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DE BOW'S REVIEW

Industrial Resources, Statistics, &c.

DEVOED TO

COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS,
POLITICAL ECONOMY, EDUCATION, GENERAL LITERATURE, ETC.

Commerce is King.

EDITED BY J. D. B. DE BOW.

VOLUME XXVII.

NEW-ORLEANS AND WASHINGTON CITY.
1859.
animal—man—is cleared out. The superabundant and useless people are warned to depart in a certain period. If they neglect the warning, their wigwams are pulled down over their heads, and they are left to the moorland and the hill-sides, to enjoy an equality of shelter with the moor fool or the sheep. [Reviewer: Far worse than the African slave trade! Better sell them, as Oliver Cromwell did his Scotch prisoners, to the colonies.]

"The Celtic Irish peasant, when he is at home, leads much the same kind of life, except that he is not quite so closely elbowed as the Highlander is, by the grouse and the deer. He is not the patient ass that browses upon the thistle, and takes insults from all comers. Though he, too, lives in a wigwam, and shares it with a pig; the priest comforts him, when no one else takes the trouble. When a war breaks out among the nations, this class of men, partly from the misery of their daily fare and the wretchedness of their daily attire; partly from the ignorance that accompanies extreme poverty, and partly from a barbarian love of finery, press, or are pressed into the legions of battle, and die in scarlet coats and feathered caps, for the supposed good of their country. If war does not require him, and he has neither energy to emigrate nor friends to supply him with the means of paying his passage across the Atlantic, he comes over to England in the harvesting time, and gains a few pounds, to help him to live through the winter. Some of his good friends, who wish to try experiments at his expense, settle him on the coast, and lend him a boat, and buy him nets, and tell him to fish in the sea, and not to allow the Danes and Norwegians to come down hundreds of miles, and take away the wealth that the great deep affords. No doubt the man ought to fish, but he does not. The change is disagreeable to the Celt. He does not like continuous hard work. A potato diet has weakened his energies. He has no fancy for the sea. He loves the old way. Could he be allowed to fish in the rivers, he would be willing enough; but fresh water fish are the property of the landlord, reserved for aristocratic and not plebeian sport and profit. Salt-sea fishing is another matter. There is no landlord right upon the ocean. The great deep is free. There is no possibility of deriving any rent from its billows: but free as it is, the peasant from the interior can make no use of it. He not only detests sea-work, but he has no skill in the management of boats or nets. He has, in fact, no liking for or knowledge of the business, in any shape or degree. . . . He prefers to fold his arms in his potato ground, and trust in Providence for the better days which never come to those who do not make them. His children swarm half naked about him, and when the potatoes fail, get a miserable subsistence by gathering limpets from the rocks, or plucking sea-weed to boil into a jelly."

ART. III.—FREE NEGROES IN HAYTI.

"Be assured that no person living, wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a complete refutation of the doubts I have myself entertained, and expressed, on the grade of understanding allotted to them [the negroes], and to find, that in this respect, they are on a par with ourselves. . . .

"St. Domingo will, in time, throw light upon the question."


Nearly two generations of men have passed away since Jefferson wrote the above words. During that period of half a century, the civilized world has made a progress in commerce and the useful arts and sciences, unequalled in the whole of any two previous centuries. The application of steam as a motive power, the introduction of railways, of river and ocean
steamers; the invention of the telegraph and cotton gin, the improvement in implements of warfare, ship-building, and in short of every species of mechanism, from reaping and sewing machines up to Great Eastern steamships, are all prominent instances of the activity of mind and development of civilization of the last half century. Besides this more positive utilitarian advancement, our knowledge of geology, chemistry, and astronomy, has been greatly increased; voyages of discovery into the glacial regions of both poles, and into the burning sands of the African continent, have been pushed with undaunted vigor and intrepidity, to a greater distance than ever before accomplished. Ethnology, a study almost neglected fifty years since, has been elevated to the dignity of a science, and now occupies the time and labors of the most learned men, and by its aid, together with the assistance of the stone books of Egypt and Nineveh, our archeologists are beginning to write the history of the world backward; and amid all this rapid material and mental progress the interests of philanthropy and religion have not been neglected; never has greater attention been paid to the wants of the poor and afflicted, to the education of the ignorant, or the amelioration of the condition of the barbarous; free hospitals, free schools, and free asylums, abound to a greater or less extent in all civilized countries; our prison discipline is reformed, our insane asylums are no longer menageries of wild beasts, and our schools are open to poor as well as rich; the gospel has literally been preached to all nations, and missionaries have been sent to the ends of the earth, who, if they do not excel in zeal the self-denying Spanish and Portuguese Catholics who endeavored to convert the world in the sixteenth century, may be acknowledged at least to carry with them a higher civilization. Such being the progress of the most enlightened nations during the first half of our century, it may be truly said that there has never been a better opportunity for uncivilized nations to break the bonds of ignorance, sloth, and degradation; the blessings of civilization have literally overflowed the dark places of the earth, so that it has been almost impossible for them to resist being benefitted.

No country has been more favorably situated for receiving these blessings than the Queen of the Antilles. Her independence, achieved early in the present century, every enemy banished, or exterminated from her soil, placed in the very focus of civilization, midway between the two greatest nations
of the earth, the synodure of tens of thousands of friendly eyes, the object of Christendom's prayers, the spot of all others on earth that could command the ready aid of philanthropists of every nation, possessing a soil of unbounded fertility, a corps of laborers well instructed in the culture of those articles which ever return most remunerative prices, and a climate better adapted to the constitution of its inhabitants than any other under the sun—with all these advantages, it was to be expected that the empire of Hayti would soon assume an important rank in the family of nations, or at least occupy a respectable position as a land of industrious, moral, and thriving men.

And, indeed, such were the expectations of the friends of the negro race. Let them be but once free, remove the depressing shackles of slavery, unbind their arms, said they, and soon we shall see a race fully equal to the whites; agriculture will progress, commerce be fostered, and the cause of education and religion be advanced; Euclid's were to spring from the mountains, Æsops and Dumas' were to write verses and romances in the valleys, and the golden shores of the Artibonite were to witness a pastoral peace and happiness, unequaled in the happy valley of Amhara, or in the famous Utopia of the Jesuits, on the banks of the Panara!

How have these expectations been fulfilled? What has been the result of this fifty years' trial under circumstances the most favorable that could be imagined?

Let us honestly search an answer to these questions.

In 1789, the island of Hayti (then St. Domingo), was the brightest jewel in the French crown. At that period the western portion or only about one third of the whole island, was all that belonged to France, and yet, such was the richness of its soil, that this little tract of land comprised, with its abundant products, two thirds of the exterior commerce of France.* Such was the activity of its trade that more than sixteen hundred vessels, of various sizes, entered its ports in a single year.† The island then possessed 793 sugar plantations, 735 cotton plantations, more than three thousand coffee plantations, and as many more devoted to the cultivation of indigo; horses, mules, oxen, and other cattle, were abundant; the finest roads connected its different ports and cities, and its princely plant-

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† Macgregor, adopting tables prepared by order of the French Government, makes the number of vessels entered in 1789, seventeen hundred. See Progress of America. Schœlcher states the number to be 1,670, citing the authority of Col. Maleshaut.
ers lived in a style of luxury and magnificence rarely equalled in that day, and now almost unknown throughout the Antilles. Some idea of its trade may be formed by a glance at its leading exports, which were of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clayed Sugar</td>
<td>47,516,581 $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moscovado Sugar</td>
<td>93,573,900 $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>76,886,219 $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>7,004,274 $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigo*</td>
<td>768,628 $</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This state of prosperity was suddenly interrupted by the French revolution. By the exertions of the abolitionists of France (les amis des noirs), a feud was commenced between the whites and mulattoes of St. Domingo, which soon extended to the blacks, and ended in the open revolt of all the slaves in the island. Most persons are familiar with the history of the bloody massacres which occurred between 1791 and 1804, during which year the independence of Hayti was proclaimed. The white race, being more than thirty thousand persons, were completely exterminated, as well as large numbers of the mulattoes. In the first two months of the insurrection it is estimated that the negroes had massacred two thousand whites, and destroyed more than a thousand coffee, sugar, cotton, and indigo plantations, while ten thousand of their number were supposed to have perished in the field, and hundreds more by the hands of the executioner. In short, it is reckoned that between 1791 and 1804, one hundred and fifty thousand persons perished in this bloody contest of races. Nevertheless, in the latter year, the island was fully in possession of the negroes, its independence acknowledged, and a negro emperor seated on its throne, so that it might reasonably have been expected that prosperity and happiness would soon be restored, and the industry of the country be developed. The futility of these expectations cannot be better illustrated than by an examination of the following table, showing the exports from the island, of the three leading articles of produce, from the year 1789 to 1841.† The decline in the produce of sugar is remarkable, and may be accounted for from the fact that its cultivation requires much more labor than is necessary for the raising of coffee; and we are told by M. Schœlocher that sugar is now actually imported into the island.

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* Macgregor.  † Macgregor. Progress, &c.
### Free Negroes in Hayti

**Exports from Hayti, 1789 to 1841.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Clayed Sugar, lbs</th>
<th>Muscovado Sugar, lbs</th>
<th>Cotton, lbs</th>
<th>Coffee, lbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>47,516,531</td>
<td>98,578,800</td>
<td>7,004,274</td>
<td>76,885,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>16,540</td>
<td>18,518,572</td>
<td>2,480,340</td>
<td>43,420,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>5,443,567</td>
<td>474,118</td>
<td>26,065,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>3,790,143</td>
<td>216,108</td>
<td>29,249,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>2,787</td>
<td>2,514,502</td>
<td>246,839</td>
<td>35,187,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>600,934</td>
<td>820,563</td>
<td>29,926,951</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>200,454</td>
<td>592,368</td>
<td>24,285,372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>14,920</td>
<td>882,266</td>
<td>83,802,837</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>5,106</td>
<td>1,028,045</td>
<td>44,269,084</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>2,020</td>
<td>815,697</td>
<td>36,034,300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>32,864</td>
<td>629,972</td>
<td>32,189,784</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>1,097</td>
<td></td>
<td>48,352,871</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>16,189</td>
<td></td>
<td>37,663,674</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td>30,845,400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>922,576</td>
<td>46,126,272</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>1,683</td>
<td>1,091,454</td>
<td>84,114,717</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the island of the western world which first produced sugar, and which, during a period of three centuries, gradually increased its export of that article until it reached one hundred and fifty millions of pounds, immediately on falling into the hands of negro masters, neglects almost entirely its production, so that, at the end of fifty years, four hundred and fifty thousand stout negroes, who love sugar, as all negroes do, are obliged to import it for their own consumption—an unparalleled example of indolence!

The production of coffee has fallen off more than one half, and yet the raising of coffee requires hardly any labor, and that of the lightest kind. The mountain sides, says Mr. McKenzie, are covered with coffee trees of spontaneous growth, which only need clearing to make them most productive, and at least two thirds of the coffee cultivated, he was informed, was lost for want of labor.* But not only is the cultivation of this article neglected, but what is gathered is badly prepared. When properly cleaned and separated, the coffee of Hayti has always been considered superior to any in the West Indies, but now it is so badly prepared that it is, in but little repute in the European markets; and these same remarks are applicable to Haytian cotton, cocoa, and logwood.†

Within the memory of many men now living, this little section of the island now under consideration, exported forty times

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†MacGregor. Progress, &c., vol. i., p. 1200.
as much cotton as the United States, but in less than half a century, say in the year 1841, the United States exported more than five hundred times as much as Hayti! A wonderful commentary on the effects of industry.*

But it will be said, this rapid increase in the United States is the fruit of slavery. True; but what are the fruits of this nominal freedom enjoyed by the negroes of Hayti? Setting aside altogether the destruction of the industry of the island, there is not one single particular in which the negro slaves of the United States have not the advantage over the blacks of Hayti. The fruits of freedom in that island, since its independence; in 1804, are revolutions, massacres, misrule, insecurity, irreligion, ignorance, immorality, indolence, neglect of agriculture, and, indeed, an actual renewal of slavery under another shape.

We do not attach too much importance to the sudden decline of commerce and exportation in the island; that was to be expected to a certain extent; but when we consider the wealth that a half million of free laborers do produce in other countries, and what these very men have produced in their own, and compare it with the almost total cessation of exports as shown by the table, we are right in supposing, that a people exhibiting such melancholy results during a generation and a half of men, are either turning their attention to some extraordinary development of internal improvements, or else are relapsing into barbarism. It will not do to say that they are settling down quietly with their families on their own small farms, and industriously enjoying lives of freedom and comfort—first, because we know, theoretically and by experience, that a people living in a warm climate, where clothing may almost be dispensed with, and upon a fertile soil where the fruits of the earth spring forth spontaneously, cannot retain their civilization under such circumstances, if they have been once civilized, nor emerge from barbarism, if that were their condition—and secondly, because we have the concurrent testimony of travellers to prove that the Haytians are actually doing what a knowledge of their climate, soil, exports, and finances, convinces us that they must be doing—viz., relapsing into their former savage state.

It is only lately that the world is becoming fully aware of the importance of commerce and industry, in not only elev-

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* In 1791 the United States exported only 189,316 lbs. of cotton.—McCulloch.
ting and civilizing savages, but in developing the intellect of
the most enlightened nations. Formerly we were disposed, as,
indeed, many now are, to sneer at all material progress; it
was beneath the dignity of intellectual beings, and even the
missionaries, until very recently, have not only viewed com-
merce and trade with a jealous eye, but have often endeavored
to entirely exclude their influence from the field of their op-
erations. These ideas are now changed, although the narrow
and jealous policy that hedged nations in fifty years since, is
still persevered in by many; but it is opposed to the spirit of
the age.

The Livingstones of Africa and the Bishop Selavyns of
New-Zealand, as well as some other missionaries of less note,
are introducing a new style of thought into the religious
world, in respect of savages. They now see that religion, and
industry and commerce, must go hand in hand, or but little
progress can be made in improving the social and moral con-
dition of savages, and this, no doubt, is the secret of the great
success of the Moravians, that they have long put in practice,
what mankind generally are but just beginning to recognize
in theory, viz., the importance of material, in developing in-
tellectual and religious progress. We make this digression
and dwell upon the consideration of this subject, because it is
a common argument with the soi-disant friends of the negro,
that the decline of commerce and trade in Hayti is no proof
of the retrograde movement of its population in intellect, in-
dustry, and morals. We shall now show that what theory
and experience teach facts confirm; and that the decline of
commerce and industry has been succeeded by the neglect of
education and religion, and by the spread of immorality and
vice.

And first, as to education: Mr. Sohœlocher, an ardent French
abolitionist, and therefore not likely to make things worse
than they were, was in Hayti, in 1841, thirty-seven years
after the blacks had declared themselves capable of self-gov-
ernment, and, from his account, it would appear that they not
only believe that they can rule themselves like other men,
but that they can do so even without instruction. He says
there are only ten public schools in the whole island, and as
each of these schools has only one master, they cannot
certainly contain, one with another, more than one hundred
scholars each. Here, then, we behold at most, only a thou-
sand children taught to read and write, out of a population of
seven hundred thousand souls! The testimony of Mr. Candler, in 1842, is of similar import. Speaking of Port au Prince, the capital, he tells us that the population is twenty-three thousand, of whom about four thousand are mulattoes, and that these latter monopolize what little education is to be had. There are only eight hundred and eighty children supposed to attend the different schools in that city, but in the one visited by Mr. Candler, and marked in the list given by him as containing eighty scholars, there were only half that number present.

"We examined the class," Mr. Candler remarks, "and heard some of the boys recite, but found, on the whole, very little to approve of." The government," continues that gentleman, "has provided no schools for boys, except in the larger towns, and for girls nowhere, while, in the country, where at least seven eighths of the population are to be found, there is as much ignorance as in the days of slavery. In 1841, the duty on books was twenty-five per cent., ad valorem."†

"It is unfortunately too true," writes Mr. Harvey, of Queen's College, Cambridge, "that the Haytians, in respect of education, remain in nearly the same state as they were, when emancipated from slavery. The mass of the population approach, as nearly as possible, to the primitive state. I have heard a sergeant unable to count eighteen, express that number by three times six."‡ In 1838, according to the budget for that year, while 1,639,297 gourdes (or Haytian dollars) were appropriated by government to keep forty thousand men under arms, only 15,816 gourdes were spent upon the education of seven hundred thousand souls plunged in a night of ignorance!‖ All this is the more disgraceful, because occurring during the administration of President Boyer, who was educated in France, and ought, therefore, to have appreciated the value of instruction.

But low as is the state of education in the island, the condition of the people, in respect of religion, is still more deplorable. "The Haytians," writes Mr. Harvey, "were utterly destitute of the means of moral instruction. Though the Catholic faith was professedly the religion of the country (it being thought necessary, for the sake of appearance, to have some form of religious belief), yet few of the Romish clergy

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were to be found in Hayti, and during a part of Christophe's reign, a Spanish priest whom he had invited to the island, was the sole ecclesiastic in his dominions. This man, also, like his patron, was an infidel, and so regardless was he of consistency of conduct, and so confirmed in his unbelief, that he was not ashamed to avow it openly.* The description of Christophe and his court, as given by the gentleman just cited, was certainly not calculated to produce in the minds of the people much respect for religion. "Vain," he says, "of their limited acquirements, and resolved on being distinguished from the superstitious vulgar, they held all religions in sovereign contempt, and despised Christianity, especially as one of the many systems of priestcraft by which mankind has been deluded and enslaved. Impatient of all restraint, and rejecting the distinctions of virtue and vice, as though imaginary, they gave free scope to their base passions, and would suffer no obstacle to oppose their indulgence. One of the barons who filled an important office in the state, was known to have no less than six women in keeping, and many of the dukes and counts were equally abandoned."

The clergy, with a few exceptions, are described by all travellers as being excessively immoral. Many of them, says Mr. Candler, are low-bred Corsicans, notorious for habits of debauchery. Bishop England, who visited the island in 1832, found it in a "shocking state." Two of the priests in the presbytery of Port au Prince had been galley-slaves released from bondage. The immorality and debauchery of others had become so notorious that the council of notables took up the matter, and when the priests, as spiritual persons, refused to answer the interrogatories of a lay tribunal, General Boyer, to cut the matter short, banished them from the country.† But, in spite of these peremptory measures, the clergy do not seem to have improved in character. Mr. Schœlcher says that the curates live openly with one or two women, and that, far from instructing the people, they encourage their foolish superstitions. One receives ten dollars for prayers designed to produce rain, which a laborer desires for his crops; another, five dollars for exorcising an old woman, &c. In this, and other objectionable ways, they gain large sums of money; besides which, they make something by their rivalry with the makers of grisgris, philtres, charms, and other such-like articles.‡

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* Harvey, p. 307.  † Candler, p. 101.  ‡ Schœlcher, pp. 293, 304.
The Rev. S. W. Hanna heard from a respectable authority the same story of priestly Mormonism.*

In Gonaires, a town of 5,000 inhabitants, at the time of Mr. Candler’s visit, there was no public worship of any kind, and he sums up his opinion of the religious condition of the island in the following words: “Satan, the grand deceiver, wears in this land of moral darkness a fourfold face—infidelity, ignorance, heathen superstition, and a religion (as taught by many of their priests) of folly and lies. One or other of these qualities may be said to frown in every quarter.”†

It appears that some charitable persons in England, pitying the destitute condition of the people, consigned, a long time since, twenty-six cases of Testaments, printed in French and English, to the island: they were, however, seized by President Boyer, and sold by auction at Port au Prince, where they were bought by a merchant for only two-and-a-half pence per copy, and shipped away from the island.‡

Such, then, being the condition of the people in respect of education, and of the clergy in respect of religion, the reader will not be surprised to learn that indolence and ignorance, with consequent immorality, were universally prevalent. “Indolence and inactivity are the characteristics of the country,” says Mr. McKenzie; there is a general air of listlessness, which may be aptly described as “a death-like languor, which is not repose,” pervading all classes. Men and women may be seen lounging under canvas at all hours of the day, chairs are provided for the sentries, and even the dogs and pigs wander about with an apathy unseen elsewhere.§

The men, says Mr. Candler, pass much of their time in sauntering, idling, talking, and playing games of chance; while the few young females that live on plantations seldom assist in any labor whatever, but live in a constant state of idleness and debauchery. This is tolerated by the soldiery and military police, whose licentiousness is gratified by this means.¶

In the plain of Cayes, which, in 1789, according to Moreau St. Mery, was one of the finest and most flourishing in the island, it was, at the time of Mr. McKenzie’s visit, almost impossible to procure laborers: the very little field labor effected was generally performed by elderly people, principally

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* See Notes of a Visit to Some Parts of Hayti, by Rev. S. W. Hanna, p. 65.
† Candler, p. 48.  ‡ Ibid., p. 84.  § Notes on Hayti, vol. 1., pp. 50, 52.  ¶ McKenzie, p. 100.
old Guinea negroes; no measures of the government could induce the creoles to labor, or depart from their habitual licentiousness and vagrancy. The whole body of proprietors constantly lamented the total incapacity of the government to enforce labor.* Nor did this unwillingness to work arise from want of incentives, but from sheer laziness. "In spite of the inducements of better wages than were usually paid," says the writer just quoted, "and of punctual payment every Saturday, I could rarely, if ever, get the same set of people to work two weeks continuously. I found that the produce of one week's exertions, if they could be called so, enabled the laborer to enjoy for a considerable period his chief luxury, rum; and the necessaries of life are to be procured for a mere trifle, or with very little effort."†

This determined spirit of idleness is not only rapidly ruining the negro, but is also destroying the island; and the great misfortune is, that it is progressive, as the reader may see by referring again to the table we have given, and by a perusal of some further facts corroborative thereof. For instance, Mr. Towning, a resident of the island, informed the Rev. Mr. Hanna that, during a short period immediately preceding their emancipation, the negroes were active and industrious, and labor could easily be obtained on the sugar estates, but that the rising generation, not being brought up to habits of industry, were a lazy, idle set.‡ A very important fact, this, and showing that the negroes, while in slavery, had begun to acquire habits of industry: but now the abandoned estates to be seen in all parts of the island afford ample proofs that not only the negro himself, but the lands he occupies, are reverting to barbarism. Thus here, as wherever this race is found in a state of freedom, a blight and curse seem to follow. Atilia boasted that the grass withered under the hoofs of his horse, and never grew again; so decay and ruin follow the track of the free negro, in whatever part of the world he plants his foot.

We translate from the French of Mr. Schotelcher—the W. L. Garrison of France—a few sentences recording his painful impressions of the changes which have taken place in this island under the blighting heel of the free negro:

"There is something fearful," he observes, "especially for the abolitionist, in the first step one makes upon the soil of Hayti. When you approach, by the Cape, this colony, once so powerful, the question arises, 'Where is the city of

‡ Hanna, p. 190.
which colonial history has spoken so much, and which was called the Paris of the Antilles? You fancy that you are entering a place suffering from a long siege. The pavements are broken, removed, and destroyed; the spacious streets are deserted; there exist the silence and animnation which follow great public disasters, and only the clothing stretched upon the ground to dry in the sun, announces that the inhabitants are not fled, as at the approach of a plague. Hardly will the traveller meet with a person of whom he can inquire his way.

The princely mansions, three stories high, and built of stone in a style surpassing that found in any other island in the Archipelago, unprotected from the weather, are falling to decay, and are no longer occupied, except by vigorous trees, whose green branches pierce through the dismantled windows, whence are falling the magnificently-worked iron balconies which adorned them. No one here is sufficiently rich even to preserve these vast ruins; and it is only by penetrating the interior that you may perceive, leaning against the old wall, a hut where a miserable family dwells, and plants bananas in spots which served as vestibules to the lordly planters.

"To day Hayti contributes to commerce a little coffee, a little cotton, a little tobacco, and a few other trifles, and yet this island is perhaps the point of the globe to which Providence has been more bountiful than any other. It abounds in riches of every description: its soil, of an inexhaustible fertility, besides sugar-cane, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and cocoa, produces the spices of India, all the fruits of America, and almost all those of Europe; its forests contain timber for building, for veneering, and for dying; and its mahogany, which is superior to that of any other country, is so abundant that the inhabitants use it for firewood. Many of its rivers roll golden sands along their beds; it contains mines of copper, of iron, of coal, and also, it is said, of quicksilver; it has mountains of sulphur, and quarries of marble, of porphyry, and of alabaster; it possesses jasper, agate, fuschia, crystals, and argillaceous soils; its mineral kingdom is not less immensely wealthy than its vegetable; birds of brilliant plumage and sweet song are not wanting, nor are game and the honey-bee. In short, this luxuriant isle is a promised land, a paradise on earth."

It might be self-supporting, and yet, like an infant in the cradle, it requires constant aid. It is tributary to the whole world for articles of the first necessity. Our ancient St. Domingo, which exported 400,000,000 lbs. sugar, does not now make enough for the wants of its invalids; and, to speak truly, the only labor that flourishes on the island is the manufacture of rum.

Even the superb roads and highways of St. Domingo no longer exist. "From the Cape to Gonaires, from Port au Prince to Jacmel, all the routes I travelled," continues this writer, "are nothing more than paths almost impracticable, and often even dangerous. The bridges over the rivers are in such a bad state that it is necessary to dismount from your horse in order to cross them. Horses and asses are at present the only means of transport in Hayti."*

Thus, while the civilized world around them are building railways, and other facilities of travel, the Haytians are even

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* Col. Etr. de Haiti, pp. 172, 270, 272, and 322.

† Such was the want of facilities of communication over the principal routes of the island, that the British consul tells us that the dispatches landed from the English steamer at Jacmel were on one occasion twenty days on the road before reaching him at Port au Prince. The distance is only seventy miles."—MacKenzie, vol. 1, p. 235.
giving up common carriages, and wagons, and high roads, and going back to horses and ass, and footpaths through the wilderness, such as their fathers of old and their brothers of to-day use in Africa!

But idleness appears to constitute, according to the ideas of the Haytian, the perfect gentleman; and the philosophical reflections of Dr. Franklin's negro servant, when visiting England with his master, seem to embody the notions of the whole negro race upon the subject of industry. That sable gentleman, when travelling with the Doctor through the manufacturing districts, was very much astonished at the labor and activity which everywhere prevailed, and finally expressed his ideas upon the subject in the following language:

"Every thing, massa, work in dis country: water work; wind work; fire work; dog work; man work; bullock work; horse work; ass work; ebery ting work here, but de hog; he eat, he drink, he sleep, he do noting all day; he walk about like a gentleman!"

As a natural consequence of this incorrigible laziness, ignorance, and want of religious instruction, the most shocking immorality and degradation prevail throughout the island. "Marriage," says Mr. Schelcher, "is almost the exception." ("Le mariage est presque une exception en Haitï.") "Many of the Haytian mothers," remarks Mr. Candler, "appear utterly dead to all moral considerations, and leave their children to grow up as they please, the victims of wayward passion and of conduct without restraint."

The Rev. Mr. Hanna, who lived for some time in Jamaica, says that "it is customary to talk of the profligacy and irreligion of Jamaica; unquestionably Jamaica is bad, but this place is much worse, and with this unhappy difference, that there is no prospect of a change for the better."†

"Among the lower orders," remarks a writer in the Colonial Review, "the intercourse between the sexes is almost promiscuous: not one scarcely out of a hundred knows anything about marriage. For a man to have as many women as he can procure, is tolerated by law and sanctioned by established custom. To these he may adhere if he thinks proper, but should he spend his time with others, he has little consciousness of turpitude, and knows nothing of responsibility."‡

The mode of life of the peasantry is such as might be expected. "The huts of the poor are nothing more than slave
cabins. Some branches of trees, interwoven together and plastered with mud, often leaving the interior exposed to the weather, compose dwellings inferior to those of the Indians; they are without furniture, without household utensils, without chairs, with bamboo for water-pitchers, and calabases for glasses and plates. . . . The negroes have become entirely ignorant of the necessaries of life, or go without them without the slightest regret; they live upon a little water and five or six bananas, a species of food for which they have such a predilection, that, upon learning the death of someone, they say, in their peculiar language, 'Pauvre diable, le quité bananes!' (Poor devil, he'll get no more bananas!)"

Mr. Candler's description of the houses is a little more favorable, for he says, that, though poorly furnished, they were decent; in another place, however, speaking of the principal city, Port au Prince, he says it is "perhaps the filthiest capital in the world."† Again he says, "The peasantry, through the prevalence of heathenism and ignorance, have little emulation and few wants, and grow up contented with common fare, coarse clothing, and enjoyments of a mere animal nature."‡

The abolitionist authority frequently cited, and who has always been distinguished in France as an ardent friend of the negro, thus sums up his views of the complete state of degradation to which the negroes have fallen since that (to them) elevating power, slavery, has been removed.¶ "The Haytians," he says, "are a people badly clothed, guarded by soldiers in rags, living with perfect indifference in houses tumbled to ruins, and disputing the possession of filthy streets with horses, asses, hogs, and chickens, who seek food in cities without police. The people have fallen almost into a complete torpor. They are no longer conscious of the ruin of their cities and the misery of their firesides. They do not suspect that they are wanting everything. I have seen their senators dwelling in straw houses, their instructors and deputies walking the streets with their coats worn out at the elbows. In a word, everybody suffers from a sort of general atony, which from material, passes, by an intimate connection, to spiritual things."¶

By this great variety of indisputable evidence, we think that the utter prostration and degradation of the island are

* Scholcher, p. 265.
† Candler, pp. 69, 123.
‡ Ibid., p. 38.
¶ There is no doubt that, though much cruelty was practised on the negroes by their French masters in St. Domingo, the state of slavery, even there, was improving the degraded and debased character natural to the black race, and that the sum of physical suffering was not a tithe of what they have endured since.
clearly proven; but it is necessary to remark, in respect of the authorities we have cited, that it has been urged against some of them that their statements are colored with prejudice, and this charge has been particularly made against her majesty's consul, Mr. McKenzie. There is certainly not the slightest ground for this accusation, for there is scarcely any statement made by that gentleman in 1827, which is not confirmed by Mr. Schelcher in 1841. Further, the Rev. Mr. Hanna says: "I have seen Mr. McKenzie's work on Hayti. As far as I can compare the facts he relates with what I daily witness, his statements are true and cannot be denied." Mr. Hanna then goes on to state that Mr. McKenzie has omitted much that might be said in favor of the people and country, and that herein consists its tacit misrepresentation. But the truth is, Mr. Hanna's own notes of travel in the island, considering the narrow limits of his observations, convey fully as bad an impression of its fallen state as Mr. McKenzie's do: indeed, we do not know which of the several narratives we have cited gives the most painful idea of the condition of the people. Our authorities are French, English, and American, official and unofficial, clergymen and laymen, avowed abolitionists and otherwise, and yet with this variety of nationality, education, position, and opinion, we do not know of a party of travellers who more nearly agree in their views and observations of the actual state of men and things in any given country, than do these gentlemen upon the condition of Hayti, and their accounts are fully confirmed by the dry, unreasoning figures of the customshouse.

Having then beheld the first fruits of freedom of body, in those who do not possess freedom of soul, viz., material decline, and mental, physical, and moral degradation, we have now to notice the next state of misery into which sloth and consequent vice rapidly plunge their victims—slavery; not figuratively speaking (the slavery of the passions), though that, too, is present, but actual bodily slavery, with its attendant cruelties and horrors, ten times greater among the black race, who have no guide but passion, than among the whites, who, at least, in many instances pretend to be guided by reason and justice, and often by a higher authority.

First upon the stage appears the Emperor Dessalines, whose very name causes a shudder of horror. This negro, who is generally characterized as "the monster," "the fiend," &c., commenced his reign in 1804, immediately after the declaration of independence. The island fairly groaned under his
oppression, and he reminds us more of those bloodthirsty African kings, who, far removed from the influences of civilization, have, for ages, one with another, spent their days in destroying the human race. It is said that Dessalines, in his short reign of two years, slew fifteen thousand mulattoes. It is true that some of his public measures were characterized by sagacity and prudence, but nothing could exceed the savage ferocity with which he wreaked his vengeance upon all who were so unhappy as to incur his hatred. The demon once aroused within his breast, neither rich nor poor, young nor old, male nor female, were safe from the direct efforts of his malice. He was put to death, by his own soldiers, in 1806.*

Having rid themselves of this cruel master, the people chose another negro, named Christophe, as his successor, who, according to the fashion of tyrants in this island, as well as in some other places, was first proclaimed president, and afterward crowned king. Like Nero, he commenced his reign mildly; like Nero's, it ended in cruelty. The Reverend Mr. Hanna says of him that, "intoxicated with excess of power, and restrained from the indulgence of his passions, by neither a sense of religion nor the salutary influence of early education, he became at first capricious and unfeeling, then the miserable victim of jealousy and revenge, and, in the end, a cold-blooded and remorseless tyrant." Toward the close of his reign, his cruelty became dreadful; he buffeted his generals, beat the governor of the Cape, degraded generals to the rank of private soldiers, sent his ministers to labor on the fortifications, and kept his attendants in arrear of their pay, from extraordinary avarice. The citadel of La Ferriere was a monument of his cruelty; the building of it was a vast undertaking, and Christophe was determined to make it one of the strongest in the world. Captain Agendeau, who worked for two years and a half, as a prisoner within its walls, said that every stone in the fort, had cost a human life. Another instance of his savage disposition is almost incredible. During his absence from Cape Francois, all the mulatto women prayed openly in church, that he might never return, because of his tyranny. When he did return, he had every one of them sought out, dragged from their dwellings and murdered.†

* Precis Historiques, etc., etc.  † Hanna, p. lv.
† Notes, vol. i., p. 163.  ‡ Candler, p. 32.
‡ Harvey, pp. 390 and 391.
His tyranny finally produced a conspiracy against him, so that an armed force, under the Duke de Marmalade, marched against him, and being joined by the personal adherents of the king, the latter shot himself in his palace, in October, 1820; or, as a Haytian writer expresses it, "after having made his countrymen groan under a rod of iron and blood, he expiated his crimes by committing suicide." Besides the atrocities committed by Christophe, he was carrying on a civil war during nearly the whole of his reign, with Pétion, who had been elected president of a republic, formed by the people of the southern district of the island. The treatment of the prisoners taken by him in these wars, says Mr. Harvey, "was of the most cruel kind."

Meanwhile, the eastern part of the island was equally distracted. The Spanish Haytians, under General Juan Sanchez, were fighting with the French, who still retained some posts in that quarter, and at about the same time, the English made a descent upon the island and captured the city of San Domingo. Thus, at one period of its history, the negroes in this small island, instead of being compelled merely to till the soil, were literally laboring for five masters, viz., a negro, a mulatto, a Spaniard, an Englishman, and a Frenchman, all of whom were engaged, to a greater or less extent, in slaughtering this unfortunate race, whom philanthropists are ever insisting on placing in positions in which, being without the protection of masters, they are left a prey to the cruel.

Under Boyer, a mulatto, educated in France, the whole island became united in 1822, into a military republic. Boyer, in turn, was obliged to abdicate, owing to a revolt in 1843, and with difficulty made his escape to a man-of-war, lying in the harbor.† He was succeeded by another mulatto, named Herard, in 1844. In the same year occurred another revolt, and General Guerrier, a negro, was made president. In 1845, Pierrote became president. More revolts and a revolution, which placed the administration in the hands of the negro general, Riche, in 1846.

In this year, Soulouque succeeded to the supreme power; and, in 1849, he made an alleged plot to assassinate him, the

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* Harvey, p. 399. Hanna, note to p. Ivii. Christophe is said to have slain 15,000 mulattoes. Schoelcher, p. 339.
† Sketches, etc., p. 103.
‡ One of the insurrecions which occurred in 1843, was headed by a black general named Daizon, who, it was said, had determined, if successful, to murder every mulatto, man, woman, and child, in the island, and he had decreed that every black who should protect any mulatto, would be punished by the tearing out of his eyes and tongue.—McGregor's Progress of America, vol. 1, p. 1196.
pretext for removing all obnoxious persons, of whom many fled, and great numbers were beheaded.

Soulouque crowned himself emperor, under the title of Faustin I., on the 4th of April, 1851. *

Thus, besides the indolence and general degradation which have prevailed in the island since it has been under negro management, there have also occurred innumerable revolts and civil wars, which have caused immense destruction of life and property, to say nothing of dragging such a large proportion of the male population into the service of the army.

The military system of Hayti now requires a moment's notice. The Rev. Mr. Hanna says that "one third," perhaps he could almost say, "two thirds," of the population are soldiers.† This seems to be an exaggeration, as the general estimate made of the numbers of the Haytian army is from 40,000 to 45,000 men. How great a tax this is upon the people may be inferred from a comparison which will enable us better to judge of the magnitude of such an army in proportion to the contributing numbers. If the British nation, for example, maintained an army proportionately large, it would number 1,600,000 men! If France, it would be about 2,000,000 of men. The manner of recruiting this large army is often despotice. "I am at this moment witness," says Mr. Schelcher, "of a thing which I should find it difficult to believe, if it had not passed under my own eyes; for the last eight days, companies of five, six, or eight soldiers, have been roaming about the streets of Port au Prince, bayonet in hand, and collecting according to their fancy all the young men who seemed to them suitable for the service."‡

The troops are generally described as a lazy, ragged, ignorant, and often shoeless set of vagabonds.

The appropriation for the army during the year 1845-46, absorbed out of the general expenditure, which was $5,148,724 for that year, the enormous sum of $3,786,3.9, or more than five sevenths of the whole amount, leaving only $1,362,395, for all other branches of the public service.¶

We now come to a new phase of the so-called freedom of Hayti. As might be expected, a condition of affairs similar to that described, must soon press heavily on the finances of a country. States, if they do not need food like individuals, at

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* Lately deposed.
† Notices, &c., p. 56. This gentleman, as we have before remarked, although he thinks Mr. McKenzie's work gives a false impression, appears certainly to convey to the mind of the reader a worse idea of the state of the country, than is received from the book alluded to. § Macgregor, vol. i, p. 1590.
least require funds to keep them alive; and the rulers of the Haytians soon discovered, that, however agreeable in theory might be a Utopia without labor, its locality was certainly not in the Queen of the Antilles, and that a population squatted on the earth and sucking bananas, though they might be fulfilling their own ideas of terrestrial happiness, just as their brethren in Africa have been doing these many centuries, were neither profitable to the state, useful to mankind, nor promoters of morality. The wealth of the island, acquired during the days of its industry, was soon squandered; the disinclination of the people to labor prevented the accumulation of more, the finances of the government were pinched, and hence originated the Code Rural of President Boyer. This code, in plain English, reduced the large body of the negroes to slavery without any guarantee of protection during sickness and old age. It is too long to be copied entirely in this place. We will, however, give a summary of its principal provisions. It decrees that—

"All persons not excepted by the third article must cultivate the earth; they cannot quit the country for the purpose of residing in a town or village, without the permission of the judge of the peace, who shall not give such authority without being assured of the morality of the applicant, of his regular conduct, and of his ability to maintain himself in the town; they cannot send their children to school, or be apprenticed in town, without a certificate from the judge of the peace; they can, under no pretext, establish a shop, or sell produce in the country, with certain exceptions as to the articles of produce and home manufacture; they cannot build a house in the country unconnected with cultivation..."

"All persons not farmers, or proprietors, living in the country, without having contracted with some cultivator, are reputed vagabonds, and must be arrested and taken before the magistrate, who warns them that by law they are bound to contract, and if they refuse to do so they are sent to prison; and if they persist after eight days' confinement, they shall be condemned to labor on the public works until they agree to make a contract. After a contract is once made the provisions for enforcing its execution are strict."

To show who were the persons subject to the provisions of this act, we transcribe the third article entire:

**Code Rural.**

"Art. 8. Tous les citoyens étant obligés, de concourir à soutenir l'état, soit par leurs services, soit par leur industrie, ceux qui ne seront pas employés civils ou requis pour le service militaire; ceux qui n'exerceront pas une profession assujettie à la patente; ceux qui ne seront pas ouvriers travaillans, ou employés comme domestiques; ceux qui ne seront pas employés à la coupe des bois propres à l'exportation; ceux enfin qui ne pourront pas justifier leurs moyens d'existence devront cultiver la terre."

Here, then, is a formal acknowledgment, on negro authority, that man cannot live without labor, and a confession that negroes will not labor unless they are compelled to; and the in-

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SENSE to be drawn from this, and indeed from the whole history of Hayti during the last fifty years, is, that by suddenly and violently depriving negroes (as they are now constituted) of their white masters in the western world, even though these be not perfect, you deprive them of protectors and leave them a prey to civil wars, discord, massacres, vice, and consequent disease, danger of famine from improvidence, and what is perhaps worse than all, the despotism of their own negro rulers. Besides this, we must consider that the world is not yet entirely influenced by the golden rule; even the most just and enlightened nations make strange confusion between meum and tuum; what, then, is to be expected from those whose professions are not so loud? How easily are pretexts found for the seizure of provinces and states! And if the avarice of the just can scarcely restrain their fingers from robbery, what can protect a rich island like Hayti, with a fertile soil on the one hand, and 700,000 laborers on the other, strong and capable of developing it, from the grasp of some ambitious Cortes, Pizarro, or Walker, who will be regularly "invited" by one of the factions of the country to aid in subduing another, but who will end by placing his iron heel on the necks of both! And would America or Europe interfere in such a case? Have they forgotten LeClerc, and his army of twenty-five thousand men sent out by Napoleon, and rapidly destroyed by the climate and negroes of this island insatiate of blood?

We sincerely hope a better fate awaits it, for to whatever depth of degradation the unfortunate people choose to descend, we can conceive of no motive which could possibly justify any one in again enslaving them so long as they do not infringe the rights of others. At present there is certainly not much danger of whites being invited there, for such is the hatred of the race existing, that no white man can hold a foot of land within its territory; no white man can marry a Haytian woman, and thereby become entitled to her real or personal estate, nor can any white man trade without a special license renewable yearly with a heavy fine.* Indeed, under Dessalines, the existence of the white race was entirely ignored, that chief having proclaimed a constitution which declared all the inhabitants of the country black, whatever might be their color.†

But in spite of all the evidence we have to prove the sad

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* Candler, p. 108. McKenzie, &c.
† Article 38 of Boyer's Constitution is as follows:
"Art. 38. Aucun blanc quelque soit sa nation, ne pourra mettre les pieds sur ce territoire a titre de moisir, ou de propriétaire."
condition of Hayti and its people, there are a few ultra philanthropists who cannot, or will not see it. They flee from truth, and when it presses them hard, hide their heads in the sand like the ostrich. Had they been Nathan in the days of David, the world would never have known David's sin; they hide truth that the truth may prevail, as if a kingdom divided against itself could stand; no good cause has ever yet prospered by such means; and we are at a loss to conceive how any benefit can accrue to the negro race from this constant bolstering up of his character, by many who are undoubtedly sincere in their motives. On the contrary, is it not quite clear, that if the negro be as moral as represented he needs no instructor? if he be industrious there is no necessity for the industrious to teach him to labor; if he have the capacity for self-government there is no reason why the civilized world should lend him a helping hand to protect him from the unprincipled; in short, if he is able to take care of himself (as he certainly must be, if possessing half the virtues attributed to him by some of his friends), in these cruel conflicts of races, in which, since the days of the Canaanites, millions of men, who have allowed themselves to sink into indolence, vice, and barbarism, have been swept from the earth by stronger, and generally more industrious arms, why then let him stand on his feet and show it.

These utter zealous persons whose only idea is to free the bodies of the negro race, regardless of consequences, remind us, by the speciousness of their arguments, of Pharaoh's magicians, who, by their cunning enchantments, "could make the worse appear the better reason."

Is the fact stated, that the most gross superstition and irreligion prevail in Hayti? Immediately Ham's magicians cite the white population of some decaying South American republic as an example of similar darkness and error. Are conclusive proofs brought of their idleness? They will point to the lazzaroni of Naples. Is it shown that the negroes throughout the West Indies practise witchcraft and sometimes the death-dealing ordeal? Then we are referred to the Puritans of New-England, or the Scotch of the last century. Tables of figures proving the abandonment of agriculture and commerce are met by counter-tables, so plausibly constructed as to mislead all but those well acquainted with the subject.

And in this manner the whole catalogue of failings and vices, observable in the negroes of Hayti or elsewhere, is matched, or plausibly accounted for, just as a worthless or abandoned
man will sometimes attempt to extenuate his guilt, by citing the examples of many illustrious persons, in each one of whom, some single vice of his own was a conspicuous failing, forgetting that while he combines in one the faults of many, he exercises the virtues of none; conspicuous examples of each of the faults of the negro may doubtless be formed among the civilized races of the earth, but it is the aggregate of all combined in one unfortunate race, that at present constitutes their weakness.

And so while Ham's magicians are playing their tricks, the subjects of Ham are continually exposed to new plagues; for surely, if these magicians can persuade the civilized and philanthropic world that humanity has gained by the bloody revolution in Hayti, by the long list of massacres that have occurred since, and by the irreligion, immorality, ignorance, and indolence, that have reigned during the last fifty years, there is no doubt but that we may yet see scenes enacted in the United States, compared with which, those in that island would be as child's play.

We have alluded above to tables of figures made to show that the industry of Hayti has not suffered by emancipation; one of these tables, relating to the production of coffee, has had quite an extensive circulation, and if its author understands the mode of culture of that article, his statements are more ingenious than ingenuous. The endeavor is to prove that the negroes, notwithstanding the apparent falling off in production, raised more coffee in 1841 than they did in the days of slavery, the inference intended to be conveyed being, that they are quite as industrious in a state of freedom as in bondage. As the reader has seen, the export of that article has fallen off more than one half, but the writer of this table tells us that the negroes themselves consume the difference; a little examination will show the character of this statement.

The difference between the exports of 1789 and 1841 is 42,000,000 lbs.; the population of the French side 700,000 souls; hence, every man, woman, and infant, must drink sixty

* We have said nothing of the population of Hayti because there has been so much guesswork upon the subject that it is almost impossible to form a correct opinion of it. An African clergyman, the Rev. Alex. Crummel, says the population doubled in the twenty-five years ending in 1824. He estimated it, in 1800, at 500,000 souls, and, in 1824, at 935,000. On the other hand, Mr. Scheelcher says, that well-informed persons in the island agree that the population does not increase. De Gobineau says it diminishes. Humboldt says that on the most favorable principles of increase it might have been in 1825, 230,000 which would be more than doubling in twenty-five years. But on the other hand, again, Mr. McKenzie obtained a semi-official statement, estimating it in 1827 at only 421,042 souls. This gentleman, remonstrated that he had repeated efforts to obtain from government an official estimate, but failed to do so. The estimates for the year 1829 are various. A table prepared by order of
pounds of coffee per annum, or more than a pound a week each! which is highly improbable. Again, 42,000,000 lbs. of coffee require an immense quantity of sugar, and yet the Haytians have given up the culture of sugar! Besides this, we have already given the statement of one traveller informing us that water was their beverage, and of others that their fare was coarse; these facts make it difficult to suppose that the negroes in Hayti, as a general rule, consume much coffee; but even if they did, it would certainly imply no greater industry for a man to go and gather a few berries which grow with little culture, and even spontaneously, than it would for a savage living on roots, to use the requisite exertion to lift them from the ground and place them in his mouth; even the savages in Africa pluck the bread fruit from the trees when they are hungry.

If Bordeaux were suddenly to cease exporting clarets, it would give us a fine idea of the style of labor of the people, to say that they were just as industrious as before, but that they now go into the vineyards before breakfast and eat the grapes, instead of making them into wine!

If our views of the condition of this island be thought gloomy, they, nevertheless, appear to be true; and we might cite the authority of many competent to judge, who have arrived at, perhaps, darker conclusions than ourselves. We will only cite two. Mr. McGregor, the well-known statistician, after a long examination of the political, moral, and commercial state of the country, thus: deguerreotypes its past and present situation, while considering, with anxious forebodings, its future prospects:

"What the destiny of Hayti may be," he observes, "we will not attempt to determine; further than the revolutions of 1842–46, the expulsion of the president Boyer, the atrocities committed by the negroes upon the colored races—the contests and distractions between the former political men of the island—the insecurity which prevails—the non-payment of the instalments of indemnity to France—the neglect of agriculture—the consequent want of products for trade, and the lax morals and indolence of the population, are all

the French government made the number of negroes in the western part of the island that year 450,000; Colonel Malefants's estimate was 700,000; Moreau St. Remy, 450,000. We suppose there is not much known about either the past or present numbers in the island. Mr. Schechter, in 1841, thought the population of the western side was about 700,000, and a writer in the Encyclopedia Britannica (edition 1856), places it at 740,000. The calculations appear not unreasonable. Considering the vitality of the African race, their small requirements, and the ease of subsistence in Hayti, it is not improbable that the movement of the population is, and will be, similar to that of Africa, increasing rapidly at times, and then being swept off by wars and epidemics; for not the least severe and cruel infliction upon this helpless race, caused by a sudden and violent emancipation, is, that while a people sunk in sloth and vice are peculiarly a prey to diseases such as smallpox, cholera, &c., as has been the case in this island, they are almost totally deprived by their ignorance, of medical aid, from their own race, and by their folly, of that from any other race.
subjects, when deliberately considered, that do not leave us much good to hope for, in the prospects of Hayti."

Count de Gobineau, in a work recently published, entitled *L'Inegalité des Races Humaines*, thus forcibly sums up the advantages enjoyed by Hayti, and contrasts them with the fruits produced after fifty years trial:

"There," he observes, "we find institutions not only similar to ours, but founded upon the most recent maxims of our political wisdom. All that the voice of the most refined liberalism, has proclaimed in the deliberative assemblies of Europe, during the last sixty years, all that the most zealous friends of the freedom and dignity of man have written, all the declarations of rights and principles, have found an echo on the banks of the Aribonite. No trace of Africa remains in the written laws, or the official language; the recollections of the land of Ham are officially expunged from every mind; once more, the institutions are completely European. Let us now examine how they harmonize with the manners.

"What a contrast! The manners are as depraved, as beastly, as ferocious, as in Detromi," &c.

M. de Gobineau then dwells upon the hatred existing between blacks and mulattoes; the dreadful massacres perpetrated; the abandonment of agriculture; the indolence of the people, remarking that industry was not known, even by name. In short, drawing a much worse picture of the condition of the island, than we have done.†

"The negroes of Hayti," he adds. "though removed from Africa by several generations, are the same as in their native clime. Their supreme felicity is idleness; their supreme reason murder."‡

Finally, if our representation of Hayti, or New Africa, as it may more properly be called, be correct, it is clear that the hopes of the least sanguine, even who lived in the days of Jefferson, regarding the future progress to be there displayed, have been cruelly disappointed. Yet, we do not pretend to say that the question, as to negro capacity being on a par with that of the white, is answered. All that we claim is, that the lives of two generations of men, living in perfect freedom, and surrounded by every possible advantage, is another added to the many already existing proofs, that the negro race will never rise to that point through a process of freedom; and let us add that they are not the only people who have been compelled to achieve civilization through long periods of servitude.

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* Progress of America, vol. i., p. 1203.
† See Essai sur l’Inegalité des Races Humaines, par M. de Gobineau, C. V.
‡ ibid.—We have referred to Hota edition, not having the original.
§ Haiti is the aboriginal name of the island, which, in the language of the Indians, mean "mountainous land." Columbus gave it the name of Hispaniola, or "Little Spain." The French changed its name to St. Domingo, when it fell into their possession. The negroes with a great deal of good sense, restored its original name.