upon the coast, without any attempt to penetrate into the interior. It was determined, as Toussaint's approach was announced, to try the effect of the artifice which had been prepared.

Accordingly Coisson, the tutor of the sons of Toussaint, a confidential agent in this expedition, was commissioned to conduct an interview between the General and his children, who had been prepared by the caresses of the First Consul, and the enjoyment of every indulgence, to seduce their parent to an acquiescence with the measures of the Captain-General Le Clerc. Toussaint possessed a plantation called Ennery, about ten leagues from the Cape, where he was returning, which was fixed upon as the scene of the intended interview. Thither they repaired, but Toussaint had not returned; they, however, met such a reception as might be expected from a tender and affectionate mother to her darling children, so long absent, and to
him

him who appeared in the character of their restorer. Coisson availed himself of the pressing invitation of this good and hospitable woman to wait the return of her husband, that he might ingratiate himself upon the softness of her nature sufficiently to win her over as an advocate to his cause. In the mean time, a courier was dispatched to Toussaint, who was to bear the pleasing invitation of his children, and the letter of the First Consul. This was as follows:

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“ To Citizen Toussaint L'Ouverture, General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo.

Letter of
Bonaparté to
Toussaint.

“ 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 you have constantly expressed in the different letters you have written to us. We have conceived for you 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,

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talents, and the force of circumstances, to the chief command, you have concluded the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of some ferocious men, and restored the 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 irreconcilable 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 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

have been in; we have given it to the people who had it not. Do you desire consideration, honor, 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.

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“ 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 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 contrary to the interests of the country, the obedience they owe to the government, and 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, recollect, 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.

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“ 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.”

On the receipt of these dispatches, Toussaint set out on his return home, which he reached the next night. In the intervening day, Coisson applied his powers of elocution on the wife of Toussaint with ardour equal to the baseness of his design. Like the serpent at the ear of the general mother, he whispered every delusion that crafty knowledge could devise, to tempt the unsuspecting woman, whose caution was enveloped in the delight of enfolding her children, (who were much improved by the advantages of European habits and manners,) to use her soft influence with her husband. Inspired by the news that his children were at their paternal home, Toussaint arrived with more than common rapidity. The mother shrieked, and became insensible when he approached; his sons ran to meet him; and

(with

Interview of
Toussaint
with his
children.

(with eyes glistening with the emotions of the father) he clasped them without utterance to his arms.

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Of a scene equal to the highest effort of the drama, narration can give no semblance, without using the language of passion so dangerous to truth. Enough, however, is learned from the self-condemning account of the tutor,* to prove, that it was of the most affecting nature. This wretch, with a heart cold as the cell in which he was bred, viewed the emotions of this interesting family, only to take advantage of their situation. When the first burst of joy and affection were over, and the hero turned to caress him, to whom he immediately owed the delight he had experienced, Coisson began his attack. "I saw them shed tears," says he, "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;" then recapitulated the letters of Bonaparté and Le Clerc, and invited him to accede to them. He painted the intentions of France towards the island in the most fascinating language; described the advantages of resuming its relation with the mother country, and declared, with the utmost solemnity, that it was not the intention to interfere with the liberty of the blacks; concluding with a wound that struck to the heart of Toussaint,—his orders to return with his charge to the Cape immediately, if he did not consent. The wife of Toussaint, recovered from the convulsive joy with

* Report of Coisson to the French ministry.

which

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which she was seized, commenced solicitations of a milder kind, and, notwithstanding the check, by a frown, from that face which had always beamed with tenderness upon her, continued to urge the advantages with which she was impressed. The unconscious children described the happiness in which they had been nurtured, and the hero seemed to hesitate in opposing solicitations so tender, when the well practised tutor again assailed him, but becoming less cautious, hinted at his immediate junction with the Captain-General. Toussaint, now confirmed in his suspicions, instantly retired from the view of his wife and children, and when Coisson expected, with infernal pleasure, his fraudulent victory, gave him this dignified determination. "Take back my children, if it must be so, I will be faithful to my brethren and my God!" The characters of father and hero could not agree in this trying situation. Toussaint did not risk another sight of his children, but in less than two hours from the moment of his arrival, departed again for the camp, from whence he returned a formal answer to the letter of General Le Clerc. This circumstance appears to have developed in a clearer view the intentions of the invaders, and is an explanation of the marked hostility in the onset, although professed to be only intended, to re-establish the colonial relation of the island to France. The answer was conveyed by Granville, the tutor of the younger sons of Toussaint, a Frenchman; and a correspondence was continued with the same demands on the one part, and an evasion of satisfactory explanation on the other.

At length, finding the surrender of Toussaint not to be accomplished by artifice, and wearied with the situation to which he was confined, instead of the pleasures of a court, General Le Clerc became impatient, and on the arrival of Admiral Gantheaume with a supply of two thousand three hundred men, with the prospect of an additional reinforcement under Admiral Linois, in a moment of irritation, on the 17th of February, issued a proclamation which seemed designed to hold the French army to contempt, and to resign all claim to that ability or design which at least marks their compositions of this kind.

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“ I come,” says he, “ to restore prosperity and abundance! Every one must see what an insensible monster he is!” (Toussaint.) “ I promise liberty to the people of this island. I shall make them rejoice! and I shall respect their persons and property. I order as follows:

Second
proclama-
tion of the
Captain-
General
Le Clerc.

“ Art. I. The General Toussaint and the General Christophé, are put out of the protection of the law. All citizens are ordered to pursue them, and to treat them as the enemies of the French Republic.

“ II. From the day on which the French army shall occupy a position, all officers, whether civil or military, who shall obey other orders than those of the generals of the army which I command, shall be treated as rebels.

“ III. The

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“ III. The cultivators, who, seduced into error, and deceived by the perfidious insinuations of the rebel general, may have taken arms, shall be regarded as children who have strayed, and shall be sent to their plantations, provided they do not seek to excite insurrection.

“ IV. The soldiers of the demi-brigade who shall abandon the army of Toussaint, shall be received into the French army.

(Signed, &c.)

LE CLERC.

DUGUA.”

The proclamation was followed by a commencement of the war at all quarters, and the exercise of every artifice that could be practised to procure defection in the black camp. The clergy were successfully employed to communicate with those of their own order to that effect; thus, those who should have mediated in the cause of peace, by undermining the very power which protected them, promoted a civil war of accumulated horrors.

The war was prosecuted by the Captain-General with all the vigor such haughty and hyperbolical expressions would imply, but the pride which dictates high-sounding proclamations, does not always furnish the means of executing them, and in the present instance they arose more from the disappointed ambition of Le Clerc, than from the power he possessed in the island.

Toussaint,

If Toussaint had hitherto suspended his opinion respecting the intention of the French government, he now had no room for doubt. It is not, however, to be wondered at, that he should so long have forborne to view them in the glaring light in which they presented themselves. That any experienced general, or minister, should be found so weak as to depend solely on the opinion and accounts of those who were so deeply interested in the event of a successful expedition against St. Domingo, at once vague, partial, and insufficient, was scarcely to be credited; and Le Clerc's conduct, since his arrival, had been paradoxical throughout. He brought a force professedly to support the existing constitution of the island, and renew the relation between it and the mother country, which had been resigned by the incapacity of the latter;—yet, presenting a hostile force, insists on every post being surrendered to him, and desires the immediate submission of the General in Chief, whose conduct had never been questioned. He brings with him the beloved sons of the General, as an earnest of the good intentions of the French government towards him, but scarcely allows him time to embrace them, when they are torn from him and their distracted mother with the most torpid apathy. He says, he comes to restore “peace and abundance” in a country *already* peaceful and abundant, by putting its inhabitants to the sword, and destroying its territory! The force he brought with him, when divided into the different detachments around the vast extent of coast, was insufficient, and the re-inforcements too trifling to effect any

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enterprize of importance, and without any provision being made till they had obtained it from the invaded country, inasmuch that the admiral was compelled to dispatch a frigate to Jamaica, to solicit aid of every description by the most artful finesse.*

Toussaint soon saw that, notwithstanding every deficiency, the mask which had been loosely worn, was entirely thrown aside, and that he had to confide in the pre-dispositions of his own forces, more than the sincerity or benevolence of the French. He therefore made preparation for a conflict, more terrible in proportion to its extent, than any he had yet sustained from the numerous enemies with whom he had had to cope. Considering the distant points as sufficiently provided, and expecting the great blow to be struck in the northern province, in which the French head-quarters were situate, he repaired thither with a select camp, to oppose himself to the Captain-General. His

* In a letter to the English admiral commanding there, dated February 15. "The disposition," he says, "of the cabinet of St. James's, and the known loyalty of your nation, Sir, permit me to hope that the ports of Jamaica will furnish us (should circumstances demand it, and should you be abundantly supplied) with provision and ammunition. One of the ministers of his Britannic Majesty has said, that the peace just concluded was not an ordinary peace, but a sincere reconciliation of two of the greatest nations in the world. If it depends on me, Sir, this happy prognostic will certainly be verified, at least I am pleased to imagine, that our pacific communications will be worthy of two nations, to whom war has only multiplied the reciprocal reasons which they had to esteem each other; and to give you authentic proofs of our confidence, I lay before you a faithful statement of our forces in the ports of St. Domingo."—*Villaret's Letter to Admiral Duckworth.*

attention

attention was still directed to every quarter, and his capacious mind revolved every object connected with his command. Expert as the whole of the black troops were, those surrounding the person of Toussaint were uncommonly so, being disciplined with inconceivable correctness.

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Though formed into regular divisions, the soldiers of the one were trained to the duties of the other, and all understood the management of artillery with the greatest accuracy. Their chief dexterity, however, was in the use of the bayonet. With that dreadful weapon, fixed on musquets of extraordinary length in their hands, neither cavalry nor artillery could subdue infantry, although of unequal proportion; but when they were attacked in their defiles, no power could overcome them. Infinitely more skilful than the Maroons of Jamaica in their cock-pits,* though not more favored by nature, they found means to place whole lines in ambush, continuing sometimes from one post to another, and sometimes stretching from their camps, in the form of a horse-shoe. With these lines artillery was not used, to prevent their being burthened, or the chance of loss; but the surrounding heights of every camp were well fortified, according to the experience and judgment of different European engineers, with ordnance of the best kind, in proper directions. The protection afforded by these out-works, encouraged the blacks to every exertion of skill or courage; while the

* See Dallas's Hist. vol. ii.

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alertness constantly displayed embarrassed the enemy, who, frequently irritated, or worn out with fatigue, flew in disorder to the attack, or retreated with difficulty. Sometimes a regular battle or skirmish ensued, to seduce the enemy to a confidence in their own superiority, when in a moment reinforcements arose from an ambush in the vicinity, and turned the fortune of the day. If black troops, in the pay of the enemy, were dispatched to reconnoitre when an ambush was probable, and were discovered, not a man returned, from the hatred which their perfidy had inspired; nor could an officer venture without the lines with impunity.

With a body of tried grenadiers, and such troops as have been described, Toussaint waited the approach of the French with patient calmness at the camp of Breda; from whence he occasionally made rapid excursions to those points about which he was most anxious, on the north and north-west parts of the island.

On the 17th of February, General Le Clerc commenced his campaign, by forcing a few villages, and forming some posts; and soon after removed his head-quarters to the village of Gros Morne, on the bank of the Three Rivers, about twenty miles south-west from the Cape. From the success he had experienced in the compromises already made with the minor black generals, he had given his whole army directions to negotiate, wherever it could be done with safety, for the surrender of the different

commands, and his success was greater than could possibly have been expected; it is, nevertheless, to be recollected, that every one viewed the present period as the commencement of a long war; and with those of inferior discrimination, the proclamations and verbal declarations of the French army presented the most grateful prospects; among which the officers regarded the confirmation of their power, independent of their black superiors, in the first degree.

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The whole of the troops landed in this province, having received orders to form a junction, the division under General Desfourneaux advanced to the Limbé; another under General Hardy marched to the Grand Boucamp and the Mornets; and that commanded by General Rochambeau proceeded 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 Fren, and Volliere. These divisions had, according to their own account, "to sustain several actions, rendered very painful by the situation of the ground, and by the movements of the blacks, who concealed themselves in the impenetrable forests which bordered the vallies, and who had a secure retreat in the fastnesses." They, however, obtained a transitory possession of the position which they had been ordered to occupy.

On the 18th, the divisions of Desfourneaux, Hardy, and Rochambeau, encamped near Plaisance, at Dondon, and St. Raphael,

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Raphael, where, after having halted some time, they advanced on the blacks with impetuosity. "It is," observed Le Clerc in his dispatches,* "absolutely necessary to see the country, in order to be enabled to form a competent idea of the difficulties which it presented at every step. I have never seen in the Alps any obstacles equal to those with which it abounds."

On the 19th, Desfourneaux's division took possession of Plaisance without resistance. That canton was commanded by a mulatto called Jean Pierre Dumesnel, with whom the career of compromise commenced. He joined the French general, Desfourneaux, with two hundred cavalry, and three hundred infantry, and of course reversed the orders of Toussaint, and preserved the place.

General Hardy's division, before it arrived at Marmelade, made itself master of the Morne at Borspen by similar means, with the party which surrounded it. General Christophé being betrayed, evacuated the place with twelve hundred regular troops in good order. General Rochambeau took up his position at St. Michael, where he found little resistance, his right column carrying an entrenched post, Mare-a-la-Roche, defended by four hundred men and artillery, with the bayonet.

The French General perceiving Toussaint's design was to

* Moniteur,—Dispatch of Le Clerc to the Minister of Marine, dated February 26.

defend

defend the canton of Ennery and the Gonaives, mustered as much force as he could towards that point. He detached General Debelle with a division to Port Paix, and he had orders to attack General Maurepas near the Gonaives, who had two thousand regular troops, and two thousand cultivators under his command, in an entrenched post, within two leagues of Port Paix, and in the defiles of Les Trois Rivières. He was very desirous to disperse that corps which had repulsed General Humbert, and ordered General Boudet to advance towards La Petite Rivière, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the enemy's corps, on whose defeat near the Gonaives he placed great reliance. Toussaint, however, prevented the execution of this movement by a skilful separation of one part of the force from the other.

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On the 20th of February, General Debelle marched to attack General Maurepas, but a torrent of rain falling, prevented the columns arriving in time to flank the black division, and thereby turn their position. The columns which attacked them in front were so much exhausted by fatigue, that they were unable to carry it; and those destined to turn them being attacked in every point by the black forces, were compelled to retreat with difficulty and considerable loss.

General Boudet's division, in setting out from Port-au-Prince, marched against La Croix des Bouquets, which was set fire to by the blacks on his approach; and General Dessalines, who commanded in that quarter, instead of retreating, made a feint

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by marching over the mountains, and there taking a rapid turn to Leogane, which he fired in the face of a frigate dispatched by the French admiral for its protection. These difficulties increased the offers and the deception of the French, and in consequence, a powerful black general, La Plume, *submitted* to General Boudet, with the whole of his district.

On the 22d, the division of Desfourneaux advanced within two miles of Plaisance, then deserted by La Plume, notwithstanding the attempt of Christophé, with the force which remained, to resist it, in which they had a severe skirmish; he, however, cut off a part of their force, and retreated to Bayannai. The brigade of General Salm, after performing a very fatiguing march on the 22d, continued during the whole of the night, and at day-break on the 23d, arrived at the position Christophé had left to join the grand black army, where they were rewarded by the remains of a considerable booty, it having been a depôt of the blacks.

On the 23d, Rochambeau's division took a position at the head of the Ravine-a-Couleuvre, having the Coupe-au-Linde on his left, and the fastnesses where Christophé was entrenched on the right. The divisions of Desfourneaux and Hardy took a position before Ennery.

On the 24th, Desfourneaux advancing, at the Coupe-a-Pintade met the enemy. It was supported by Desplanque's division, and that of General Hardy. General Desfourneaux
attacked

attacked a black out-post, which he pursued to Gonaives, and from thence to the River Ester. Salm's brigade, belonging to Hardy's division, took a position at Pateau, before La Coupe-a-Pintade.

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On the same day, Rochambeau's division entered the Ravine-a-Couleuvre, where General Toussaint, with his guard, forming a corps of fifteen hundred grenadiers drawn from different demi-brigades, and about twelve-hundred other chosen troops, with the addition of four hundred dragoons, waited to receive them in person. The Ravine-a-Couleuvre is extremely well protected, being flanked by lofty mountains covered with wood; in advantageous places were posted more than two thousand cultivators. They formed a considerable number of abattis, which obstructed the passage, and occupied the entrenched positions which commanded the Ravines. From the advantages of the defection, and a knowledge of the country, General Rochambeau executed his movement with a rapidity similar to that of the enemy he was encountering, and attacked their entrenchments. A battle ensued, in which, Le Clerc acknowledges, "man was opposed to man, and the troops of Toussaint fought well." It was an affair deserving an accurate description in the military annals of the time. The ability and bravery of the French troops were called forth, and every manœuvre of the black tactics was displayed. On a bloody field, at the close of the day, victory remained doubtful, and each party were more anxious with

Battle of
the Ravine-
a-Couleuvre.

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regard to their future movements, than the honor of superiority so dearly bought. Toussaint retired to the banks of La Petit Rivière, and Le Clerc to Gonaives. General Maurepas continued in considerable power in the western province, and repelled the attacks of Generals Debelle and Boudet, until they were reinforced by two divisions, those of Desfourneaux and Rochambeau, dispatched by the French General to support and collect their scattered forces.

On the 27th, General Boudet was master of St. Marc, but Maurepas, by his positions, still retaining the command of the province, Le Clerc summoned all the force he could collect, and putting himself at their head, prepared to march against that general. He ordered General Hardy to advance to Gros Morne with five companies of grenadiers, and eight hundred men belonging to his division. To this corps he added a company of his own guards, consisting of two hundred men, and on the night of the 27th took a position at two miles distance. The divisions of Desfourneaux and Debelle were in motion to join, when the experiment of compromise presenting a more pleasing aspect than the doubtful issue of a battle, Maurepas submitted to General Debelle, on the conditions of the promise of General Le Clerc, to continue their rank to such officers as surrendered.

These important points effected, leisure was obtained to consider

sider the best means of attacking the Black General in Chief, against whom the great body of the French army could now be directed, with the addition of the black officers who had been induced to join it with their troops. General Le Clerc, in consequence of these acquisitions, with the advantages which they gave him, and the consternation with which the inhabitants beheld the defection of their countrymen, began to view his situation with ease, and to indulge more extensive prospects. In this mood, for the first time during the campaign, he sat down to communicate with the Minister of Marine, and to beg the confirmation of the First Consul of what he had done. It was a campaign which had already cost a profusion of blood and money, and which, nothing but the treachery of La Plume, Dumesnils, and Maurepas, with the powerful forces under their command, and in the favorable positions they occupied, could have been prolonged for an hour. General Le Clerc viewing affairs in another light, more congenial to his own wishes, considered himself at this moment, (though occupying but a few leagues of country with his whole army, and constantly in sight of the coast,) "master of the colony!" "The army of St. Domingo," says he, "in the course of five days have routed the chief of their enemies, obtained possession of a considerable quantity of their baggage, and a portion of their artillery. Desertion is frequent in the rebel camp. Clervaux, La Plume, Maurepas, and many other black chiefs, and men of color, have submitted. The plantations of the south are entirely preserved, the whole of the Spanish part

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of the island has surrendered;" when his army had not visited the French plantations of the south, his troops still remained inactive on the Spanish coast of the island, and Clervaux had only *agreed*, through the bishop of Yago, to surrender.

Such was the progress of the French arms in St. Domingo, and such the opinion entertained by their general of the successes that had been obtained. The preceding account will be found corroborated by the dispatches of the Captain-General, in which he mentions the whole of the territory he had obtained, which was on the sea-coast, viz. Mancinello Bay, Le Limbé, Port Paix, Gonaives, St. Marc, Port-au-Prince, and Leogane. Notwithstanding the debarkations at nearly the same time at St. Domingo, Port-au-Prince, Cape François, and Fort Dauphin, and that the interior had never been attempted, they had not been able to form a junction till it was accomplished by the acquisition of the defectors from the black army, or to force Toussaint from their very centre. It has already been observed, that the maxim of the Black General in Chief, was to suffer them to harass themselves by forced marches, and to obtain positions untenable, or unavailing. More than this, it appears from their own accounts, they had not effected; while Toussaint and his forces changed their situation or position as often as they chose, never being overtaken in their retreat, or surprized on a march, but frequently falling on the enemy by an unexpected road, and routing them with the utmost dismay. A variety of these manœuvres

manouvres were continually practised, but the blacks not fighting for the panegyric of Europeans, they are unnoticed and forgotten, except by their countrymen, and those who suffered from them.

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The circumstance of three Generals high in esteem, with a considerable force, going over to the enemy, and joining their local knowledge and peculiar tactics against their own cause, within a few days from each other, and at a distance, is unprecedented, and must have operated with the Commander in Chief more than the shock of an unexpected and powerful army. In fact, such was the effect of gold and promises, of extension of command in the French army, that for a time Toussaint was uncertain, when he ordered a division to march, whether it was not about to join the enemy; while he was preparing against those with whom treaties had been formed previous to the invasion; others, on whom he most depended for the attack or repelling of the enemy, and to whom their country looked with confidence, were turning their swords against him. General La Plume, among the first to set the example of abetting the French, was one of whom Toussaint entertained the highest opinion, and entrusted with an extensive district. He seemed at a loss how to render his injuries sufficiently striking, and in consequence receives the eulogium of Le Clerc. One of the first acts of this ungrateful man, was the exposure of a letter, in which himself is mentioned with favour, and which was a principal cause, with his disobedience of Toussaint's orders, of the violence of his praise.

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It was addressed to the commandant of the district of Jeremie, General Damage, and dated from the black head-quarters, at that time at St. Marc, for Toussaint's communication was constantly kept up with every part of the island to which the French had obtained access.

Feb. 9, 1802.

Letter and
orders of
Toussaint to
the black
general
Damage.

“ MY DEAR GENERAL,

“ I send to you my aid-de-camp Chaney, who is the bearer of the present dispatch, and who will communicate to you my sentiments.

“ The whites have resolved to destroy our liberty, and have therefore brought a force commensurate to their intentions. The Cape, after a proper resistance, has fallen into their hands, but the enemy found only a town and plain in ashes; the forts were blown up, and all was burnt.

“ The town of Port Republicain (Port-au-Prince) has been given up to them by the traitor, General of Brigade, Agé, as well as Fort Bizotton, which surrendered without an effort, in consequence of the cowardice and treachery of the Chief of Battalion, Bardet, an old officer of the south; but the General of Division, Dessalines, maintains at this moment a line at La Croix des Bouquets, and all our other places are on the defensive.

“ As

“ As Jeremie is rendered very strong by its natural advantages, you will maintain yourself in it, and defend yourself with the courage which I know you possess. Distrust the whites,—they will betray you if they can; their desire, evidently manifested, is the restoration of slavery.

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“ I therefore give you a *carte-blanche* for your conduct. All which you shall do will be well done. Raise the cultivators in mass, and convince them of this truth,—that they must place no confidence in those artful agents who may have secretly received the proclamations of the white men from France, and would circulate them clandestinely, in order to seduce the friends of liberty.

“ I have ordered the General of Brigade, La Plume, to burn the town of Cayes, and every other town and plain in the district, should they be unable to resist the enemy's force; thus all the troops in the different garrisons, and all the cultivators, will be enabled to reinforce you at Jeremie. You will entertain a perfect good understanding with General La Plume, in order to execute with ease what may be necessary. You will employ in the planting of provisions all the women occupied in cultivation.

“ Endeavour as much as possible to acquaint us with your situation.

“ I rely

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“ I rely entirely upon you, and leave you completely at liberty, to perform every thing which may be requisite to free us from the horrid yoke with which we are threatened.

“ I wish you good health,

(Signed) “ TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

“ A true copy,

(Signed) “ The General of Brigade commanding
the Department of the South,

“ LA PLUME.”

Toussaint, confident in his resources, expected the completion of his wishes, by seeing his enemies, notwithstanding the aid they had received, exhaust themselves. He knew also that the recreant heart which sold its honor, and every sentiment that should be cherished, for the fleeting promise of a sanguine enemy, would be easily regained when time should change the hands in which the power that tempted it was placed; and he had some reason to doubt, whether the defection of those who had abandoned him did not arise from other motives than those which were apparent.

The public feeling in France, on receiving the distorted intelligence which the dispatches of Le Clerc conveyed, grew
more

more and more against the blacks:—those who had been their most strenuous friends became their most active enemies; and, exclusive of the common prostitutions of the press, to which party gives birth on all occasions,* books were published at Paris, avowedly for the purpose of exposing the errors of *Negrophilism*, or the love of the blacks. In England it was similar, and the voice of discretion, or discrimination, was drowned by the general clamour.

Admiral Duckworth, after receiving the frigate *La Cornélie*, which was expressly dispatched to him by *Le Clerc*, with every mark of respect, and loading her captain, *Villemandrin*, and his lieutenant with honors, wrote home for instructions relative to supplying the French troops with stores and provisions, as without he could not comply with the request of the French commander. The Spanish governor at the *Havannah* exerted himself in every way for their accommodation, by furnishing both money and clothing, of which the army was in great want. The following sentiments respecting the black army, as they form a correct delineation of the public opinion, are quoted from Admiral Duckworth's letter, in answer to the French Commander in Chief:

* The meanness of traducing characters, and, indeed, all vitiations of truth, which are permitted, and considered expedient in the policy of states, is one of the most prominent errors in British legislation, and one which, for the honor of the country, and the credit of its consistency, it is wished were remedied. Its effects are of the worst kind, as relates to the government and the governed, the relations between both, and every other country with whom they hold a correspondence.

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“ It is with a painful sentiment I have learned the hostile reception of your excellency, and that direct violation of all the duties of colonies towards their mother country. I perfectly agree with you on the consequences of such conduct, and I really think it interests all the powers of Europe. But, with a force so considerable as you have, the revolt cannot be of long duration; and the devastation committed by the rebels can only produce a temporary evil.”

Prosecution
of the cam-
paign.

Having conveyed Madame Le Clerc by sea to Port-au-Prince, and established his head-quarters there, after making every arrangement in his power of his newly acquired force, the Captain-General re-commenced the campaign with fresh energy. Port-au-Prince was the most desirable residence they had yet obtained, not having been injured in the least, from the ease with which it was taken possession of by Boudet; but the next town in the south, Leogane, was destroyed by Dessalines, and every place that was likely to aid a passage to that quarter. Desfourneaux was left at Plaisance to protect the north, while Hardy, Rochambeau, Boudet, and Debelle, proceeded to the Spanish border of the western district. La Crete a Pierrot, a post rather advantageously situated, between St. Marc and Port-au-Prince, which had been a depôt of the blacks, and lately their apparent head-quarters, was the first object of the French; whereby they committed an error frequent in military tactics, where a necessary position is lost through the desire of booty. The Black General perceived this error, for, after appearing to guard anxiously a celebrated point,
and

and finding means, first to convey away every thing desirable, he then evacuated it, leaving to the self-nominated victorious army, an empty arsenal, empty coffers, and frequently unsheltered quarters.*—Such was the case with La Crete a Pierrot, and in the defence of which, and the operations that immediately followed, the blacks covered themselves with glory, and their enemies with infamy.

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The main body of the French army was put in motion against this fortress; and its defence, planned by the Général in Chief, was committed to General Dessalines. Whether it was from the weakness of General Le Clerc, or the enthusiasm of his troops at the expectation of booty at this siege, is unknown; but, if the vengeance of disappointed personal ambition, and an accumulation of every bad passion, had been infused in the breasts of the soldiers, it could not have been more cruelly displayed than in the affair of Crete a Pierrot. The scythed car of the ancient Briton, or the poisoned javelin of the savage Indian, are instruments of humanity, compared with the fatal bayonet as used by the French on this day; nor, could the desperation of the blacks in their first struggle for emancipation, exceed their bitter vengeance, of which the very recital stains the page of history.

The siege of
La Crete a
Pierrot.

* A General cannot be too much on his guard how he gratifies the best soldiers under his command in this way. To brave and exhausted troops, rest and comfort, when they can be afforded with safety, is a due consideration; but a desire of booty in a dangerous and doubtful warfare, is like sleep in the frigid zone, always tempting, yet frequently destructive.

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In the beginning of March, the divisions of Hardy, Rochambeau, Boudet, and Debelle, marched against different posts in the vicinity of their grand object, with the hope of preventing the retreat of an enemy of whose reduction they considered themselves certain. Rochambeau first attacked a village called Cahows, from whose few inoffensive inhabitants he met no opposition; but General Hardy, with a considerable force, surrounded six hundred blacks in the Coupe de L'Inde, who bravely attempted to cut their way to Trianon, they were all taken, and murdered on the spot; and a Chief of Battalion, Henin, with a part of the same force, attacked the position Trianon, and carried it with the bayonet. Enraged by such unexampled warfare, Dessalines made a sortie from the fort, and advancing as far as La Petit Rivière, met General Debelle on his march to Verettes, whom, supposing a part of the cruel perpetrators, he drove before him to La Crete a Pierrot; but, so far from attempting a retaliation, he left them to the mercy of war, and retiring into the fort, discharged a volley of grape shot among them, by which Debelle and a considerable number were wounded. The commandant of artillery, Pambour, took the command of the division, and Debelle fell back into the rear.

General Boudet now passed the Artibonité, for the purpose of blockading Crete a Pierrot, but had scarcely come within sight of the glacis, when he received a wound which compelled him to return, and his men were thrown into disorder. General Dugua
advancing

advancing with a battalion of the 19th light troops, and the 74th regiment of the line, to form the blockade, was also dangerously wounded, and his party completely routed. To revenge this, Le Clerc, who had a narrow escape, a shot having hit the center of his sash, and carried part of it away, hastened a part of his artillery from Port-au-Prince, and Rochambeau spread fire and sword through every village in his way. General Salines, likewise, with a large body, contrived to surround a small camp of the blacks, and put every man to the sword.

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On the 22d of March, Rochambeau attempted to erect a battery of seven pieces of heavy artillery on a rising ground, but in vain, the fire of a redoubt bearing upon him, swept away the whole of his men. He therefore marched to attack the redoubt, but found it so secured by a projection of logwood, that it was impossible to be carried. In the mean time, every thing being prepared for evacuating the fort, Dessalines, with a part of his force, sallied forth in the night, and falling in with Desplanques, who commanded General Hardy's advanced guard, a skirmish ensued, which, nevertheless, did not prevent his departure. The absence of Dessalines inspired the besiegers with new hopes, and for the three successive days they bombarded the fort with great activity, frequently setting fire to it. On the evening of the last day, the commander of the black forces remaining at La Crete, made a vigorous sally, and forced the French lines; a small part only accomplished this measure, and passed the Artibonité;

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bonité; the remainder were surrounded, and immediately put to the sword.

Thus ended the siege and blockade, which had cost the French army much, by the loss of some of her best generals and finest troops, but in nothing so much as in the exercise of a ferocious spirit unknown among civilized people. Besides the cruelties in cold blood which have been recited, and which were exultingly acknowledged in the dispatches of General Le Clerc, were numerous acts of private barbarity, the recital of which could answer no good purpose, while the blacks, in this instance, are not charged, even by their enemies, with the commission of any of these enormities. Nor did they avail themselves on the present occasion of those advantages which remain to be found in the fastnesses of the mountains. The fortress which they occupied had been regularly built by the English during their possession of this part of the island, and the defence of it was truly English. The remembrance of this affair will long be found on the banks of the Artibonité, to the disgrace of the one party, and the praise of the other.

Buoyed by what he conceived success, the Captain-General of the French extended his views, and prepared for the dominion to which he had always looked. He published an order in direct violation of his own proclamations, directing proprietors, or their attornies, to resume their ancient authority over

the negroes.* He treated with rigor and insolence, on the smallest difference of opinion, the inhabitants who surrounded him, and with indignity the Americans who constantly traded to the coast, compelling them to sell their cargoes of flour, and other provisions, for bills on France, which was but the prelude to farther enormities. To prevent the circulation of facts, he established an official gazette at Port-au-Prince, whose bulletins solely were to be regarded.

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1802.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was employed in a care superior to that of contemplating his self-sufficiency. He had noticed the neglected situation in which the northern province was left, by withdrawing the whole of the French force to the recent siege, and he resolved to avail himself of it. Therefore, while General Le Clerc was revelling in the reputation of the French arms in the west, and dispatching General Rochambeau to sack Les Gonaives, which at one time had been the black headquarters, Toussaint effected a junction with Christophé in the mountains, and poured down an accumulated force on the plain of the Cape. Reaching Plaisance by a mountain-road, he routed the forces of General Desfourneaux; passed on without molestation through Dondon and Marmelade, raising the cultivators in his way, and halted within a mile and a half of the city of Cape François. An universal consternation followed. Dispatches were sent, requiring the aid of the victorious generals, and Le

* Journal de Peltier, 1802, p. 521.

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* Journal de Peltier, 1802, p. 521.

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Clerc himself left his infant honors, taking a hasty passage by sea to the Cape. From the concourse of people in and about the city, a dreadful contagion began to shew itself. General Boyer, endeavoured to oppose this astonishing chief, with his whole force, including the marines and sailors from the fleet, and was quickly driven back, under the very hospital; when the blacks laid the whole plain of the Cape in ruins, in defiance of the Captain-General, commanding in the town, and of Generals Hardy and Rochambeau, who arrived by forced marches, they then retired to the mountains of Hincha.*

While these untoward circumstances were interrupting the felicity which General Le Clerc promised himself in his new quarters, another difficulty occurred where it was least expected. Among other objects destined for political use in the invasion of St. Domingo, was Rigaud, the mulatto-general, the ancient opponent of Toussaint, whose presence, it was suggested by some of his friends, might attach his former party to the French arms, but which Le Clerc considered an expedient too dangerous to risque. Rigaud, who expected an immediate restora-

* At the time these transactions were taking place, Bonaparté addressed the French people in a message to the Legislative Body, thus: "At St. Domingo great calamities have taken place, and great calamities are to be repaired; but the revolt is daily confined to narrower bounds. Toussaint, without fortresses, without money, without an army, is now no more than a robber wandering from desert to desert, with a few vagabonds like himself, whom our intrepid clearers are in pursuit of, and who will be soon overtaken and destroyed." *Moniteur*, May 7.—Such was the blindness with which this wonderful man had been influenced, and such is political consistency.—

tion of his property and command, finding himself continued in concealment, at a distance from his native province, began to contemplate means of re-instating himself. No sooner, therefore, was the Captain-General called to the Cape, than he attempted a correspondence with General La Plume, on the subject of a visit to his friends, who immediately communicated his letter to Le Clerc. Enraged at what he conceived perfidy at so critical a moment, he immediately ordered the unfortunate chief, with his family, to be sent on board a frigate, and conveyed to France, as one whose principles could not "contribute to the re-establishment of the colony of St. Domingo." This was a circumstance, however, disagreeable to many powerful persons, and Le Clerc, with a facility which has marked the political transactions of Europe in the beginning of the nineteenth century, adds, that Rigaud had "sent emissaries into the south to stop cultivation, and alarm the peaceable citizens with terrors."* The officer whose duty
it

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1802.

* Gazette du Port-au-Prince,---Letter of the Captain-General to General Dugua, Chief of the Staff at Port-au-Prince. The letter of Rigaud, also given in this journal, contains some pathetic appeals, which are interesting, as coming from the hand of fallen power:---

"Persecuted" says he, "these ten years; driven away from my property for the last two years; taken prisoner by the English and other allies of my enemies, I have persevered in the same principles I had before. The French government doing justice to my conduct and fidelity, gave me an employment in the French army, and my first steps were bent towards the incendiary and murdering rebels of the northern part, whose example you were wise enough not to imitate. You are not ignorant of the deep wounds made on humanity, and destruction of my unhappy countrymen; I can only mourn their lot; the evil is irremediable; but for the sake of those who are yet living, for one who would not sink under the
2 R weight

CHAP. V.
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it was to perform the present order, (Dugua,) had the sensibility to solicit Admiral Villaret to escort the wrecks of fallen greatness.

The only means which remained to withstand the shock the French had sustained, were, an extension of the number and powers of the emissaries, who had been constantly kept in employment, to seduce the unconscious cultivators, and had proved successful in the districts to which they had access. Le Clerc saw his error in the premature attempt to re-establish the ancient regimen by his order at Port-au-Prince, which had evidently inclined even the defective to return to the confidence of their brethren, and strengthened in their determination those who held out, being at least three-fourths of the population of the island. To remedy this ill-judged action he adopted another, which, although too often countenanced in the complicated politics of magnificent states, was an instance of the most degrading meanness. This was

weight of misfortune, would you not think it conformable to justice, and even your duty, to give orders, without having recourse to superior authority, that every thing of which we have been deprived should be given up to us. I confine myself at present, to request you to cause my sister, or M. Dronseray, my attorney, to be put again into the possession of my cattle, and that of my brothers; our lands and houses, and their produce, from the time we have been deprived of it.*

* * * * *

“When the banditti are destroyed in the northern part, I will bend my course towards the south, where I was born, where I have lived, and commanded with glory! I hope to find there none but brothers and friends, &c.

“A. RIGAUD.”

* The nature of this request is explained by the order of Le Clerc (in the amplitude of his power) at Port-au-Prince,—that the ancient proprietors, or their attorneys, should resume their estates.

a proclamation in which the freedom of the blacks is ASSURED, but that assurance is rendered a perfect nullity, by the arrangement of the sentence in which it is conveyed. As an example of the manner in which the French expedition against the blacks was conducted, the instrument is given in its formal state:—

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1802.

“ 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 that chaos which has been the natural consequence of the opposition made by the rebellious to the landing of the army at 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 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.

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“ The basis of the provisional 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:

“ 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 relative 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 recourse to, and consulted with, the most distinguished and enlightened citizens of the colony.

“ In consequence, I have 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,*)

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

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“ It is not a deliberative assembly I establish. I am sufficiently 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, then, 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.”

Never

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Never was so much art and weakness displayed at one time in any public officer as in this instance of Le Clerc, whose mind must have been capable of the most abject baseness, and reduced to the most contemptible alternatives.* The proclamation, however, had its desired effect, and vast defections from the followers of Toussaint, even those in his last expedition, was the immediate consequence.

In the beginning of April arrived the two squadrons long expected, from Havre and Flushing, and increased the puny advantages on which General Le Clerc prided himself. If his conduct assumed the air of determination before his late alarm, it had now no bounds, and with all the spirit of jacobinism which his brother-in-law had boasted to abolish, considered every measure expedient that would destroy his opponents, or confirm his power. If a body of *suspicious* negroes were discovered, an open grave awaited them, to the brink of which they were led unconscious, and either slaughtered, or precipitated alive into the dreadful chasm, as suited the convenience of those to whom the charge was intrusted. If a person connected with the expedition, whose advice had been originally courted, began to discover *un-philosophic* views in the Captain-General, and to venture opinions

* What a noble contrast is afforded to this effort of dirty chicane, by the conduct of General Walpole in Jamaica, who, scorning an act that might appear to inveigle men who had held British troops at defiance, and entered into regular treaties, refused the honorary reward of his gallantry and benevolence from the country he had served, because he did not conceive his engagements with them perfectly fulfilled. See his Letter in the Appendix to Dallas's History.

upon the state of affairs, a vessel was ready in an adjacent port to convey away the disapproving object. The terror of the present regimen seemed to produce for the time a more powerful effect, than all the successes of the French arms, or the defections of the black chiefs.

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Several bold pushes had been made by Toussaint, considering the dangers to which he was exposed, by the loss of his bravest commanders, and consequently their different plans of operation. Notwithstanding the success of his last expedition, his followers began to view forced marches with less patience than they were wont, and the situation of their opponents with proportionate envy. Toussaint continued resolute, with innumerable advantages, contemplating nothing but the prosecution of the war; though arguments more prevailing had been introduced to the ear of Christophé, his relation, and Toussaint was condemned to experience the pangs of Cæsar, and exclaim,

“ Are you too turned against me?”

Christophé perceived the consequences of the disaffection excited among the black troops, although its effects had been confined to, comparatively, a small part of the island. He observed the weakness of Le Clerc, and was thereby led to think his present proclamation sincere; it is not in the nature of a brave man to suspect the quibbling arts of inferior authority. He had been frequently tempted, as well as the other black generals,

Compromise
of the three
black chiefs.

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generals, and at length corresponded on the subject of making peace, the terms of his compromise being, a general amnesty for his troops, and the preservation of his own rank, and that of all the other officers; and extending the same terms to his colleague Dessalines, and the General in Chief. Thus the situation of the blacks became no worse by the truce, should it extend no farther, while the artifices of the French would cease to have their effect. To such terms it was hard for the proud commandant to submit, and, it might have been perceived, they could not be permanent. But Le Clerc, who considered only his own aggrandizement, thought a peace on any terms enabled him to claim the praise of restoring the colony to France; and with regard to the means, as he had practised a fraud in his proclamation in St. Domingo, so he could deceive the mother country, by his statement of the surrender. Thus, wading on through the same weakness, meanness, and infamy, the preliminaries were arranged with General Christophé, which afforded a temporary peace to this unhappy country. Public hostilities ceased about the 1st of May.

The arrangement completed with Christophé, the General in Chief was induced to commence a correspondence, which ended in a pacific invitation, and acceptance thereof, to Cape François. At his former capital he behaved with a dignity, and at the same time a gentleness, that won all hearts towards him, and obtained a general respect. With Le Clerc it was otherwise;—if the difficulties with Christophé were great, they were much more so with him

who had governed the island through a long and arduous period, and Toussaint returned to his camp without concluding a treaty; though he desired no more than what Christophé had obtained, with a dignified retirement—the wish of the greatest men of all countries and ages.

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The brave Dessalines alone remained without joining in the treaty of peace. He saw an unnatural amity projected, and he knew there were yet armies ready for the field, when called in defence of their freedom; yet he would not thwart the wish of his brethren, and therefore coincided in the acts of the General in Chief; as such he must be acquitted of suffering any imposition by the professions of the French general, for he believed none of them, and is not responsible for any sincerity, by his accordance with the peace, when he knew the blacks would not regard the dereliction of their leaders.

Le Clerc did not long contend the matter with Toussaint, —a few skirmishes took place, of slight importance, when the Captain-General, impatient for sovereignty, granted his wishes. “You, General, and your troops,” says he, “will be employed and treated like the rest of my army. With regard to yourself, *you desire repose*, and you deserve it; after a man has sustained for several years the government of St. Domingo, I apprehend he needs repose. I leave you at liberty to retire to which of your estates you please. I rely so much on the attachment

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you

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you bear the colony of St. Domingo, as to believe you will employ what moments of leisure you may have, during your retreat, in communicating to me your ideas respecting the means proper to be taken, to cause agriculture and commerce again to flourish. As soon as a list and statement of the troops under General Dessalines are transmitted to me, I will communicate my instructions as to the positions they are to take."*

May 8.

Toussaint, with his family, retired to a plantation of his own name, L'Ouverture, at Gonaives, on the western coast; the brave and faithful Dessalines continued near them, at the town of St. Marc, with an intelligent and agreeable society. Never was a more interesting retreat, than that of these two great men, resigning honors, command, and the fascinations of absolute power, for the peace of their country. They were revered with increased affection by the people, and Europeans could not forbear viewing them with wonder. With the despicable jealousy of the Captain-General such an admiration was dangerous, and it did not escape his attention.

To avoid the dreadful effects of the fever at the Cape, which now spread its ravages with uncommon violence, the Captain-General made an excursion to the little island of Tortuga, having previously dispatched his aid-du-camp to France, with an account

* Gazette du Cape.

of the *surrender* of the blacks. In this dispatch he describes them as begging their lives, and surrendering at discretion, as being hunted down, and made prisoners in their different residences, notwithstanding that his letter to Toussaint, in direct contradiction, was published in Paris at the same moment.* For the convenience of issuing his numerous contradictory edicts, he at this time established a Gazette, under the title of The Official Gazette of St. Domingo, after their publication in which, they were to be equally in force, as if promulgated in the most formal manner. To this gazette, every account of military or government transactions was confined, those at Port Republicain and other places being restricted to commercial purposes.

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At Tortuga Le Clerc exercised the new power he had acquired with his usual want of discrimination, and what was scarcely credible, even from so weak a governor, he again violated the very proclamation which he had issued with so barefaced a quibble, without waiting for its effect or consequences, by directing the blacks who were on several plantations to be set compulsorily to work, under the dominion of their ancient masters. To Toussaint, (whom no compromise could deprive of the power of attending to the calls of humanity, in those who continued under his care,) several bodies made their appeal, and others respectfully acquainted him with their resolutions, not to suffer a violation of the rights which had cost them so dear. On this

* See the Appendix.

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1802.

subject, therefore, he addressed a letter to an official agent, named Fontaine, at the Cape, on the 27th of May.

“It is said,” he writes, “that General Le Clerc is in an ill state of health at Tortuga, of this you will inform me. If you see the General in Chief, be sure to tell him that the cultivators are no longer disposed to obey me, for the planters *wish to set them to work* at Hericourt, which they certainly ought not to do.

“I have to ask you whether any one near the person of the General in Chief can be gained to procure the release of D—, who would be very useful to me, from his influence at La Nouvelle, and elsewhere.

“Acquaint Gengembre that he should not quit the Borgne, where the cultivators must not be *set to work*.”

Whether Fontaine courted the favor of Le Clerc, by communicating this letter immediately, or that it fell into his hands by means of that system of *espionage* in which his mean and suspicious mind delighted, is uncertain; or whether he had not predetermined the violation of his personal treaty with Toussaint as well as his guarantee of freedom to the blacks, which is most probable. Be this as it may, within a few days after the departure of this letter, and before the expiration of the first month of his retirement, in the dead of the night, the Creole frigate, escorted

escorted by the Hero, a 74 gun ship from Cape François, stood in close to the shore of Gonaives, when suddenly landing several boats with troops, they surrounded the tranquil dwelling of Toussaint, where his innocent family lay wrapped in sleep, unconscious of their awaiting fate. To Brunet, chief of brigade, and Ferrari, an aid-du-camp of Le Clerc, was confided this treacherous task, which they performed so as to deserve the commendations of their master.* They entered the chamber of the hero with a file of grenadiers, and demanded his immediate surrender. Great as he had always been, he was now *surprised* for the first time, by a band of authorised assassins, whom armies had never been able to perplex, Toussaint declared himself indifferent as to his own fate, but remonstrated with regard to his family. "I shall not resist the power you have obtained over me," said he, "but, my wife is feeble, and my children can do no harm. Suffer them, then, to remain at home." Reasoning of this kind suited neither their policy nor their minds, the guard was increased, and before the vicinage became alarmed, they were on board the vessel, and under sail. Two brave leaders, who were roused, instantly attacked the banditti, but their bravery was useless, they were soon seized, and afterwards shot.

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1802.

Seizure and
exile of
Toussaint.

As soon as Toussaint was sent away, the emissaries of the Captain-General, under the direction of Rochambeau, who commanded at St. Marc, set about discovering the connexions,

* Gazette de St. Domingue.

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and even acquaintance of the unfortunate general, as if to root the very remembrance of him from the colony: but that rested on a firmer basis, the justice and gratitude of the country, and was so deeply engraven on the hearts of its inhabitants, that it could only be expelled with their lives. The brave Dessalines was for the present politically spared, but above an hundred of those who contributed to form the enlightened society of Toussaint, or who were distinguished for knowledge or benevolence, were seized and sent on board different vessels in the harbour, and were never more heard of; in all probability, as the same mode of execution was afterwards openly had recourse to, they were immediately slaughtered, or thrown into the sea.

The astonishment which this flagrant act of the French government occasioned, was such as to paralyse the minds of the whole people. A dread calm succeeded. The Captain-General again boasted to the deluded Bonaparté of enormities which alone were sufficient to subject his government to the execration of posterity. As if designed to hold up the transactions of this island to ridicule, the dispatches continued to display the most glaring falsehoods, and contradictory accounts; in the one alluded to he declares, that joy had been produced at the Cape by the departure of Toussaint. If that sentiment did obtain public declaration, when the town was a common pest-house, and the French army were hourly dwindling away, it was more probable to arise from the death of the sanguinary General Hardy, the second in command, who died on the 2d of June,
universally

universally detested for his total want of those qualities in which a true soldier delights.

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The dispatch, as relates to the circumstances it describes, is a document too striking and important to be omitted. It is as follows:—

“ Head-quarters at the Cape, June 11.

“ I informed you in one of my last dispatches of the pardon I had been induced to grant General Toussaint. This ambitious man, from the moment of his pardon, did not cease to plot in secret. Though he surrendered, it was because Generals Christophé and Dessalines intimated to him, that they clearly saw he had deceived them, and that they were determined to continue the war no longer; so finding himself deserted by them, he endeavoured to form an insurrection among the working negroes, and to raise them in a mass. The accounts which I received from all quarters, and from General Dessalines himself, with respect to the line of conduct which he held since his submission, left no room for doubt upon the subject. I intercepted letters which he had written to one Fontaine, who was agent at the Cape. These afforded an unanswerable proof that he was engaged in a conspiracy, and that he was anxious to regain his former influence in the colony. He waited only for the result of disease among the troops.

“ Under these circumstances it would be improper to give him
6 time

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time to mature his criminal designs. I ordered him to be apprehended,—a difficult task; but it succeeded from the excellent dispositions made by the General of Division Brunet, who was entrusted with its execution, and the zeal and ardour of Citizen Ferrari, a chief of squadron, and my aid-du-camp.

“ I have sent to France, with all his family, this so deeply perfidious man, who, with so much hypocrisy, has done us so much mischief. The government will determine how it should dispose of him.

“ The apprehension of General Toussaint occasioned some disturbances. Two leaders of the insurgents are already in custody, and I have ordered them to be shot. About an hundred of his confidential partizans have been secured, some of whom are sent on board La Muiron frigate, which is under orders for the Mediterranean, and the rest are distributed among the different ships of the squadron.

“ I am daily occupied in settling the affairs of the colony, with the least possible inconvenience, but the excessive heat, and the diseases which attack us, render it a task extremely painful. I am impatient for the approach of the month of September, when the season will restore us activity.

“ The departure of Toussaint has produced general joy at the Cape.

“ The

“ The commissary of justice, Mont Peson, is dead. The colonial prefect, Benezech, is breathing his last. The adjutant-commandant, Dampier, is dead; he was a young officer of great promise. I have the honor to salute you,

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(Signed) “ LE CLERC.”

Having rid himself of Toussaint, and assumed the title of General in Chief, in addition to that of Captain-General, with which he came to the island, Le Clerc affected to undertake the organization of a new government for the colony, a labor in which many great men had been unsuccessful. In doing this, however, he did not risque his character, as they had done, by speculative attempts in legislation, for he decreed the continuance of every establishment as he found it in the hands of the exiled General, except as related to the customs, and even in these he admitted the regulations in favor of the English, which occasioned a strong remonstrance from the commercial interest at Paris.

Le Clerc,
General in
Chief and
Captain-Ge-
neral.

On the 22d of June the decree was published, “ in the name of the General in Chief Captain-General.” Martial law continued in force, with certain modifications. Military commandants had the power over certain districts, with the assistance of the municipality; and each commune provided for the expences of its government, while the whole held a general understanding with each other.*

* See the Appendix.

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1802.

The object at this time requiring the most ardent and strict attention, was the health of the troops, which had suffered to such a degree, that in many instances where, (in consequence of their necessary dispersion throughout the colony,) small numbers were left at a post, sufficient scarcely remained to attend the sick and bury the dead, instead of performing military duty, while the rigorous service was necessarily obliged to be imposed upon the others, particularly in the south, and towards the Spanish division, where large parties of blacks, never brought into action, continued in arms, and ridiculed the idea of submission. General Le Clerc preserved in his endeavours to infuse terror by the most absolute measures, and to implore the First Consul for reinforcements. Thus, if it could be considered as ended, concluded the first campaign of the army of St. Domingo.

In the mean time, the injured Black General in Chief approached rapidly to the site of exile. During the voyage he was not permitted to see his family, and a guard was placed at the door of his cabin. On the 11th of June the ship arrived at Brest, and on the deck only this great man was permitted to take the last view of his innocent and respectable family. Their agonizing separation will be long remembered by the seamen who witnessed it, notwithstanding the means taken to impress an unfavorable opinion of the blacks, and render them insensible to the emotions of humanity; nature broke through the boundaries which had been thus infernally created, and expressed their sense of the fraudulent delusion so strenuously, that

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it was conceived necessary to hurry off their august prisoner. He was conveyed in a close carriage, under a strong escort of cavalry, to the Castle of Joux in Normandy, far from the knowledge of his fame or fate, with a single attendant, who was also confined and prevented from any other communication; and who, afterwards, weary of captivity, procured his own release under the pretence of betraying his master, and disclosing hidden treasures in his native island. From Joux he was removed to Besançon, and treated as the worst of criminals.—He who had been the benefactor of white people in a country where their enormities had provoked hatred, whose power was never stained by malevolence, and who was greater in his fall, than his enemies in their assumed power, was kept in a damp and cheerless prison, without the comfort of a single friend, without trial or even examination; a proof of his exalted innocence, and a perpetual memorial of the political error of the Conqueror of Italy, which will throw a gloom over his apotheosis, and cast a slur on a period of government otherwise not destitute of virtues.

The wife and family of Toussaint remained in strict charge at Brest for two months, from whence they were removed to Bayonne, in the same province with their unhappy relative, where they long continued unnoticed, and in ignorance of his fate.*

* After a considerable period, a report gained credit that this hapless family had obtained permission to return to their native country: even miserable as the return under such circumstances must have been, the account is doubtful.

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This prison may be considered the sepulture of Toussaint. France forgot awhile the habits of a civilized nation, to entomb one she should have graced with a public triumph; and England, instead of making a common cause to annihilate a nation of heroes, and depress the human intellect when rising to its level, should have guarded from violation the rights of humanity in its person. It has been the lot of him whose feeble hand attempts a tribute of gratitude, respect, and justice to his character, to regret the ill-requited life of the discoverer of the new world, and the unpropitious efforts of the enlightened and benignant D'Ogeron, to view the untimely death of many brave and exalted characters in the fluctuation of events in the different attempts to obtain possession of an island whose fate is as conspicuous as the most celebrated ancient state; but in no one instance does the mind linger with such keen sensations as on the unhappy fortune of the great, the good, the pious and benevolent Toussaint L'Ouverture.*

* The death of Toussaint is silently noticed in the Paris journals of April 27, 1803, and briefly alluded to in the London papers of the 2d of May following. In one of the most respectable of them is a paragraph nearly in these terms, whose briefness well characterizes an event which could only have been dwelt upon with shame:

“Toussaint L'Ouverture is dead. He died, according to letters from Besançon, in prison, a few days ago. The fate of this man has been singularly unfortunate, and his treatment most cruel. He died, we believe, without a friend to close his eyes. We have never heard that his wife and children, though they were brought over from St. Domingo with him, have ever been permitted to see him during his imprisonment.”—*Times*, May 2, 1803.

Suspicious have been hinted of this event being accelerated by poison. The author, however, of an eloquent little popular work, states a circumstance from good authority, which would supersede the necessity for this means: “The floor of the dungeon,” (in which Toussaint was confined,) he says, “was actually covered with water.”—*Bonaparté in the West Indies*, &c.

Notwithstanding the disastrous state of the colony, General Le Clerc seemed unwilling to depreciate his government, by admitting that at the end of several months he had not accomplished what he had declared was effected in the first five days. The healthful season so much desired by him had long arrived, and the contagion had not otherwise decreased, than by the number of its victims, which every day grew less. He was himself scarcely convalescent; the best officers of his staff had fallen, and those who arrived being unacquainted with the country, and task to which they were condemned, sunk into despondency, and followed their predecessors to eternity! In the beginning of October, he commissioned an aid-du-camp to the Consular court for instructions and advice, and for once his dispatches wore the semblance of truth; they were in consequence carefully concealed from the public knowledge, but bad news finds its way through a thousand avenues, when the good is most anxiously sought for in vain.

It was therefore soon known that Christophé had rejoined the black forces with Dessalines, who could never be considered as defected. They began, by affecting in their different characters of commandant of negroes in the northern district, and superintendent-general of negroes, to retreat from those who were hostile, taking care always to leave behind them considerable quantities of ammunition and stores. A number of new generals, likewise, had arisen in arms, from the interior of the island, who began to make excursions from the mountains. Among these

was

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was a powerful chief of negroes, of the Congo tribe, called Sans Souci, who, after committing considerable depredations, could never be discovered. Charles Bellair, with his Amazonian wife, also made a powerful diversion for a while, till they were both taken, and died under the most inconceivable tortures. Clervaux, whose submission of the eastern part of the island had been formerly boasted without grounds, now declared openly his contumacy; and Maurepas, who had surrendered, was detected in a conspiracy, and put to death. Nor were the defections from the French army confined to the blacks, or to inferior officers among the whites; General Dugua, the chief of the French staff, disgusted with the horrors attendant on the war and more particularly, with the horrid punishment of Bellair and his wife, whom he had tried, was discovered in making arrangements to quit the French army, and took the resolution of destroying himself.

The government at this period (if in the insubordinate state in which every thing appeared, any government could be considered to exist) assumed a complexion more sanguinary and terrible than can be conceived among civilized people, and formed a new æra in martial law. - In attempting to disarm the black troops which had been incorporated with the French, the necessity whereof was discovered too late, the most barbarous methods were practised, ship-loads were collected, and suffocated in the holds. In one instance, six hundred being surrounded, and attempting a resistance, were massacred on the spot; and such slaughters daily

daily took place in the vicinity of Cape François, that the air became tainted by the putrefaction of the bodies. At the same time the French troops being driven from the field, and obliged to fortify themselves in the chief towns, contagion spread every where, and the distress became dreadfully general. In their extremity, to aid and fill up the measure of their enormities, the use of blood-hounds was resorted to, that dreadful expedient, the temporary adoption of which in a neighbouring colony, had already excited the disgust of the powers of Europe.*

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Fort Dauphin, Port Paix, and several other favourite establishments, were by the middle of October completely lost to the French; and it became known to the seamen who visited the

* In this allusion to the circumstance of the introduction of blood-hounds to an English colony, the author has no other aim than to add his testimony (who was an eye witness) to the rectitude of the governor of Jamaica in regard to their use. Though a successful, yet it was a dangerous experiment, and one which will, it is hoped, never be again tried by British soldiers; but with the control of such men as Lord Balcarras, and General Walpole, the rights of humanity can no more be violated than the highest point of military honor or discipline. The writer was witness to an anxiety with regard to *any* employment of the dogs in the noble governor, which must confer eternal honor on his feelings as a gentleman and as a soldier, while the sentiments of General Walpole on the occasion are equally honourable. Strange as it may appear to those who had an opportunity of knowing the fact, the public mind (with a jealousy of national character most laudable and dignified) has never been satisfied that the Maroons were not really hunted down, and destroyed by blood-hounds; it is therefore most solemnly declared in this place, that no farther use was made of them than being marched in the rear of the army to inspire terror in the blacks, as has been mentioned in an account furnished to his respectable historian by Mr. Quarrel, although the writer is not certain that the care taken by Lord Balcarras to prevent it, was perfectly consonant to the inclinations of that gentleman. Some accidents, and perhaps more than those stated by Mr. Dallas, did occur, but they were never let loose, indiscriminately, by a British general, for the inhuman purposes for which they are bred.

Bight

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1802.

Bight of Leogane, that after a considerable number of blacks had been hunted down in the neighbourhood of Port Republicain, they were hurried on board of the ships at anchor in the bay, and crowded into their holds; that under cover of the night this dishonored navy put to sea, and first either burning brimstone in the hold, or extinguishing sense by suffocation, or neither, the miserable cargoes were discharged into the sea in such quantities, that at length the tide (as if the mighty Arbiter of all, meant to hold their shame before them) brought the corpses into the bay, and rolled them on the very beach. Human nature recoils at the description, yet the scene is not ended,—under the dark concealment of night, the tender wife, the aged parent, and even the rougher comrade in arms, stealing by the watchful suspicion of their masters, were seen wandering on the sea-shore, to identify each victim as the wave produced him.

Towards the end of October, an event occurred which, however expected, produced an extraordinary effect. The General in Chief, whose health had been long impaired, and who had tried every means for its restoration, suddenly became worse, the air of the city had avowedly become mephitic, and Tortuga no longer remained as a retreat for him, being in full possession of the blacks. On the night of the 1st of November, after he had communicated his wishes as to the future government of the colony, died Victor Emanuel Le Clerc, having been only eleven months General in Chief and Captain-General of the colony of St. Domingo.

Death of
the General
in Chief,
Le Clerc.

On

On the morning of November 2, the following proclamation was issued by the principal municipal officer of the colony:

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“ ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO.

“ *The Colonial Prefect, to the Army, and the Inhabitants of St. Domingo:*

“ CITIZENS, SOLDIERS,

“ The night which has passed has been a mournful night for us.

“ The General in Chief, Le Clerc, your Captain-General, is no more.—He has fallen; an irresistible malady has borne him from you.

“ Having scarcely attained the meridian of life, he was already a conqueror in battle and vigorous in council,—at once a hero and a sage.

“ Possessing dignity without pride, generosity without ostentation;—his heart was just;—your sorrows and his were perpetually the same.

“ Soldiers, although the brother of Bonaparté is no more—he will live in your hearts. The brigands, whose terror he was, will rejoice in his death;—you will punish their detested joy.

“ The General of Division, Rochambeau, is about to succeed General Le Clerc. He has already delivered the South and

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West from the brigands who ravaged them. He is the choice of the government, and of the General whom you lament.

“ Under his standard you will continue to conquer, and your hearts alone can inform you what loss you have sustained.

“ Inhabitants of St. Domingo, rally with confidence around the new Chief who is given to you.—You have long known him,—you have often blessed the success of his arms. You will have to applaud new triumphs. Forget not, Soldiers and Inhabitants, that union constitutes force; and that the only mode of honoring a man whom you loved, and who loved you, is to conduct yourselves as if he were still in the midst of you.

“ The French government watches over you: it will never abandon you.

“ The Colonial Prefect, D'AURE.”

This communication, had it been intended to appease the manes of Le Clerc, could not have been more conformable to his ideas, or more replete with ostentation and falsehood. The body was immediately examined on account of his disease, then embalmed, and placed on board the Swiftsure man of war; Madam Le Clerc, who had no inclination to remain on an island, where, instead of a promised paradise, she had suffered the most painful deprivations, went on board in a few days, Admiral Latouche, chief in command of the naval force in St. Domingo, undertaking to escort her home, accompanied by the Chief of Brigade, Netherwood, first aid-du-camp of the departed

departed general. His sabre and hat were placed, with much formality, upon the bier on board, all the officers attending on the occasion.

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He appears to have been anxious, that the directions which he thought necessary for the future government of the island, should be put in force, and they were, as far as convenient with some persons, obeyed. As soon as the obsequies of the departed General were performed, it became necessary for some one to prepare for the repelling the blacks, who had advanced with vociferous joy to the very town of Cape François. General Rochambeau, who was appointed Chief in command, was at Port-au-Prince, and could not be expected to arrive in sufficient time, though General Watrin had set out to succeed him in the west and south; General Clausel, commanding in the north, therefore, with the remains of a dispirited army, proceeded against them, but to little effect.

Rochambeau
chief in com-
mand.

A young general, of the name of Boyer, who had commanded in the Gens d'Armerie, having been appointed Chief of the Staff in the place of Dugua, was entrusted with the execution of every order, and in consequence thought it necessary to address to the French colonial minister some account of the transactions of the French army in St. Domingo from the period of the arrest of Toussaint L'Ouverture. In this dispatch, amidst a variety of matter, such as had been the custom to transmit to France, Boyer confesses the dreadful situation in which the colony then

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stood. Speaking of the first attempts after the departure of Toussaint, he says, "The heat became excessive, it was impossible to make any movement;—the lowest mornes presented obstacles to us proportionate to the inconvenience of the season. The brigands increased in numbers. Our hospitals were crowded with sick, and disease daily made new ravages." He then mentions *insurrections* at Marmalade, Dondon, and Moustique, when not only those posts, but the whole plain of the Cape, covered by the black forces, from whom, they might temporarily obtain possession of a small place which they afterwards were obliged to relinquish.

He acknowledges the prosecution of the war against the leaders, which had been begun by Le Clerc, in the course of which Domage, the friend of Toussaint, who had hitherto successfully repelled every attempt upon the south, fell into the hands of General Desbureaux. Loaded with the charge of an intimate connection with his exiled chief, it was not sufficient to send him "on board the squadron,"* as the end of his co-patriots was termed; he was reserved for the extremity of torture that *civilized* barbarians could inflict.

The arrival of the new Commander in Chief at headquarters, effected little change in the situation of affairs, though much was expected, from his superior knowledge of the Island,

* Q. d. to be simply drowned.

and character of the blacks; but this knowledge could not effect a change in the elements, or render a power daily weakening equal to that which acquired strength from a continuation of the war. He appeared anxious to direct it to points different from that to which it was ordinarily carried; accordingly an action of considerable violence took place on the parched plains of St. Nicholas Mole, in which the French appear to have made a feeble stand. They continued to fight during the night, and to precipitate each other into the sea. The end, however, was, as it must always be in a like situation, that any advantage the whites obtained was soon relinquished. General Clausel was more successful before Fort Dauphin, which, after withstanding for some time the united attack by sea and land, surrendered to him. Before this capture, Port Republicain and Les Cayes were the only towns, besides the capital, in the possession of the French.

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The first public act of Rochambeau, as Captain-General of the Island, was that of calling to account the young Chief of the Staff, who appears to have been an *élève* of Le Clerc, and raised to that dignity more from the General's fondness, than his ability. He was young and spirited, and the faults with which he was charged, appear to have arisen more from errors ascribable to that period of life, than from a decided cupidity. His suspension was announced by an *arrêté*, thus:

ARRETE

December 8.

"The General in Chief orders the deposition of the Chief of Brigade, Boyer, Ex-commander of the first legion of Gens d'Armerie. He shall be detained in prison at the Cape till his accompts are given in, when he shall be sent to France.

(Signed) "ROCHAMBEAU."*

Shortly after, the General in Chief renewed the decree of Le Clerc, so obnoxious in France, permitting foreign importation into the colony, extending it to all descriptions of wares and merchandize, but increasing the duty upon them to twenty per

* This young General, with more good fortune than was ordinarily met with under the present regimen, was afterwards embarked for France, but war having recommenced, was taken, and brought to England. With the greatest impetuosity he inveighed against his treatment!—But when he found that he was to be deprived of a sum of money, the fruits, probably, of defalcation in his official career, he lost all patience. Notwithstanding every thing of personal property had been returned to him, as well as the other prisoners, he complained with great virulence to his government, "that the English had *robbed* him!" He was, notwithstanding, granted his liberty on parole at Tiverton, in Devonshire, where his conduct was frequently ludicrous in the extreme; and the letters he wrote to his government occasioned many false constructions in the French papers. Notwithstanding this disagreeable circumstance, his favorable exterior, youth, and vivacity, obtained for him particular notice. On one occasion, the prisoners, having procured musical instruments, and formed a concert on a Sunday, the English peasantry conceiving it derogatory to their religion, insisted on its suppression, and the Magistrates were obliged to interfere. With great gallantry the Frenchmen hoped that, though compelled to relinquish their music, the church of England would not deny them the pleasure of drinking a few bottles of excellent wine, then in their possession, with the Magistrates: the latter declined; but were surprized at hearing nothing of Boyer all the time.—He was busily employed in a corner drawing a caricature of the whole party!

cent;* with this arrêté ended the most eventful year ever experienced in St. Domingo. The French troops appeared to proceed with the season in which they landed,—to rise with the progress of the year,—and to fall, with their General, at the approach of winter. Before the month of December, not ten months after their arrival, near forty thousand French troops are supposed to have been sacrificed, and a considerable number, (though by no means proportionate,) of the blacks. Troops still continued to be sent from the ports of Havre and Cherbourg, but each reinforcement was less effective than the preceding, and the conscripts at length consisted only of raw youths, Poles, Piedmontese, and Flemings. Veteran soldiers considered the army of St. Domingo as the by-word of contempt, and the once popular cause of the subjugation of that splendid colony became no more heard of, or if mentioned, it was only with sorrow, or to be treated with derision.

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The commencement of the year 1803 was marked by a sullen cessation of arms, more dreadful than active war, as it gave place to secret cruelties, more extensive because less glaring. General Rochambeau was called, by the fortune of war, to a command for which, notwithstanding the local and physical experience which has been allowed to him, he was by no means competent, and to which, no talents, perhaps, would have been adequate. In the outset of the expedition he had borne a

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* See the Appendix.

very

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subordinate rank, considering his stake as a proprietor, and it was only to the death of his superiors that he owed his present appointment. He evinced no desire to change the system (if so it could be called) on which the war proceeded, nor did he exhibit sufficient ability to produce an amendment. On the 4th of March, without any other communication of importance, the French colonial minister received from the new Captain-General an intimation, that on the arrival of four thousand more troops which were expected, *offensive operations might be commenced.*

The blacks, on the contrary, during the whole of this awful cessation, were daily strengthened from every quarter, under Dessalines, who was unanimously appointed General in Chief, who resolved vigorously to push the war to a termination. With this view they collected a considerable force upon the plain of the Cape, which being observed by Rochambeau, he found it necessary to withdraw his troops from every other point, and both armies became unawares in a state of preparation for a general battle. This was not what either party designed; Dessalines, therefore, restrained his impetuous blacks, and the French forces were combined to strengthen Cape François. Several skirmishes having taken place in the vicinity of Acul, it was at length determined by Rochambeau to venture an action, for which he had many dispositions in his favor. The troops selected on either side, for the affair were admirably posted on two neighbouring *mornes,*

Affair of
Acul.

mornes,* the first movement was inauspicious to the French, by the capture of a considerable body marching to strengthen one of the wings who were surrounded and driven into the black camp. Rochambeau began the attack with impetuosity, and the blacks for a short time gave way, but on his endeavouring to push the advantage, they repulsed him with loss, when the day closed. In penetrating the black line the French had secured a number of prisoners, and on them they determined to wreak the vengeance of which they were disappointed in the battle. Whether this determination arose from an idea that the part of the French wing which had been cut off were already absolutely sacrificed, or from the mistaken policy of extermination, cannot here be determined, but the unhappy victims were, without the smallest consideration for their own men who were prisoners in the black camp, immediately put to death. As they were not carefully exterminated, many were left in a mutilated state during the whole of the night, whose moans and shrieks were heard at a distance around the spot sufficiently loud to excite a sensation of horror throughout the country. The black commander, when acquainted with the case although the maxim of the benevolent Toussaint, not to retaliate, had been hitherto followed up, could no longer forbear; he instantly caused a number of gibbets to be formed, selected the officers whom he had taken, and supplying

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Retaliation
of the cruelty
of the French
by the black
army.

* This French provincial term, which has become a cant phrase in the public conversation on the war in St. Domingo, the writer conceives applies to heights divided by different mounts, separated by delightful vallies, with which the island abounds.

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the deficiency with privates, had them tied up in every direction by break of day, in sight of the French camp, who dared not to interfere. The blacks then sallied down with the most astonishing vigor and regularity, raised the very camp, threw the whole line in disorder, and drove the French army close to the walls of Cape François. Such was the retaliation produced by this sanguinary measure; a retaliation, the justice of which, however it is lamented, cannot be called in question.

During the latter months, the fluctuating politics of Europe, which had never failed to produce some change to this unhappy island, again took a turn, and the peace, which was not inaptly termed in the British senate a "peace of experiment," had been concluded. In the middle of the ensuing May, war was recommenced between Great Britain and France, when each power directing its attention to those objects of the enemy which were most vulnerable, the former rationally looked towards the force in St. Domingo.

By the time the news arrived with the different commanders on the station, Rochambeau had permanently fixed his headquarters at the Cape, and Dessalines had so completely lined the country about the city, that the French boundaries were confined to two miles around the Cape. As their power became weaker, an unnatural ferocity was increased, and apparently a desire to render the white complexion detestable throughout the Antilles; for no means, however extraneous, were left unattempted

to annoy the enemy. Not content with the use of a considerable number of blood-hounds, (some of which they had procured from the Spanish part of the island, but most from that of Cuba,) which they sent in pursuit of small reconnoitring parties that occasionally ventured within their lines; when they were taken (the pen shrinks from the task of describing it) they were thrown to those animals, less brutal than their barbarous owners, to be devoured alive! All the arts, which invention worse than savage could devise in the people, who continued to inspirit these animals with a ferocity not often known, was employed, to render them more terrific to the blacks, and more effective in the war. Such is the deterioration of the human mind, under a pressure of circumstances.

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Use of blood-hounds.

Dessalines, notwithstanding frequent losses, attended with the most horrid circumstances, sufficient in the relation to freeze the blood of the reader, continued the blockade, and found opportunities to decrease in the French the means of operation, both offensive and defensive. As soon as an English squadron was perceived on the coast in July, he, in conjunction with Christophé, sent a flag of truce with a proposition to act in concert against the French, and, in case of agreement, to request some assistance of stores.—It is probable, that at the same time an account of the atrocities of the French accompanied this request, for shortly after a squadron, under the command of a Commodore, blockaded Cape François in the ensuing month, when Rochambeau began to sound the Commodore

2 x 2

upon

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upon terms for a surrender of the French troops. About this time, so unsafe appeared the French interest, that Jerome Bonaparté, the brother of the First Consul, who had remained hitherto, (with what utility is not known,) left the island, and arrived at Baltimore, on the American continent, a young man more fond of fashionable distinction than of war, and more fitting for the *agremens* of life than its arduous occupations.*

The French affairs continued to depreciate, varying only by the increase of difficulty; attended with the same disgraceful employment of the most cruel actions, till Rochambeau actually relinquished every other merit or aim, than that of keeping possession of the city of the Cape, and fortifying it by every means that human art could devise or effect. In a dispatch on the 29th of October, he observes, "There is still some merit in defending a ravaged colony against a civil war on one side, and a foreign enemy on the other."

Such was the situation to which were reduced the conductors of an expedition, which had flattered the French people to the highest pitch,—had interested the powers of Europe,—and fed the vanity of every general whom interest could procure to be appointed to its service.—The victorious blacks, however, conti-

* Among other traits of character in this young man was, that he anxiously, and perhaps surreptitiously, obtained the London curricule of an English merchant on the island, which he used with an extravagant peculiarity in the city to which he had removed, while the executors of its owner were instituting legal proceedings to recover its value.

ning to pour in reinforcements upon the plain of the Cape, Dessalines resolved to attack the city, and took measures accordingly. A powerful body descended from the Morne du Cap, and having passed the outer lines, and several of the block-houses, a sharp conflict ensued, and they then prepared to take the city by storm in thirty-six hours. The blacks being irresistible; and before it would be too late, reasonably expecting that every one would be put to the sword, Rochambeau offered articles of capitulation, which, to the honor of the Black General, by foregoing the desire of revenge for the conduct of the French, he accepted, granting them ten days to evacuate the city, (and in so doing the island, leaving every thing in its existing condition,) in their own ships, with the honors of war, all their private property, and leaving their sick to the care of the blacks;* an instance of forbearance and magnanimity, of which there are not many examples in the annals of ancient or modern history.

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Though the British squadron under Commodore Loring, which were still stationed off Cape François, did not enter into any definitive alliance in consequence of the application of the blacks, they continued to render their cause an incalculable service, by preventing the arrival of reinforcements or supplies of any kind. Having been informed of the mode by which provisions were obtained from the Spanish part of the island, through the Curacol passage, leading to the eastern entrance of

* See the Appendix.

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the harbour of Cape François, a frigate was placed so as to intercept them, by which thirty small vessels, several laden with bullocks, were captured in a short time.* Thus, deprived of supply by sea, and shut from an intercourse with the land, General Rochambeau became reduced to the situation he so forcibly described on a subsequent occasion. "Pressed" said he, "almost to death by absolute famine, and after waiting for a considerable time, wretchedly appeasing the desperate calls of hunger by feeding on our horses, mules, asses, and even dogs, we had no way to escape the poignards of the enraged negroes, but by trusting our fate to the sea." †

The same day on which he had treated with General Dessalines, and after he had exchanged hostages, Rochambeau thought proper to send to the English commodore a military and a naval officer, with proposals to treat for the evacuation of the Cape, with a dissimulation disgraceful to the meanest commander. These were General Boyé and Captain Barné. They proposed that General Rochambeau and his guards, comprizing about five hundred men, should be conveyed to France in two vessels, the *Surveillant* and *Cerf*, without being considered as prisoners of war. To this proposition, which nothing but the liberality they had so recently experienced could give rise, Com-

* London Gazette, Feb. 7, 1804.

† "On which," he scurrilously adds, "we were taken by the English pirates." See *Affidavit of Augustus Stenson, taken at Ashbourne, in Derbyshire, on the 27th of February, 1804*, at which time Rochambeau was prisoner there on his parole of honor.

modore Loring returned his refusal, and at the same time sent Captain Moss, of the *Desirée*, with absolute terms. These were, —a general surrender,—that the French officers and troops in health should go to Jamaica, and the sick to France and America, security being given for the vessels which conveyed them, prohibiting at the same time the white inhabitants of the Cape from going to Jamaica.

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To this communication General Rochambeau returned the following answer:—

“ The General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo to Commodore Loring, &c. &c.

“ SIR,

“ I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to address to me. As your propositions are inadmissible, I must beg of you to consider the preceding letter as not having been received.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.

“ D. ROCHAMBEAU.”

The French general flattered himself with finding an opportunity to make his escape from the Cape, and consequently forbore any farther communication with, and still concealing from the English the capitulation into which he had entered with Dessalines, but they were too vigilant for his purpose.

On

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On the 2nd of December, Captain Loring summoned the General of Brigade, Noailles, who maintained unmolested a species of solitary command at the Mole, to surrender, who, while equivocating as to the mode of his capitulation, embarked with his garrison in the night on board six vessels, five of which fell into the hands of the commander of the *La Pique*, the sixth escaping, with General Noailles on board.

Port-au-Prince having been evacuated at different periods, was under the command of the General of Division, Petion, a black officer of experience and ability, who had been regularly educated at the Military School in France; St. Domingo thus became again in the full possession of the native army. The force which had arrived with the first body of troops, and stationed at the Spanish capital under General Kerversan, had remained without the power of interfering in the war, and contented itself with the parade of communication between the French and Spanish inhabitants, and with the island of Cuba, between whom they found sufficient employment, in those petty political intrigues that are always better avoided, as regard both the character and advantage of the countries using them.

Immediately on the cessation of hostilities, which promised to be more permanent than any former one, the General in Chief, with the two Generals between whom the jurisdiction of the island was become divided, Christophé and Clervaux, began to consider of the proclamation of independance, and those
measures

measures which were necessary for the public tranquillity. In a proclamation on November 29, by the three officers, from headquarters, in the Name of the Black People and Men of Colour, they declared the "General Freedom," and invited the return of those proprietors who fled during the conflict, without having become obnoxious by any cruelty of disposition towards their servants, or inclination to the continuance of slavery; at the same time, avowing, that to those of a contrary temper, no protection would be promised; and that as to soldiery employed in any future expedition, mercy was not to be expected. They declared their disapprobation of, and palliated the cruelties which were the unavoidable consequence of civil dissensions in all countries, and proposed that a new regimen, founded on the basis of justice, should prevail in St. Domingo.* In the execution of these propositions, and in preparations for the pacific state of the Island, to which they now looked, closed the year 1803. It will scarcely be believed, that to this gratifying occupation of restoring order, in the place of distraction, perpetual caution was rendered necessary, by some infatuated people who remained at the Cape, still devoted to the hope of replacing the old constitution, and the principle of slavery.

Hearing no more from General Rochambeau, although acquainted, by Dessalines, with the capitulation, and perceiving no movement, the English commodore addressed that general

* See the Appendix.

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as the term had nearly expired, expressive of his hopes that no retraction would take place, and requesting pilots, to conduct a part of the squadron into the harbour, to take possession of the shipping. He received the following answer:

“ LIBERTY OR DEATH!

Head-Quarters, Nov. 27.

“ *The Commander in Chief of the Native Army to Commodore Loring, &c. &c.*

“ SIR,

“ I acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and you may be assured that my dispositions towards you, and against General Rochambeau, are invariable. I shall take possession of the Cape to-morrow morning, at the head of my army. It is a matter of great regret to me, that I cannot send you the pilots which you require. I presume that you will not have occasion for them, as I shall compel the French vessels to quit the road, and you will do with them, what you shall think proper.

“ I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

“ DESSALINES.”

On the 30th, the Colours of the blacks were flying at the different forts, which induced Commodore Loring to send Captain Bligh to the Black General, to enquire the circumstances which occasioned the change, when, on entering the harbour, he met

Captain Barré, who entreated him to go on board the *Surveillante*, and enter into some capitulation with the French, that they might be placed under the protection of the English, the blacks having threatened to sink the vessels with red-hot shot, in consequence of the terms of the capitulation not being complied with in point of time. This he agreed to, and articles being drawn, in which the English continuing the liberality they had already experienced from the Blacks, agreed to their sailing out under French colours, and firing their broadsides previous to surrender; Captain Bligh went to acquaint the Black General with the capture, and to request his desistance from firing, till a wind should be fair for their departure, which was then directly contrary; his acquiescence was obtained with much difficulty.

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The force being taken possession of by Commodore Loring, comprizing eight thousand men, with the shipping, consisting of three frigates, and seventeen merchantmen, were conveyed to Jamaica, from whence Admiral Duckworth immediately dispatched General Rochambeau, and the officers particularly in his confidence, to England.*

With the new year, a new name and a new constitution was given to St. Domingo. Desirous of obliterating every mark

1804.
The island resumes its ancient name of HAÏTI.

* The words of that officer are, "I send a vessel of war to England, with General Rochambeau, and those officers who are said to have participated in his cruelties at the Cape." —*London Gazette*, Feb. 7; *Letter of Sir J. T. Duckworth*. They arrived at Portsmouth on the 3d of February, and were afterwards sent on their parole into the interior. See the Appendix.

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of its recent state, the chiefs who had effected its freedom determined upon resuming, with its pristine simplicity of government, its ancient name. Aware of the failings of his too credulous countrymen, and knowing that nothing but the firmest consolidation of their whole force, could preserve the advantages they had gained, he appointed the first day of the year for a solemn pledge of hatred to the French government, and an abjuration of all ideas of conquest and aggrandizement. The terms of this declaration of union are dreadful, they were acceded to by the people with the enthusiasm he desired, and proclaimed throughout Hayti.

“It is not enough,” says he, “to have expelled from your country the barbarians who have for two ages stained it with blood. It is not enough to have curbed the factions which, succeeding one another by turns, sported with a phantom of liberty which France exposed to their eyes. It is become necessary by a last act of national authority, to ensure for ever the empire of liberty in the country which has given us birth.”*

The truth of this declaration soon became exemplified by the intrigues of some of the unhappy persons who still retained their property in the Island, and who, notwithstanding the effervescence of the public mind, which was apparent in every occurrence, could not desist from plans of aggrandizement and assumption of

* See the Appendix.

power; some, were so imprudent, as to retain the dogs which had created such a fatal hatred. Even experience was not sufficient to cause them to remain quiet, and those whom the strictest caution could hardly be expected to preserve from infuriated revenge, adopted the least. The blacks in their turn, indiscriminately perhaps, viewed in every Frenchman a tyrant; thus, mutually repulsive, amity could not be expected.

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One of the first civil acts of the black governor reflects considerable honor upon the consideration by which it must have been actuated. It arose from the following circumstances. In the early emigrations, different wealthy proprietors had taken with them for the purposes of pomp, a number of their domestic negroes; afterwards, when they ceased to receive remittances from their estates, and were unable to support a retinue, they abandoned them under various pretexts; others had voluntarily emigrated, during the sway of different factions, and thereby fallen into distress; while both were without the means of returning to their own country. The following proclamation was published, which, as it could have birth in no political view, but was a pure emanation of humanity, is an act worthy the imitation of older states.

“ LIBERTY

“ LIBERTY OR DEATH!

“ GOVERNMENT OF HAYTI.

“ *Head-Quarters, Jan. 14.*

“ *1st Year of the Independence of Hayti.*

“ The Governor-General considering that a great number of Native Blacks, and Men of Colour, are suffering in the United States of America, for want of the means of returning,

“ Decrees,

“ That there shall be allowed to the Captains of American Vessels the sum of Forty Dollars for each Individual they may restore to this Country. He orders that this Decree shall be printed, published, and posted up, and that a copy thereof be immediately forwarded to the Congress of the United States.

“ By the Governor-General,

“ DESSALINES.”

During the period, in which he was occupied in these pleasing cares, his attention was called to others of a troublesome nature. A number of persons yet remaining in the different towns of the island, who had been the tools of every faction, and whose inclinations, and interests had always led them to foment discontent, and sow the seeds of rebellion. To root out these emissaries was necessary to the public peace, and if the expulsion had gone no farther, without sanguinary measures, it would probably have been better for all parties.

The

The official notice which then presented itself, was the publication of an extract, drawn from the reports of the proceedings of the Government on that subject. It was as follows :

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1804.

*“ Extract from the Secret Deliberations of the Government of the
Island of Hayti.*

“ LIBERTY! INDEPENDENCE! OR DEATH!

“ The Governor-General considering that there still remains in the Island of Hayti, Individuals who have contributed, either by their guilty writings, or by their sanguinary accusations, to the drowning, suffocating, assassinating, hanging, and shooting, of more than sixty thousand of our brethren, under the inhuman government of Le Clerc and Rochambeau, considering that every man who has dishonored human nature, by prostituting himself with enthusiasm to the vile offices of informers and executioners, ought to be classed with assassins, and delivered up without remorse to the sword of justice, decrees as follows:—

“ 1. Every Commandant of a Division shall cause to be arrested within their respective commands those persons who are, or shall be known to have taken an active part in the different massacres and assassinations ordered by Le Clerc or Rochambeau, &c.

“ 2. Before proceeding to the arrest of an individual, (as it often happens that many are innocent, who, nevertheless, may be strongly suspected,) we order each Commander to make all necessary

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cessary inquiries for producing proofs, and above all, not to confound with true and faithful reports those denunciations too frequently suggested by hatred or envy.

“ 3. The names and surnames of persons executed, shall be inscribed and sent to the General in Chief, who will make them public. This measure is adopted in order to inform the Nations of the World, that although we grant an asylum and protection to those who act candidly and friendly towards us, nothing shall ever turn our vengeance from those murderers who have delighted to bathe themselves in the blood of the innocent children of Hayti.

“ 4. Any Chief, who, in contempt of the orders, and unalterable will of the government, shall sacrifice to his ambition, to his hatred, or to any other passion, any person whose guilt shall not have been previously well ascertained and proved, shall undergo the same punishment which he shall have thus inflicted; and the property of every such unjust officer shall be confiscated, one half to the government, and the other half to the relations of the innocent victim, if any there may be in the island at the time of his death.

(Signed)

“ DESSALINES.

“ A true copy,

B. AIME, Secretary.

“ Done at Head-quarters, Feb. 22.”

To enable the General in Chief to prosecute with that vigor and decision, which the complection of the times required, the different functions of the legislature, it was determined by the deliberative meeting which had assembled throughout the month of April, to invest Dessalines with the Government for life, which was accordingly done in the beginning of May, with the power of making peace and war, and nominating his successor. It is thus, that the advantageous principle of a monarchy, in an extensive population arises, self-evident, without the contending interests which afterwards surround it, and the factitious principles by which it is obscured.

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1804.

Dessalines
Governor
General for
life.

During this period, the French Government commissioned the Governor of Guadaloupe to treat as pirates all neutral vessels going to Hayti, which had been executed with a rigor as ridiculous as unjust. The division stationed in the city of St. Domingo, to whom reinforcements were reported would be sent, having never been called into action, except a few skirmishes on their debarkation, had suffered less than any other division on the island: the Spaniards, also, apparently glad of an opportunity for treachery, had supported and rendered them familiar to the country, nevertheless they were still confined to the Capital, without the power of advancing, or annoying the new Government, any other way than by their continuance in any shape upon the island. Kerversan, who commanded the division on the arrival of the expedition, had long since fallen, and the

A small
French force
remains in
the city of
St. Domingo,
favored
by distance
and the treachery
of the
Spaniards.

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present commander was Freron, a man of some talents, but little principle.

Dissatisfied with the Spaniards for their treachery, desirous of removing the French, and impressed with the necessity of preparing for the worst, although nothing hostile was then apparent, Dessalines determined on proceeding round the island, to examine every post or station, and observe the effect of the regulations he had established, many of which required to be enforced. Ever vigilant, Dessalines was never known to make a false movement, or to be surprised* on his post, except by treachery, and of this he had now too much experience to suffer any flagrant imposition.

Previous to his departure, however, it became necessary to address the people, to explain his intended journey, conciliate all parties, and render them firm in the support of his government, in proportion to his exertions in their behalf. The proclamation issued on this occasion (April 28) is a specimen of this kind of composition, and is a positive refutation of those who, in opposition to reason and notoriety, describe the inhabitants of

* The writer cannot resist this opportunity of observing, that it were well if this principle of conduct were always equally acted on in regular armies. It is regretted, that some instances have occurred, in which any infliction under death is too mild a punishment. It should be the maxim of every soldier never to be *surprised*, and of a general never to admit of such a declaration. Though not sanguinary, he views the effects of such cases in so criminal a light, that he could perform the office of executioner himself to an officer suffering such a circumstance.

Hayti as being in a "savage state." It burns with all the fire of martial oratory, while breathing that bewitching eloquence which entwines and captivates the heart.*

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On the 8th of May he dispersed throughout the Spanish part of the island a cautionary proclamation, advising them to desist from countenancing the French soldiery, and the vain hopes of opposing him which they manifested; and on the 14th he set out from Cape François, proceeding by the Mole, to Port Paix and Gonaives, where he halted for a little time at his favorite town and head-quarters. From this time, and during the months of June and July, he employed himself in examining the western and southern provinces, repairing the injuries of war, and settling the distractions of their government. "The Aurora of peace" (to use their own expressions) "now began to afford the glimpse of a less stormy time," and the community to wear a natural appearance; notwithstanding the melancholy scenes of retributive devastation which occasionally unfolded themselves.

An event was brought about during his stay, which, while it savours of aggrandizement in the Chief, who had already been elevated to the highest place in the public confidence, served to combine the people more closely, and to present a more dignified character to their enemies. This was his elevation to the Imperial Dignity in a manner, and on terms not inferior

* See the Appendix.

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to those which have raised other heroes, in times when heroism was the popular care.

Hayti erect-
ed into an
empire under
Jean Jaques
Dessalines.

Whether the design originated from the similar event which had taken place in France, or had birth in the magnificent ideas which arise in a state bursting from the clouds of adversity into glory, is not determined; that it had an exalted basis is certain, and it was conducted in a manner comfortable with the simplicity of the earliest institutions, and the refined elegance of modern courts.

General Dessalines having formally agreed to accept the dignity of Emperor, a meeting of the constituted authorities took place on the 8th of September at Port-au-Prince, to arrange the time and manner in which the will of the people should be executed; when that day month was fixed upon for the coronation, and a Programa* issued, of the different forms and ceremonies with which it should be attended.

A procession was formed representing the different functions of the state, depicted so as to shew how they affected its interest, thereby producing a grand and impressive picture, highly descriptive of the manners and principles of the people. In this procession, Education took the lead, as the first and most prominent local good; the Arts next, as little inferior; and Agri-

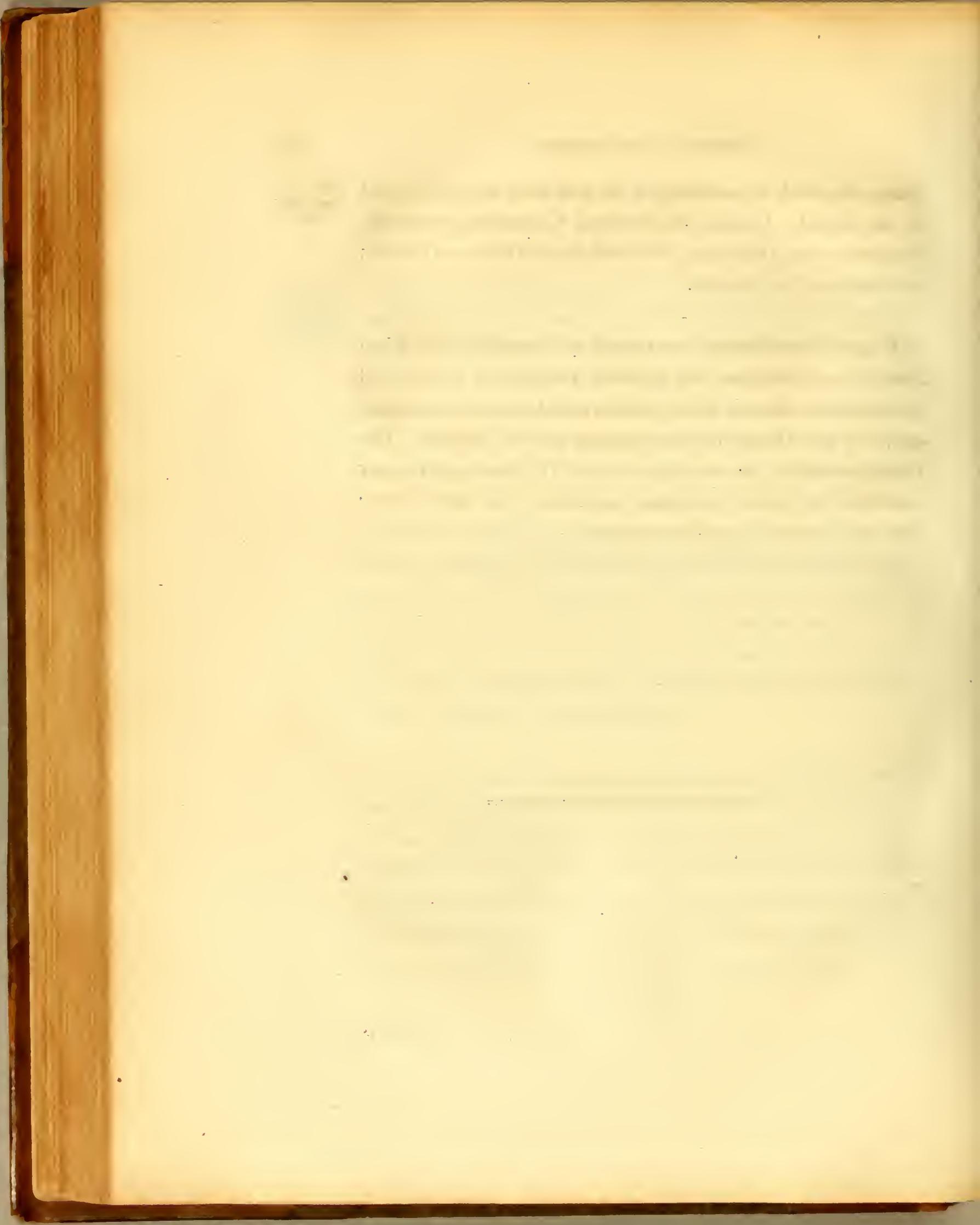
* See the Appendix.

culture the third, as partaking of the first class, and at the head of the second; Foreign and National Commerce succeeded; then Justice and Legislation; followed by the Officers of Health; and last of all the Military.

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A superb amphitheatre was erected on a martial plain; when Jean Jaques Dessalines was declared Emperor of Hayti, amid the thunder of cannon, which was re-echoed as an acknowledgement by the Marine of other nations, in the harbour. The Church sanctified the event by a solemn *Te Deum*, and the day concluded by public rejoicings, apparently the most sincere that ever greeted a similar occasion.

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CHAP. VI.

On the Establishment of a Black Empire, and the probable Effects of this Colonial Revolution.

SUCH, then, with the close of the year 1804, was the end of this eventful revolution, in which the Imperial dignity was the reward for the courage and experience of the Chief, who, profiting by the misfortunes of his brave and good predecessor, had more successfully combated his enemies,—those enemies who were weak enough to consider it possible, nay, easy to reduce to slavery a powerful body of men who had for some few years enjoyed a state of the most perfect freedom; nor can it be asserted that his title is in any way inferior to that of the extraordinary man whose laurels have been sullied in the attempt to subdue him.

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The recurrence to the earliest state of the new world for the name and character of the government, with the advantage of more than three hundred years experience, is an idea which could not originate in mean or untutored minds; nor is such
the

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the character of any of the present rulers of Hayti. With respect to the future policy they may chuse to adopt, time alone can determine. Should they adhere to the basis on which they have founded their proceedings, and remain unmolested by European powers, they may arrive at the most enviable state of grandeur and felicity; but should any evil spirits obtain a footing amongst them, and interrupt the harmony which may otherwise be maintained, by occasioning factions to arise from old contentions, or new divisions, the frequent consequence of overgrown wealth or dominion, they will in all probability fulfil the prediction of Edwards, by becoming "savages in the midst of society, without peace, security, agriculture, or property."

But, in either case, their reduction to their former situation is impossible; and though Europe waste her armies, and exhaust her navies in the endeavour, the blacks of St. Domingo will be unsubdued; and if they cannot repel the invasion of a reiterated and extended force, they will cut them off, as hath been already observed, with a scythe more keen and rapid than that of time. Every year and every day has been, and will still continue, to be pregnant with experience to them, and no power on earth will be able to reduce them, while their population will continue to increase in a vast proportion. The writer has reiterated these sentiments for several years, and through a period in which their confirmation *appeared* more than doubtful; his opinions were disinterested, and unmingled with any prejudice, either local, political, or pecuniary, and every event has tended to strengthen them.

Should it ever happen in the course of time, that any of the various means dispensed by providence to check the exuberance of population should fall on Hayti, either in the form of contagion, or by a multiplication of the various diseases, to which the African race are subject, in the degeneration of slavery; and that a white population should by that time be formed, capable of taking advantage of such a calamity; then, but not till then, should the neighbouring continent of America be in a state to colonize, or the policy of European governments desire the attainment of the most splendid colony of the Antilles, an opportunity might possibly be afforded.—Whether it would be rational on the score of justice, or humanity to do so, is a subject not to be argued at present. Those who undertake the project, if ever it should be undertaken, will be capable of defending it with plausibility.

But to this part of the subject the public attention is rarely directed; the danger of a community of manumitted slaves in the American Archipelago, is their chief objection to the new Empire of Hayti. With those who form their opinion on erroneous principles, fears of this kind may arise, as the unreflecting clown startles at his shadow on the moonlight sward. Whether Hayti exist or not, as an independent island, if the black population of the other colonies of the Antilles continue to increase as it has done during the last fifty years, and to overbalance that of the whites, no power but that of the exercise of humanity, can preserve them to their present possessors. The practise of this power, happily, is prevalent at present, and

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it is hoped, and expected, that profiting by the past, it will be always co-equal with the increased wealth of the proprietors, and their capability of being liberal; but if it does not originate with themselves, that the smallest danger can arise to the colonies, from the Empire of Hayti, may be positively denied. The negroes, though sufficiently warlike and vindictive, when roused by revenge, court quiet, and are ardent in all the relations of life, when kindly treated by superiors. They would then with extreme difficulty, if at all, be persuaded to quit a situation of comparative ease, to join strangers in a bloody conflict. Besides, the inhabitants of Hayti could derive no advantage from such a union. They are not to be compared with the Maroons, or the Charaïbes, as they possess a territory with an organised government, and sufficient resources of their own, all which they must lose in proportion to the success of any project of ambition. Neither have they, nor do they want the maritime power so absolutely necessary for an attack on the other islands; and many other difficulties occur to prevent such a scheme.

Yet, as many events beyond the utmost stretch of foresight happen in the course of time, it is incumbent upon those in particular, whose local interest is concerned, to take due care to prevent the miseries which they appear prematurely to dread; for extra precaution is not so great an evil, as a deficiency of necessary care; to the Proprietors of the British colonies in particular it is recommended, to think an inducement to some degree of devotion among their slaves an object of importance, with a

careful

careful diffusion of morality. In the former, the more peculiar mysteries need not be included, nor in the latter that rigid system, which denies even the innocent gaieties of humble life. The personal care, too, of negroes, should be an object of more attention, than it is on certain occasions, with a view to preserve that health which is of so much value to their proprietors, as well as the comfort, necessary to render them satisfied with their condition. These attentions, including the care of pregnant females, added to those humane and salutary laws which already preclude excessive punishment, or labor, will always produce the most desirable effects, and be more certain than all the inflictions, that coercive measures can devise to prevent a spirit of deliberation (the first revolutionary system) among slaves.

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And finally, if, it should appear from the concessions, which are already granted that the slaves in the colonies may be elevated from the consideration of being a species below, even to the lowest class of human society, the complaints which have formerly arisen, will soon have no grounds for existence; and those philanthropic minds which have been led, from the glorious principle of protecting "him that had none to help him," to countenance an enthusiasm, which has been of the most fatal tendency, will, no doubt, exert their beneficent offices in increasing the good effects, of what may have been already done. But this principle must always be preserved inviolable, (whether it militate or not against the policy of retaining distant colonies will not be argued,)—that no deliberative body should prescribe for the

CHAP. VI. *internal polity* of a country at a distance, such as precludes an intimate and constant knowledge of its concerns.

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The Enquiry into the Rise of the Black Empire of Hayti, thus concludes for the present. It is hoped a remarkable and correct picture will be found of a Revolution, which ranks among the most remarkable and important transactions of the day. It is, at least, untingered with prejudice of any kind, unless that spirit can be so called, which inclines towards truth and humanity.

APPENDIX;

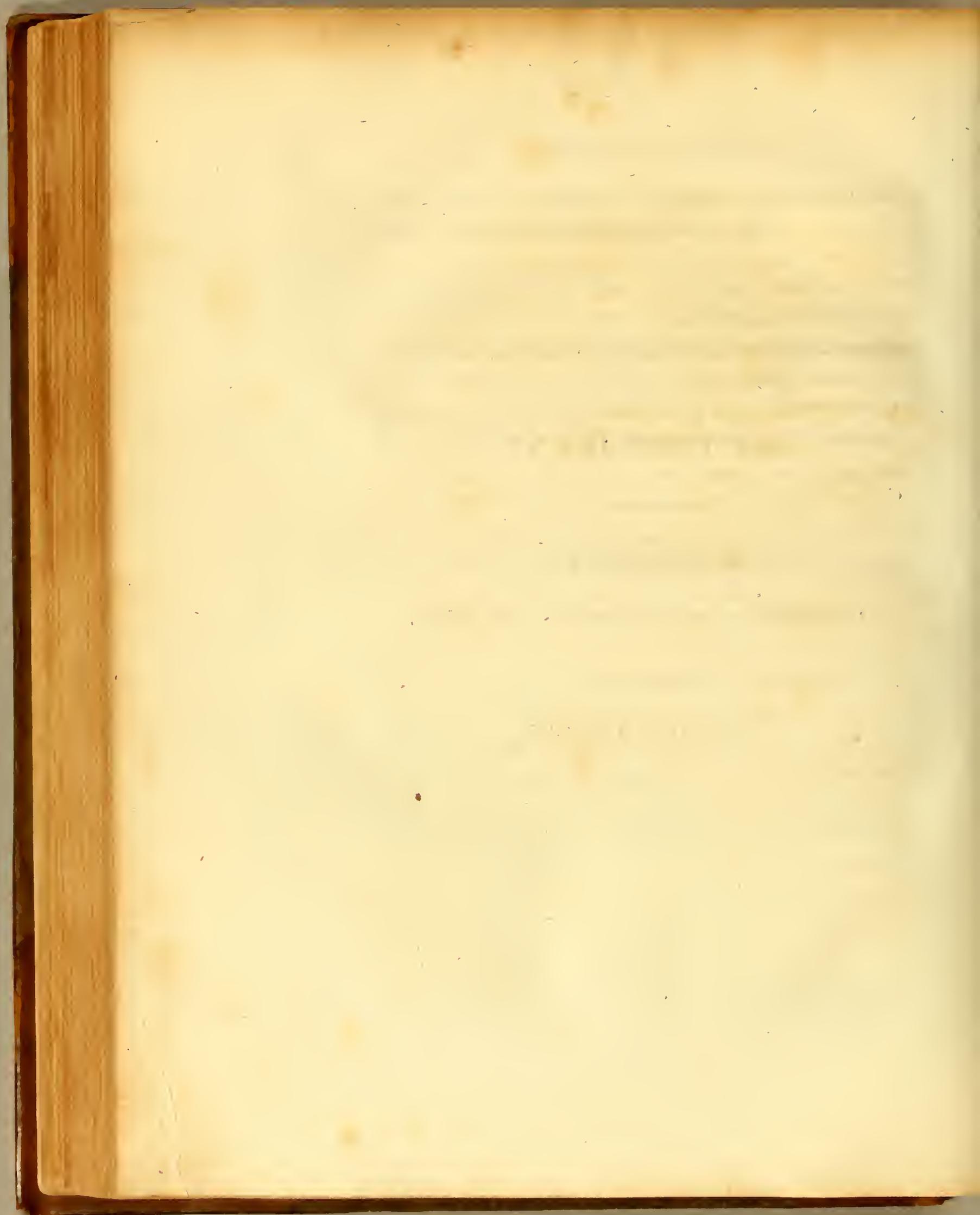
COMPRISING

DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORK:

TOGETHER WITH

AUXILIARY REMARKS.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

(Referred to in Page 131.—“ The fascinating eloquence of the Abbé Gregoire,” &c.)

Among the other Public Efforts of the Society of Amis de Noirs, was the following Letter of the Abbé Gregoire, Bishop of the Department of Loire and Cher, Deputy of the National Assembly, to the Citizens of Color in the French West Indies, concerning the Decree of the 15th May, 1791, which produced an immediate and striking Effect.

FRIENDS,

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

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

It

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Enthusiastic address to the people of color, exciting them to deliberation, and consequently insurrection.

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

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

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

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

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

Already had the National Assembly, in the instructions which it prepared for the government of the colonies, on the 28th of March, 1790, comprized both the whites and people of color under one common denomination. Your enemies, in asserting the contrary, have published a forgery. It is incontestibly true, that when I demanded you should be expressly named, a great number of members, among whom were several planters, eagerly exclaimed, that you were already comprehended under general words contained in those instructions. M. Barnave himself, upon my repeated instances to him on that head, has at length acknowledged, before the whole Assembly, that this was the fact. It now appears how much reason I had to apprehend that a false construction would be put upon our decree!

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

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so long against vanity and prejudice, its triumph is dearly obtained!

It is a long time that the society of *Ami des Noirs* have employed themselves in finding out the means to soften your lot, as well as that of the slaves. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to do good with entire impunity. The meritorious zeal of this society has drawn upon them much obloquy. Despicable writers have lanced their poisonous shafts at them, and impudent libels have never ceased to repeat objections and calumnies, which have been an hundred times answered and refuted. How often have we been accused of being sold to the English, and of being paid by them for sending you inflammatory writings and arms? You know, my friends, the weakness and wickedness of these charges. We have incessantly recommended to you attachment to your country, resignation, and patience, while waiting the return of justice. Nothing has been able to cool our zeal, or that of your brethren of mixed blood who are at Paris. M. Raimond, in particular, has devoted himself most heroically to your defence. With what transport would you have seen this distinguished citizen, at the bar of the National Assembly, of which he ought to be a member, laying before it the affecting picture of your miseries, and strenuously claiming your rights! If that Assembly had sacrificed them, it would have tarnished its glory. It was its duty to decree with justice, to explain itself clearly, and cause its laws to be executed with firmness:—it has done so; and if, (which God forbid!) some event, hidden in the womb of futurity, should tear our colonies from us, would it not be better to
 have

have a loss to deplore, than an injustice to reproach ourselves with?

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

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

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

§ B 2

Then

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Then will the chaste enjoyments of conjugal union take place of those vile sallies of debauchery, by which the majesty of moral sentiment has been insulted. By what strange perversion of reason can it be deemed disgraceful in a white man to marry a black or mulatto woman, when it is not thought dishonourable in him to be connected with her in the most licentious familiarity!

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

This prejudice against the mulattoes and negroes has, however, no existence in our eastern colonies. Nothing can be more affecting than the eulogium made on the people of color by the inhabitants in that part of the world, in the instructions to those they have appointed their deputies to the National Assembly. The members of the Academy of Sciences pride themselves in reckoning a mulatto of the Isle of France in the number of their correspondents. Among ourselves, a worthy negro is a superior officer of the district of St. Hypolite, in the department of Gard. We do not conceive that a difference of color can be the founda-
 tion

tion of different rights among members of the same political society: it is, therefore, we find no such despicable pride among our brave National Guards, who offer themselves to embark for the West Indies, to insure the execution of our decrees. Perfectly concurring in the laudable sentiments manifested by the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, they acknowledge with hem, that the decree respecting the people of color, framed under the auspices of prudence and wisdom, is an homage rendered to reason and justice. While the deputies from the colonies have endeavoured to calumniate your intentions, and those of the mercantile part of the nation, the conduct of those deputies is perfectly contradictory. Ardently soliciting their own admission among us at Versailles; swearing with us in the Tennis Court not to separate from us until the constitution should be established, and then declaring when the decree of the 15th of May was passed, that they could no longer continue to sit with us! This desertion is a desertion of their principles, and a breach of their solemn oaths.

All those white inhabitants of the colonies who are worthy the name of Frenchmen, have hastened to abjure such ridiculous prejudices, and have promised to regard you in future as brothers and friends. With what delightful sensations do we cite the words of the citizens of Jacmel. "We swear to obey, without reserve, the decrees of the National Assembly respecting our present and future constitution, and even such of them as may substantially change it!" The citizens of Port-au-Prince tell the National Assembly the same thing, in different words:—"Condescend, gentlemen," say they, "to receive the oath which the
municipality

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municipality has taken to you, in the name of the commons of Port-au-Prince, punctually to obey and execute all your decrees, and never to swerve from them in any respect whatever."

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

What would these men have said, if the people of color had endeavoured to deprive the whites of *their* political advantages? With what energy would they not have exclaimed at such an oppression! Inflamed into madness at finding that your rights have been pointed out to you, their irritated pride may perhaps lead them to make every effort to render our decrees ineffectual. They will probably endeavour to raise such disturbances, as, by wresting the colonies from the mother-country, will enable them to defraud their creditors of their just debts. They have incessantly alarmed us with the threat that St. Domingo will be lost, if justice be rendered to you. In this assertion we have found nothing but falsehood: we please ourselves in the belief, that our decree will draw the bands still closer which unite you to the mother country. Your patriotism, your interest, and your affections, will concur in inducing you to confine your commercial connections to France only; and the reciprocal tributes of industry will establish between her and her colonies a constant interchange of riches and good offices. If you act unfaithfully towards France, you will be the basest and most abandoned of the human race. But no, generous citizens, you will not become traitors to your country;

country; you shudder at the idea. Rallied, with all other good Frenchmen, around the standard of liberty, you will still defend our glorious constitution. The day shall arrive when the representatives of the people of color will cross the ocean to take their seats with us. The day shall arrive among you when the sun will shine on none but freemen; when the rays of light shall no longer fall on the fetters of slavery. It is true, the National Assembly has not yet raised the condition of the enslaved negroes to a level with your situation; because suddenly granting the rights to those who are ignorant of the duties of citizens, might, perhaps, have been a fatal present to them: but forget not, that they, like yourselves, are born to freedom and perfect equality. It is in the irresistible course of things that all nations, whose liberty has been invaded, shall recover that precious portion of their indefeasible inheritance!

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

Your oppressors have heretofore endeavoured to hide from their slaves the lights of Christianity; because the religion of mildness, equality, and liberty, suits not with such blood-thirsty men. May *your* conduct be the reverse of *theirs*. Universal love is the language of the gospel; your pastors will make it heard among you. Open your hearts to receive this divine

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system of morality. We have mitigated *your* misfortunes; alleviate, on your part, those of the unhappy victims of avarice, who moisten your fields with their sweat, and often with their tears. Let the existence of your slaves be no longer their torment; but by your kind treatment of them expiate the crimes of Europe!

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

Strictly obedient to the laws, teach your children to respect them. By a careful education, instruct them in all the duties of

morality; so shall you prepare for the succeeding generation virtuous citizens, honorable men, enlightened patriots, and defenders of their country!

How will their hearts be affected when, conducting them to your shores, you direct their looks towards France, telling them, "beyond those seas is your parent country; it is from thence we have received justice, protection, happiness, and liberty. There dwell our fellow citizens, our brethren, and our friends; to whom we have sworn an eternal friendship. Heirs of our sentiments and of our affections, may your hearts and your lips repeat our oaths! Live to love them; and, if necessary, die to defend them!"

(Signed)

GREGOIRE.

Paris, 8th June, 1791.

No. II.

(Referred to, and its Substance explained, p. 113.)

Principes de la Première Assemblée Generale de St. Domingue.

Un principe d'où sont émanés tous les travaux de l'Assemblée de la Colonie fut généralement adopté par tous ses membres, c'est que les colonies ne doivent intéresser la métropole, qu'en proportion des avantages qu'elles lui procurent. Cette considération dût acquérir, dans l'esprit de tous les colons, un caractère de

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légalité

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one of its
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 the First
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légalité à tous les moyens qui pouvoient assurer la prospérité de la colonie, et augmenter ses rapports avec la mère patrie.

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

L'Assemblée Générale envisagea donc la constitution de St. Domingue, sous trois rapports, toujours dirigés d'après son intérêt de rester unie a la métropole, et d'après la révolution de l'empire.

1. Comme faisant partie intégrante de l'empire François.
2. Comme obligée de concourir par ses productions à la prospérité de l'état.
3. Comme assujettie par la dissemblance de son climat de ces mœurs et de sa population, à des besoins particuliers et différents de ceux de la metropole.

DIVISION DE LA CONSTITUTION DE ST. DOMINGUE.

Ces divers rapports diviser la constitution convenable à St. Domingue,

- En lois générales;
- En lois communes;
- Et en lois particulières.

Loix Générales.

Le lois générales de l'empire, celles qui intéressent tous les
 l. François,

François, dans quelque coin de la terre qu'ils soient placés, furent considérées comme obligatoires pour les colonies, sans aucun examen, sans aucune restriction.

Ces lois sont : la forme du gouvernement, le sort de la couronne, la reconnoissance du monarque, les déclarations de guerre, les traités de paix, l'organisation générale de la police, et de la justice, &c. &c. L'intérêt des colonies se trouvant à cet égard confondu avec celui de toute la nation, l'Assemblée Nationale a seule le droit de décréter ces lois.

Loix Communes.

Les loix communes sont celles qui ont rapport aux relations de la métropole avec les colonies; c'est un contrat par lequel la France s'oblige de protéger et défendre les colonies contre les puissances étrangères, de l'ambition desquelles elles devien- droient l'objet. Cette protection ne devant ni ne pouvant être gratuite, les colonies doivent, en dédommager l'état par les avantages du commerce. D'ailleurs, le régime prohibitif dans les fers duquel la destinée les a condamnés à rester toujours; et quel que soit le degré de liberté dont jouisse la nation, les colonies seront toujours esclaves du commerce. C'est une position politique absolument inhérent à leur position physiques, elles n'en laissent pas échapper le moindre murmure; elles savent bien que leur qualité de François ne leur donne pas de droit sur les déniers de l'état; elles consentent donc à ne recevoir que de la France tous les objets de consommation que ses manufactures et son sol peuvent fournir; elles souservent encore à l'obligation de n'enivrer leurs desirs

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qu'en France. Ce qu'elles demandent, ce qu'on ne peut leur refuser, c'est qu'en consacrent ces conventions fondamentales, les abus que le regime prohibitif entraîne après lui soient détruits.

Loix Particulières ou Regime Interieur.

Les loix particulières sont celles qui n'intéressent que les colonies. De grands motifs ont porté la colonie de St. Domingue à s'en réserver la formation : 1. il est bien reconnu que les loix de St. Domingue ne peuvent être faites ailleurs que dans son sein : cette vérité fondamentale a échappé à son ennemi le plus cruel. M. la Luzerne, dans son mémoire présenté à l'Assemblée Nationale, le 27 Octobre 1789, (N^o. 2.) disoit que les colonies n'ont jamais pu être régies par les mêmes loix que le royaume, et qu'il a fallu toujours conférer le pouvoir à deux administrateurs de faire les loix locales, parce qu'il est une infinité d'infinités de convenances qu'on ne peut connoître que sur les lieux.

Ce que l'Assemblée Générale s'est réservée n'est donc que la portion du pouvoir législatif qui résidoit, contre le droit des hommes, dans les mains de deux satrapes, que la colonie n'intéresse que par les richesses qu'ils en retirent pendant leurs administration.

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

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

Ce principe, seul exige de la liberté individuelle, seul garant de la bienfaisance de la loi, qui n'a pas permis aux colons de St.

Domingue

Domingue de douter que l'Assemblée Nationale, dispensatrice des bienfaits régénérateurs, n'approuvât cette disposition qui assure la prospérité de St. Domingue.

En effet, il ne peut pas en être des loix locales des sections éloignées de l'empire, comme des loix qui n'interessent que la France.

La loi décrétée pour le royaume est la même pour tous les cantons. L'universalité des députés de l'Assemblée Nationale sont intéressée à en examiner scrupuleusement tous les rapports, à en considérer tous les avantages et tous les inconvénients. De sorte que l'intérêt que tous ont à ce que la loi, du vice de laquelle ils seroient eux mêmes les victimes, ne soit que le fruit d'une longue méditation, et de reflexions longuement et soigneusement discutées, en assure la sagesse.

Les loix particulières de St. Domingue n'assujettissant que les habitans qui y resident ou qui y ont leur fortunes, n'interessent dans l'Assemblée Nationale que les douze députés des colonies.

3. Une des conditions essentielles, à la bonté de la loi, est que celui qui la fait, connoisse par faitemens les rapports qu'elle doit avoir avec la constitution, nul ne peut connoître les particularités locales que celui qui est sur les lieux, parce que ces mêmes particularités changent et varient; et il faut que la loi soit faite, d'après ces variations.

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

Le bonheur de toute constitution dépend absolument d'une
action

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action égale dans ces différens pouvoirs; c'est cette égalité seule qui en maintient l'équilibre.

Il faut nécessairement qu'il existe à St. Domingue un pouvoir executif; car le malheur des sociétés veut que la raison n'aille jamais en politique qu'à côté de la force. Si ce pouvoir n'est balancé par aucun autre, il finira par tout envahir, et par substituer l'oppression aux bienfaits de la régénération à laquelle la révolution actuelle donne à tous les François le droit de prétendre. Il ne peuvent donc être contenu dans ces bornes que par une masse proportionnée de pouvoir législatif, dont il ayent à redouter la surveillance.

5. Les principes de l'Assemblée Nationale s'opposent à ce qu'elle decrete la constitution particulière de St. Domingue. Celle de la France a pour base la liberté, l'égalité; celle de St. Domingue repose malheureusement sur la servitude, et une distinction de classes, d'où dépend la conservation de cette superbe colonie. Tous les raisonnemens possibles échouèrent contre cette vérité.

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

Les différens membres de l'Assemblée Générale étoient bien éloignés de prévoir que l'heureuse révolution qui à porté la joie et l'enthousiasme dans le cœurs de tous les François, finiroit par porter à St. Domingue la deuil et la desolation, Qu'importe à la France, quelque soit notre régime domestique, pourvu qu'il tende

tend a faire le bien de la colonie? Pourvu que nous soyons assujettis aux loix générales de l'empire? Pourvu que nous respections les rapports commerciaux? Pourvu que nous regardions la sujétion de ne traiter qu'avec la France, comme un juste dédommagement de la protection et des secours qu'elle nous accorde? Pourvu que nous exécutions les décret de l'Assemblée Nationale, en tout ce qui n'est point contraires aux localités.

Il importe à la France que nous soyons heureux, que nous consomions les denrées et les marchandises qu'elle peut nous fournir, et que nous lui envoyons en échange beaucoup de sucre, de café, d'indigo, de coton, de cacao, &c. &c. Enfin, il lui importe que la constitution de St. Domingue soit telle, qu'elle unisse pour jamais cette colonie à la metropole, et qu'elle concoure, par ces richesses, a la prospérité de l'état.

D'après ces reflexions, simples et vraies, l'Assemblée Générale de St. Domingue posa ses bases constitutionnelles dans son décret du 28 Mai (No. 3.)

No. III.

(Referred to in Page 157, where also the Substance is translated.)

Testament de Mort d'Ogé.

Extrait des Minutes du Conseil Supérieur du Cap, l'an mil sept cent quatre-vingt-onze le neuf Mars, nous, Antoine Etienne

Ruotte,

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No. III.

Declaration
of a dying
conspirator,
which if
acted upon,
might have
checked the
insurrection
in its rise.

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 dence
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 conspirators.

Ruotte, Conseiller du Roi, doyen au Conseil Supérieur du Cap, et Maria François Pourcheresse de Vertieres, aussi Conseiller du Roi au Conseil Supérieur du Cap, commissaires nommés par la cour, à l'effet de faire exécuter l'arrêt de ladite cour, du 5 du présent mois, portant condamnation de mort contre le nommé Jacques Ogé, dit Jacquot, quarteron libre; lequel, étant en la chambre criminelle, et après lecture faite du dit arrêt, en ce qui le concerne, a dit et déclaré, pour la décharge de sa conscience, serment préalablement par lui prêté, la main levée devant nous, de dire vérité.

Que dans le commencement du mois de Fevrier dernier, si les rivières n'avoient pas été débordées, il devoit se faire un attroupement de gens de couleur, qui devoient entraîner avec eux les àtéliers, et devoient venir fondre sur la ville du Cap en nombre tres considerable; qu'ils étoient même déjà réunis au nombre de onze mille hommes; que la debordement des rivières est le seul obstacle qui les a empêchés de se réunir; cette quantité d'hommes de couleur étant composée de ceux du Mirebalais, de l'Artibonité, du Limbé, d'Ouanaminthe, de la Grand Rivière, et généralement de toute la colonie. Qu' à cette époque, il était sorti du Cap cent hommes de couleur pour se joindre à cette troupe. Que l'accusé est assuré que les auteurs de cette révolte sont les Declains, negres libres de la Grand Riviere, accuses au procès; Dumas, n. l.; Yvon, n. l.; Bitozin, m. l. Espagnol; Pierre Gardard et Jean Baptiste, son frere, n. l. de la Grand Riviere; Legrand Mazeau et Toussaint Mazeau, n. l.; Pierre Mauzi, m. l.; Ginga Lapaire, Charles Lamadieu, les Sabourins, Jean Pierre Goudy,

Goudy, Joseph Lucas, mulâtres libres; Maurice, n. l.; tous accusés au procès.

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Que le grands moteurs, au bas de la côte, sont les nommés Daguin, accusé au procès; Rebel, demeurant au Mirabelais; Pinchinat, accusé au procès; et que l'accusé, ici présent croit devoir nous déclarer être un des plus ardens partisans de la révolte, qui a mu en grande partie celle qui a éclaté dans les environs de St. Marc, et qui cherche à en excité une nouvelle; qu'il y a dans ce moment plusieurs gens de couleur, dans différens quartiers, bien résolus à tenir à leurs projets, malgré que ceux qui tremperont dans la révolte perdroient la vie; que l'accuse, ici présent, ne peut pas se ressouvenir du nom de tous; mais qu'il se rappelle que le fils de Laplace, q. l.; dont lui accusé a vu la sœur dans les prisons, a quitté le Limbé pour aller faire des recrues et ces soulvemens de gens de couleur sont soutenus ici par la presence des nommés Fleury et l'Hirondelle Viard, députés des gens de couleur auprès de l'Assemblée Nationale; que lui accusé, ici present, ignore si les députés se tiennent chez eux; qu'il croit que le nommé Fleury se tient au Mirabalis, et le nommé l'Hirondelle Viard, dans le quartier de la Grand Rivière.

Qui lui accusé, ici present, declare que l'insurrection des revoltés existe dans les souterrains qui se trouvant entre la Crête à Marcan et le canton du Giromon, paroisse de la Grande Rivière; qu'en conséquence, si lui accusé pouvoit etre conduit sur les lieux, il se feroit fort de prendre les chefs des revoltés; que l'agitation dans laquelle il se trouve, relativement à sa position actuelle, ne lui permet pas de nous donner des détails plus circonstanciés;

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qu'il nous le donnera par la suite, lorsqu'il sera un peu plus tranquille; qu'il lui vient en ce moment à l'esprit que le nommé Castaing, mulâtre libre de cette dépendance; ne se trouve compris en aucune manière dans l'affaire actuelle; mais que lui accusé, nous assure que si son frère Ogé, eût suivi l'impulsion dudit Castaing, il se seroit porté à de bien plus grandes extrémités; qui est tout ce qu'il nous a dit pouvoir nous déclarer dans ce moment, dont lui nous avons donné acte, qu'il a signé avec nous et le greffier.

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

Extrait des Minutes du Greffe du Conseil Supérieur du Cap, l'an mil sept cent quatre-vingt-onze, le dix Mars, trois heures de relevée, en la chambre criminelle, nous, Antoine Etienne Ruotte, Conseiller du Roi, doyen du Conseil Supérieur du Cap, et Maria François Joseph de Vertieres, aussi Conseiller du Roi, audit Conseil Supérieur du Cap, commissaires nommés par la cour, suivant arrêt de ce jour, rendu sur les conclusions du procureur général du roi de ladite cour, à l'effet de procéder au recolement de la déclaration faite par le nommé Jacques Ogé, q. l.; lequel, après serment par lui fait, la main levée devant nous de dire la vérité, et après lui avoir fait lecture, par la greffier, de la déclaration du jour d'hier, l'avons interpellé de nous déclarer si ladite déclaration contient vérité, s'il veut n'y rien ajouter, n'y diminuer, et s'il y persiste.

A répondu que ladite déclaration du jour d'hier, contient vérité, qu'il persiste, et qu'il y ajoute que les deux Didiers frères, dont

l'un plus grand que l'autre, mulâtres ou quarterons libres, ne les ayant vu que cette fois; Jean Pierre Gerard, m. l. du Cap, et Caton, aussi du Cap, sont employés à gagner les ateliers de la Grande Rivière, qu'ils sont ensemble de jour, et que de nuit ils sont dispersés.

Ajout encore que lors de sa confrontation avec Jacques Lucas, il a été dit par le dernier, que lui accusé, ici présent, l'avoit menacé de le faire pendre; à quoi lui accusé, a répondu audit Jacques Lucas, qu'il devoit savoir pourquoi que ledit Jacques Lucas n'ayant pas insisté, lui accusé n'a pas déclaré le motif de cette menace, pour ne pas perdre ledit Jacques Lucas; qu'il nous déclare les choses comme elles se sont passées; que ledit Lucas lui ayant dit qu'il avoit soulevé les ateliers de M. Bonancy, et de divers autres habitans de la Grand Rivière, pour aller egorger l'armée chez M. Cardineau; qu'au premier coup de corne, il étoit sûr que ces ateliers s'attrouperoient et se joindroient à la troupe des gens de couleurs; alors lui accusé, tenant aux blancs, fut révolté de cette barbarie, et dit au nommé Jacques Lucas, que l'auteur d'un pareil projet méritoit d'être pendu; qu'il eût à l'instant à faire rentrer les negres qu'il avoit posté dans differens coins avec des cornes; que lui accusé, ici present, nous déclare qu'il a donné audit Lucas trois pomponelles de tafia, trois bouteilles de vin et du pain; qu'il ignoroit l'usage que ledit Lucas en faisoit; que la troisième fois que ledit Lucas en vint chercher; lui accusé, ici présent, lui ayant demandé ce qu'il faisoit de ces boissons et vivres; ledit Lucas répondit que c'étoit pour les negres qu'il avoit dispersé de côté et d'autre; que ce qui prouve que

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ledit Lucas avoit le projet de soulever les nègres esclaves contre les blancs, et de faire égorger ces derniers par les premiers; c'est la proposition qu'il fit à Vincent Ogé, frère de lui accusé, de venir sur l'habitation de lui Jacques Lucas, pour être plus a portée de se joindre aux nègres qu'il avoit debauché; que si lui accusé n'a pas révélé ces faits à sa confrontation avec ledit Jacques Lucas, c'est qu'il n'a pas voulu le perdre; qu'il a du moins la satisfaction d'avoir détourné ce crime horrible et cannibale; qu'il s'étoit réservé de révéler en justice, lors de son élargissement; que ce même Lucas est celui qui a voulu couper la tête a deux prisonniers blancs, et notamment au sieur Belisle, pour lui avoir enlevé une femme; que Pierre Roubert ôta le sabre, des mains de Jacques Lucas, et appella Vincent Ogé, frère de lui accusé, ici present, qui fit des rémontrances audit Lucas; que cependant ces prisonniers ont déclarés en justice que c'étoit lui accusé qui avoit eu ce dessein; que même à la confrontation ils le lui ont soutenu; mais que le fait s'étant passé de nuit, lesdits prisonniers ont pris, lui accusé, pour ledit Lucas, tandis que lui accusé n'a cessé de les combler d'honnêtetés; qu' à la confrontation, lui accusé a cru qu'il étoit suffisant de dire que ce n'étoit pas lui, et d'affirmer qu'il n'avoit jamais connu cette femme; mais qu' aujourd'hui il se croyoit obligé, pour la décharge de sa conscience, de nous rendre les faits tels qu'ils sont, et d'insister à jurer qu'il ne l'a jamais connue.

Ajoute l'accusé que le nommé Fleury et Perisse? le premier, l'un des députés des gens de couleur près de l'Assemblée Nationale, sont arrivé en cette colonie par un bâtiment

Bordelais

Boidelais avec le nomme l'Herondelle Viard; que le capitaine a mis les deux premiers a Acquin, chez un nommé Dupont, homme de couleur; et le nommé l'Hirondelle Viard, également député des gens de couleur, au Cap. Ajoute encore l'accusé, qu'il nous avoit déclaré, le jour d'heir, que le nommé Laplace, dont le père est ici dans les prisons, faisant des recrues à Ovanaminthe, est du nombre de ceux qui ont marché du Limbé contre le Cap; que pour éloigner les soupçons, il est allé au Port-Margot, où il s'est tenu caché plusieurs jours, feignant d'avoir un fluxion; que ledit Laplace père a dit, a lui blanc, ne déposera pas contre lui malgré qu'il sache toutes ses démarches; qu'il étoit assuré que le nommé Girardieu, détenu en prison, ne déclareroit rien, parce qu'il étoit trop son ami pour le découvrir; qu'en suite, si'l le denonçoit, il seroit forcé d'en dénoncer beaucoup d'autres, tant du Limbé que des autres quartiers.

Observe l'aculé que lorsqu'il nous a parlé de moyens employés par Jacques Lucas pour soulever les nègres esclaves, il a omis de nous dire que Pierre Maury avait envoyé une trentaine d'esclaves ches Lucas; que lui accusé, avec l'agrément d'Ogé le jeune, son frère, les renvoya, ce qui occasionna une plainte générale, le gens de couleur disant que c'étoit du renfort; que lui aeculé eut même à cette occasion un rixe avec le plus grand des didiers, avec lequel il manqua de se battre au pistolet pour vouloir lui soutenir qu'étant libre et cherchant à être assimilé aux blancs, il n'étoit pas fait pour être assimilé aux nègres esclaves; que d'ailleurs soulevant les esclaves, c'étoit détruire les propriétés des blancs, et qu'en les detruissant, ils detruisoient les leurs propres; que depuis

que

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que lui accusé étoit dans les prisons, il a vu un petit billet écrit écrit par ledit Pierre Maury à Jean-François Tessier, par lequel il lui marque qu'il continue à ramasser, et que le nègre nommé Coquin, à la dame veuve Castaing aînée armé d'une paire de pistolet garni en argent et d'une manchette que ledit Maury lui à donné ueille à toute ce qui se passe, et rend compte tous les soirs audit Maury; qui est tout ce que l'accusé, ici present, nous declare, en nous coujurant d'être persuadés que, s'il lui étoit possible d'obtenir miserecorde, il s'exposeroit volontiers à tous les dangers pour faire arrêter les chefs de ces revoltes; et que dans toutes les circonstances, il prouvera son zèle et son respect pour les blancs.

Lecture à lui faite de sa déclaration dans laquelle il persiste pour contenir vérité, lui en donnons acte, quil a signé avec nous et le gréffier.

Signé à la minute J. OGIE, RUOTTE, POURCHERESSES DE VERTIERES, et LANDAIS, gréffier.

Pour expedition collationée, signé LANDAIS, gréffier.

No. IV.

No. IV.

(Referring to p. 169.)

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

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

Art. II. That till order and tranquillity are restored at St. Domingo, the Governor appointed by his Britannic Majesty shall have

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have full power to regulate and direct whatever measures of safety and police he shall judge proper.—Answer. Granted.

Art. III. That no one shall be molested on account of any anterior disturbances, except those who are legally accused in some court of justice, of having committed murder, or of having destroyed property by fire, or of having instigated others to commit those crimes.—Answer. Granted.

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

Art. V. That if, at the conclusion of the war, the colony remains under the sovereignty of his Britannic Majesty, and order be established therein; in such case, the laws respecting property, and all civil rights, which were in force in the said colony before the revolution in France, shall be preserved; nevertheless, until a colonial assembly can be formed, his Britannic Majesty shall have the right of determining provisionally upon any measures which the general good and the tranquility of the colony may require; but that no assembly shall be called, until order is established in every part of the colony; and, till that period, his Britannic Majesty's governor shall be assisted in all the details of administration and police by a committee of six persons, which he shall have the power of choosing from among the proprietors of the three provinces of which the colony consists.—Answer. Granted.

Art. VI. That, in consequence of the devastations which have taken place in the colony by insurrections, fire, and pillage, the
governor

governor appointed by his majesty, on taking possession of the colony, to satisfy the demand of the inhabitants in these respects, shall be authorised to grant, for the payment of debts, a suspension of ten years, which shall be computed from the date of the surrender; and the suspension of all interest upon the same shall begin from the period of the 1st of August, 1791, and terminate at the expiration of the ten years granted for the payment of debts; but all sums due to minors by their guardians, or to absent planters by those who have the management of their property, or from one planter to another for the transfer of property, are not to be included in the above suspension.—Answer. Granted.

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

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

Art. IX. That the catholic religion shall be preserved and maintained, but that no other mode of evangelic worship shall be excluded.—Answer. Granted. On condition that such priests as have taken the oath prescribed by the persons exer-

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cising the powers of Government in France, shall be sent away, and replaced by others.

Art. X. The local taxes to acquit the expences of garrisons, and of the administration of the colony, shall be assessed in the same manner as in 1789, except the alleviations and remittances which shall be granted to the inhabitants whose property has suffered by fire, till their possessions are repaired. An account shall be kept by the colony of all the sums advanced on the part of Great Britain, for supplying the deficiency of the said taxes; which deficiency, as well as all the public expences of the colony (except those of his majesty's naval forces, destined for its protection) shall always be defrayed by the said colony.—Answer. Granted.

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

Art. XII. The importation in American bottoms, of provision, cattle, grain, and wood, of every kind, from the United States of America, shall be allowed at St. Domingo.—Answer. Granted. On condition that the American ships, which shall be employed in this trade, shall have only one deck; and this importation shall be allowed only as long as it shall appear necessary for the re-establishment or subsistence of the colony, or until measures have been taken for putting it in this respect upon the same footing as other English colonies; and an exact account shall be kept of the said vessels, with the descrip-

tion of their cargoes, and shall be transmitted every three months to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, as well as to one of the principal Secretaries of State; and on no account whatever shall any of the said vessels be allowed to take in return any production of the colony, except molasses or rum.

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Art. XIII. No part of the aforesaid conditions shall be considered as a restriction to the power of the parliament of Great Britain, to regulate and determine the political government of the colony.—Answer. Granted.

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(Referred to in Page 183.)

Copie de la Lettre de M. le Chevalier de Sevré, Commandant les Troupes Coloniales à Tiburon, au Colonel Whitlock, Commandant en Chef les Troupes de sa Majesté Britannique à St. Domingue.

“ MONSIEUR LE GOUVERNEUR,

“ Le Vaisseau, Le Capitaine Robert, qui est arrive ce matin dans notre port (et décidé à partir cette nuit,) me fournit une occasion sûre et prompte pour vous instruire des details de l'attaque qui a été faite par les brigands, sur nos postes hier, deux heures avant le jour.

No. V.
Dispatch of
M. de Sevré,
in the Bri-
tish service.

No. V.
 Dispatch of
 M. de Sevré.

“ A trois heures et demi, mon poste avancé, placé à la Vigie, a été surpris par une armée au moins de 2,000 brigands, qui avoient avec eux deux pièces de campagne de 4 livres; ils ont entouré dans le même instant le fort et la ville. C’est avec peine que j’ai pu me retirer au fort avec ma garnison, où j’ai supporté une longue fusillade avant d’avoir été en état de riposter. Les brigands avoient tout en leur faveur, ils voyoient le fort, et le dominaient de toutes partes, et comme il ne faisoit pas jour nous ne pouvions les appercevoir. Le combat duroit depuis deux heures, lorsque deux caissons de poudre, ont pris feu de la grande batterie, et l’ont entierement démontée en faisant sauter les canons dehors du fort. Ce malheureux événement m’a tué où blesse vingt hommes et découragé un instant la garnison, elle s’est remise de suite et a faite un feu violent sur l’ennemi: j’ai alors ordonné à quelques negres de Jean Kina, de sortir sur le chemin de la rivière; ils ont battu les brigands, et les ont forcé de se retirer dans le hauteurs.

“ Je sui ensuite sorti avec environ 200 hommes negres ou blancs; et j’ai marché du côté de la ville en divisant ma troupe en deux collones, dont j’ai donné le commandement de l’une à M. Philibert, moi à la tête de l’autre; j’ai monté pour les cerner par derriere, et tacher de m’emparer de leurs pieces, mais la premiere collone n’ayant pu monter assez à tems, les brigands ont réussi a emmener leurs canons.

“ Je n’ai pu faire poursuivre l’ennemi qui fugeait, que jusques sur l’habitation *Gensac*, tant mes hommes étoient fatigués de s’être battu, pendant cinq heurs, sans relâche.

“ J’ai

“ J’ai eu en environ cent hommes victimes du combat, dont trente tués sur la place, et cent blessés, parmi lesquels il en mourut beaucoup; j’estime qu’ils ont au moins 500 hommes hors de combat: cent cinquante ont été trouvés morts sur le champ de bataille; et les chemins, par lesquels ils se sont retirés, sont si couverts de sang, qu’ils doivent avoir un nombre très considérable de blessés.

“ La troupe Anglaise s’est conduite avec le courage qui la caractérise partout: le Capitaine Hardiman est digne des plus grands éloges; je suis désespéré que vous me l’enleviez, il est difficile à remplacer par ces talens et ses vertus.

“ Aussitôt après le combat, j’ai écrit à tous les commandans dans les quartiers de la dépendance pour qu’ils m’envoyent du secours; j’en attends à chaque moment, mais je suis bien renforcé par la présence de la frégate *l’Alligator* qui est arrivé ce matin.

“ Je suis avec respect, &c.

(Signé) “ LE CHEVALIER DE SEVRE

“ *Tiburon, 7 April, 1794.*”

No. V.
 Dispatch of
 M. de Sevré.

No. VI.

Account of
M. de Charmilly, Com-
missioner for
the Capitulation with
the British.

No. VI.

(Referring to p. 193, &c.)

—————“ *the indefatigable De Charmilly.*”

THE distinguished part this gentleman acted during the troubles in his adopted country, and the familiarity of his name to every description of persons concerned in the arrangement between Great Britain and St. Domingo, render some account of him, if not absolutely necessary, at least highly interesting to the reader. We have the power more readily to gratify this inclination, as M. de Charmilly has himself afforded the principal materials for the purpose, which we have translated from the work before quoted, entitled, “ *Lettre à M. Edwards,*” &c.

“ After,” says he, “ concluding my attendance at the University of Paris, and travelling through a considerable part of Europe, I arrived at St. Domingo in the beginning of the American war. A few months residence in the colony made me acquainted with its importance. Born with an activity hardly to be surpassed, and favoured with a strong constitution, I became desirous to make myself acquainted with the affairs of the island. During a residence at different times of fourteen years, in the full sense of the word I travelled over the whole colony, having been engaged in some important suits, administered to several large estates, and having business of great consequence in every part of the island, which made me acquainted with the principal planters in its
various

various districts. If you join to that the ambition of becoming one of the richest of its inhabitants, you may judge if I was not, more than any other person, in the possession of opportunities of information respecting the resources of its different provinces, and the advantages of its different manufactures; besides, my knowing personally almost all the officers of its administration, both military and civil; with the generous hospitality of the *Creoles*, and my independence of every tye. From all these reasons it may be concluded, that scarcely any inhabitant of the colony had a greater opportunity of knowing its affairs than myself.

No. VI.
Account of
M. de Char-
milly.

“ Returning to France at the end of the last war, I was grieved to see the baneful effects of those poisonous principles which the French had imbibed in America. I also saw, with deep concern, the establishment of that *philanthropic* sect, created first in Philadelphia, and afterwards transplanted to Europe. I then visited England, where I remained a few months; from thence I went to Jamaica, where I also resided some time.

“ Since my return to St. Domingo, having re-established several plantations on my own account, I was under the necessity of acquainting myself with every thing that related to the commercial resources of the colony. I also had, in conjunction with Mr. de Marbois, the arrangement of the affairs of one of the most wealthy contractors of St. Domingo. A long residence at Port-au-Prince and the Cape, enabled me also to judge of every material occurrence that passed in the two principal cities.

“ On

No. VI.
 Account of
 M. de Char-
 milly.

“ On returning to my plantation, at the moment of the revolution, it will not appear surprising that I was nominated a member of the assembly of my parish, afterwards of that of the province where I resided, and, finally, deputy of the general colonial assembly.

“ From the publication of the *Rights of Man*, I foresaw, with the most rational and well-informed inhabitants, the misfortunes that awaited the colony.

“ Residing in the south part of the island, which was in a great measure indebted to the English, and particularly the merchants of Jamaica, for its establishment; and being, also, from frequent visits, perfectly acquainted with England, I happily turned my views towards its government, to ensure the safety of St. Domingo. This sentiment never abandoned me an instant from the first moment of the troubles; I constantly manifested it in my parish, in my province, and in the general assembly at St. Marc, where all my thoughts and actions were continually directed to the means of assuring its success.

“ The torrent of revolutionary ideas had too much agitated every head, not to force the wisest people to conform to circumstances; and I freely own, that I was one of those who affected to believe in the possibility of an absurd independence; preferring it, for the interests of the island, to the still more absurd idea, of a sugar colony existing with the pretended *rights of man*. Unfortunately, persons of the greatest influence in St. Domingo, dazzled by the remembrance of the great commercial advantages derived, during the American war, from their increasing trade

with neutral nations, hoped, and pretended that it might exist independent, under the general protection of the European powers. My opinion was always, that such an independence could not take place, and that it was necessary for the colony to be under the protection of a mother country; and that it would be well if they were under that of a great nation like England. The diversity of opinions frustrated all my plans, and (mine being well known) obliged me to embark, with many of the resident proprietors, on board the *Leopard*. This was, with the view of flying from two parties; one of whom saw in us opponents to their ambition, and the other, the enemies of that anarchy which they thought of establishing in this delightful climate. Arrived in Europe, I soon discovered that France was lost; but still more, surely, was St. Domingo, if a power, interested to save her own colonies did not afford her relief.

“ The melancholy intelligence of the disasters of St. Domingo, were first brought to Europe by the *Daphne*, an English frigate. I was the first, and only inhabitant, who came to England to confirm that news, of which I found a proof in two hundred letters, delivered to me by Captain Gardner, the commander of the vessel.

“ In the year 1790, I had the honour of an interview with the ministers of his Britannic Majesty, and proposed to them the means of retaining their colonies, by saving St. Domingo. The facts which I communicated then, and have often since repeated, are recorded in the memorial which I submitted to government on the occasion. The revolutionary spirit, which had turned the

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 milly.

heads of the French people, furnished the most just and wisest reasons for the British ministry to refuse an offer which had been expressed too late, was become by the effervescence of the colony, and the diminution of its revenues and produce, of too little importance to expose them to the event of a war with the French.

“ I returned to Paris, but very soon (in 1792) the miseries of France and the king compelled me to seek an asylum in England. From that time I foresaw the certainty of a war; continually occupied for the welfare of my countrymen, and of the first colony in the world, I renewed my solicitations to the British government. In concert with other inhabitants, I never ceased labouring to prove to the ministers of Great Britain, that, if they saved not St. Domingo, the most considerable colony of the *Antilles*, they would not save any of *their* own.

“ The French declared war against England in February, 1793. Then, the case of those who had exerted themselves to preserve the English and French colonies were heard; others had evinced as much zeal as myself, and I had no advantage over them but that of a better knowledge of the colony of St. Domingo, and being enabled to say—“ *Behold what must be done : I will accomplish it, or perish !*”

“ It is for the British ministers to judge, if I was so happy as to fulfil my promises; they were pleased to assure me so, and his Majesty himself deigned to testify to me, his approbation of the zeal and devotion, with which I had placed myself in his service.”

The

The unfortunate end of this gentleman's services has been already sufficiently pourtrayed. After wasting that strength of which he formerly so much boasted, and covering himself with fruitless wounds, he had the mortification to see his great project fail, and to shelter himself under the position, that it had not failed in toto, since it had diverted the revolutionary principle from Jamaica. He had also the humiliation with a number of his contemporaries, to see all his arguments in favor of subjugating the blacks, refuted, and to be obliged to pass the decline of an active life, in a species of dull and solitary exile, under the protection of the English government.

Notwithstanding his misconceptions M. de Charmilly has offered some sensible advice with regard to the island with which he was so well acquainted, and, it may be said, merited a more dignified fate. It was his ambition to be the legislator, and to become the saviour of his country; and it were to be wished that he had exerted himself in a cause in which, though unsuccessful, he might have enjoyed the merit of

———"Bravely falling with a falling state!"

But, alas! no such honors awaited him, he was doomed, even in obscurity, to be followed by the suspicious censures of his countrymen, for whom he was so proud to act, while he could expect no other sentiment than contempt from those against whom he vainly ventured his life.

No. VI.
Account of
M. de Charmilly.

No. VII.

Letter of
Toussaint to
Admiral
Smith.

No. VII.

(Referring to Page 264),

*Documents illustrative of the Character and Manners of Toussaint
L'Ouverture.*

IT is always pleasing to trace the interchanges of civility in war between two great and benevolent minds; the following letter has been selected as a specimen of Toussaint's familiar intercourse from a variety of other papers of a similar description.

LIBERTY.

EQUALITY.

At Cape François, the 5th January, 7th Year of the French
Republic, one and indivisible.

*Toussaint L'Ouverture, General in Chief of the Army of St.
Domingo, to Edward Tyrrel Smith, Esq.* Captain of his Bri-
tannic Majesty's Ship Hannibal.*

SIR,

LIEUTENANT STOVIN has performed the commission with which you charged him. As I was at the Cape when he arrived, he was conducted to me, and has brought me your letters of the 3d and 5th January, although addressed to the commandant of this place. I perceive that you have on board sixty-four French prisoners, which you propose to me to exchange, and which I would not have hesitated to do instantly if I had had the same number of prisoners here.

* Now Admiral Smith.

As my principles of humanity correspond perfectly with those you manifest, I shall be obliged to you to release the French prisoners. I shall send you eight English prisoners, the whole that are here, with the exception of one, who, having had his thigh broken, remains at the hospital for it to be set. I will give you letters for Port Paix and the Mole, and I shall give the necessary orders that you may be furnished with the prisoners that will be coming to you; if it should happen that they do not complete the number, I promise you on my word of honor, that they shall be at your disposal whenever the fortune of war shall place them at my command.

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Letter of
Toussaint.

In case that you should not be satisfied with the letters I give you for the Mole and Port Paix, you then can carry the French prisoners you have made to those places where they may be exchanged. I wait your answer to govern me.

Although the porter, the rum, and the ham which you have had the civility to address to the Chief of this City, were not particularly addressed to me, I cannot omit to return you my thanks. I wish there may be any thing here agreeable to you, and you shall receive it. I have given your servant permission to make any provision for which you may have occasion.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most humble and

Obedient Servant,

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

No. VII.

Extract from
Mr. Reilly's
Journal.

Brief Extract from the MS. Journal of Charles Reilly, Esq.

Port Royal, Jamaica.

ON the 16th of November, 1798, being ready for sea, Col. Harcourt and Capt. Reynolds came on board, and we set sail for Port-au-Prince, in St. Domingo.

On the 24th, being in the Bight of Leogane, saw a strange sail. In the evening came up with her: she proved to be an American bark from Port-au-Prince, bound to Philadelphia, with French passengers and property, which was sent into Port Royal.

On the 25th November came to anchor without gun-shot of the fort at Port-au-Prince, and sent in a flag of truce to prepare for a treaty with the Black General, Toussaint, then commanding the chief part of the island; but the boat returned with information that he was not there. We then got under weigh, and stood off towards Leogane. In the night we manned and armed the boats, and sent them along shore. In the morning they returned with a small copper-bottomed schooner, laden with coffee, and bound to St. Jago, in Cuba. They likewise took four open boats, one of which we sold for four hundred dollars back to a Frenchman, and in the others we sent the prisoners on shore.

On the 26th came to anchor off Leogane; sent a flag of truce, and was informed the general was at Aux Cayes. Got under weigh, and at noon came to an anchor there, out of gun-shot of the fort. Sent a boat on shore, and learned that Toussaint was at Gonaives. An officer, however, came on board in a flag of truce, and told the captain we might send our boat ashore, and purchase what stock we wanted. Of this kindness

1

we

we availed ourselves, from the extreme cheapness at which we were supplied. No. VII.

On the 27th we got under weigh, and on the 28th chased two strange sail. By noon we brought one of them to, which proved to be a government sloop from Cape François, bound to Port-au-Prince, laden with wines and provisions of all kinds. The schooner that had been previously taken, being manned and armed, she was sent one cruize, commanded by the purser, who soon returned with a schooner, laden with provisions, that had sailed with the same sloop. We took every body out of her except some ladies, who were passengers, and the same evening came to anchor in Gonaives Roads.

Sent a flag of truce on shore, and saw General Toussaint, who seemed very well pleased with the proposition of a treaty for trading, to and from Jamaica, and rendering every thing agreeable.

Next day we got under weigh, and stood off and on till evening, as the captain had promised to send all the prisoners on shore when they should send a small vessel for them. In the mean time the person who was sent prize-master, having intoxicated himself in the evening when the ship was running into her anchorage, he bore up for Port Royal, and behaved very unmanly to the poor distressed ladies. He would not allow them to open their trunks for clean clothes, nor would he allow them any of two cases of wine, which the captain had left entirely for them. The vessel came for the prisoners next morning, and they went on shore, but the Black General was exceedingly vexed at the treatment the ladies had received, as they were the wives of officers

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cers in whom he had much confidence. This circumstance had nearly been the cause of much mischief, and the dissolution of the treaty, as he would hardly believe it was not intended by the captain, as all the male prisoners were returned with the exception only of one, who had preferred to remain with one of the ladies, who was his sister. In a short time, however, his temper warm, but not irascible, was appeased, and all was well.

On the 14th December a brig, the *Mary*, arrived from Jamaica, laden with provisions, and on the 6th we put the two gentlemen conducting the treaty on board her, when she hoisted the flag of truce, and we bore up for Port Royal, where we arrived on the 8th.

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(Referring to Page 264.)

Extract from the former Publication of the Author of this Work upon the then projected Expedition of St. Domingo, describing its Progress; and, from a Comparison with the subsequent Dispatches of the French General, demonstrative of the Verity of those Principles upon which he argued against its Adoption.

Anticipation of the fate of the French expedition by the author, published during its projection.

UPON what foundation the projectors of the French armament rested their hopes of success (supposing them not totally ignorant of what was to be attempted in the reduction of St. Domingo at present), other than the prowess of the First Consul, it is not easy to conceive—the astonishing difficulties that have been surmounted,

surmounted, and prodigies that have already been achieved by the invincible Bonaparte! But they should have recollected, that the improbable successes of that general were not unfrequently attributed to the CAUSE he supported!—certainly the best calculated to inspire young troops with a romantic idea of chivalry, and to carry them, unknowing, through dangers that would appal the most hardy veterans. How different is the object at present: detachments from armies, that held combined Europe at defiance, when resolved to be free, and gave peace to the conquered nations that no longer opposed their freedom, are embarked to expel their own spirit from another land; to suppress every generous emotion they had been accustomed to feel; and to again fill the furrows of a smiling country with blood—the blood of FREEMEN, WHOM THEY HAD THEMSELVES CREATED.

“ Unused to the sickening suspense of a maritime conveyance, they are painfully wafted to the seat of war in a noxious climate; they debark in a country rendered hostile by a series of inexplicable menaces, and prepared to meet with indignation those it considers as betrayers of the cause in which they had formerly bled!—Vanished is the enthusiastic spirit of bravery, that was wont to lead them to the fight, while other voices sound the Song of Liberty!

“ Allons! enfans de la patrié
 La jour de gloire est arrivé
 Contre nous—de la tyrannée
 L'étendart sanglant est élevée!
 Entendez vous, dans la Campagné,

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on, &c.

Mugir ces ferocés soldâts,
Que viennent dans nos bras
Egorgés vhs fils et votre Campagné!
Aux armes!" —*

"The hitherto victorious troops of the republic, land in various directions, beneath the heavy fire of forts well appointed; and mounted chiefly with brass ordnance: they press forward to—— what?—not to enter towns from which the enemy has fled precipitately, leaving behind them every comfort necessary for an army, requiring early rest to recruit; they enter cities, not merely evacuated, but no longer cities! to be mocked by the ruins of repose, and the destruction of necessaries they required.

"Recruited from their own magazines, or the trifling aid to be forced from a few Americans, they proceed into a country, every foot of which, when obtained, is deprived of all that can aid their enterprize. Troops, dispirited by novel tactics, and an enfeebling climate, are to pass their nights in the open air, and exposed to the nocturnal vapours, alone fatal to European habits, sustained only by provisions furnished from their own stores, with no more water than they have conveyed with them, and unable to proceed, or to return.

* "Ye patriot band!
The day of glory comes; against us see
The bloody standard rais'd of tyranny!
Hark! in your fields ferocious soldiers roar,
Your children and your country are no more!
Close to your breasts they come—
To arms!"—

"Occasional

“ Occasional aids, with peculiar good fortune, carried them farther into the interior, to experience all those difficulties in a more extensive degree; with a subtraction from their numbers and their comforts, in proportion to the victories they may obtain, and the difficulties they may surmount.

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“ On the other hand—

“ A country is raised, to repel a horde of invaders, to whom are attributed the intentions of despoiling the land, and enslaving its inhabitants; a well-disciplined army in every part, intimately acquainted with every quarter of the island, inured to the climate, and habituated to the soil; trained to a long expectation of the attack, is prepared to meet them. Hardy, and unencumbered with stores, they sport with an harrassed enemy; and, when the day decides against them, leaving the enemy to burning towns, and mined plantations, they recede in safety within the next line of fortifications: were they even deprived of all adventitious aid,* the umbrageous plantain alone affords them repose and food, or they luxuriate in the varieties of the yam and the banana, refreshed by the streams, to which they readily find access; they rise unimpaired, to support the cause next their heart, and revel in proportion as their assailants are dismayed.

“ Almost impenetrably fortified up to the very mountains of Cibao, whose inaccessible tops reach the heavens, Toussaint recedes with ease, faster than the wasting enemy can, with pain,

* Which is impossible, while every little coasting-bark from America brings a fresh supply; and an ample resource is found in every new situation.

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on, &c.

pursue him; and in this way is he, in alliance with the very elements to be pursued through a route of this description 500 miles? I speak of the elements, for the period is fast approaching, when, in addition to the horrors already experienced, the rains will commence, whose overwhelming torrents will require portable towns to withstand them, where indifferent camp-equipage only can be conveyed; and, in this situation, if not before, I feel no hesitation in saying, that Le Clerc, lamenting his laurels, which have withered so untimely, will assimilate Macbeth, and exclaim, with heart-felt regret,—

“ There is no going hence, nor tarrying here!”

“ All possible grounds of success, it is easily perceived, are done away—unless Toussaint, during his experience of his government, has acquired the knowledge of “ expediency,” and on that score is expected to sacrifice his adherents for a snug retirement!—a circumstance hardly to be looked for; or, that three or four millions of men, who have forgotten every other restraint than a voluntary sense of duty imposes, should easily be inclined to return to the dominion of the *cowskin* !!!* ”

“ The English government, in three years, employed above twenty thousand men, and expended thirty millions of money on St. Domingo; and its army, even then, was never able to penetrate five miles into the country; yet the French go-

* The instrument of punishment, no doubt, judiciously handled, by those young men, who perform their noviciate in the character of Overseers of the *Slaves*.

vernment

vernment proposes to exterminate the whole race of colour without the least delay.

“ *Veni vidi, vici!*—then—General Le Clerc has completed his career of extermination, and he sits down in the delightful vallies of St. Domingo without a single *rebel** to cultivate the soil; it must be supplied by a fresh, a continued importation of negroes, ignorant of labour, and without any to instruct them, at an excessive waste of time and of produce, and an expence of not less than one hundred millions at least!

“ Whether France be adequate to colonize at this rate, I presume not to determine. Considering her at the acmé of her present power, I shall not wonder at the attempt, nor at her assuming all the concomitants of colonization,—corporate bodies, chartered companies, and the long train of monopolies, so fatal to the peace and the interest of nations.

“ I have now only to add a few observations on those fears, and the promoters of them, which have obtained for the Dictator of France, in his scheme of retrieving to the mongrel government of that country the delightful island of St. Domingo, such an apparently universal patronage with even persons of discernment in this kingdom. To those intimately acquainted with the

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Anticipation, &c.

“ * To hear this term in France, at this present day, and the diminutive idea entertained of St. Domingo, as well as the contemptible opinion affected of Toussaint, excites risibility. The two former explain themselves; and it is sufficiently known that Toussaint is a more extraordinary character, and at this moment possessed of more *real* power than the Grand Consul! “ Why may not I,” says he, “ hold absolute power here, as well as the First Consul in France ?”—(*Original Note.*)

British

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 on, &c.

British colonies in the West Indies, these observations are not necessary; but there are many whose interests in the islands are by no means inconsiderable, who owe their principal information to those eternal babblers, who, without the most distant pretensions to knowledge, experience, or a common portion of common sense, fill every avenue with their alarms, and surprize every new week with a new hypothesis.

“ These have affected to view in the establishment of a BLACK REPUBLIC in this extensive territory, the entire annihilation of all our possessions, the elevation of a revolutionary hydra, that breathes another Pandemonium ofills on the afflicted world! till the expedition of Bonaparte has been treated as a common cause, and much has been anticipated that could not be expected, if it could be wished.

“ Nothing appears more evident to me, than that the system which, without the intervention of any of those accidents that some time change the face of things, is about to obtain in St. Domingo, is not one that will by any means lead to an extension of territory, or the diffusion of principles. In the possession of a vast island, such as it has been described, much would remain to be done at home, were they henceforward to remain in uninterrupted peace; the cultivation of vast tracts, the renovation of what has been destroyed, and the arrangements of their own interests, will indispensably preclude the interference of Tous-saint with the government or opinion of the neighbouring islands.

“ Added to this, what person acquainted with the respectable state of defence in which our islands are kept, can ever entertain the least fear respecting them?—Small as they comparatively are, possessed by planters of distinguished talents, defended by a militia prompt on all occasions; with an army well appointed on their shores, under the superintendance of ability and experience at home; and a navy round their coasts, the wonder of the world; what restless, romantic spirit could induce an attempt so certainly destructive in the effort, and fruitless in the event?”

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on, &c.

“ * Notwithstanding it has of late years been the fashion to consider the character of a planter as derogatory to humanity, and incapable of being blended with any of those qualities that ameliorate the condition of the species, every opportunity which I have had of judging has tended to convince me of the contrary. Nothing, indeed, can be more cruel than to single out any description of persons for public reprobation, as may suit the purpose of the fanatic or the partizan; and nothing is more fatal to the cause of truth than an implicit reliance on the vague reports of their enthusiasm, which must inevitably preclude the possibility of acquiring correct information, or adhering to facts if produced to their notice.—If the young and thoughtless squander the accumulations of their ancestors, it is certainly no evidence of general voluptuousness. If there are circumstances exceptionable in the conduct of the slave-trade, does it follow that the planter is a merciless executioner? Certainly not,—it would be hostile to his interest, and inexpedient in his situation. As merchants and as men, many are highly and extensively esteemed and regarded; and instances of affection and regret in the slaves, in whose torture they have been described to exult, are neither unfrequent or unrecorded.

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No. IX.

First colonial regulation.

No. IX.

(Referred to in Page 321.—Documents respecting the colonial Administration of Le Clerc.)

First colonial Regulation of the Captain-General, extracted from the Official Gazette of St. Domingo.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONY.

Head-Quarters, at the Cape, June 22, 1802.

IN the name of the French government,

The General in chief Captain-general, decrees as follows:—

In the French part of St. Domingo, the administration of the quarters and communes is confined to military commandants and councils of notables. The commandants to have the jurisdiction of police in their respective districts, and the chief command of the gens d'armèrè. The councils of notables to be composed of proprietors or merchants, and to consist of five members, in the towns of Port Republicain, the Cape, and Des Cayes, and of three members in other communes. The members to be appointed by the colonial prefect; and every one so appointed to be compelled to accept the office. The military commandants are charged with the delivery (gratis) of passports for travelling in the colony, the suppression of vagrancy, the care of the police, the maintenance of cleanliness and health, the care of citi-

zens newly arrived, the police of the prisons, and the regulation of weights and measures, in concurrence with the council of notables. Except in the case of flagrant crimes, the military commandants cannot arrest any citizen without an order from the Commandant of the quarter. The communes to provide for their own expences; the sums to be regulated by a decree of the general in chief, with the advice of the colonial prefect. No military commandant can put in requisition the labourers or the cattle of any plantation; the general in chief reserves that power to himself. The councils of notables to provide for the expences of the communes and for the imposts adopted by the commander in chief, with the advice of the colonial prefect. Those councils alone to deliberate upon the communal interests; all other assemblies of citizens are prohibited, and shall, if attempted, be considered as seditious, and dispersed by force. The councils to correspond immediately with the sub-prefects, by whom their members may be suspended, and finally dismissed by the colonial prefect. There shall be in each parish a commissary to register the public acts.

(Signed) LE CLERC.

COMMERCE OF ST. DOMINGO.

By another decree of the general in chief,

French merchant vessels are to be admitted only in the ports of the Cape, Port Republicain, des Cayes and de Jacmel. Merchandize, or produce of the manufactures, or soil of France, not

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 Clerc.

to be subject to any duty on importation. Colonial produce, exported by French vessels, to be subject to a duty on exportation.

Foreign vessels of the burden of 70 tons, and upwards, are permitted to enter the above four ports. French or foreign merchandize imported in them to be subject to a duty on importation, conformable to tariff. The produce of the colony exported by them to be subject to a duty on exportation.

Every captain of a French or foreign vessel must, on his arrival in port, before any other person on board lands, present himself before the captain general, and the colonial prefect, at the place of their residence, and in other ports to the general commandant, and the chief of administration, for the purpose of giving an account of his voyage. The captain shall transmit on the same day, to the commandant of the place, a declaration, written and signed, containing an account of the passengers he has on board: no passenger to disembark without the authority of the commandant.

The captain must, on the day of his arrival, remit the letters and packets in his charge to the director of the post at the port, and shall receive a discharge.

The captains of French and foreign vessels must, within a day after their arrival, transmit to the directors of the harbours, the bill of lading of their cargoes. All merchandize found on board which is not included in the bill of lading, will be confiscated.

Every captain of a foreign vessel must consign his cargo to a domiciliated merchant, who shall be personally responsible for the

the payment of the duties on importation and exportation, and for the frauds which may be committed by the captains of the vessels consigned to him.

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of Le
Clerc.

No French or foreign vessel shall be suffered to quit the ports, but on producing to the captain of the port the certificate of the director of the customs, stating that all the duties have been paid.

Every French or foreign vessel which shall be found in any of the ports, not designated in the decrees, or sailing within two leagues of the coast, shall be taken possession of by the guard-vessels, and conducted into one of the designated ports, in order that the confiscation of the vessel and cargo may be adjudged by the captain general, on the report of the colonial prefect. The vessel making such capture, to be entitled to one-third of the value of the vessel and cargo confiscated.

TARIFF OF CUSTOMS IN THE FRENCH PART OF ST. DOMINGO.

IMPORTATION.

French merchandize and produce in foreign vessels, 10 per cent. on the value—Meal, biscuits, salt, provisions, wood for carpenters and buildings, cattle and sheep, horses, mules, poultry, &c. ditto 6 per cent. ditto.—Foreign merchandize, ditto, 20 per cent. ditto.

EXPORTATION.

The following are the most material articles:

Coffee in foreign vessels, 13 francs 33 cents. per quintal.
—White sugar, ditto, ditto.—Brown ditto, 6 f. 67 c. ditto.
3 H 2 —Cotton

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of Le
Clerc.

—Cotton, 30 f. ditto.—Indigo, 80 c. per lb.—Produce not enumerated, 20 per cent. on the value.—French manufactures in foreign vessels exempt from duty.

SUBSEQUENT COMMERCIAL REGULATION.

(In consequence of a remonstrance of the merchants and ship-owners of the city of Havre, &c. presented to the First Consul, Bonaparté, May 30, 1802, against the admission of British merchandize.*)

Head-Quarters at the Cape, Sept. 8, 1802.

In the Name of the French Government the Commander in Chief, Captain General, decrees as follows:—

Art. I. After the 1st of Vendemiaire, year 11, (Sept. 23, 1802), no other merchandize or articles of provision, except those specified in the annexed list, can be imported into the colony by foreign ships:—none can be exported by the same ships, but molasses, syrup, spirits, and rum; dye woods and wood for cabinet makers; guiacum, coffee, and provision, or merchandize of every kind imported by the French merchants.

II. After the same period, the duties on the merchandize and provisions specified in the annexed list, imported into the colony

* In this remonstrance is the following confession:—"Thanks be to our warriors, thanks be to your genius;—the English have come out of the long contest with much less glory than we have, but they have withdrawn from the struggle rich and astonishingly powerful. All is organised among them, and it will be long, very long, before we can vie with them in trade. We can only be saved from destruction by prohibitory regulations. A convalescent should not enter the lists with a mighty giant."

by foreign ships, shall pay at the rate of ten per cent. duty *ad valorem* in the colony, according to a tariff, which the colonial prefect shall settle every three months, from the medium prices of the preceding three months, in the open ports of the colony.

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The duties on colonial productions which, according to the permission granted by the first article, shall be exported in foreign vessels, shall pay, over and above, one half more than those exported in French ships, according to the tariff annexed to the decree of the 3d of Messidor last (June 22). These productions shall pay, besides the war tax, established by the decree of Messidor 25 (July 14).

Productions and merchandize arising from the French commerce, exported from the colony in foreign ships, shall pay no duties.

III. All merchandize and products not specified in the annexed list, imported by foreign vessels, are prohibited, reckoning from the 1st of Vendemiaire, year 11 (September 23, 1802). The captains of foreign vessels which arrive in the open ports of the colony before that period, shall be allowed to land their merchandize, on lodging a declaration at the custom-house.

Those which arrive in the open ports of the colony after Vendemiaire 1st (September 23,) until the 15th Brumaire next (November 6) inclusive, shall be allowed to land the unprohibited goods they have on board. In regard to those prohibited, they shall lodge a declaration of them, and shall be bound to produce them on their departure, under the pain of their vessels being confiscated.

After

No. IX.
 Administration of Le Clerc.

After the 15th Brumaire (November 6) vessels, whose cargoes are not entirely composed of non-prohibited merchandize and productions, shall not be admitted into the ports of the colony. Those not coming within the case of being admitted, which shall procure admission by false declarations, or which, after having been obliged to leave the said ports, shall be found effecting, or trying to effect a fraudulent landing, shall be confiscated, as well as the cargoes.

IV. Nothing in the present decree shall affect that of Messidor 5, which exempts from all duties, till the 30th of Frimaire, year 11 (December 21, 1802); oxen and mules imported into the ports of the Cape, Port Republicain, Des Cayes, and Jacmel.

All the dispositions of decrees relating to commerce and the customs, not contrary to the present decree, are also maintained.

V. The colonial prefect is charged with carrying the present decree into execution.

(Signed) LE CLERC.

List of the merchandize and productions, the importation of which by foreign ships is permitted, on paying a duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*:—beer, bricks, coals, cables, and cordage; train oil, spermaceti oil, pitch, tar, resin, &c.; essence of turpentine, oats, barley, maize, flour, rice, biscuit, salt beef, salt pork, hams, sausages, &c. are not comprehended under this denomination; salt butter, mantagus, cod-fish, bacaga, &c.; salt mackarel, dried herrings, pickled herrings, shads, cod sounds, pickled mullets, stock-fish; live cattle, horses, mules, apes, hogs, sheep, ducks, fowls, turkies, geese; timber for building, spars, planks, oars, casks, &c. &c.

No. X.

(Referred to in p. 327, &c.)

*Some Account of the Nature and History of the Blood-Hounds
used in the American Colonies.*

ON this subject which it is anxiously desired to impress upon the reader, the following particulars may not be unacceptable.— Among the numerous rude inventions of barbarous ages to attain a superiority in war, was that of the use of beasts in a variety of ways, in conjunction with their regular armies. In Virgil the effect of *bulls* sent in terrible array against an opponent is recorded, and Moses affords a ludicrous employment of *foxes*,* driven with firebrands towards the enemy's camp. The *war-horse* and *elephant* are also represented as taking an active share in the battle at all times. The introduction of *dogs*, however, is not so generally used, and one which is considered as likely to avail but in a very confined degree. The first particular mention of their use in acting with troops, is by Herrera, the Spanish historian, when describing the first conflict of Columbus with the Indians in 1492; † the Sleute-hound of the Scots was in much repute as being early applied to discover the haunts of robbers; and Strabo is said to describe an attack upon the Gauls

* Or Jackalls. See the curious observations on this subject in Tomlinson's Scriptural Translations, p. 273.

† See the former part of this work.

by

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Account of
the use and
history of
blood-
hounds.

No. X.
 History of
 the blood-
 hounds.

by dogs of the present description.* The character of decided enmity to man, however, seems to have been preserved only in Spanish America, and the writer is induced from many circumstances to think that the quadruped which is the subject of this account is, though of a similar species to the Irish wolf-dog breed, a native of the South Seas.

Whether or not the dog in a savage state would devour his master, as is asserted, shall not here be argued; it is certain that on the mode of rearing, and subsequent discipline for use, in war, much has always depended, and that (to the disgrace of human beings so employed) their education has been reduced to such a system, as to leave little of the natural character remaining.

With the persons who breed and have the care of these animals in Spanish America, the public are already sufficiently acquainted; but there are some facts which are not equally known, both as respect these people, and the mode of rearing the dogs, as particularly practised in St. Domingo, to which attention is at present confined. The first of these subjects will be explained by a comparison easily made; and of the latter the writer is indebted for an accurate knowledge to an intelligent friend, who had the care of those animals and their keepers in their troublesome passage from the Havannah to Jamaica, the same which

* This incident is on the authority of an obliging writer in the Monthly Magazine, in answer to a query on the subject on account of the present work, Strabo not being at hand for a reference.

forms a prominent subject of the history already given to the public on the occasion.*

Among the remains of the Buccaniers, (which are every where prevalent in St. Domingo and its vicinity, in the different *Trou's* which retain their names, and several local expressions,) are the costume and mode of life, in the Spanish chasseurs who

No. X.

The modern
chasseur an
exact coun-
terpart of the
ancient Buc-
canier.

* Dallas's History of the Maroons. Mr. Quarrel (through the medium of a writer always intelligent, and sometimes eloquent) has excited the interest of the public to the whole of his services in relation to the expedition from Jamaica to Cuba, for the purpose of obtaining blood-hounds and their leaders; he has described a long round of difficulties, of

“ Moving accidents by flood and field,”

all of which were overcome by the superior talents, the local, and even *maritime* skill of the commissioner! According to this account, the minutest object in the arduous business of the expedition was not only managed by him, during sickness or convalescence, but his bark was directed through peculiar courses, and battles fought successfully against a superior power, with a crew somewhat like Falstaff's regiment. But Mr. Quarrel forgot to name the Captain of the vessel which carried him to Cuba, and returned with the blood-hounds to Jamaica, or the wonder would have ceased; and this is the more singular, in a man of letters and enterprize, like Mr. Quarrel, from the exquisite delight and extensive information he must have received from the society of Captain Campbell; a gentleman, with enlarged ideas, high literary talents, the most consummate bravery, and unbounded nautical skill, who almost prefers (*under existing circumstances,*) the command of a little vessel like that which conveyed Mr. Quarrel and his charge! (and which is generally, or a considerable share, his own property,) *peculiarly* on account of its being *absolutely* under *his own* direction; and with a crew such as the commissioner very justly describes, he has performed more intrepid actions, and visited with success, more parts of the globe than any other officer of his age, which is happily not yet far advanced. The writer had reason to hope from the pen of him who has traced the steps of the injured Bruce in Abyssinia, a valuable paper on this, as well as other subjects relating to the Western Archipelago; but this, as well as other valuable communications intended for the public, in the possession of a mutual friend, was neglected, when

“ *Old Ocean smil'd,*

“ And, dancing on the tide of pleasure wild,

“ Brisk Fame high-bounding, blew her echoing horn.”

PURSUIT OF FAME, a Poem.

No. X.
 Mode of
 training
 blood-
 hounds.

conduct the blood-hounds. The hog-skin trowsers drawn on their limbs warm from the animal when shot wild in the woods, and the mode of preparing their food, (*boucaner*, a name at present synonymous with cooking in the island,) being common to both; and, in fact, every part of their dress, their migratory life, power of forbearance, and savage habits in the woods, all exhibit the ancient Buccanier in the modern Chasseur; and the portrait of the one when young, robust, and daring, is a very complete resemblance of the other.

The character of these people differed somewhat in the numbers which joined the French army, and were increased by tyros, when their operations became such a favorite relief in the actions between it and that of the blacks.

Mode of
 rearing the
 dogs.

With respect to the dogs, their general mode of rearing was latterly in the following manner. From the time of their being taken from the dam, they were confined in a sort of kennel, or cage, where they were but sparingly fed upon small quantities of the blood of different animals. As they approached maturity, their keepers procured a figure roughly formed as a negro in wicker work, in the body of which were contained the blood and entrails of beasts. This was exhibited before an upper part of the cage, and the food occasionally exposed as a temptation, which attracted the attention of the dogs to it as a source of the food they wanted. This was repeated often, so that the animals with redoubled ferocity struggled against their confinement while in proportion to their impatience the figure was brought nearer, though yet out of their reach, and their food decreased,

till, at the last extremity of desperation, the keeper resigned the figure, well charged with the nauseous food before described, to their wishes. While they gorged themselves with the dreadful meat, he and his colleagues caressed and encouraged them. By these means the whites ingratiated themselves so much with the animals, as to produce an effect directly opposite to that perceivable in them towards the black figure; and, when they were employed in the pursuit for which they were intended, afforded the protection so necessary to their employers. As soon as they were considered initiated into their business, the young dogs were taken out to be exercised in it, and trained with much exactness as possible. In some instances this extended to a great length, but in general their discipline could not permanently retain them under the command of their leaders, the consequence is obvious.

The common use of them in the Spanish islands was in chace of runaway negroes in the mountains. When once they got scent of the object, they immediately hunted him down, unless he could evade the pursuit by climbing up a tree, and instantly devoured him: if he was so fortunate as to get from their reach into a tree, the dogs remained about it yelping in the most dreadful manner, till their keepers arrived. If the victim was to be preserved for a public exhibition of cruelty, the dogs were then muzzled, and the prisoner loaded with chains. On his neck was placed a hoop with inverted spikes; and hooks outward, for the purpose of entangling him in the bushes, or elsewhere. Should the unhappy wretch proceed faster than his wearied pursuers, or attempt to run from them, he was given up to

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 Mode of
 training
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 hounds.

No. X.

Accidents
arising from
blood-
hounds.

the dogs, who instantly devoured him. With horrid delight the chasseurs sometimes preserved the head to expose at their homes, as monuments of their barbarous prowess. — Frequently on a journey of any length these causes were, it is much feared, feigned for the purpose of relieving the keepers of their prisoners, and the inhuman wretch who perpetrated the act, on his oath of having destroyed his fellow creature, received the reward of ten dollars from the colony!

If the most dreadful accidents among the blacks were ascribed, and it is apprehended justly, to the troops of blood-hounds in the very spots on which they were reared, what was not to be expected on the seat of war, amidst innumerable prejudices, and the powerful motive of self-preservation? when every one conceived himself justified in contributing an act of barbarity to the common cause, while it arose, perhaps, out of his own cruel disposition. The writer shrinks from the task of description in this place, yet the concealment will not excite the detestation he urges against the very idea of ever again introducing these animals under any pretext to the assistance of an army.* But indifferently kept, the

* The defence of his friend (certainly a most laudable motive in these degenerate times, notwithstanding the old proverb *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas*) has led the ingenious writer before alluded to (Mr. Dallas) to some arguments in favor of blood-hounds, however cautiously introduced, not less glaringly false. Such is that, of the use of *house-dogs*. The writer need not call the attention of this gentleman (with whose sensibility of character he is not unacquainted) to the following obvious facts in behalf of their mutual country. The house-dog commonly used in the united kingdom, is the barking cur, who is not capable of a dangerous attack, and his use is only to create alarm; and even when a more powerful species are used, as the Newfoundland breed, they never kill or wound,

the dogs frequently broke loose in the vicinity of the Cape, and infants were devoured in an instant from the public way! At other times they proceeded to the neighbouring woods, and surprizing an harmless family of laborers at their simple meal, tore the babe from the breast of its mother, or involved the whole party, and returned with their horrid jaws drenched in the gore of those who were acknowledged, even in the eyes of the French army, as innocent, and therefore permitted to furnish them with the produce of their labor. Huts were broken into by them, and

No. X.
 Ferocity of
 blood-
 hounds.

* * * * *

the picture becomes too dreadful for description even for the best of purposes.

wound, except they are aggravated, of which several curious instances have recently ocured; two are in the immediate recollection of the writer; one, he believes, at an inn near Hounslow, where a servant being detected by the faithful guard in the act of robbing the house at night, he threw him down on the spot, and placing himself upon him, held him there uninjured till the morning, when he delivered him into other custody. Another was, when an housekeeper remaining in a house alone, where a quantity of plate was deposited, borrowed for one night the dog of a neighbouring butcher to protect her, who, in the following morning presented her with a culprit before the side-board, in the person of a relation of her master;—the rest of the story is too invidious. If at any time an accident occurs, (which is not frequent,) of a dog injuring any one in the smallest degree, the writer never yet knew a master who would not immediately destroy him, and surely none desire to see even the nightly thief lacerated and devoured, instead of his injury prevented; but if even the position of Mr. Dallas were just, the case would by no means apply.

No. XI.
 Commercial
 regulation of
 Rocham-
 beau.

No. XI.

(Referred to in Page 335.)

*The first colonial Regulation issued during the Government of
 Rochambeau.*

ARRETE OF THE GENERAL IN CHIEF.

I. THE arrêté of the Captain-general of the 15th Fructidor, 10th year, which permits the importation of different articles of produce in this colony in foreign bottoms, paying 10 per cent. duty is received.

II. Foreigners may import into this colony all wares and merchandize not enumerated in the above-mentioned arrêté, subject to a duty of 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.

III. The colonial-prefect shall make out every six months a tariff of the value of all the wares and merchandize imported under the second article. The duty of 20 per cent. shall be fixed by this tariff.

IV. The importation of goods permitted by the fifth and second article of this arrêté shall only take place at the Cape, Port Republican, and the Port of St. Domingo.

V. The present arrêté shall be in force immediately after its publication.

VI. The

VI. The colonial-prefect is charged with the execution of the present arrêté, which shall be printed, published, and posted up, and inserted in the Official Gazette.

No. XII.
Capitulation
of the French
Army.

(Signed) D. F. N. ROCHAMBEAU, Capt. Gen.

December 19, 1802.

No. XII.

(Referred to in Page 345.)

Documents respecting the Evacuation of St. Domingo, by the French Army under Rochambeau; from the London Gazette, and other authentic Sources.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION BETWEEN THE FRENCH GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU, AND THE BLACK GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF SAINT DOMINGO.

French and Native Army.

THIS day, the 27th Brumaire, of the 12th year, according to the French æra, and the 19th of November, 1802, according to the common æra, the adjutant-commandant, Duveysier, having received full power from General Rochambeau, Commander-in-chief of the French army, to treat for the surrender of the Town of the Cape, and Jean Jacques Dessalines, general of the native Army

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 Capitulation
 of the French
 army.

army, being also authorised to treat on the occasion, have agreed on the following articles, viz.

I. The Town of the Cape, and the forts dependent thereon, shall be given up in ten days, reckoning from to-morrow, the 28th of Brumaire (Nov. 18), to the general-in-chief, Dessalines.

II. The military stores which are now in the arsenals, the arms, and the artillery of the town and forts, shall be left in their present condition.

III. All the ships of war, and other vessels which shall be judged necessary by Gen. Rochambeau, for the removal of the troops and inhabitants, and for the evacuation of the place, shall be free to depart on the day appointed.

IV. All the officers, military or civil, and the troops composing the garrison of the Cape, shall leave the place with all the honours of war, carrying with them their arms, and all the private property belonging to their demi-brigades.

V. The sick and wounded who shall not be in a condition to embark, shall be taken care of in the hospitals till their recovery; they are specially recommended to the humanity of Gen. Dessalines, who will cause them to be embarked for France in neutral vessels.

VI. General Dessalines, in giving the assurance of his protection to the inhabitants who shall remain in the country, calls at the same time upon the justice of General Rochambeau to set at liberty all the natives of the country (whatever may be their colour,) as they cannot be constrained, under any pretext of right, to embark with the French army.

VII. The troops of both armies shall remain in their respective positions, until the tenth day after the signature hereof, which is the day fixed on for the evacuation of the Cape.

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 army.

VIII. The General in Chief Rochambeau will send, as a hostage for the observance of the present stipulation, the Adjutant-General Commandant, Urbain de Vaux, in exchange for whom the General in Chief Dessalines will send an officer of the same rank.

Two copies of this convention are hereby executed in strict faith, at the head-quarters on the Heights of the Cape, on the day, month, and year aforesaid.

(Signed)

DUVEYSIER.

DESSALINES.

*Correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief of the French Army of St. Domingo, and Capt. Loring, of his Majesty's Ship the Bellerophon, commanding a blockading force off Cape Francois.*

ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO.

Head-Quarters at the Cape, 27th Brumaire, An. 12,  
 of the French Republic.

*The General-in-Chief to Commodore Loring, commanding the Naval Force of his Britannic Majesty before the Cape.*

SIR,

TO prevent the effusion of blood, and to save the remains of the army of St. Domingo, I have the honour to send you two offi-

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cers

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 army.

cers charged with instructions to enter into an arrangement with you. The General of Brigade Boyé, &c. and the Commodore Barré, are ordered to transmit this letter to you. I have chosen them to have the honour of treating with you.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

D. ROCHAMBEAU.

*Copy of the Propositions made by the General Rochambeau, to evacuate Cape François.*

I. THE General Rochambeau proposes to evacuate the Cape; himself and his guards, consisting of about 4 or 500 men, to be conveyed to France without being considered prisoners of war. Not granted.

II. The Surveillant and Cerf to be allowed to carry him and suite to France. Not granted.

(Signed)

JOHN LORING.

*Bellerophon, off Cape François, Nov. 19, 1803.*

SIR,

I HAVE to acquaint you, on the subject communicated to me by General Boyé and Commodore Barré, of your desire to negotiate for the surrender of Cape François to his Britannic Majesty, that I send for the purpose, and to know your final determination, Captain Moss, of his Majesty's ship *La Desirée*, in order to agree with your wishes in so much as is consistent with the just rights of his Britannic Majesty on that point.

I have

I have also to inform you my instructions confine me to the French officers and troops in health being sent to Jamaica, and the sick to go to France or America. The transports to convey them being first valued, and security given by the commander in chief, for the due payment of the valuation by the French republic. The white inhabitants of the Cape will not be permitted to go to Jamaica.

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of the French  
army.

Such are the parts of my instructions, with which I am bound to comply in any agreement for the surrender of Cape François.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. LORING.

GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU, Commander-  
in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

[B.] COLONY OF ST. DOMINGO.

*Head-Quarters at the Cape, 27th Brumaire,  
in the Year 12.*

THE GENERAL IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO, &c. &c. &c.  
TO COMMODORE LORING, &c.

SIR,

I HAVE received the letter which you have done me the honour to write to me. As your propositions are inadmissible, I must beg of you to consider the preceding letter as not having been received.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. ROCHAMBEAU.

No. XII.

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of the French  
army.

*British Account of the Capitulation of the French Army of St. Domingo, in the Letter of Sir John Thomas Duckworth to Sir Evan Nepean.*

Port Royal, Dec. 18, 1803.

SIR,

HAVING, in my letter No. 3, by this conveyance stated to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that General Rochambeau had made proposals for capitulating, which, though inadmissible, I thought soon must lead to others more reasonable; the event has justified my opinion; but I am sorry to say that officer, whose actions are too extraordinary to account for, had, on the 19th ultimo, (previous to his proposal to Captain Loring, through the General of Brigade Boyé, and Commodore Barré) actually entered into a capitulation with the black General Dessalines, to deliver up the Cape to him, with all the ordnance, ammunition, and stores, on the 30th; I conclude, flattering himself that the tremendous weather, which our squadron was then, and had been, experiencing for three weeks, would offer an opening for escape, but the perseverance and watchfulness thereof precluded him from even attempting it. On the 30th, the colours of the Blacks were displayed at the forts, which induced Captain Loring to dispatch Captain Bligh, to know General Dessalines' sentiments respecting General Rochambeau and his troops; when, on his entering the harbour he met Commodore Barré, who pressed him in strong terms to go on board the *Surveillante*, and enter into some capitulation, which would put them

them under our protection, and prevent the Blacks from sinking them with red hot shot, as they had threatened, and were preparing to do, which Captain Bligh complied with, when, they hastily brought him a few articles they had drawn up; which he (after objecting to some particular parts, that they agreed should be altered, to carry his interpretation to Jamaica) signed, and hastened to acquaint General Dessalines, that all the ships and vessels in port had surrendered to his Majesty's arms, and with great difficulty he obtained the promise to desist from firing, till a wind offered for carrying them out (it then blowing hard directly into the harbour; this promise he at length obtained, and the first instant the land-breeze enabled them to sail out under French colours, which, upon a shot being fired athwart them, the vessels of war fired their broadsides, and hauled down their colours, except the *Clorinde*, a large frigate of thirty-eight guns, who unluckily took the ground abaft, and was forced to throw most of her guns overboard, and knocked her rudder off, when there was great apprehensions for her safety; and I am informed by the captains of the squadron, that we must attribute the saving her (apparently without further damage) to the uncommon exertions and professional abilities of acting Lieutenant Willoughby, with the boats of the *Hercule*, who, I trust, will be honoured with their lordships' protection.

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 Capitulation  
 of the French  
 army.

Captain Loring, after seeing the generality of the prizes taken possession of, left the *Theseus* and *Hercule* to fix a temporary rudder to the frigate, and bring the remainder with them, bearing away for the Mole, and on the 2d summoned the General of

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of the French  
army.

Brigade Noailles, who commanded there, to capitulate; this he declined doing, asserting that he had provisions for five months; and herewith I transmit a copy of his letter. The numerous and crowded state of the prisoners on board all the prizes, and their being without provisions, making it necessary for Captain Loring to proceed to Jamaica, he arrived here the 5th with the Elephant and Blanche, also the Surveillante and Vertu thirty-eight gun frigates, and various other prizes, leaving the La Pique to blockade the Mole, who anchored in this port the 8th, and acquainted me that General Noailles had evacuated the night he refused to capitulate, bringing in with her five out of the six vessels in which the garrison had embarked, a brig with the general on board only escaping. I send a vessel of war to England, with General Rochambeau and those officers who are said to have participated in his cruelties at the Cape, I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

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No. XIII.

## No. XIII.

(Referred to in Page 345.)

*Declaration of the Independence of the Blacks of St. Domingo.*

PROCLAMATION OF DESSALINES, CHRISTOPHE, AND CLERVAUX,  
CHIEFS OF ST. DOMINGO.

In the Name of the Black People, and Men of Color of St.  
Domingo :

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; far be from us this unjust idea. We are not ignorant that there are some among you 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

No. XIII.

Declaration  
of the Independence of  
St. Domingo.

No. XIII.  
 Declaration  
 of the Inde-  
 pendence of  
 St. Domingo.

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; 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 will be inexorable, perhaps even cruel, towards all troops who, themselves 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.

In the various commotions that took place, some inhabitants against whom we had not to complain, have been victims by 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

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 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 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 trouble of a dreadful war, every thing in St. Domingo ought to assume a new face, and its government henceforward be that of justice.

No. XIII.  
 Declaration  
 of the Inde-  
 pendence of  
 St. Domingo.

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

(Signed)           DESSALINES.  
                           CHRISTOPHE.  
                           CLERVEAUX.

True Copy,           B. AIME, Secretary.

No. XIV.

Proclamation for the  
abjuration of  
the French  
nation.

No. XIV.

( Referred to in p. 348. )

*Proclamation for a solemn Abjuration of the French Nation.*

LIBERTY OR DEATH!--NATIVE ARMY.

THE GENERAL IN CHIEF TO THE PEOPLE OF HAYTI.

CITIZENS,

IT is not enough to have expelled from your country the barbarians who have for ages stained it with blood—it is not enough to have curbed the factions which, succeeding each other by turns, sported with a phantom of liberty which France exposed to their eyes. It is become necessary, by a last act of national authority, to ensure for ever the 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 the most humiliating torpitude, of every hope of being enabled again to enslave us. Finally, it is necessary to live independent, or die. Independence or Death! Let these sacred words serve to rally us—let them be signals of battle, and of our re-union.

Citizens—Countrymen—I have assembled on this solemn day, those courageous chiefs, who, on the eve of receiving the  
last

last breath of expiring liberty, have lavished their blood to preserve it. These generals, who have conducted your struggles against tyranny, have not yet done. The French name still darkens our plains: every thing recalls the remembrance of the cruelties of that barbarous people. Our laws, our customs, our cities, every thing bears the characteristic of the French.—Hearken to what I say!—the French still have a footing in our island! and you believe yourselves free and independent of that republic, which has fought all nations, it is true, but never conquered those who would be free! What! victims for fourteen years by credulity and forbearance! conquered not by French armies, but by the canting eloquence of the proclamations of their agents! When shall we be wearied with 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 they never will become such; and, if they find an asylum among us, they will still be the instigators of our troubles and of our 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? I shudder to tell it—the *prey of vultures*. Instead of these interesting victims, the affrighted eye sees only their assassins—tigers still covered with their blood, and whose terrifying presence reproaches you for your insensi-

No. XIV.  
 Proclamation for the  
 abjuration of  
 the French  
 nation.

No. XIV.

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abjuration of  
the French  
nation.

bility, and your guilty tardiness to avenge them—what do you wait for, to appease their manes? Remember that you have wished your remains to be laid by the side of your fathers—When you have driven out tyranny—will you descend into their tombs, without having avenged them? No: 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 if you do not give to the nations a terrible, though just example, of the vengeance that ought to be exercised by a people proud of having recovered its liberty, and zealous of maintaining it. Let us intimidate those, who might dare to attempt depriving us of it again: let us 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 going to make—To devote to death whatsoever native of France should soil with his sacrilegious footstep, this territory of liberty.

We have dared to be free—let us continue free by ourselves, and for ourselves; let us imitate the growing child; his own strength breaks his leading-strings, which become useless and troublesome to him in his walk. What are the people who have fought us? what people would reap the fruits of our labours? and what a dishonourable absurdity, to conquer to be slaves!

*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,

cowardice, have preferred to be exterminated, rather than be erased from the list of free people. Let us, at the same time, take care, lest a spirit of proselytism should destroy the work—let our neighbours breathe in peace—let them live peaceably under the shield of those laws which they have framed for themselves; let us beware of becoming revolutionary fire-brands—of creating ourselves the legislators of the Antilles—of considering as a glory the disturbing the tranquility of the neighbouring islands; they have not been, like the one we inhabit, drenched with the innocent blood of the inhabitants—they have no vengeance to exercise against the authority that protects them; happy, never to have experienced the pestilence that has destroyed us, they must wish well to our posterity.

No. XVI.

Proclamation for the abjuration of the French nation.

Peace with our neighbours, but accursed be the French name—eternal hatred to France: such are our principles.

Natives of Hayti—my happy destiny reserves me to be one day the centinel who is to guard the idol we now sacrifice to. I have grown old fighting for you, sometimes almost alone; and if I have been happy enough to deliver to you the sacred charge confided to me, recollect it is for you, at present, to preserve it. In fighting for your liberty, I have laboured for my own happiness: before it shall be consolidated by laws which shall ensure individual liberty, your chiefs whom I have assembled here, and myself, owe you this last proof of our devotedness.

Generals, and other chiefs, unite with me for the happiness of our country: the day is arrived—the day which will ever perpetuate our glory and our independence.

No. XIV.

Proclama-  
tion for the  
abjuration of  
the French  
nation.

If there exist among you a lukewarm heart, let him retire, and shudder to pronounce the oath which is to unite us. Let us swear to the whole world, to posterity, to ourselves, to renounce France for ever, and to die, rather than live under its dominion—to fight till the last breath for the independence of our country.

And ye, people, too long unfortunate, witness the oath we now pronounce: recollect that it is upon your constancy and courage I depended when I first entered the career of liberty to fight despotism and tyranny, against which you have been struggling these last fourteen years; remember that I have sacrificed every thing to fly to your defence—parents, children, fortune, and am now only rich, in your liberty—that my name has become a horror to all friends of slavery, or despots; and tyrants only pronounce it, cursing the day that gave me birth; if ever you refuse or receive with murmuring the laws, which the protecting angel that watches over your destinies, shall dictate to me for your happiness, you will merit the fate of an ungrateful people. But away from me this frightful idea: You will be the guardians of the liberty you cherish, the support of the Chief who commands you.

Swear then to live free and independent, and to prefer death to every thing that would lead to replace you under the yoke; swear then to pursue for everlasting, the traitors, and enemies of your independence.

J. J. DESSALINES.

Head-quarters, Gonaives, 1st Jan. 1804,

1st Year of Independence.

No. XV.

## No. XV.

( Referred to in Page 354. )

No. XV.

Communication on the appointment of a governor-general for life.

*Communication of the Intentions of the Black Government on the Appointment of a Governor-General for Life.*

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

A PROCLAMATION.

*Jean Jacques Dessalines, Governor-General, to the Inhabitants of Hayti:*

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

My arm, raised above their heads, has too long delayed to strike. At that signal, which the justice of God has urged, your hands, righteously armed, has brought the axe to bear upon the decrepit tree of slavery and prejudice. In vain had time, and more especially the infernal politics of Europeans, defended 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 an overflowing and mighty torrent, that bears down all opposition, your vengeful fury has

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Communication on the appointment of a governor-general for life.

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 the 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 the dagger of desperation? Where is that Haytian so vile, Haytian so unworthy of his regeneration, who thinks he has not fulfilled the decrees of the Eternal, by exterminating these blood-thirsty tygers? If there be one, let him fly; indignant nature discards him from our bosom; let him hide his infamy far from 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 true 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 brothers, and the testimony of my own conscience, are

not

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 Europe for a long time endeavoured to divide; you, who are now consolidated, and make but one family; without doubt it was necessary that our 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 harmony, 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 brothers; the brave and immortal Delgresse, blown into the air with the fort he defended, rather

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than 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 brothers 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 emotion, 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, 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 to war, obedient to my orders, burn to offer a new sacrifice to the manes of their assassinated brothers. 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, or dashes fleets in

5

pieces;

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 forgot 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 a firm, and 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 that the sea received them 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.

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 the last spark of life remains in me I will keep my oath. "Never again shall a colonist, or an 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

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 appointment  
 of a gover-  
 nor-general  
 for life.

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 sword respect them, and that they 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.

Head-Quarters at the Cape, 28th April, 1804, first year of independence,

The Governor-General, (Signed) DESSALINES.

A true Copy,

The Secretary-General, JUSTE CHANLATTE."

## No. XVI.

( Referred to in Page 355. )

*Caution to the Spaniards.*

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

A PROCLAMATION.

*Jean Jacques Dessalines, Governor-General, to the Inhabitants of  
the Spanish Part of the Island :*

SCARCE had the French army been expelled, when you hastened to acknowledge my authority ; by a free and spontaneous movement of your heart, you ranged yourselves under my subjection. More careful of the prosperity than desirous of the ruin of that part which you inhabit, I gave to this homage a favourable reception. From that moment I have considered you as my children, and my fidelity to you remains undiminished. As a proof of my paternal solicitude, within the places which have submitted to my power, I have proposed for Chiefs, none but men chosen from amongst yourselves. Jealous of counting you in the rank of my friends, that I might give you all the time necessary for recollection, and that I might assure myself of your fidelity ; I have hitherto restrained the burning ardor of my soldiers. Already I congratulate myself on the success of my solicitude, which had for its object, to prevent the effusion of blood ; but at this time a  
fanatic

No. XVI.

Cautionary  
proclamation  
to the Spaniards  
against  
treachery to  
the Blacks.

No. XVI. Cautionary proclamation to the Spaniards against treachery to the Blacks. fanatic priest had not kindled in your breasts the rage which predominates therein; the incensed Frerand had not yet instilled into you the poison of falsehood and calumny.—Writings, originating in despair and weakness, have been circulated; and immediately some amongst you, seduced by perfidious insinuations, solicited the friendship and protection of the French; they dared to outrage my kindness, by coalescing with my cruel enemies. Spaniards, reflect! On the brink of the precipice which is dug under your feet, will that diabolical minister save you, when with fire and sword I shall have pursued you to your last entrenchments?

Ah! without doubt, his prayers, his grimaces, his relics, would be no impediment to my career. Vain as defenceless, can he preserve you from my just anger, after I shall have buried him, and the collection of brigands he commands, under the ruins of your capital! Let them both recollect that it is before my intrepid phalanx that all the resources and the skill of Europeans have proved ineffectual; and that into my victorious bonds the destiny of the Captain-General, Rochambeau, has been surrendered. To lure the Spaniards to their party, they propagate the report, that vessels laden with troops have arrived at St. Domingo. Why is it not the truth? They little imagine that, in delaying to attack them until this time, my principal object has been to suffer them to increase the mass of our resources, and the number of our victims. To spread distrust and terror, they incessantly dwell upon the fate which the French have just experienced; but have I *not* had reason to treat them so? The wrongs

wrongs of the French, do they appertain to Spaniards; and must I visit on the latter the crimes which the former have conceived, ordered, and executed on our species! They have the effrontery to say, that, reduced to seek safety in flight, I am gone to conceal my defeat in the southern part of the island. Well, then! now let them learn that I am ready; that the thunderbolt is about to fall on their heads. Let them know, that my soldiers are impatiently waiting for the signal to go and reconquer the boundaries which nature and the elements have assigned to us. 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 your blood may not be confounded with his. Name to me, without delay, that part of your territory on which my first blow is to be struck, or inform me whether I must strike on all points without discrimination. I give you fifteen days, from the date of this notification, to forward your last intentions, and to rally under my banners. You are not ignorant, that all the roads of St. Domingo in every direction, are familiar to us; that more than once we have seen your dispersed bands fly before us. In a word, you know what I can do, and what I dare; think of your preservation.

Receive here the sacred promise which I make—not to do  
any

No. XVI.

Cautionary  
proclamation  
to the Spaniards  
against  
treachery to  
the Blacks.

No. XVI.

Cautionary  
proclamation  
to the Spaniards  
against  
treachery to  
the Blacks.

any thing against your personal safety or your interest, if you seize upon this occasion to shew yourselves worthy of being admitted amongst the children of Hayti.

Head-Quarters at the Cape, May 8th, 1804, first year of independence,

The Governor-General, (Signed) DESSALINES.

A true Copy,

The Secretary-General, JUSTE CHANLATTE.

## No. XVII.

( Referred to in Page 356. )

*Programa issued to direct the Order of the Ceremonies on the Coronation of Jean Jacques, the First Emperor of Hayti.*

Port-au-Prince, Sept. 8.

Ceremony of  
the Corona-  
tion of Em-  
peror.

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 proceed from thence to the Champ de Mars in the following procession :

No. XVII.

A Platoon of Grenadiers.

The Public Teachers,

Conducting a great Number of their Pupils.

The Deputation 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 Etat-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 Etat-Major.

A Platoon of Grenadiers.

Arrived 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.

No. XVII.

The Act announcing the nomination of the "Emperor," (DES-SALINES) shall be read in a loud and intelligible voice!

A discharge of musketry and of 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.

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 abovementioned, 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.

No. XVIII.

( Referred to in Page 91, &c. )

*A View of the Distribution of the Black Force in the French Colonies at the Revolution of St. Domingo, from the Official Returns.*

| Chief Places, or Jurisdictions. | Quarters, or Parishes.                                                    | No. of negroes.                                                                   |        |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Northern Part                   | THE CAPE - - - -                                                          | The Cape and its dependencies - - - -                                             | 21,613 |
|                                 |                                                                           | The <i>Petite Anse</i> and Plain of the Cape - -                                  | 11,122 |
|                                 |                                                                           | <i>L'Acul, Limonade,</i> and St. Susan - - - -                                    | 19,876 |
|                                 |                                                                           | <i>Morin</i> and the Great River - - - - -                                        | 18,554 |
|                                 |                                                                           | <i>Dondon</i> and <i>Marmelade</i> - - - - -                                      | 17,976 |
|                                 |                                                                           | <i>Limbé</i> and Port Margot - - - - -                                            | 15,978 |
|                                 |                                                                           | <i>Plaisance</i> and <i>Le Borgne</i> - - - - -                                   | 15,018 |
|                                 | FORT DAUPHIN - - -                                                        | Fort Dauphin - - - - -                                                            | 10,004 |
|                                 |                                                                           | <i>Ouanaminthe</i> and <i>Valliere</i> - - - - -                                  | 9,987  |
|                                 |                                                                           | The <i>Ferrier, Rouge,</i> and the <i>Trou</i> - - -                              | 15,476 |
| PORT DE PAIX - - -              | { <i>Port de Paix,</i> Little St. Louis, Jean Ra-<br>bel, &c. - - - - - } | 29,540                                                                            |        |
| MOLE ST. NICHOLAS -             | The Mole and <i>Bombarde</i> - - - - -                                    | 3,183                                                                             |        |
| Western Part                    | PORT AU PRINCE - - -                                                      | { Port-au-Prince, &c. - - - - -                                                   | 42,848 |
|                                 |                                                                           | { <i>Arcahaye</i> - - - - -                                                       | 18,553 |
|                                 |                                                                           | { <i>Mirebalais</i> - - - - -                                                     | 10,902 |
|                                 | LEOGANE - - - -                                                           | Leogane - - - - -                                                                 | 14,896 |
|                                 | ST. MARK - - - -                                                          | { St. Mark, the Little River, Verettes, and<br>Gonaïves - - - - - }               | 57,216 |
|                                 | LITTLE GOAVE - - -                                                        | { Little Goëve, Great Goëve, and <i>Le Fond</i><br><i>des Nigres,</i> - - - - - } | 18,829 |
|                                 |                                                                           | { <i>L'Anse à Vaux,</i> and <i>Le Petit Erou</i> - - -                            | 13,229 |
| JEREMIE - - - -                 | Jeremie and Cape Dame Maria - - -                                         | 20,774                                                                            |        |
| Southern Part                   | THE CAYES - - - -                                                         | The Cayes and <i>Torbuk</i> - - - - -                                             | 30,937 |
|                                 | TIBURON - - - -                                                           | Cape buron and <i>Les Coteaux</i> - - -                                           | 8,153  |
|                                 | ST. LOUIS - - - -                                                         | St. Louis, <i>Cavaillon,</i> and <i>Aquin</i> - - -                               | 18,785 |
|                                 | JACMEL - - - -                                                            | Jacmel, <i>Les Cayes,</i> and <i>Baynet</i> - - -                                 | 21,151 |
| 51 Parishes.                    |                                                                           | 464,000                                                                           |        |

*Eastern Part,* not yet ceded to the French.

The difference between the above total and that furnished in page 91, is to be accounted for by the erroneous statements of the planters to lessen the amount of the taxes, and other causes.

## No. XIX.

## ADDITIONAL REMARKS, &amp;c.

IT was intended to insert in this place a number of papers with which the author has been furnished, as collateral evidence of the sentiments which occur in his work in favor of the people of color; but, on re-considering the accumulation of matter on this subject produced by the discussion of the slave trade, and the accessibility of the works of Barbot,\* Bosman,† Smith,‡ &c. which all tend to shew the capacity of the African, and the eligibility of his native state, he has been led to think it less necessary; and shall, therefore, merely add the communication of an ingenious friend on the subject of *substituting European laborers for African cultivators*; and a quotation from an intelligent and respectable writer,§ which as perfectly accords with his own sentiments, as it surpasses his powers of describing them.

“ It is significantly enquired by Postlethwaite,|| ‘ Whether Africa will not admit of a far more extensive and profitable trade with Great Britain than it ever yet has done? and whether the

\* Account of Africa.

† Description of Guinea.

‡ Voyage to Guinea.

§ The Reverend Joshua Larwood, R. N.

|| Dictionary of Trade and Commerce.

latter might not supply their colonies and plantations with whites instead of blacks? No. XIX.

“ The first of these enquiries may be readily answered in the affirmative; and the latter demonstrated without difficulty. The condition of Africa is now, only what Britain was once; and the slavery of its inhabitants, that which has existed in every age. The one can be remedied by the means which have constituted the rise of all states; and the existence of the latter is inconsistent with the present refinement of the other three quarters of the world.\*

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\* The author desires not to be considered as *adopting* this writer's sentiments. He is, however, of opinion with M. de Charmilly, (so often quoted in this work, and never unprofitably,) who has the following judicious ideas of negro amelioration, which have been, he is happy to be informed, partly acted on. “ If I require (says he) the continuation of the trade, I also require that it should be conducted under more vigilant laws than exist at present, for the advantage of the negroes, the planter, and the merchant, in short, that well digested laws be established for regulating the tonnage of the trading ships. They should not exceed three hundred tons, nor be less than two hundred; for if the ship be large, it continues trading too long, and the scurvy and other diseases breed among the negroes first acquired; and if too small, they are too ill at ease. It ought to be settled how many negroes should be carried in each ship, according to the size, without a possibility of evading the law. It should be prohibited to export from Africa any negro more than twenty years old. Man at this age is yet capable of attaching himself to a new country, climate has but little influence upon him, and he leaves in his native land few objects of attachment, compared with the older negro, who leaves a wife and children.

“ No negro should be embarked without first being inoculated; several surgeons should be attached to a ship, who should all make oath, before the sale of negroes commences in the colony to which they may be brought, that they have not by any means driven in, or repelled the maladies of negroes, which kill so great a number. These measures I admit would be more expensive, and the fitting out a trading ship would at first cost the person equipping it a still greater sum, which would finally be borne by the planter, who would be well indemnified; for, instead of purchasing two or three negroes, he would only purchase one, whom he would more easily preserve. and who would work more readily, &c.”

Without,

No. XIX.

“ Without, however, referring to humane, or even refined considerations, the proposition about to be made takes its stand solely on the ground of expedience. Among the numerous reasons assigned for a rigorous treatment of negroes, are, besides their constant inclination to revolt, a decided inefficiency, and incredible expence. The high price of their first purchase, the risk of desertion, or of death, by a variety of peculiar maladies; and if neither occur, that their labor is not, by many degrees, equal to that of an European. That many Europeans support the climate with great ease, and particularly those who are abstemious, is certain; it becomes then an obvious fact, that if a sufficient number of laborers could be obtained from Europe for the cultivation of the colonies, no objection could arise to their adoption. The purchase of the negro would be saved, and the colonies relieved from his maladies, while the acquisition of property, and the evitation of the invidious distinction of complexion, would suppress that inclination to rebellion which the very character of slavery inspires; while the steady toil of the European laborer, even under every disadvantage, could not fail to equal the lax exertion ascribed to the negro.

“ With regard to obtaining cultivators for her colonies from the population of Britain, little doubt can exist when the advanced state of this country is considered, and the various means, which, under the appearance of inflictions, are ordered for checking the exuberance of that population that would otherwise tend to its own destruction; \* and surely moderate toil, even under a vertical

---

\* See Malthus on Population.

sun, with sufficient provision of every kind, would not be a greater evil than that of vagrancy, or an heart-rending despondency, under the pressure of numerous evils; nor, even where the climate overcame the constitution, would the infliction be more terrible than that of war, contagion, or suicide.

“ It is not intended here to recommend the introduction of felons, a resource always insufficient, but to project the prevention rather than the punishment of crimes. It is well known, and has been *partially* confirmed by a writer, whose declaration, as an intelligent magistrate\* has had much weight, that in the metropolis alone there constantly exists an incredible number of persons, who, at a period of life when they may be considered capable of any exertion, and many of them are prepared for that of an important nature, are without the possibility of obtaining any employment of their talents, and often without the means of procuring sustenance; accessible, therefore, to the insidious approaches of vice, and the contemplated victims of a refined police, for they are soon necessarily within the knowledge of its accurate officers, and are at liberty only to exert their claim to its notice. Would it not be a happy salvation from guilt to induce by some liberal system these starving beings from the threshold of sin, to an honest exertion of their faculties, and a suitable provision? and surely if the obnoxious trade be asserted to exist principally “ to save the lives of such negroes as are taken captives in African warfare, and who would otherwise have been sacrificed;” the

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\* Colquhoun, Police of the Metropolis.

No. XIX.

humane sentiment may at least be expected to extend to the unhappy subjects of Britain, whose lives, yet equally innocent, are becoming less secure, and who, without some interposition of Providence will be sacrificed to offended justice.

“ The number of those who come under this description throughout Britain is amply sufficient to supply the colonies. Even in London they are estimated by the writer just quoted at, it is believed, 50,000, and may be easily conceived to extend every where to a considerable number. A timely encouragement on a liberal and rational plan, would select from every quarter the objects calculated for the end, and no fear could be entertained in regard to qualifications for the business,—a subjection to the whip only excepted; and those who had felt the scourge of fate with severity, might if necessary sufficiently submit to a servile obedience by gentle gradations.

“ Such a class of cultivators would increase the prosperity of a colony by a variety of means, and insure its affection to the mother country; while by obtaining establishments, each fresh importation, instead of rebellious views, would be inspired with the most pleasing prospects, and most cheering energies for labor.

“ It may be safely determined, that by a liberal communication with its extensive coast, the continent of Africa would furnish an advantageous intercourse to Britain, and that a white population of laborers in the colonies is not only possible, but would produce the most desirable benefits to the colonies, and also to the mother country.”

In a miscellaneous work intituled *Erratics*, by the gentleman before alluded to, forming a *mélange* of the most exquisite composition, illustrative of human nature, and general history, are the following traits of negro excellence; communicated with perfect freedom from bias to either side, which leaves us in doubt, whether most to admire the subjects or the relator.

In the church-yard of Walton, the *Erratic* is attracted by an elegant Latin memorial over the grave of two Africans, husband and wife, whose faithful services obtained for them this honorable distinction from Sir Patrick Blake, Bart. their master; this we will not injure by quotation, but proceed to its consequent reflections.

“Martha,” (says the sensible writer,) “plucked a few sprigs of clover from the grave, placed one in her own bosom, distributed the others to her companions, and with an eye ready to gush, took me by the arm, &c. \* \* \* \* On our way, however, we could not refrain from pouring forth our ardent and merited eulogium upon the dignified virtue and grateful affection of the worthy *Baronet* who thus generously recorded the exalted qualities of his exemplary adherents. Indeed, I could even now dwell with delight upon the great credit reciprocally reflected by these parties, so fortuitously and so fortunately cast within the sphere of each other’s benevolence; a mutual connexion, cemented by such exalted humanity on one side, and on the other by such cordial and consummate fidelity, that nothing less decisive and fatal than the *febris vitæ filum abruptens* could have caused to decrease or decay.

No. XVIII.

—“ So captivating a memorial of candid, gentlemanly, family, and liberal attachment, ought to reckon against a few West India delinquencies, and to discourage indiscriminate crimination and prejudice.

“ Well, alas ! too well do you and I know (for often, too often, have we seen) that there have been (I will not say are) the most flagrant violations of all human feelings, and the most atrocious wantonness of an accursed barbarity ; but, amongst the noxious weeds which have disgraced the soil of the different colonies, and contaminated the atmosphere of the Antilles, let us contemplate this attractive and fragrant flower, which sheds around its balmy perfume, and counteracts the poisonous influence of such deleterious productions.

“ The *quem in deliciis labuit* of our epitaph is a very just expression of the domestic and affectionate *Cotto*. Nor are the Cottos of sable hue more rare, or less estimable, than their fairer sisters of European celebrity. The most animated and attractive examples of pure and ardent love to the husbands of their hearts, and the fathers of their offspring, are as strikingly exhibited under the roofs of various negro huts, as are any where displayed in the families of the old world. In the laudable duties of wedded life, and the maternal offices to the precious pledges of connubial intercourse, the transported and enslaved matrons of Africa are not to be surpassed by the enlightened and free females of the freest land.

“ That they possess the finer feelings of the soul in a very eminent degree, and are delicately prompt to the most fascinating propensities

propensities of humanity, is not only apparent in their domestic and laborious stations on shore; but what incontrovertible proofs have we not seen of their steady and useful courage on board our ships of war!

No. XVIII.

“ Well then might the classical and Sallustian conciseness of the Shepperton Epitaph address the candor of its readers with the generous admonition of—

“ Disce ab Æthiope virtutem, et ne crede colori.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“ To virtuous Afric, lib’ral reader turn  
There, from her sable sons, this maxim learn:  
To no complexion is the charm confin’d,  
In every climate grows the virtuous mind.”

*Epitaph on Benjamin and Cotto Blake, Erratics, vol. ii. p. 209.*

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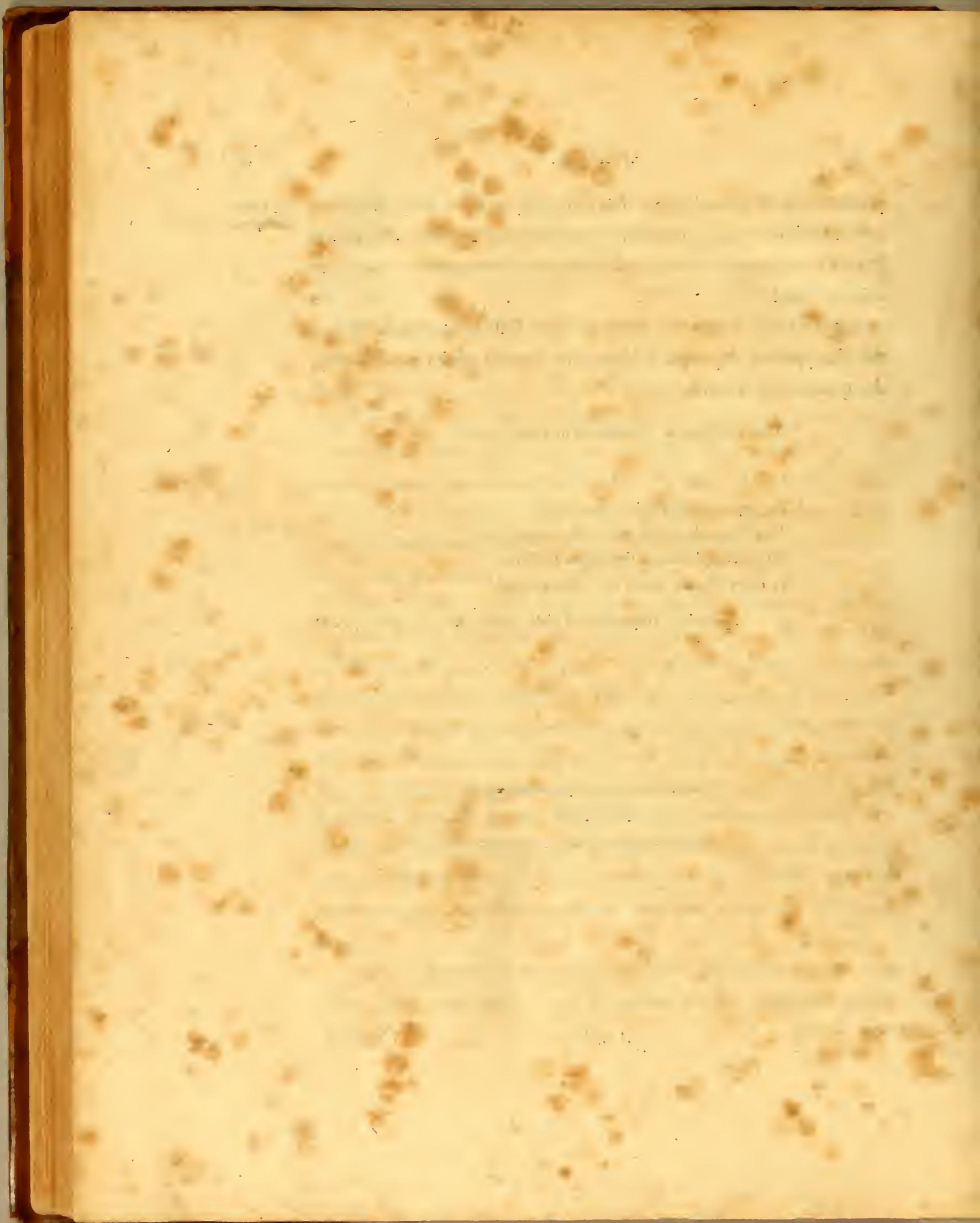
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THE END.

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