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M.DCCCLXVI.
"THE HORTORS OF ST. DOMINGO."

BY THE EDITOR.

The caption of this article has passed into a sort of charm against all humane interference with what some of our fellow citizens are pleased to call "their peculiar species of property." We shall make it our business to analyze these magic words, and to discover, if possible, from what incantations they derived their spell-binding power.

There are few so sceptical as to doubt the existence of the two following facts, viz: first, that St. Domingo once teemed with an immense population of degraded slaves, sixteen times more numerous than their masters, and secondly, that the same island, under the name of Hayti, now contains a much larger population of freemen, under an organized and independent government, and who, according to their own account of the matter, have no desire to return to slavery. How the intervening "horrors" could have been conjured into an anti-liberty beacon, to scare men so proud of their own "blood-bought liberty" as our countrymen, is a mystery worthy of solution. Does the secret lie in that portentous monosyllable, black? This deepens the mystery. The more probable hypothesis is, that truth may have met with foul play, somewhere between the two facts above mentioned.

What have been the probabilities of our getting at the whole truth in regard to St. Domingo, for the last forty seven years? Singularly small and disadvantageous to the cause of Haytian liberty. 1. The triumphing of slaves could expect little sympathy from slaveholders, or their abettors. We as a nation, by color and practice, were on the side of the defeated. Our planters sympathized with the planters of St. Domingo; and by interest as well as sympathy were impelled to forestall public opinion by the most favorable representation of their case. 2. Many whites, driven from St. Domingo, told us their own story with none to call it in question, and this too over the wine cups of open-hearted hospitality, in a land where the parties of the other part, had they been present, would have had to sit at the second table. 3. The language of the Haytians being foreign to us, the English stepped in as our interpreters. They wrote
the histories which alone stand on the shelves of our libraries; and wrote them with even stronger motives to justify the whites and condemn the blacks, than our own slaveholders could have had.

Bryan Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, accompanied an armament which sailed from Jamaica to Cape Francois in September, 1791, for the purpose of putting down a revolt of the negroes who were said to have risen to the number of 100,000. He gathered his information from the terrified planters, and put forth his "Historical survey, &c. comprehending a narrative of the calamities which have desolated the country ever since the year 1789, with some reflections on their causes and probable consequences, &c." in 1797, while a British army was yet in St. Domingo striving to reinstate the planters in their ancient "property." His elegance as a writer, is not more conspicuous than his enmity towards such friends of freedom as Sharp, Clarkson and Wilberforce, whom he does not scruple to characterize as "fanatics," and mad "exciters of rebellion." Another line will make the portrait of this historian sufficiently complete for the American reader. He thus calumniates the good Lafayette. "This man had formerly been possessed of a plantation at Cayenne, with seventy negro slaves thereon, which he had sold without any scruple or stipulation concerning the situation of the negroes, the latter end of 1789, and from that time enrolled himself among the friends of the blacks." To this blind or wilful mangler of truth, more perhaps than to any other source, does our country owe its impressions of the "horrors of St. Domingo." With a callous heart and graphic pen he dwells on the atrocities of the revolted slaves till humanity is in ague-chills. Yet it is by his philosophy, and not his facts, that he attempts to make out a case against the slave, and the friends of the slave. Nay, on the ground of the very facts which came most immediately under his observation, the

* History of St. Domingo, p. 86.

† History of St. Domingo, p. 62.—It is well known that Lafayette purchased a plantation at Cayenne for the express purpose of proving by experiment the practicability of colonial cultivation by free labor. The negroes whom he purchased and employed, were never sold by him, but unhappily they were sold contrary to his will, when his estates were confiscated by the French National Assembly. This took place however in 1792, not 1789. —See Recollections of the private life of Lafayette, by M. Cloquet, vol. 1, p. 150.
conclusions which he labors to establish may be easily overthrown. The same thing is true of Consul General McKenzie, James Franklin and the rest of the humble copyists, imitators and successors of Bryan Edwards.

The horrors of St. Domingo may be thus classified: 1. The horrors of insurrection. 2. The horrors of emancipation. 3. The horrors of the Code Rurale. 4. The horrors of idleness. 5. The horrors of desolation.

I. THE HORRORS OF INSURRECTION.

We have no disposition to deny or palliate the bloody and unnatural atrocities perpetrated by either party in the protracted wars of St. Domingo. Human nature ought to recoil from them with horror and disgust. But when these horrors are imputed to a wrong cause; when they are hung up as a warning over the calm sea of humanity and fellow feeling, and not over the rocks and shoals and whirlpools of despotism, it is time to lift up a note of remonstrance.

The main object of Edwards' book is, to show that the insurrection in St. Domingo was caused by a set of men who held and promulgated the doctrine that "all men are born and continue free and equal as to their RIGHTS." He holds up the insurrection as the fruit of that doctrine; and he puts forth his history as a complete refutation of it.

If it be true that the advocates of equal rights instigated the oppressed to vindicate their claims by violence and blood, it was their error and their sin. We do not seek to justify such conduct. But the truth of the charge against the Amis des noirs, or friends of the blacks, is far from being proved by Bryan Edwards, while another cause is proved, which is of itself abundantly sufficient to account for the facts. We mean the oppressive and hypocritical conduct of the whites. There were in the French part of St. Domingo in 1789 not less than 480,000 slaves. They were treated, according to Edwards, neither much better nor much worse than those of Great Britain. This treatment he supposes to have been mild and just. But what sort of mildness and justice it was, may be gathered from the following admissions in regard to slavery in general. After stating that the slaves of St. Domingo could not avail themselves of what he calls the "tenderness and philanthropy of the Code
"Noir," he adds, "In countries where slavery is established, the leading principle on which government is established is FEAR; or a sense of that absolute coercive necessity, which having no choice of action, supersedes all question of RIGHT. It is in vain to deny that such actually is, and necessarily must be, the case in all countries where slavery is allowed. Every endeavor therefore to extend positive rights to men in this state, as between one class of people and the other, is an attempt to reconcile inherent contradictions, and to blend principles together which admit of no combination." The treatment that was received from these masters who thus ruled by fear, would of course depend much upon their character. They were avaricious. Says Edwards, in his preface, "Let me not be understood, however, as affirming that nothing is to be attributed on this occasion to the slave trade. I scorn to have recourse to concealment or falsehood. Unquestionably the vast annual importations of enslaved Africans into St. Domingo, for many years previous to 1791, had created a black population in the French part of that island, which was, beyond all measure, disproportionate to the white;—the relative numbers of the two classes being as sixteen to one." p. xxi. They were licentious. To a population of 30,000 whites, there were 24,000 mulattoes. The following picture shows a baseness of tyranny which has no parallel, except perhaps in our own country. Edwards says of the mulattoes, "In many respects, their situation was even more degrading and wretched than that of the enslaved negroes in any part of the West Indies; all of whom have masters that are interested in their preservation, and many of whom find in those masters powerful friends and vigilant protectors. Although released from the dominion of individuals, yet the free men of color in all the French islands were still considered as the property of the public, and as public property they

* * * In 96 years, ending in 1774, 800,000 slaves had been imported into the French part of St. Domingo, of which there remained only 290,000 in 1774. Of this last number only 140,000 were Crooles, or natives of the island, i. e. of 660,000 slaves the whole posterity were 140,000. Considerations sur la Colomie de St. Domingue, published by authority in 1777." Quoted from Clarkson's "Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species." p. 166.—At this rate, with what infernal rapacity must the slave trade have been driven, nearly to double the slaves in the next 19 years! Edwards himself states the number imported in 1788 to have been 29,506, in 98 vessels, i. e. 301 to each vessel! Of these slaves 15,674 were men, 7,048 women, 4,246 boys, and 2,547 girls! p. 208.
were obnoxious to the caprice and tyranny of all those whom the accident of birth had placed above them. By the colonial governments they were treated as slaves in the strictest sense; compelled, on attaining the age of manhood, to serve three years in a military establishment called the maréchaussée, and on the expiration of that term they were subject, great part of the year, to the burden of the corvées;—a species of labor allotted for the repair of the high-ways, of which the hardships were insupportable. They were compelled, moreover, to serve in the militia of the province or quarter to which they belonged, without pay or allowance of any kind, and in the horse or foot at the pleasure of the commanding officer; and obliged also to supply themselves at their own expense, with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements. Their days of muster were frequent, and the rigor with which the king’s lieutenants, majors, and aides major, enforced their authority on those occasions over these people, had degenerated into the basest tyranny.

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

"Under the pressure of these accumulated grievances, hope itself, too frequently the only solace of the wretched, was denied to these unfortunate people; for the courts of

* This is not strictly true. The industry and wealth of the mulattoes in the neighborhood of Les Cayes, made them so much superior to the whites, that the latter were fain to shoulder the "disgrace," for the sake of the gold of mulatto wives. See A. Matal, Histoire de l’Expédition, &c. p. 192.
criminal jurisdiction adopting the popular prejudices against them, gave effect and permanency to the system. A man of color being prosecutor, (a circumstance in truth which seldom occurred,) must have made out a strong case indeed, if at any time he obtained the conviction of a white person. On the other hand the whites never failed to procure prompt and speedy justice against the mulattoes. To mark more strongly the distinction between the two classes, the law declared that if a free man of color presumed to strike a white person of whatever condition, his right hand should be cut off; while a white man for a similar assault on a free mulatto, was dismissed on the payment of an insignificant fine.”—p. 7.

Such were the masters to whom the slaves were still more entirely subject. Deep as was the degradation of the free mulattoes, the slaves were still lower.† Were this not true, why did not the mulattoes, instead of holding slaves, become slaves, as they easily might?

A man must be very blind not to see here sufficient cause for the "horrors of insurrection." Whatever may have been the spark that caught it, the planters themselves had filled the magazine and laid the train which blew them up. But we are enabled to demonstrate from the narrative of Bryan Edwards himself that the planters, with their own hands, and not the Amis des Noirs, applied the match.

The facts antecedent to the first and great insurrection of the slaves in 1791, as related by this author, were these. No sooner had the news of the calling of the States General,

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* In Maryland, for this offence, a justice of the peace may direct the offender's ears to be cropped. Stroud, p. 97.

† Edwards thinks the mulattoes had "solid ground of complaint and dissatisfaction," and that "their actual situation and condition would have made resistance duty, if it did not appear that the redress of their grievances occupied the very first deliberations of the first general assembly of representatives that ever met in St. Domingo. • • • Concerning the enslaved negroes, however, it does not appear that the conduct of the whites towards them was in general reprehensible. I believe on the whole it was as lenient and indulgent as was consistent with their own safety. It was the mulatto people themselves who were the hard-hearted task-masters to the negroes. The same indignities which they received from the whites, they directed without scruple towards the blacks; exercising over the latter every species of that oppression which they loudly and justly complained of, when exercised on themselves."—pp 81, 82.

Querries.—Would not the insurrection of the mulattoes then, have been a righteous act before the calling of the assembly? And, a fortiori, would not the rebellion of the slaves under the mulattoes have been "a duty" at any time?—If so, then Edwards himself must justify the rebellion of about one fourth of the slaves.
afterwards termed the national assembly, the great revolutionary council of France, in 1788, reached St. Domingo, than the white colonists, who had long groaned under despotic French governors, determined to avail themselves of the occasion to vindicate their own rights. They accordingly, in spite of the proclamations of their governor, elected and sent eighteen deputies to represent their interests in the popular legislature of the mother country. These deputies of the colonists were received by the national assembly with some jealousy, and only six of them obtained seats. The mulattoes, many of whom resided at Paris, and some of whom were wealthy and intelligent, availed themselves of the popular enthusiasm in favor of liberty, to prejudice the people and the Assembly against the white colonists, and in favor of themselves. The treatment of their deputies, the conduct of the mulattoes, and, above all, the declaration of the national assembly, August 20, 1789, that "all men are born, and continue, free and equal as to their rights," highly exasperated the white colonists. They at once organized three legislatures of their own, one at Cape François, one at Port au Prince and one at Les Cayes. These assemblies agreed in nothing but the resolution to call a general assembly of the colony, provided instructions should not be received from the king for the calling of such an assembly, within three months. While the whites took these measures for the security of their own interests and power, no concessions were made to the mulattoes. The latter, however, were resolved to assert their rights by force, and to that end assembled in various places under arms. For want of concert, they were easily overpowered. Two magistrates, Messrs. Dubois and Ferrand de Beaudierre, who in a moderate and peaceful way had espoused the cause of the mulattoes and also expressed themselves opposed to slavery, were arrested. The former was rescued by the governor and sent to France, but the latter was taken from prison by the mob and cruelly put to death. An order for convoking a colonial assembly was received in January, 1790. The colonists complied with it, changing the time and place of meeting, and the mode of election. The national assembly having heard of the tumultuous proceedings of the colonists, and fearing they would revolt or declare their independence, decreed on the 8th March, 1790, "that it never was the in-
tention of the Assembly to comprehend the interior government of the colonies in the constitution which they had formed for the mother country, or to subject them to laws which were incompatible with their local establishments; they therefore authorize the inhabitants of each colony to signify to the national assembly their sentiments and wishes concerning that plan of interior legislation and commercial arrangement which would most conduce to their prosperity." It was also declared, "That the national assembly would not cause any innovation to be made directly or indirectly, in any system of commerce in which the colonists were already concerned." The mulattoes clamored against this as cutting off their hopes of relief from civil disabilities, and the Amis des Noirs, because it sustained the slave trade. The result of the excitement thus occasioned, was another decree of the national assembly, on the 28th of March, giving more particular instructions for the execution of that of the 8th, and especially, "that every person of the age of twenty-five and upwards, possessing property, or having resided two years in the colony, and paid taxes, should be permitted to vote in the formation of the colonial assembly." The first general colonial assembly met at St. Marc on the 16th of April. It consisted of 213 members, fully representing the whites of the colony. This assembly at once set itself to the work of reforming the abuses which had grown up under the arbitrary sway of the royal governors. For the sake of conciliating the mulattoes, they were released from an unequal share of the military service. Mitigations of the slave code were also talked of. And on the 28th of May, 1790, a sort of republican constitution was put forth,—as fully republican as could well be based on the foundation of slavery. But the governor, Peynier, assisted by Col. Mauduit, had the address to gain the mulattoes to the royalist party, by promising a more full restoration of their rights. Having thus at least neutralized the strongest elements of republicanism, he raised a prodigious clamor against the assembly, charging it with having sold the colony to the British. The provincial assembly of Cape Francois, and all those who were directly interested in the old order of things, joined his standard. The assembly was dissolved by proclamation, and the two parties prepared to decide the controversy by arms. This civil war, how-
ever, was checked by the sudden embarkation of the general assembly on board the Leopard ship of war, of which they had got possession by the mutiny of its crew. They sailed to France in the hope of obtaining from the mother country by their personal influence, a ratification of their constitution. In this they were disappointed. The news of their proceedings, which reached France before them, made both the royalists and revolutionists their enemies. The former hated them for asking liberty for themselves, the latter for refusing it to others. At this juncture it was, while both parties in the mother country joined in condemning the colonists, that James Ogé sailed from France with the design of vindicating the cause of the people of color by force of arms. He was the son of a mulatto woman of St. Domingo, who educated him in Paris and sustained him there, "in some degree of affluence, after he had reached the age of manhood," by the profits of her coffee plantation. Ogé had been introduced to the meetings of the Amis des Noirs, under the patronage of Gregoire, Brissot, Lafayette, and Robespierre, the leading members of that society; and was by them initiated into the popular doctrine of equality, and the rights of man. Here it was that he first learnt the miseries of his condition, the cruel wrongs and contumelies to which he and all his mulatto brethren were exposed in the West Indies, &c." (p. 41.) "The society procured for him the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the army of one of the German electors," and patronized his expedition. To avoid the danger of exporting arms from France, he was furnished with the means of procuring them on his way, in New-England. Though his arrival at St. Domingo was anticipated, he effected his landing there secretly from an American sloop, on the 12th of October, 1790. He is said to have conveyed his arms and ammunition undiscovered to a place which his brother had provided for their reception. Ogé and his brothers commenced immediately to excite the mulattoes to revolt. Promises and money were plentifully used. They were told that the whole nation of France and the king himself favored their cause. But after six weeks of indefatigable effort, only 200 followers were obtained, and they were "raw and ignorant youths, unused to discipline and averse to all manner of subordination and order."
It must be remarked that the mulattoes in the colony had remained quiet during the session of the colonial assembly at St. Marc. Those who had been enticed by Mauduit to join his standard against the assembly, 300 in number, soon becoming sensible of their error, requested a dismissal and returned to their homes.

Ogé established his little camp at La Grand Riviere, about 15 miles from Cape François. From this place "he despatched a letter to the governor [Peynier] wherein after reproaching the governor and his predecessors with the non-execution of the Code Noir, he demands in very imperious terms, that the provisions of that celebrated statute should be enforced throughout the colony; he requires that the privileges enjoyed by one class of inhabitants (the whites) should be extended to all persons without distinction; declares himself the protector of the mulattoes, and announces his intention of taking up arms in their behalf, unless their wrongs should be redressed." p. 43. Edwards does not tell us what reply the governor made, but says that the inhabitants of Cape François proceeded with the utmost vigor to suppress the revolt. Ogé was defeated, fled to the Spanish territory, was given up on the demand of Blanchelande, the successor of Peynier, and with his lieutenant Chavannes was condemned to be BROKEN ON THE WHEEL on the 9th of March, 1791. Twenty of his followers, one of whom was his brother, were condemned to be hanged at the same time. Chavannes met his terrible fate with firmness, but Ogé implored mercy and promised to make important disclosures, if his life should be spared. A respite of twenty-four hours was granted him. In this time he confessed to the functionaries a very extensive conspiracy in which the slaves had been excited to take part, and which would have broken out in the February preceding, but for the extraordinary inundation of the rivers. He also disclosed the still more important facts that the chiefs of the mulattoes still retained their project, and held their meetings in certain subterranean passages to which he would conduct the functionaries if his life might be spared. The functionaries would do no such thing. They were contented with the information they had got already, and after bringing poor Ogé back to the horrid engine to which he had been devoted,
they kept the whole matter a secret till it was extorted from them by the colonial assembly nine months afterwards. Begging the reader to remember these things, we pass on.

Though the people of color had been apprized by their friends in Paris, that the decree of March 28th 1790, was intended to give them the right of suffrage, yet that interpretation of it was so stoutly denied by the whites that they sent deputies to France to obtain from the national assembly a special explanation. While this subject was before the assembly in May, 1791, the news of the barbarous execution of Ogé arrived. The sympathy excited by it, aided the Amis des Noirs to obtain a decree that the people of color born of free parents, were entitled to all the privileges of French citizens. This was the famous decree of the 15th of May, 1791. This it was according to our author, which "gave life and activity to the poison," that was already fatally at work upon the fidelity of the slaves of St. Domingo. And how did it work? We shall see. The news of the decree having been received at Cape François on the 30th of June, "no words can describe the rage and indignation which immediately spread throughout the colony." The white colonists at the Cape threatened to seize the ships and confiscate the goods of the French merchants. They actually laid an embargo, and moved in their provincial assembly to pull down the national flag and hoist the British. The national cockade was everywhere trodden under foot. The governor promised "to suspend the obnoxious decree, whenever it should come out to him properly authenticated." The natural effect of this rage was the assembling of the mulattoes in armed bodies. "The whites by a mournful fatality," says our author, "suffered them to assemble without molest-ation." They busied themselves with the election of a new colonial assembly which met at Leogane on the 9th of August, and took the name of the general assembly of the French part of St. Domingo. Having done very little business," with "great unanimity and temper in their proceedings," they adjourned to meet at Cape François on the 25th of the same month.

Such were the facts, according to Bryan Edwards, that preceded the first and most dreadful insurrection and massacre of St. Domingo. What are the facts, according to the same author, in regard to the insurrection itself. It broke
out on the 23d of August, just before day, on a plantation in the parish of Acul, nine miles from the Cape, spread rapidly through the neighboring parishes, and indeed throughout the whole North. It was confined to the slaves. The free mulattoes of the Cape assisted efficiently in putting it down. The atrocities perpetrated were of a savage and relentless character. In a short time no less than 2000 whites are supposed to have been massacred, and 10,000 blacks were slain by sword or famine. The rebellion soon extended to the West, into the neighborhood of Port au Prince, where for the first time we hear of armed bodies of mulattoes, 2,000 of whom appeared at Mirebalais, and with 600 negroes, ravaged and burned the country. The white planters finding them every where victorious, and not averse to a reconciliation, negotiated with them a truce or convention called the Concordat. The condition insisted on by the mulattoes and yielded by the planters, was that the latter should faithfully execute, not only the Code Noir, but the decree of the 15th of May. One of the reasons stated by Edwards, why the mulattoes were so ready to negotiate, was, that they found themselves unable to excite the slaves to revolt. In the Concordat the rights of the slave were forgotten. The general assembly had by this time learned wisdom enough to proclaim that they would no longer oppose the decree in favor of the rights of the colored people.

Now, let us philosophize a little upon these facts. 1. The white colonists must thank themselves for the whole of this insurrection. It arose altogether from oppression, and the special excitement was their own revolutionary struggle, together with their cruel treatment of the mulattoes. The principal mulattoes were themselves planters, and slave owners. It is Edwards, too, that asserts that they were more cruel and oppressive masters than the whites. Hence a prejudice between the two classes scarcely less than that between the whites and colored. The philosophy of Edwards is not sufficient to conceal this. The mulattoes had no sympathy for the enslaved blacks, not even cordiality enough to use them for their purposes. They assisted to subdue them.

2. The precious story about Ogé is stamped with absurdity on its face. Whatever may be said of "Gregoire, Brissot, Lafayette, and Robespierre," it must be admitted that
they possessed at least common wisdom in adapting their means to their ends. Had they been base enough to desire an insurrection in St. Domingo, it is utterly impossible that they should have selected such a man as Ogé, or have sent him by such a route, or with such means. The Amis des Noirs sought the freedom of the slaves, but their agent, Ogé, said not a word to excite them to assert it, or if he did, he utterly failed. The circumstances of the colonel's rank, procured from a petty German elector, is too ridiculous for refutation. The French republicans of 1790, buying up German titles to grace a secret stirrer up of insurrection! How characteristic! Again, the confession of Ogé! We must beg pardon of the reader for the imputation which may arise from our stopping a moment to expose its trumpery. It is barely possible that some such confession may have been made by one of the Ogés for the sake of saving his life. But the probability is, that the whole was fabricated by some cunning member of the colonial assembly "nine months" after the execution of Ogé and three months after the insurrection, for the sake of injuring the mulattoes. It is hardly to be supposed that Ogé, however agitated, would have perpetrated the silly blunder of making the negroes, of St. Domingo the best of swimmers, postpone a massacre, because the rivers were full of water! What could have been more to their purpose? Besides if such a confession was made, what possible motive could the functionaries have had for concealing it? If they were hostile to the mulattoes, why did they not prosecute those who were informed against? If they were friendly, why did they execute Ogé after such a confession—or rather, why had they reclaimed him from the Spaniards and then condemned him to be broken alive on the wheel?

The whole machinery by which the Amis des Noirs caused their incendiary doctrines to act upon the slaves of St. Domingo, melts away into moonshine. The mulattoes were the connecting link, the conductor,—and they turn out to have been a non-conductor. So the insurrection on the very facts of Edwards himself can have been the fruit of nothing but the mad oppression of the slaveholders.

We must here record our regret that we have failed, after a diligent search to find copies of the principal French writers on the revolutionary history of St. Domingo. We
strongly suspect it would be their united testimony, that the Amis des Noirs had not the slightest agency in the affair of Ogé. Appended to the "Slave King," a romance translated from the French of Victor Hugo, is a historical sketch of Saint Domingo, "by a gentleman intimately acquainted with the colony."

From this sketch, which possesses the merit of self-consistency, if not the authority of its author's name, it appears that Vincent (not James) Ogé was one of the delegates whom the colored people had sent to Paris to plead their cause, that he there urged an open recognition of their rights, that after obtaining the decree of March 28th, he talked so boastingly both in Paris and London, of a recourse to arms, should the decree not be carried into execution, as to create the opinion among the planters then in Paris, that if he had not departed with a full supply of warlike stores, he had sailed to America either with money or letters of credit to procure them. Under this apprehension, the planters procured an order from the minister of marine to hinder the embarking of other colored persons from France, and to prohibit the landing of any whatever in the colony. It would seem that Ogé, in all his boasts, relied not on his means, but upon his influence with the colored people, and that his sailing from London via New-England, was a mere matter of convenience. Being apprized of the prohibitory orders before his arrival home, he was on his guard. His compatriots received him with open arms, being justly indignant at the obstacles which the whites had opposed to his landing. His partizans were composed of the richest and most respectable of his class, 300 of whom rallied around him in arms in a few days. (Whether arms were brought from New-England by Ogé or not, it is not probable that these mulattoes could have lacked them, as their own class composed the militia of the country.) The following is the letter which Ogé addressed to the president of the assembly of the Cape. Its style is certainly respectful, and it has nothing to do with the Code Noir.

"Sirs—A prejudice, for a long time upheld, is at last about to fall. Charged with a commission, honorable to myself, I call upon you to proclaim throughout the colony

the decree of the national assembly of the 28th of March, which gives without distinction, to every free citizen the right of being admitted to all duties and functions whatever. My pretensions are just; and I hope you will regard them. I shall not have recourse to any raising of the slave gangs; it is not necessary, and would be unworthy of me. I wish you to appreciate duly the purity of my intentions. When I solicited of the national assembly the decree I obtained, in favor of our American colonists, known under the hitherto injurious distinction of the mixed race, I never comprehended in my claims the negroes in a state of slavery. You and our adversaries have mixed this with my proceedings, to destroy my estimation in the minds of well disposed people; but, I have demanded only concessions for a class of freemen, who have endured the yoke of your oppression for two centuries. We have no wish but the execution of the decree of the 28th of March: we insist on its promulgation; and we cease not to repeat to our friends, that our adversaries are not merely unjust to us, but to themselves; for they do not seem to know that their interests are one with ours. Before employing the means at my command, I will see what good temper will do, but if, contrary to my object, you refuse what is asked, I will not answer for those disorders, which may arise from merited revenge."

The result has been already stated. The Barbarous execution of Ogé and his companions consecrated them as the martyrs of their cause.

"This act of Ogé," says the author of the notes referred to, "was a mere deed of daring. There was no organized conspiracy—no scheme of revolt concocted by influential friends in Europe—no preparation for a conflict in arms. He came heated from the adventures of menacing mobs at Paris, where he had seen the monarch and the aristocracy prostrate in the dust with the people. His object was to profit by the panic which filled all men's minds. To make an appeal to their reason was useless; or, as he himself sneeringly expresses it in a letter to M. de Vincent, 'Who ever consulted the nobles and the clergy to redress the thousand and one abuses which existed in France?' In this single remark, we have the clear revelation of all his impulses."

The reader will not fail to perceive the bearing of these
statements upon the credibility of Bryan Edwards. The latter took his facts from the white planters of St. Domingo, and his philosophy from the British West India Committee.

The spark that occasioned the dreadful explosion was struck out by the planters themselves. When they broke Vincent Ogé and Chavannes on the wheel, and gibbeted twenty of their followers, they taught the slaves a lesson, which in less than six months they showed themselves to have well learned by sticking upon poles along the road-side in this very spot 300 heads of their teachers.

Here let it be remarked, that the horrors of this insurrection took their type from the sanguiney character of the oppression. The death of Ogé was not the only lesson. Edwards himself details outrages committed by the whites before the massacre of 1791, which threw the rebellious negroes far in the shade—or rather in the sun-shine. One of them especially, was so shockingly indecent that he veils it in a learned tongue. p. 57. Neither were the blacks alone in their barbarity after they had commenced their bloody work. Thewhites out did them in horrors, while those horrors do not seem to have been relieved, as we are assured by Edwards those perpetrated by the blacks were, by instances of compassion and pardon. Two of the insurgents were broken alive under our author's own windows, while he was at the Cape. Of one he says, "when the executioner after breaking his legs and arms, lifted up the instrument to give the finishing stroke on the breast, and which (by putting the criminal out of pain) is called le coup de grâce, the mob, with the ferociousness of cannibals called out, arretéz! [stop,] and compelled him to leave his work unfinished. In that condition the miserable wretch, with his broken limbs doubled up, was put on a cart wheel, which was placed horizontally, one end of the axletree being driven into the earth. He seemed perfectly sensible, but uttered not a groan. At the end of forty minutes, some English seamen, who were spectators of the tragedy, strangled him

* Edwards relies so implicitly upon the planters for his information, that he swallows the pretended confession of James Ogé on the strength of a mere copy transmitted to him at London, in 1795, by a planter who sought to attach the colony to the British. Edwards himself was at the Cape at the very time when the "secret" was brought out by the colonial assembly. Why did he not examine the original? He also mistakes James the necessary, for Vincent the principal.
in mercy. As to all the French spectators (many of whom were persons of fashion, who beheld the scene from the windows of their upper apartments, it grieves me to say, that they looked on with the most perfect composure and sang froid. Some of the ladies, I was told, even ridiculed with a great deal of unseemly mirth, the sympathy manifested by the English at the sufferings of the wretched criminals." P. 78. This was done by men professing to be enlightened christians! Yet these are the men who have had our sympathy, while the character of their poor victims has been branded with all the "horrors of insurrection."

It would be easy, on this topic, to multiply indefinitely facts which show that the negroes of St. Domingo had been for ages in a school of horrors. We will confine ourselves however to a single anecdote which is perfectly and pain-fully characteristic of the system under which in our own country as well as in St. Domingo, human beings are trained up for the "horrors of insurrection." An American lady who was in St. Domingo in 1802–3 attached to the army of General Le Clerc, thus speaks of the state of society there before the revolution.*

"I have become acquainted with some Creole ladies who, having staid in the island during the revolution, relate their sufferings in a manner that harrows up the soul; and dwell on the recollection of their long lost happiness with melancholy delight. St. Domingo was formerly a garden. Every inhabitant lived on his estate like a sovereign ruling his slaves with despotic sway, enjoying all that luxury could invent, or fortune procure.

"The pleasures of the table were carried to the last degree of refinement. Gaming knew no bounds, and libertinism, called love, was without restraint. The Creole is generous, hospitable, magnificent, but vain, inconstant, and incapable of serious application; and in this abode of pleasure and luxurious ease, vices have reigned at which humanity must shudder. The jealousy of the women was often ter-
rible in its consequences. One lady who had a beautiful negro girl continually about her person, thought she saw some symptoms of tendresse in the eyes of her husband, and all the fires of jealousy seized her soul.

"She ordered one of her slaves to cut off the head of the unfortunate victim, which was instantly done. At dinner her husband said he felt no disposition to eat, to which his wife with the air of a demon, replied, perhaps I can give you something that will excite your appetite; it has at least had that effect before. She rose and drew from a closet the head of Coomba. The husband shocked beyond expression, left the house and sailed immediately for France, in order never again to behold such a monster."

If the abominable tyranny of the white planters was abundantly sufficient to excite their victims to insurrection, their perfidy was no less so to keep them in that state. The mulattoes, many of them being slaveholders themselves, were naturally inclined to take part against the revolted slaves, and in some instances they did so. But many of them, seeing the insurrection successful, reluctantly adopted it as the means of obtaining their own ends. In the western or rather central part of the colony, they appeared with the revolted slaves in great force against Port au Prince. The whites soon came to terms. On the 11th of September, the concordat, already referred to, was signed, by which the planters of Port au Prince granted to the mulattoes all that was claimed by Oge, and declared the punishment of that chief an execrable crime, and the cause of all the misfortunes which for the last 19 days had desolated the plains and the mountains of the north! This instrument was ratified by the colonial assembly on the 20th of the same month, that body now declaring that it would no longer oppose the decree of the 15th May, in favor of the mulattoes. These were the same men who sixteen months before declared they "would rather die than divide their political rights with a bastard and degenerate race" (a race of their own begetting!) "These concessions, at an earlier period," says Edwards, "would have operated with powerful effect in the salvation of the colony; but they now came too late, and produced only a partial truce, a temporary and fallacious cessation of miseries,"—a remark worthy of all remembrance—a lack of just, equal and
timely concessions, was truly the cause of all the horrors of St. Domingo; but in this instance the fault was not that the concession came too late; it was made in bad faith. Its only object was to disarm the mulattoes till their humble allies, the negroes, could be conquered, and then, as the result proved, it was to be taken back. At the very time when the whites and mulattoes in St. Domingo, were signing their concordat, the ill-starred national assembly, in France, was rescinding its decree of the 15th of May! No sooner had this act been confirmed to the colonial assembly at Cape François, by the arrival of commissioners to keep the peace, than in contravention of the will of those commissioners, they issued an order for "disarming the whole colored population—a population which, by the testimony of contemporary writers, had, from the moment that their just rights were acquiesced in by the colonists, fought against the rebel slaves with all the zeal that the interests of property could inspire." This threw the mulattoes at once into a coalition with the insurgent slaves, who were before that occurrence fast dwindling away. Concession to both classes, even at the eleventh hour, would have put an end to the "horrors;" but the whites preferred their continuance to a loss of their unjust power.

Edwards dwells upon the diabolical cruelties that now occurred on both sides, with a minuteness of detail scarcely less atrocious than the spirit in which they were perpetrated. After describing the barbarous outrages of the mulattoes upon the family of a M. Sejourné, near Jeremie, he exclaims, "Such are thy triumphs, philanthropy!" On the very next page he gives the letter of the Abbe Gregoire, the grand ring-leader of the "exciters of this rebellion," the man who had stirred up the mulattoes to wade through all this blood. And what is the language of this blood-thirsty man to these very mulattoes? He says, "Doubtless you will be permitted to shed tears over the ashes of Ferrand de Beaudiere, and the unfortunate Oge, 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

* Notes on St. Domingo.
consciences, and covered with eternal infamy. The abhorrence in which they are held by the present race of mankind, only precedes the execration of posterity. Bury then in eternal oblivion every sentiment of hatred, and taste the delicious pleasure of conferring benefits on your oppressors. Repress even too marked expressions of your joy;* which, in causing them to reflect on their own injustice towards you, will make their remorse still more pungent."

II. THE HORRORS OF EMANCIPATION.

These "horrors" are commonly supposed to have preceded, or to have been mixed up with, those on which we have dwelt in the preceding pages. Without a popular misapprehension of this sort, "the Horrors of St. Domingo" would have been truly a good-for-nothing argument against the abolition of slavery. To make the argument of any use, it was necessary to persuade the public either that emancipation itself, or the efforts made to obtain it, were the direct cause of the insurrection. The fact of the existence of such a persuasion is more obvious than the means by which it was produced. To ninety-nine men in every hundred, probably, a more astonishing revelation could hardly be made, than that the great and onlyt insurrection in St. Domingo took place before any emancipation had been effected or thought of. The light, of this important fact, however, is beginning to shine and do its work.

On the 4th of April, 1792, the French national assembly again extended to the mulattoes and free negroes the rights of citizenship. To carry this decree into force and to punish the disturbers of the colony, three commissioners, Messrs. Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud were sent out with a force of 8,000 men. The decree under which they were appointed, had nothing to do with emancipation, and the commissioners disclaimed any intention to emancipate. One of the objects which they were sent to accomplish was, to reduce the revolted negroes who had established themselves in the mountains. The commissioners, however, met with great resistance on the part of the white planters,

* This letter bears date, Paris 8th of June, 1791, and was addressed to the citizens of color in the French West Indies, concerning the decree of the 15th of May.
† We except of course some trifling disturbances of very ancient date.
who struggled to the last against admitting the free colored class to a share of their political rights. It was not till the beginning of 1793, that they had established their authority over the whole island. In the last resort the whites succeeded in procuring a new governor of their own party in the place of Desparbes who had resigned. This was M. Galbaud. He arrived at Cape François on the 7th of May, 1793, and entered immediately upon his government to the great joy of the white aristocracy. His first act was to declare his independence of the civil commissioners, who were then engaged in quelling disturbances in the West and South. On the 10th of June they returned to the Cape, and entered upon an examination of the credentials of the new governor. There was a decree of the national assembly that no proprietor of an estate in the West Indies should hold the government of the colony in which his estate was situated. Galbaud had a coffee plantation in St. Domingo, and was unable to give any satisfactory reason why he had not informed the Executive Council of this fact before accepting the appointment.* The commissioners ordered him immediately to return to France. Galbaud rallied his partizans and attacked the commissioners in the government house, with two or three thousand men. Now it was, that "the horrors of emancipation" commenced. Says Edwards, "a scene now opens, which, if it does not obliterate, exceeds at least, all that has hitherto been related of factions, anarchy, and savage cruelty, in this unfortunate colony."

And what was this new and unexampled "horror"? The commissioners despatched an agent to call in to their aid the revolted negroes, promising them pardon for the past, freedom for the future, and the plunder of the city.† Surely this was a charter broad enough to warrant a very liberal enactment of "horrors" on the part of the rebels. "The rebel generals, Jean François and Biassou," says Edwards, "rejected their offers; but on the 21st about noon, (just after that Galbaud and most of his adherents,


† Clarkson, on the authority of the French historians gives these commissioners no agency in calling in the insurgent negroes, but states that after the destruction of the Cape, they proclaimed freedom to the slaves in the neighborhood who would range themselves under the banner of the republic.
finding their cause hopeless, had retired to the ships) a negro chief called Macaya, with upwards of three thousand of the revolted slaves, entered the town, and began an universal and indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children. The white inhabitants fled from all quarters to the sea-side, in hopes of finding shelter with the governor on board the ships in the harbor; but a body of the mulatoes cut off their retreat, and a horrid butchery ensued, a description of which every heart susceptible of humanity must be unable to bear. Suffice it to say, that the slaughter continued with unremitting fury from the 21st to the evening of the 23d; when the savages having murdered all the white inhabitants that fell in their way, set fire to the buildings; and more than half the city was consumed by the flames. The commissioners, themselves, either terrified at beholding the lamentable and extensive mischief which they had occasioned, or afraid to trust their persons with their rebel allies, sought protection under the cover of a ship of the line;" (p. 116.) This candid and Christian author having detailed so dreadful an effect of what he would have his readers believe an act of emancipation, passes on to the more "pleasing task of rendering due homage to the gallant and enterprising spirit of (his) countrymen in their noble—but alas! hitherto unavailing—endeavors to restore peace, subordination, and good government on this theatre of anarchy and bloodshed," i.e. he narrates the efforts of the British to secure slavery and make the colony their own.

Galbaud and a troop of adherents came to the United States, to tell the story of the massacre, burning and plundering of Cape François as one of "the horrors of emancipation!" By these precious defenders of "good government" it was, that hundreds of our good republicans were taught, "if you free the slaves they will turn round and cut their master's throats. Oh yes, has it not been proved in St. Domingo?" On these horrors we have not a word of comment to offer, having no disposition to deny that rebel slaves will cut their master's throats when invited to.

The promise of freedom to the revolted slaves who should resort to the standard of the republic was evidently a step towards a general emancipation, and rendered that event well nigh inevitable. The peaceable slaves, who wished for liberty, had now only to come to the camp of the com-
missioners by the way of the mountains. But the grand result was suddenly brought about by the appearance of a mighty antagonist on the side of the masters. As early as 1791, many of the planters had made application to the King of Great Britain, to take possession of the colony, but as this was before the commencement of hostilities between the latter and France, their application was treated with neglect. Not so in 1793. In the summer of that year, the Governor of Jamaica was directed to accept terms of capitulation from such of the inhabitants of St. Domingo as wished for the protection of the British government, and to send a detachment of troops sufficient to keep possession of the places surrendered till reinforcements should arrive from England.* The military force under the command of the republican commissioners, amounted to 22,000 men, but was so dispersed as to present no formidable obstacle to an invasion. The moment, therefore, they heard of the designs of the British, they turned their minds to the very natural expedient of making peace with the slaves. To do this effectually, it was necessary to promise freedom to all who should take sides with the republic against the British. This is what our pro-slavery historian calls "the most desperate expedient, to strengthen their party, that imagination can conceive." His account of the horrors of this rash and desperate act is too amusing to be omitted. "From this moment it might have been foreseen that the colony was lost to Europe; for though but few of the negroes, in proportion to the whole, joined the commissioners, many thousands choosing to continue slaves as they were, and participate in the fortunes of their masters; yet vast numbers in all parts of the colony (apprehensive probably that this offer of liberty was too great a favor to be permanent) availed themselves of it to secure a retreat to the mountains, and possess themselves of the natural fortresses, which the interior country affords. Successive bodies have since joined them, and it is believed that upwards of 100,000 have established themselves in those recesses, into a sort of savage republic, (oh the savages!) like that of the black Charaïbes of St. Vincent, where they subsist on the spontaneous fruits of the earth, and the wild cattle which they procure by

* Bryan Edwards, page 140.
hunting, prudently declining offensive war, and trusting their safety to the rocky fortresses which nature has raised around them, and from which, in my opinion, it will be no easy undertaking to dislodge them!" 

Such is the representation given by Edwards of the first decree of emancipation. To understand more distinctly the facts to which he refers, it is necessary to remark, that after the affair of the Cape, Polverel left Santhonax there, and proceeded in his capacity of commissioner to Port au Prince and Les Cayes. In both the West and the South he found all quiet, and cultivation flourishing. As soon, however, as the slaves had heard of what had taken place at the Cape they became much excited, and it appeared certain that the safety of the planters as well as the public peace required that emancipation should be extended throughout the island. On the 27th of August, Polverel issued his proclamation from Les Cayes, declaring, that to encourage the negroes to assist in repelling the British, all manner of slavery was abolished, and the negroes were thenceforward to consider themselves as free citizens. He expatiates upon the necessity of labor, requires the negroes to engage in their usual labors from year to year, but gives them the liberty of choosing their own masters. One-third of the crop was to be theirs as a reward of their labor. "The whole," says our candid historian, "appears to have been a matchless piece of absurdity; betraying a lamentable degree of ignorance concerning the manners and dispositions of the negroes, and totally impracticable in itself!" How fearfully horrible! And how sad to relate, that even its total impracticability did not prevent its complete success! Both at Les Cayes and Port au Prince, Polverel opened registries for the names of the planters who concurred in the measure; and, strange to tell, in the former place, nearly all, and in the latter a large majority subscribed their names as supporters of this "matchless piece of absurdity." It was from this fatal blunder of Polverel and the planters, all so lamentably ignorant of the negro character, that those horrors resulted which Bryan Edwards has so pathetically described. The act of emancipation kindled the patriotism of the negroes to such a degree, that the British labored in vain to introduce their "good government." "The colony was lost to Europe." We will not here anticipate what belongs to the
“horrors” of idleness and of the Code Rural; suffice it to say, that neither at this time nor afterwards, when the national assembly abolished slavery in all the French colonies, was a drop of blood spilled! The very men who had raged like bloody-mouthed tigers before the proclamation, were after it mere lambs. The worst crime that even Bryan Edwards can accuse them of committing, is running to the mountains, there to establish a “savage republic;” and the greatest “horror” which even his fruitful imagination can portray, is that it will be “no easy matter to dislodge them”—no easy matter again to reduce them to bondage! So, indeed, it proved to be.

It is worthy of remark that the real “horrors” of emancipation rest on positive as well as negative testimony. Not only is there an entire absence of evil chargeable to emancipation, but there are witnesses, and witnesses of the highest respectability, and of the most perfect opportunity of information, who directly testify that the effect of emancipation was good, and only good. These witnesses are the planters themselves! Says Col. Malenfant, a wealthy planter who resided on the island at the time, “After this public act of emancipation, the negroes remained quiet, both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates indeed which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, for some of these had been put in prison by Montbrun; and others fearing the same fate had fled to the quarter which had just been given up to the English, yet upon these estates though abandoned, the negroes continued their labors, where there were any even inferior agents to guide them; and on the estates where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions. But upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before.” p. 58.*

This was upon the first impetuous gush of the new liberty; perhaps we shall find something more dreadful further on. No. But we find more of the same absurd quietness, more of the same impracticable working for wages, more of the same prudence in declining all such “offensive” work as

* See “Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the state of the West India Colonies.” p. 841, 842.
cutting their masters' throats. The same witness a little further on in his work ridicules the notion of the French, that the negroes would work by no motive but compulsion, and in reference to those liberated by the proclamations aforesaid, asks, "How did Toussaint succeed? How did I succeed also, before his time, in the plain of Cul de Sac, and on the plantation Gouraud, more than eight months after liberty had been granted to the slaves? Let those who knew me at that time, and even the blacks themselves be asked. They will all reply that not a single negro upon the plantation, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers refused to work; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline, and the slaves the most idle of any in the plain. I myself inspired the same activity into three other plantations of which I had the management." p. 125, 126. Again, "If you will take care not to speak to them of their return to slavery, but talk to them about their liberty, you may with this latter word chain them down to their labor." p. 125. Such is the positive testimony we have of the good conduct of the emancipated slaves for sometime after their release. If we do not see the ruinous effects of slavery entirely obliterated, in the years that followed, if during the years 1794, 5 and 6, St. Domingo was still in trouble, we must remember that it was then the field upon which the British expended some thousands of lives, and some millions of money to restore the "good government" of the planters. Time would fail us to recount the smoking and desolate monuments of British valor, which were erected wherever the similar monuments of the old oppression had left room for them, but none of them should be charged to emancipation. In 1796 Toussaint came into power. He was himself a living evidence of the effect of emancipation, being a full-blooded negro, and having been a slave. Whatever may have been the means by which he effected it, there was under his administration, in spite of the lingering efforts of the British and the disturbance of rival chieftains, a most flourishing state of the colony. Says Malenfant, before quoted, "The colony flourished under Toussaint. The whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them." p. 78. Toussaint continued in power from 1796 till 1802, six years, and Malenfant repeatedly affirms, that during that period
the white planters kept peaceable possession of their estates, and the blacks worked for them.

General Pamphile de la Croix, who published in 1819, his "Memoirs for a history of St. Domingo," informs us that when Santhonax, who had been recalled to France by the government, returned to the colony in 1798, "he was astonished at the state in which he found it." "This," says La Croix, "was owing to Toussaint, who while he had succeeded in establishing perfect order and discipline among the black troops, had succeeded also in making the black laborers return to the plantations, there to resume cultivation." p. 311. The same author tells us that in the next year, 1797, the most wonderful progress had been made in agriculture. "The colony," says he, "marched, as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape, and the plantations of the North, rose up again visibly to the eye." p. 324. All this in spite of the horrors of emancipation!

"General Vincent, who still lives in Paris, was a Colonel, and afterwards a General of Brigade in St. Domingo. He was there during the time, both of Santhonax and of Toussaint. He was also proprietor of estates there. He assisted in planning the scheme of its agriculture, after the abolition of slavery, and was one of the great instruments in bringing it to perfection. In the year 1801, he was sent by Toussaint to Paris, to lay before Bonaparte the new constitution that had been agreed upon in St. Domingo, and arrived there at the moment of the peace of Amiens. Here he found to his surprise and grief, that Bonaparte was preparing an immense armament for restoring slavery in St. Domingo. He lost no time in seeing the first consul, and had the courage to remonstrate against the expedition; telling him that his army would most assuredly be destroyed by the climate of St. Domingo, even if it could be doubted whether it would be destroyed by the blacks. He stated, as another argument against the expedition, that it was totally unnecessary, for that every thing was going on well in St. Domingo; the proprietors were in peaceable possession of

* The worst possible argument with the First Consul, inasmuch as he wished the world to be rid of the sturdy republicans he was about to send, before he assumed the imperial purple.
their estates; cultivation was making a rapid progress; the blacks were industrious, and orderly and happy. He conjured him, therefore, not to reverse the satisfactory state of things. But his efforts were ineffectual. The mind of Bonaparte had been poisoned by the misrepresentation of the colonists.*

To estimate the effect of the emancipation of the slaves in 1794 upon the prosperity of the island, we must carefully distinguish between it and other causes that were operating at the same time. 1. The civil wars and the insurrection, that occurred before emancipation was thought of, had destroyed a vast amount of capital. In the year 1791, between the 23d of August and the 16th of October, 1,132 sugar, coffee, cotton and indigo plantations are said to have been utterly destroyed, being more than one-seventh of all in the French part of the island; and these plantations probably embraced a much larger proportion of the agricultural capital of that part, being situated in the most fertile districts, and belonging to the wealthiest of the white planters. Up to the act of emancipation, the destruction was going forward. Much that escaped the fire was ruined by the desertion of the laborers. It is hardly to be supposed that less than two-thirds of the agricultural capital (exclusive of the soil) could have been destroyed during the interval from the rising of the slaves to the general act of emancipation in 1794. 2. The invasion of the British which immediately ensued, and which kept the country in continual agitation from St. Nicholas Mole to Cape Tiburon, must at least have prevented any general amendment of the estates. We have reason to believe that till Toussaint came into power in 1796, there was a continual waste of capital. The British did not evacuate the island till the close of 1798. From that time Toussaint turned his attention to the revival of agriculture; with what success will appear from the following statistics:--

**Average exports from the French part of St. Domingo, before the revolution.**

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<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>145,192,043 lbs.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>71,663,187 lbs.</td>
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* This account was received by Mr. Clarkson, from General Vincent himself. See Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, 1832. p. 842.
Cotton, - - - 6,698,858 lbs.
Indigo, - - - 951,607 lbs.
Molasses, - - - 23,061 Hhds.
Taffia, (a sort of Rum,) - - - 2,600 Hhds.

**The maximum exports in one year under Toussaint.**

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<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
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<td>53,400,000 lbs.</td>
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<td>Coffee</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>34,370,000 lbs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,050,000 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>234,600 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37,600 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molasses</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9,128 Hhds.*</td>
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Before the revolution there were 450,000 slave laborers, working with a capital, in the shape of buildings, mills, fixtures and implements, which had been accumulating for ages of prosperity. Under Toussaint there were 290,000 free laborers, many of them just from the army or the mountains, working on plantations that had undergone the horrors of the insurrection and a seven years' war. Yet in less than three years, Toussaint had brought the colony to such a state of cultivation, that the old planters themselves were astonished and exclaimed, "the colony is marching as if by enchantment towards its ancient splendor;"—he had increased the exports from almost nothing to nearly half those of the best days of the old dominion of the whip. Now, in behalf of emancipation we have a right to claim that its fruits shall be judged by the prosperity of this period, rather than the present. Even here it labors under disadvantages, but another cause was yet to operate in St. Domingo which threw society back almost to its original elements. The agricultural capital, especially that pertaining to the cultivation of sugar, was to be swept away, and with it the white race, comprising most of the experience necessary for its management. Under another head we shall have occasion to enquire what were the effects of this new cause. At present it is sufficient to remark, that no argument adverse to emancipation can be drawn from the present state of Hayti.

* The first of these tables was drawn up by Bryan Edwards, the second we find in Franklin’s work on Hayti. Both are advocates of slavery.
inasmuch as the white planters are no longer parties. Emancipation supposes merely a change in the relation of the laborer to his employer—the substitution of rewards for coercion. Under Toussaint's administration the white planters were protected. The former slaves labored for them for wages or shares in the produce. Had the agricultural capital remained the same as under the old order of things, there would have been a tolerably fair experiment of the effects of emancipation. We are well aware that the advocates of slavery have accused Toussaint of relieving the "horrors of emancipation," by introducing a system of coercion more rigid than slavery itself. This is equivalent to a concession that the results of industry under his system were quite satisfactory, and brings us to the consideration of

III. THE HORRORS OF THE CODE RURAL.

When we advocate the entire and immediate overthrow of slavery, we are told to remember "the horrors of St. Domingo." Yes, we reply, we will not forget the "horrors;" but look you at the quiet, and productive industry which quickly succeeded these horrors. Ah! exclaims the advocates of slavery, that industry was all the effect of coercion worse than slavery itself! So it seems, after all, that Hayti has furnished, not an experiment of freedom, but of coercion worse than slavery. As the principles of the code rural were embraced in that "matchless piece of absurdity," the first proclamation of Polverel, and have been acted on ever since, it appears that there has never been in St. Domingo or Hayti any such thing as emancipation at all! We leave it to the believers in the horrors of the code rural, to show how St. Domingo, where slavery according to their argument was never abolished, proves any thing against the abolition of slavery!

The common apprehension of the matter is that emancipation was tried and when it was found that the laborers would not work freely they were forced to work by the lash or the bayonet according to the rules of a most tyrannous and sanguinary Code Rural. In our last number we gave a comprehensive abstract both of the agricultural code of Polverel which was coeval with emancipation itself, and of that of Toussaint, under which the "colony marched, as
by enchantment towards its ancient splendor." In both of them the cultivators were left free to choose the proprietors under whom they would labor, in both they were to receive a compensation for their labor which depended much upon their own industry, and not at all upon the will of the proprietor; in neither of them could they be punished arbitrarily or without trial. There was nothing in either of these codes more severe than our own enactments against vagrancy and idleness. The citizens who had no other means of support must work some where, and work to some purpose, but they might choose for themselves where they would work, and the avails were fully secured to them. But it is said that these laws were barbarously executed, that in point of fact, the system of coercion was even worse than that of slavery. To set this matter in its true light, we will give the words of James Franklin, the paid historian of "the West India Committee," in his "Present state of Hayti." He says of the latter of the two codes above referred to, "When this law was promulgated, Toussaint began to exert the power he possessed to enforce it, and cultivation began to raise its head in a most eminent degree. The sugar estates exhibited labor going on with the same spirit and success as in former times; the coffee settlements displayed a busy scene in every direction throughout the colony; and the cotton and cocoa plantations showed that they were not to be neglected in the midst of this animated and interesting struggle for the revival of a country's greatness and a nation's wealth. But here coercion did the work; here was compulsory labor resorted to, because it was sanctioned by the law, and those who held the power were more than equal to those that felt a disposition to resist it. The whip, that symbol of office (what an elegant euphemism!) of the principal negro, was dispensed with, it is true, but the cultivators were placed under the apprehension of a more effective weapon, for they were attended through the day by a military guard, and the bayonet and the sabre superseded the cat and the lash. To the astonishment of the leading people in the country (the old white planters of course,) the cultivators submitted to the coercion without a murmur; and it was not till French intrigue was industriously set to work to instil into their minds that their condition was worse than when they were slaves, that any dispo-
sition was shewn to oppose the principle of compulsory la-
bor; and even this opposition was far from being general.
When we take into consideration that the population under
Toussaint had greatly diminished, and that the cultivators
in his time exceeded very little more than half of the slaves
that were employed in agriculture in the time of the French,
and compare the returns of produce at the respective periods,
it must be evident that the system of coercion resorted to by
Toussaint, must have been to the full as rigid as that
which existed at any former period, or it would have been
impossible for him to have carried on cultivation to so great
an extent." Much as we pity this pro-slavery beggar, we
cannot yield the question to his importunity. On his prin-
ciple, if we "compare the returns of produce" in Ohio and
Kentucky we must at once be convinced that "the system
of coercion resorted to" in the former is far more "rigid"
than that in the latter. We are not prepared to concede to
Mr. Franklin that he has made out any system of coercion
at all, so far as the amount of labor is concerned. It is true
that every person not otherwise employed or not able to
subsist on the avails of his property, being in good health,
was compelled to be industriously employed during nine
hours of each day, but it was left to the compensation to
stimulate his muscles while in the field. What signified
the "bayonet and the sabre"? Does Mr. James Franklin
mean to have us understand, that when his gentlemen of
the "military guard" saw a loiterer or one whose strength
was not equal to his row, they could lay the sabre on his
back as the "principal negro" used to his "symbol of office";
or that when they saw a tired laborer sit down under the
shade to rest himself, they could rouse him to his toil by
punching him with the bayonet under the fifth rib? Would
the cultivators have submitted to any such system without
a murmur? The truth is, Franklin utterly mistakes the
purpose of the "military guard." It was placed on the
plantation as much to coerce the proprietor as the cultiva-
tor. The whole system of Toussaint was military, because
it originated in war. When a civil or constabulary force
was wanted to maintain the law between proprietors and
cultivators none was at hand. But there was a well orga-
nized military, a force that Toussaint thought it necessary
to keep well organized. He, therefore, placed upon each
estate a small military guard, with their "symbols of office," whose business it was, not to administer punishment, for this the law did not allow them to do in any case, but to protect the rights of the laborer as well as the proprietor, by bringing the parties before the proper tribunal in case of any tumult or complaint. The *coercion* exercised by the military guard was nothing more nor less than the *coercion* of the law, the only penalties of which were "pecuniary fines, imprisonment, and labor on the public works." So much for the "horrors of the bayonet" under the terrible reign of Toussaint. It is quite apparent why the French could never succeed in convincing any considerable portion of the cultivators "that their condition was worse than when they were slaves." It is to be remembered that the contracts between the proprietors and cultivators were only for a term of three years, and either party could withdraw by giving a year's notice. Any considerable dissatisfaction, especially on the side of the cultivators, would have brought the system into irretrievable confusion. That the proprietors were secretly dissatisfied is proved by their intrigues with Bonaparte for the restoration of slavery, but that they had little reason to be dissatisfied is proved by their bitter lamentations under Le Clerc and Rochambeau, with whom they were soon disgusted, regretting exceedingly that like the dog in the fable, they had dropped the sure advantages which they enjoyed under Toussaint for the shadowy and evanescent hope of greater gains under the restoration of the old regime. So thoroughly indeed were the planters convinced of the profitableness of their estates under the law and police of Toussaint, that when Rochambeau was at last driven from the island, and they had mostly embarked with their effects to fly with him, they gladly returned at great expense, because Dessalines offered to place them on the same footing as they had held under Toussaint. In this instance they had a more crafty and cruel chief to deal with, for Dessalines had no intention to nourish in his bosom the vipers that had proved so fatal to his generous predecessor. His offer only lured them to destruction. But their return under such circumstances speak volumes for Toussaint.

"Horrible" as were these codes of Polverel and Toussaint for the suppression of vagrancy, and the regulation of the rural police, we more than doubt, whether they were com-
plained of as coercive, while they were in force. It was not
till the advocates of slavery felt the need of some new and
powerful argument in support of the necessity of coercion,
that they discovered "the horrors of the Code Rural."
How convenient for them would it be, when pressed and
worried beyond endurance by arguments against the folly
and sin of slavery, to be able to turn to an experiment,
where freedom had been tried and found wanting; where,
as a last resort, to prevent starvation, the laborers were
driven to the field by a military guard, with drum and 
and guns; where the whip and chain had only given place
to the sabre, the bayonet and the dungeon. Oh yes, it
would be just the thing, to show that the poor Haytians, with
all their boasted liberty, had but jumped out of the frying
pan into the fire. This interesting discovery was probably
made by the slaveholders of Jamaica in 1826. In that year
the agricultural laws of Hayti were revised by President
Boyer, and published under the title of "The Code Rural."
Some of the provisions of this code suggested to the Jamaica
planters the idea of making an impression in favor of their
own tyrannous system by representing that industry was
maintained in Hayti only by the same principle, COER-
CISION. It is worthy of remark, that the code rural itself
was so little to their purpose, that they substituted in its
place their own commentary, prefaced by a forged procla-
mation. Says the British "Anti-Slavery Reporter," vol. I,
p. 309, "On the 14th of October, 1826, there appeared in the
Royal Gazette of Jamaica, a proclamation pretended to be
issued in Hayti, by President Boyer in April or May, 1826;
which, however, has proved to be a forged and fabricated
document. It had in substance been issued by Toussaint
L'Ouverture in 1799, under widely different circumstances;
but it was now vamped up, and in a mutilated and garbled
state palmed upon the public as a proof of the severe coer-
cion which was requisite to obtain from the people of Hayti,
in the present day, an adequate measure of industrious ex-
ertion.

"On the 9th of November, the subject of this proclama-
tion was brought before the house of assembly by Mr. At-
kinson. They had all seen, he said, a proclamation of the
Haytian President,—a document which he considered of
material assistance at the present period, when that house
was called upon to adopt a parcel of nonsensical measures for the regulation of our slave population, quite incompatible with their habits and customs. This proclamation was without date, but its contents specified that compulsory labor must be resorted to in the free state of Hayti, and this circumstance ought to be made known in England." Accordingly the house of assembly immediately despatched the proclamation with the extracts from the code rural which best suited their purpose to their agent in England, with directions to publish them and put them in the hands of every member of parliament. Detection did not travel so far behind this fraud as its perpetrators seem to have anticipated. Still it served a purpose.

In the United States "the horrors of the Code Rural" have been plied with equal industry. Innumerable newspaper paragraphs have spread the delusion that this code is as cruel as the laws of Draco, or our own more abominable slave laws. The New-York Commercial Advertiser of September 24, 1834, practices the West India tactics to perfection. It says of Hayti, "The government has ever been despotic, and of necessity; and at last its power has been called forth for the regulation of labor—the labor of freemen, to prevent the island from going entirely to ruin. The following extract from a late Haytian enactment is in point, and will serve as a practical commentary upon the mad schemes of our well-meaning but deluded philanthropists.† The senate and chamber of representatives of Hayti have passed a Rural

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* Mr. Hibbert, the agent of the West Indians was brought into a very unpleasant predicament by giving the finishing stroke to this forgery. The following is the explanation of this part of the business, offered by a pro-slavery witness before the Lords’ Committee in 1832. "There was no signature to the copy of the proclamation that had been sent to Mr. Hibbert, and he, imagining it had been a mere clerical omission of the clerk of the committee of correspondence, when he published it, as he did by their direction, put the name of Boyer, the then President, at the bottom of it; This Mr. Hibbert stated in a letter he subsequently published."

† Of the "clerical omissions" in the document itself, we are not aware that any explanations were attempted. Mr. Hinchcliffe, the witness referred to, thus accounts for the singular fact that the proclamation was used at all. "There was a Code Rural conformable to that proclamation, though the proclamation itself had been the one issued, I believe, by Truffaut, thirty years before; and I can only suppose that it was, from Mr. Atkinson’s explanations, that it had been sent down at that time, I think from Barbadoes to Jamaica, because it was giving an effect the substance of the Code Rural that had been issued."

† Report of the Lords’ Committee, p. 21."

So it was all to save clerk hire! The economical West India nabobs, to save the expense of copying the 200 articles of the Code Rural, select 15 or 16, and give the "substance" of the rest by a proclamation thirty years old, clerically omitting the date and the name!"
Code, containing provisions which are without example in any nation. Their object is to compel the people to labor for their subsistence by inflicting penalties upon idleness. We have extracted the following articles, which render the condition of the free blacks of Hayti very little different from, [if not actually worse than the condition of the slaves in any part of the United States.] Then follow seven insulated articles of the Code Rural,—some of the same that were sent from Jamaica to England, ahead of the code itself, and published by Mr. Hibbert. These articles, which we shall presently see are no more severe or compulsory than the statutes of Elizabeth and George III. for the same object, are as follows:

"Art. 174. All persons who are not proprietors, or farmers in the place in which they reside, and shall not have engaged themselves to work for some proprietor or farmer shall be reported as vagabonds, shall be arrested by the rural police of the place in which they may be found, and brought before the justice of the peace of the district.

"Art. 177. If, after eight days detention they shall refuse to work, they shall be sent to labor on the public works, of the town or district in which they may be arrested, until they consent to work in the fields.

"Art. 180. Every laborer, who, on working days, and at the hours at which he ought to be employed, shall be found unoccupied, or walking upon the public ways, shall be considered as an idler, arrested as such, and brought before a justice of the peace, who, for the first offence may send him to prison for 24 hours; and for any repetition may send him to the public works.

"Art. 184. The ordinary labors in the field shall commence at day light, and continue till mid-day, with an interval of half an hour for breakfast; the labor shall be resumed at two o'clock, and continue till sun-set.

"Art. 185. Pregnant women shall be employed only upon

without giving credit, from the New-York Courier and Enquirer of June 26, 1834, all except the words we have enclosed in brackets. Instead of these words the Courier and Enquirer had ["the slaves in the colonies."]. Hence, as the latter servile print has given no credit or date, we infer it stole the paragraph from some old English newspaper, probably one of those that gave publicity to the "clerical omission"-proclamation of Mr. Hibbert! The Commercial speaks of the enactment as "a late" one. The Caucus from whom he borrowed his extract dragged it into his den without a word about its age! Such is the honor and honesty of the American Press, where slavery is concerned!
light work, but after the fourth month of their pregnancy they shall not be compelled to work in the fields at all. [How different the practice in the United States!]

"ART. 186. Four months after their delivery they shall resume their labors in the fields, but shall not begin work until an hour after sun-rise, and continue until eleven o'clock, and shall work in the afternoon only from two o'clock till an hour before sun-set.

"ART. 190. Saturdays, Sundays, and Fête-days being entirely at the disposal of the laborers, they are not to be permitted to leave their work on other days, for the purposes of dancing or amusement, either day or night; the delinquents in such cases shall be liable to imprisonment for three days for the first offence, and for six days for every repetition of the offence."

No person, unless totally ignorant of our southern slave codes, could imagine that such regulations as these would make the condition of the subjects of them worse than, or any where nearly as bad as, that of the slaves in the United States. But when we turn to the code itself, we find it making abundant provision for the freedom of the laborer as well as the security of his compensation. The Code Rural consists of six general heads, or laws, which are divided into chapters, and subdivided into 202 articles. The first law describes the class of citizens who shall be required to devote themselves to agriculture, and states the exceptions. The 3d Article is as follows: "All the citizens being bound to give their aid towards supporting the state, either by their services or their industry; those who shall not be employed in civil offices, or called out on military service; those who shall not be engaged in any business subject to the patent;* those who shall not be employed as working artificers, or as domestic servants, those who shall not be employed in the cutting of wood for exportation; and those in fine, who shall not be able to show that they possess the means of subsistence, shall be bound to cultivate the earth." People are not permitted to leave the country and reside in towns, unless they can show that they have business or property that will support them. All fines and forfeitures under 100 dollars are inflicted by jus-

* A tax so named imposed on merchants, shop-keepers, tradesmen, &c.
tices of the peace, over that sum by the civil tribunals. By way of encouragement, prizes are to be awarded to the most successful cultivators. A full report of the state of agriculture, and suggestions of the best means of improving it, are required of the officers of the departments once every year. The second law, regulates “landmarks, boundaries and establishments;” it provides that the woods shall not be cut away in certain places, that the springs and fountains shall be planted around with trees to promote coolness, that fires shall not be kindled in the woods or old canes to the detriment of others, that cattle shall be kept from committing depredations, &c. &c. It also provides, that provisions shall be raised on each estate sufficient for all the laborers employed on it, that the cultivators who work for one-fourth of the produce shall have for their personal use a garden of provisions to be cultivated on leisure days, that the dikes, reservoirs and conduits for the purposes of irrigation shall be kept in repair by joint labor, &c. &c. The third law treats of the mutual contracts between the proprietors or principal renters, and the cultivators or laborers. The terms of contracts are different for different branches of business, ranging from six months to three years. The contracting parties are “at liberty to make such stipulations as they shall judge suitable, provided they do not contravene the regulations of the present code.” Proprietors are not allowed to employ laborers without a written contract, nor to employ those whose previous contracts have not expired. When the contracts are made by laborers individually, the compensation received is one-fourth of the produce, aside from all expenses, and aside from the produce of the gardens specially allotted, to be divided among all the laborers. When the contract is made by an association of laborers under a headman, the association is to receive one-half the produce. The periods are stated at which the avails shall be divided in the case of each crop. The 56th, 57th and 58th articles detail the mode in which the division shall be made, and are well worth perusal. “56. When the periods arrive for dividing the proceeds among the cultivators, the officer of the rural police of the section in which the plantation is situated, shall be called by the proprietor, chief renter, or their manager, to witness the division. The account of the articles manufactured, or other products
reaped, shall be exhibited, with a certificate of the price current, and one from the purchaser of the commodities mentioned in the last article. The list of persons entitled to share shall be settled, and the proceeds shall be reckoned up.

“57. Each of the co-sharers shall be inscribed in the Distribution List, according to their strength and activity and the time they have worked, either in the first, second, or third class. And the money to be shared shall be divided into quarter shares, half shares, and whole shares. The conductors of the labors contracted for at one fourth of the produce, and the head men of the associations laboring for a half, shall each have three whole shares. The head sugarboilers, the head wagoners, and, in short, the head of each department of labor, shall have two shares. The good workers of the first class, whether men or women, shall have a share and a half; those of the second, one share; those of the third three quarters of a share; children from twelve to sixteen years of age, who have made themselves serviceable according to their capacities, and the old people who can only work moderately, half a share; and children from nine to eleven years, who have been occupied according to their age and strength, and infirm persons, shall have a quarter share. The broken money, arising from the formation of the shares, shall go to augment the portion of the laborers who shall have displayed the greatest punctuality and perseverance in their labors.”

“58. There shall be furnished to the laborers daily tickets, to show the days they were present at work. Every week their daily tickets shall be withdrawn and replaced by weekly tickets, which shall be brought into account when the division of the money, arising from the crops, takes place.”

Permits of absence may be given by the proprietors, renters, or managers, but not for a longer time than eight days—When a longer absence is desired the matter is referred to the commandant of the commune. The proprietors are to furnish the necessary tools. Regulations are made in regard to the sale of the produce. The whole expense of the management of the plantation is to be paid out of the share of the proprietor. By the 67th article “Proprietors or renters are bound, under penalty from five to fif-
teen dollars, to agree before hand with a medical practitioner if there be one in the commune, to look after their cultivators, and to furnish the necessary medicines; these medicines being furnished gratis to the cultivators contracting at a fourth; but being paid for at cost price, when furnished to associations working for half, or to under-tenants.

"68. Proprietors and chief renters of rural properties, must look to it that the infant children on the property shall be well taken care of. To this end one or more females shall be properly appointed to this charge, the remuneration for whose attention shall be paid by the cultivators, in proportion to the number of their children."

The obligations of the cultivators are also stated, they are to be "obedient and respectful to the proprietors and renters with whom they have contracted, as well as to the managers." They are to be punctual and not leave their labors without permission, except from Saturday morning till Monday at sunrise. They are to render their services in the transportation of the produce, the proprietor or chief renter furnishing the means of transport. Rules are enacted in regard to sub-contracts. Soldiers and other persons in the service of the state are allowed to cultivate on shares on the same terms as others; and they may also work by the week, the month, or the job if they prefer. This regulation is admirably adapted to counteract the evils of the large military establishment maintained in Hayti. This law closes with a chapter on "the method of terminating difficulties between proprietors, renters, managers, cultivators, associated persons, sub-tenants, &c.," which we fancy would look very oddly in any slave code. We quote it entire.

"81. When differences shall arise between agricultural proprietors, principal renters, managers, and cultivators, associated for a half, or sub-tenants, the parties shall first carry their complaints or claims before the officer of Rural Police of the section, who, assisted, if need be, by the Council of Agriculture of the quarter, shall forthwith employ himself in amicably terminating the differences, as far as they may be within his province.

"82. In cases where the differences are of a nature not to be decided by the officer of Rural Police, assisted by the Council of Agriculture, he shall call upon the parties to
choose arbiters, within the section, to settle and decide their differences.

"83. In cases where the differences cannot thus be settled by arbitration on the spot, or when the parties shall not have named arbiters, the officer of Rural Police shall wait till Saturday or Sunday in order to send the parties before the Justice of Peace of the commune. The whole must be concluded in the space of six days at most.

84. The Justice of Peace shall be bound to decide the difference, and shall not be at liberty, under pain of being punished for a denial of justice, to allege the silence of the law on the cause brought before him for his decision.

"85. The Justice of Peace shall be bound to pronounce within twenty-four hours, at the utmost, after the appearance of the parties."

The fourth law regards the establishment and regulation of farms for breeding cattle, and the contracts between the proprietors or renters, and laborers on the same.

The fifth law regards the care and management of the animals, and the damage they may do in the fields, and is characterized by justice and sound sense.

The sixth law establishes and regulates the Rural Police. Hayti is divided into departments. The departments are subdivided into communes; and these again into rural sections. The military commandant of each department is responsible for the decay of agriculture and the execution of the Code Rural within his department. The commandant of each commune is responsible for his commune; and the officer of rural police in each section is responsible for his section. These officers are to make regular inspections and accurate returns of the population and the state of agriculture. The rural section is limited to about four square leagues in the plains, and in the mountains, according to the nature of the ground. Each officer of such a section has under his command three rural guards. Thus there is one military man to every square league. The same law establishes in every commune a Council of Agriculture for certain specified purposes. The object of the Rural Police is stated to be, 1. To repress vagrancy. 2. To maintain order and assiduity in the labors of the field. 3. The discipline of the laboring population. 4. The making and repairing public and private roads. It was in this portion of
the Code Rural that the West India slaveholders found the articles at which they were so much horror stricken, and which their American copyists profess to believe so much worse than the American slave code. Yet they have found nothing of whips, or chains or irresponsible masters. The whole amount of the coercion, which figures so largely in their comments, is, that persons who have no other visible means of living, must work on the farms under proprietors of their own choice, or on the roads under the rural police. They must not leave the plantation without permission. The slavery advocates would have us infer from the articles which they do extract, that by others which they do not extract the laborers are subject to a discipline similar to that of slavery. Yet the only article on the subject, and which they were careful to omit, is this: "189. Every act of disobedience or insult, on the part of a workman commanded to do any work which he has engaged to do by a reciprocal contract or agreement, shall be punished by imprisonment, according to the exigency of the case, and according to the decision of the Justice of Peace of the commune." The remainder of the code is occupied with detailed regulations in regard to the making and repairing of the roads.

This code passed the Chamber of Commons, at Port au Prince, on the 21st of April, 1826, it passed the Senate on the 4th, and received the signature of President Boyer on the 6th of the succeeding May. It is said to have been the work of Secretary-General Inginac, assisted by a committee of the legislature. After this review, exceedingly brief compared with the code itself, we feel no fear that the reader will disagree with us, when we pronounce it a perfect contrast to the American Slave code. The most literally rigid execution of the Code Rural could by no possibility produce any thing like the misery which is the daily and inevitable consequence of the American system of coercion.

But does it not show that emancipated slaves will not work without compulsion—that they will not work for mere wages? Certainly not. The whole code is built on the supposition that they will work for wages. Its coercive power is well adapted to correct individual cases of idleness or vagrancy which might be expected to abound among such a population as that of Hayti, so released from the
yoke, but it would be utterly impotent to secure the industry of a people generally averse to labor. Who are the agents charged with the enforcement of the so called coercion? They are chiefly persons chosen by the laborers themselves and chosen from among themselves. The very conducteurs, or, as the slaveholders insist upon translating it, the drivers, are chosen by the laborers whom they are to conduct. The whole code is the work of a legislature chosen by the people, the majority of whom are the laborers themselves. If then it is a case of coercion, it is a case where the people coerce themselves. Alas! what idle wretches the people of Hayti must be—they have to force themselves to labor!

The Code Rural of Hayti, so far as coercion is concerned, is certainly not, as our learned editors have affirmed, "without example in any nation." The British law is remarkably parallel, and the advocates of slavery might as well infer from that, that the British yeomanry are "in a condition little different from that of slaves." Says Sir William Blackstone, in his "Commentaries on the Laws of England," "All single men between twelve years old and sixty, and married ones under thirty years of age, and all single women between twelve and forty, not having any visible livelihood, are compellable by two justices, to go out to service in husbandry, or certain specific trades for the promotion of honest industry." Again, "A third species of servants are laborers, who are only hired by the day or the week, and do not live intra maenia, as part of the family; concerning whom the statutes before cited, (5 Eliz. c. 4. and 6 Geo. III. c. 26,) have made many very good regulations: 1. Directing that all persons who have no visible effects may be compelled to work. 2. Defining how long they must continue to work in summer and in winter: 3. Punishing such as leave or desert their work: 4. Empowering the Justices at Sessions, or the Sheriff of the county to settle their wages: 5. Inflicting penalties upon such as either give or exact more wages than are so settled." Book I. p. 427.

We are inclined to think that the Code Rural is no exception to the general truth that legislators are prone to legislate too much, but it exhibits a wise adaptation of means to ends, and a provision for contingencies which could have resulted only from great experience or marvellous penetra-
tion. It does infinite credit to Hayti. What nation, not advanced to the summit of civilization, has produced a code more justly and philosophically adapted to the purposes for which it was framed. "To those who are clamorous after a "plan by which slavery can be abolished without producing greater evils," we commend the Code Rural of Hayti, with all its "horrors." If American slaveholders will adopt that, we will cease our interference with their coercion to-morrow.

IV. THE HORRORS OF IDLENESS.

Says James Franklin, "I shall be able to show that Hayti presents no instance in which the cultivation of the soil is successfully carried on without the application of force to constrain the laborer." p. 7. Again, "I declare it to be my firm conviction, that unless coercion be resorted to, the negro will not labor. The impulse for indulging in sloth and indolence is too irresistible, and it will not be in the power of the government to make any progress in agricultural labor, except it be done by actual force." p. 343. And again, "It is perhaps unfortunate that the local authorities in Hayti are individuals without decision, and too apt to submit to the will of the people; mere nonentities, without resolution sufficient to command obedience in their several districts, although invested with power to commit, or inflict summary punishment. Hence there is much reason to presume that the enactments of the Code Rural will become inefficacious for a more general and extensive cultivation of the soil, and that agricultural pursuits will be not the least encouraged or promoted by its clauses, because the task of enforcing them devolves on the very imbecile class of persons who constitute the executive part of the government." p. 363. So it seems that the coercion that has made such a terrible figure in the "horrors of the Code Rural," is only potential, not actual. The charge now is that of Pharaoh against the Israelites—"Ye are idle, ye are idle." And this idleness, too, is the result of emancipation! for says our author in this connection, "It is indisputable that the declaration of freedom to the slave population of Hayti was the ruin of the country." It is consoling however to learn from the same candid and philosophical traveler, that this ruin does not involve the starvation of the people, nor is it
conclusive against the practicability of labor for wages in the United States, he says, "there cannot be a greater distinction between two classes of people than there is between the free laborers in Hayti and those of Cuba and the Southern States of North America. * * * In the United States the incitements to labor are great, the most important being that of want; and until the Haytians are impelled by a stimulus equally powerful, they will not work; and that such a stimulus will be found is not probable, while we know that the labor of a few days will furnish a negro with sustenance for a month."

Fortified by such consolation, we are prepared to encounter with tolerable composure the grievous jeremiads of our American editors. Alas! they exclaim, "from the day of their emancipation to the present, the population for the most part, has been idle and worthless." "St. Domingo was the garden of the new world—the richest of the Indies. But its villas have gone to ruin, and its fields run to waste. Thorns and briars have clothed their gardens, and the plantations have been barren from idleness."* Yes, those delectable old villas, where 30,000 white nabobs reveled in luxury at the expense of 450,000 black laborers in the fields, have gone to ruin, and we shall presently see wherefore; but for the honor of freedom and republicanism, we might add, if we could believe this editor, that the idleness which has produced those naughty "thorns and briars" has occurred under a government that "has ever been despotic." We have always believed in the impotency of despotism to produce industry. But unfortunately the sagacious proslavery traveler, above quoted, spoils both the despoticism and the idleness. He says, "The system pursued by the Haytian government respecting the disposal of its lands seems to be erroneous. Allotting it out in small grants of ten or fifteen acres,† is an injudicious measure: it only tends towards extending and perpetuating the evil and pernicious habits of the people. When a negro obtains a grant of a small tract of land, he cares little about the cultivation of it beyond the production of enough for his own immediate wants, and those wants are trifling. Two or three hours labor in each week will suffice to answer all the purposes of

* New-York Commercial Advertiser, September 24, 1834.
† Five corveaux, or fifteen acres is the smallest grant that can be made.
culture required to produce food enough for himself.—* • • •

Such being the case, and known to be so by the government, it is enough to suprise one that they should parcel out their lands in this way, because, even under the Code Rural, the person holding it, is no longer a laborer but a proprietor, and is not therefore amenable to it. Had the government proceeded differently, and let the estates to farm as they were originally laid out, so many petty proprietors would not have existed, but would have remained amenable to the law for enforcing cultivation. From this unwise system laborers are scarce in Hayti, and the few that are to be obtained are the worst of characters, negroes so abandoned as not to have been considered worthy of inheriting a patch of land. Hayti abounds with these small proprietors; their patches of land, with their huts upon them, are generally situate in the mountains, in the recesses, or on the most elevated parts, on spots, as the poet has described them, 'the most inaccessibile by shepherds trod.' They are therefore lost for the purposes of agriculture: their cultivation does not extend beyond vegetables for the market in their vicinity, added to which they furnish an occasional supply of pork, poultry, and wild pigeons." p. 343. A most amiable "despotism" this of Hayti, after all! Even the coercion of its Code Rural, such as it is, extends only to laborers of the "worst characters." The rest are all made proprietors, by small grants of land from the government,—an admirable plan one would think, to encourage good order and industry. But we learn from Mr. Franklin that by this "injudicious measure" the people "are lost for the purposes of agriculture," being rendered so idle as only to supply their own wants and "the markets in their vicinity"! The lamentable indolence of the Haytians, therefore turns out to be a mere preference to labor moderately for themselves on their own freeholds, instead of being worked to skeletons in the boiling houses and distilleries of large sugar estates, chiefly for the benefit of the proprietors thereof. Such indolence is truly censurable by us, in a country where "the pursuit of happiness" is not considered an "inalienable right," but a "rhetorical flourish"!

Thus have we seen from one of the most venal and thor-

* Ah, indeed! were the estates "originally laid out" in the mountains? If not, what a loss to Hayti, to have its wild mountains cultivated by hardy freemen!
oughly trained witnesses of the pro-slavery party, that the Haytians live happily under laws that respect the rights and liberty of all. No matter what has become of the exports, the people are free and happy under a government which "submits to their will" and is the servant of their interests. This is conclusive of all that we need establish; but this is not the end of the argument. Franklin has developed means and measures, on the part of the government, which he and his party may sneer at as much as they please, but which every wise man will perceive to be wisely adapted to produce the best results on the character and condition of the people. These results Franklin himself is not able altogether to conceal, as he goes through the island weep- and wailing over the dilapidated villas and ruined carriage-roads of the old planters, and turning up his aristocratic nose at the "little patches" of their ci-devant slaves. To give the reader a full view of what we refer to, we must bring forward a witness from the other side,—a traveler who visited Hayti in 1830 at the expense of the London Anti-Slavery Society, extracts from whose journal are to be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporters for March and April, 1831. If it be objected that this witness is as much a paid one as the other, the reader will still have the satisfaction to perceive that at least in the matter of self-consistency, and consistency with the laws of human nature, as well as in good English, the Anti-Slavery Society made by far the better bargain.

Says this traveler, writing from Port au Prince, "The market on Saturday, which extends over to Sunday morn- ing, presents an assemblage of people who have no affinity with the laboring population of the slave colonies, but that which they derive from their common African origin. There is the black skin and the woolly hair, but there is an elevation of character in the features, which indicates the working of better motives than fear and submission."

"Some writers have affirmed that the untractable idleness of the Haytians has led them to consult their ease in all things. If this be so, we cannot but admire the operation of the motive in the preservation of that robust health and vigor, which it seems to secure to parent and child, through the diminished toil they enjoy, and by means of the possession of numerous well trained and strong-limbed asses and horses.
on which they are seen riding to market, and bringing down a prodigious quantity of agricultural products for sale. The excellent training of the ass, called here the bourrique, excites no less admiration than his large size, and the sleek and glossy condition of his make. As his great utility secures him from ill treatment, he is neither slow, stupid, nor headstrong. Trains of from three to six tied together trot on unstimulated by word or blow from the owner, who rides on one animal, with perhaps his wife on a second, and his lusty and helpful boy on another. "The herds of these animals must be immense."

"I shall not here descant upon the fact so well known, that an article of the constitution declared that, 'au premier coup de canon d'alarme, les villes disparaitront, et la nation se levèra;" but it is clear that this circumstance alone must have been sufficient to influence the small proprietors in fixing their locations, even so near the city and seat of government, in the mountains, rather than in the plains, fertile as they are."

"The cultivation of the range of mountains from Point Lamentin to the valley of the Cul de Sac, on the South side of Port au Prince, is, at this time much more extensive than it ever was in the period of its colonial history. The plains were the source of such abundant profit for the industry of the proprietor, that the mountains in the neighborhood were comparatively neglected. At present they are covered with a thousand small settlements, appropriated to coffee and provisions, and fruits and vegetables, in which all have secured for their fields the advantages of irrigation, under the surveillance of a rural police, which regulates diligently the arrangement and proper keeping of these important water courses. On the very spot where Christophe, as recently as in the time of the nascent republic of Petion, after clearing away brushwood and forest trees planted his batteries, and unsuccessfully invested the city, the cottage of the humble cultivator is seen, or the substantial country seat of the Haytian merchant has been erected. All these are new plantations."

"I will just briefly notice that the planters here concentrate their agriculture in little space. They take off a crop

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* At the first report of the alarm gun, the cities shall disappear, and the nation shall rise in arms. Constitution of Devalsannes 1905.
of corn between their canes, and plant peas, potatoes (not the pommé de terre, but the true patata of the Indians,) and maize on the same field. They gather their peas before their potatoes are fit, and dig the potatoes before the corn ripens and shells its grain—so that much is effected in very little compass. Food of all kinds, animal and vegetable, is four times cheaper here than in Jamaica."

"The patches of cornfields which spot the forests of the mountains, the thick groves of the bananas which line the hollows of the steeps, and the shrubby breaks of coffee trees which here and there diversify the luxuriant vegetation of hill and valley, are the agricultural wealth that conceal the domestic haunts of the Haytian husbandmen.—It is only when the traveller opens some angle of the ravines, that he sees the cottage itself, situated upon some small plateau within the hollow, and commanding its own stream of clear and limpid waters trenched along the upland surface of its own little quiet property for the purposes of fertility or refreshment."

"Before unsaddling our horses, with the intention of resting for the night at Moquet, we had seized the opportunity, while yet there was an hour of departing sunshine, to ride out and view the cultivation of the adjacent estates eastward. Well-trimmed hedge rows lined the public road on which we traveled, and I heard with interest, that these were the enclosures of some small sugar farms, the subdivisions of a concessionary grant to a military person, whose family had now parcell'd the inheritance in little properties. They had their separate cottages sheltered by the luxuriant foliage of the shrubs and trees that administer food and refreshment in the tropics. They depended on the mills of their wealthier neighbors for the means of converting the crop into a commodity for sale, and in that dependance tilled their little fields, with a sure reckoning of their sugar proceeds, beside what they reaped in the shape of corn, yams, patatas, manioc, grass and green vegetables for the weekly market."

"The Haytians very justly observe, that whatever questions may be raised as to whether their life is one of well directed industry, or of carelessness, sloth, and ease, they can point to the fact that there is impressed on the people the habit of good manners, and of attention to their person-
al appearance, as a striking circumstance within the reach of the most superficial inquirers."

"Between the Bahamas and north coast of Hayti, there is a great trade recently opened, by a proclamation of Sir G. Murray's, the prohibition of the act not extending to these islands; and no injury has occurred to the morals and political feeling of the slaves of the Bahamas, who come and go freely, for they find that Hayti is not a country in which the people live without labor."

"We arrived in Port au Prince by eight o'clock in the morning, passing through a numerous train of country people, composed of old and young, aged persons, youths, maidens, and children, all speeding away on their loaded horses and asses, to the Saturday market. Some had come down from as far as Mirebalais, a distance of fifty miles, to sell and buy for their household wants."

"Port au Prince, though by no means a handsome town, is, at this day, in style and one may say in splendor, far superior to what it was in the colonial period of its history. One third of the city, eight years ago, fell by the destructive element. Industry has in a great measure repaired this calamity, but the marks are not entirely obliterated. The city of Port au Prince covers a large space of ground. It is certainly nearly, if not quite as large as Kingston, in Jamaica; being a full mile in extent, from the portal of St. Joseph to the barrier of Leogane; but it is not estimated to contain more than from twenty to 25,000 inhabitants, whereas Kingston contains from thirty to 40,000, a slave community permitting the free to have about them many attendants, so that each house is more numerous in tenanted.

"The city of the Cape is indeed nothing but the shell of its ancient grandeur; but even here, where restoration promises the least, the eye is cheered by the sight of workmen engaged in rebuilding, in an equally showy and substantial style, some of the ancient private edifices.

Individual enterprise is doing its best to restore the ruined dwellings to a habitable condition, and the roofless walls, that pretty plentifully intersperse the city, standing out like ragged beggars amid well-dressed company, as if their decayed gentility had entitled them to be tolerated, are daily diminishing in number."
This traveler bears uniform testimony to the industry and enterprise of the cultivators, and independent farmers throughout the country at the same time that he admits the indolence of a certain portion of the people of the towns—a class that exists in every country and is always greatly enlarged by military operations. He also states the results of his very careful and particular inquiry into the actual working of the Code Rural; and they correspond satisfactorily with what any sensible and unprejudiced person would expect from the code itself. As a fair example of the larger estates cultivated according to the regulations of that code, we gave at some length our traveler’s minute and graphic description* of Château Blond, the estate of General Lerebour, the commandant of Port au Prince.

“We entered a straight, wide roadway of the plantation, having the refreshing verdure of the canefields, and the dome and turret of the sugar mills before us, and leaving on the left hand as we passed a small group of cottages, the dwellings of the cultivators. They stood towards the open fields, sheltered only by the vegetation of the banana, and though spacious were neither uniform nor particularly neat. An aged man repairing the gateway, and one or two fine featured, healthy bodied, cheerful, well dressed negresses, who accosted us with courtesy and passed on, and a couple of little children playing in the dust, were the only inhabitants that we met. The fields extended themselves far away to the right and were covered with canes of considerable bulk. Here and there gardens of the cultivators containing the patata and yam, the maize and the manioc, were intermingled with the sugar canes forming occasional patches planted with great order and regularity. The Belle-come mountain lowered before us clothed in the rich verdure and diversified with the variety of aspects which the broken cultivation of its many small detached settlements gave to it. The barren cliffs forming the gorge of the valley, through which the Grande Rivière descended, formed a remarkable feature in the distant landscape. Hills of steep ascent and of vast altitude rose to the clouds, dark, shadowy

* The reader will understand that the irrepressible luxuriance of this traveler’s style, like that of the tropical vegetation, is the natural consequence of his being born under a more ardent sun than ours. We suppose him to be a native of Jamaica. But his journal is replete with evidence that he depended upon his senses, and not upon his theories, for his facts.
and hazy, forming a back ground to the tilled fields in which the dark leaved abricot and the plumes of the palma nobilis in the gardens of Chateau Blond, seemed almost the only trees that relieved the transition from the plains to the mountains.

"The proprietor's residence, and the mills, and boiling house, with the aqueduct, a canal of wood, supported on columns of mason work, form altogether a quadrangle enclosing the workshops of the estate, such as the smithy and place for the mill-wright. On the left hand of the enclosure is the polygonal dome erected over a steam sugar mill of eight horse power, turning horizontal rollers; while to the right stands a water mill with vertical ones; between them is the boiling house with a turret in the centre. The whole of these buildings are of mason work, and constructed not merely substantially but elegantly. The aqueduct on one side, and a balustrade stone fence on the other, shuts in the quadrangle. Within this space may be said to be the sugar works. The proprietor's residence, a neat cottage edifice erected on a platform of terrace work, with many a flowery shrub around it, and with the usual accompaniment of the embowered bath formed of the close coup d'air (a species of convolvulus), clustering with its lilac tinted silver blossoms, overlooked the whole economy of the millyard. The whole estate contains ninety carreaus of land, about two hundred acres, the principal portion of which are planted in canes, the rest in provisions. About two hundred men, women and children in all, are located upon it.

"The island of Jamaica does not exhibit a plantation better established than Chateau Blond: whether we consider the resources of the land, or the mechanical economy by which those resources are commanded, it is a splendid establishment.

"Every thing is new,—the mills, the boiling house, the aqueducts, the cottage residence, all are the production of a few years of slow but constant labor, unassisted by any pecuniary loan, and unincumbered by a mortgage. In the difficulty of obtaining a number of laborers to get in the crop of an estate, the proprietor of Chateau Blond has decided that it will be judicious to accelerate the speed of the boiling house, by increasing the products of the mill. With this view he has availed himself on either hand of
water and steam machinery, it being easier to boil quick, so as to check fermentation, than to grind quick, so as to give full occupation to the boilers. As these mills do their work simultaneously, the souring of the canes by accumulation is avoided.

"The machinery of this estate, erected at very considerable expense, is designed not merely for the supply of its own wants in the elaboration of sugar, but for those of the neighboring plantations which may be without the means of manufacturing that article. The mulcture, to use an old feudal term, paid to the proprietor of the mill is one-fourth of the inspissated juice when boiled into the syrup of the third copper. The law limits him to one-fifth in his contracts with his cultivator, but with any other class of persons he is at liberty to bargain as he can. In the fore part of the week during crop time they cut their canes, and grind them off when a sufficiency is accumulated. The laborers, men and women, in the mill and the boiling house, perform their work occasionally by night as well as by day. Their scheme of cultivation is to allot themselves by families, and to cultivate unitedly one division of the estate, receiving the reward of their labor in a portion of what they cultivate and manufacture in their division, according to the prescriptions of the Code Rural. It frequently occurs that the number of persons, thus associated, are not able to proceed with sufficient celerity in the work of grinding and boiling the proceeds of the number of acres under their management and tillage, in such case the gangs are obliged to hire help from their neighbors, or from other gangs who have no part in their allotment. In this way the work is conducted in Chateau Blond. There is in this arrangement, which has originated out of views of interest and convenience in the cultivators themselves, so much of calculation individually made, so much of contract mutually entered into, that it would be the highest absurdity to suppose that such men underwent any thing in the nature of labor stimulated by any other compulsion than that of the advantage they reap from it. I record this declaration as a sentiment expressed to me by one of the managing cultivators, who communicated answers to my questions, and conducted me over the property. They select their conducteurs as an association would their chairman, or a benefit club their secretary
and treasurer, not to drive them unwillingly to labor, but as one deputed to manage their collective interest in their bargain with the proprietor of the soil. As I had expressed a desire to see something of the domestic habits of the people and of the economy observed in their houses, the friend who accompanied me to Chateau Blond walked with me under the heat of the mid-day sun among the plantation cottages. They are so habitually civil and polite in this country that the intrusion of a stranger on such an errand as a mere visit of curiosity would have been readily excused, but we were spared the necessity of soliciting any indulgence by a negress who sat at the door of her dwelling requesting us to retire from the sunshine into the coolness and shelter which her cottage would afford us. We found three females of her family diligently engaged in their task of needle work. Beyond the courtesy of a salutation as we entered and seated ourselves in the chairs set out for us, neither curiosity at our visit nor idle attention to our conversation drew them from their employment. The house was built with a common sitting-room in the centre, and two bed-rooms at each end. The furniture, besides chairs, consisted of a table on which were articles of earthen ware, and shelves on which were other household utensils. The saddlery of their boriques was hung against the wall towards the entrance of one of the bed-rooms, a mat and goat's skin were spread upon the floor, upon which the infant of one of the daughters was sleeping. A compliment to the healthy lustiness of the child, (and it was one which it justly merited,) brought us by a natural transition to the question of the number of the family. The father was seated beside us,—but as we were anxious not to run the risk of false facts respecting population by receiving the accounts of the offspring of the men which might be by more women than one, we directed our inquiries to the mother. We found that these cottagers were then about forty or forty-five years old, that they were the parents of thirteen children, eleven of whom were living, that seven were daughters, three of whom were married, and the mothers of five children in all; that their husbands were at their avocations in the field, as were also the male portion of the family, but that the plump fine limbed little girls whom we saw coming in and out of the cottage were the
younger part of the children. While we were seated here the plantation bell sounded the summons of two o'clock, the signal for such as had occupation to resume it. Instantly we heard the carpenters' hammers and masons' trowels renew the sound of labor, and every one without any altercation or a murmur were again busy at their appointed toil."

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of giving yet a few more extracts from this sunshiny traveler. Surely the reader will not soon tire of the vindication of a people so vilely slandered by a slaveholding aristocracy. Of another plantation called Dumornay-Bellevue, our traveler says, "The rich depth of the stoneless soil—the fresh verdure of its productions—its systematic tillage and irrigation—gave an appearance of great order and care to the agriculture of the peasantry. In the fields we found a parcel of men and boys at work, cutting canes for the mill, under the direction of the conducteur. They were not drilled in lines, but were working indiscriminately, and singing like merry reapers at a European harvest.

"After making our inspection, the last gleam of sunny radiance along the green surface of the level plains warned us to Moquet for the night. Visiting, however, before we quitted the estate, the cottage of the conducteur or foreman we had seen in the fields, we had an opportunity of remarking the domestic condition of another family. Three of the sons, mere-boys, had returned from their day's labor, with baskets of provisions from the garden, and bundles of herbage for the asses and stied hogs about the cottage. The wife had been engaged all day, at the door of her dwelling, in ironing up the linen of the family, which she was then carrying within the house. Every thing had the appearance of substantial comfort, and, if we wanted an evidence of its accompanying wealth, we had it in the alacrity with which our cottager drew from a bag of money forty dollars, for a purchase effected for him by the friend who had made this visit with me. I found upon inquiry that he too was the father of thirteen children, all alive, five of whom were then before us."

The following description would fairly place its subject by the side of old Cincinnatus, were it not for the ugly stain which it pleased his Maker to give to his rete mucosum. It may very safely be questioned whether in the height of
their prosperity the old white planters could have furnished one man to match the industry and talent of this negro senator; and yet we Americans are bewailing the blight of ignorance, idleness and worthlessness that has befallen St. Domingo!

"Aug. 6. By day-break we proceeded to quit Moquet, on our journey to Digneron, the plantation of the treasurer-general, Mr. Nau. M. Lacombe, and his party of friends, being on an intended visit to the French Consul, at his cottage in the mountains of La Coupe, and our road lying partly the same way, we set out together, a large cavalcade of travelers, and surprised Monsieur Senator L' Espinasse, nearly in the humble checked camisette of a cultivator, busily engaged in the work of his sugar refining and sugar distillery. It was a superb manufactory, erected on a concessionary grant of ten carreaus, partitioned out of the ancient estate of Moquet; a grant he had earned by services to his country. His own plantation of Soissons adjoined to the northward. The refinery is built just where the low range of hills, at the foot of La Coupe, merge into the plains. There the sterile uplands cease and the fertile lowlands commence. Monsieur L' Espinasse himself conducted us over the whole establishment. He exhibited both in his manners and his words an enthusiasm for the commercial and agricultural progress of his country, which showed that his own success in drawing forth its resources, under great obstacles, was less a circumstance of gratification for its individual good, than for its general influence on the spirit and enterprise of the population. He was a remarkable man possessed of that kind of energy of character, which fittest him for great enterprises in a young and aspiring country. It was by the elasticity of a disposition, unchecked by reverses, that he was enabled, through great toil, to bring his manufactory to its present state of maturity and profit. The sugar with which his refinary is supplied is entirely drawn from his adjoining estate. The establishment is very large. On the respective floors of the building we saw the process of claying the new or muscovado sugar, and that of refining it, and forming it into the lump sugar of commerce. We observed some loaves, whose whiteness, dryness, and transparency, and smallness of grain, showed the matured perfection of his process—an art which he
boasts to have acquired in a country where almost the simplest elements of sugar making had been lost in the anarchy of the revolution, without any insight into that of other countries."

Of Digneron, the traveler says, "This estate comprises three-fourths of the original plantation, esteemed of old one of the largest in the Cul de Sac, and reputed at this time to be one of the best tilled in this district. There are about fifty families, or two hundred persons, young and old, as cultivators upon it. Its annual proceeds are 150,000 pounds weight of sugar, and 50,000 of syrup. In 1817 and 1818, it netted about 230,000 pounds of sugar with a proportionate quantity of syrup and taffia; but the proprietor from the very indifferent price of the commodity in the market, chooses rather to diminish its returns than to extend them; one hundred and eighty acres are in canes."

This ought to satisfy even the most thorough-going advocates of slavery, for in proportion to the number of laborers, it equals, the returns in the best of the British sugar colonies. See Report of the Lords' Committee, p. 837.

We shall take leave of our traveler, by quoting his gratifying testimony in regard to the preference given in Hayti to agriculture over the idleness of the camp. We have already seen that the Code Rural makes provision for the employment of soldiers in cultivation. Our traveler remarks, "That every village in Hayti may be said to be garrisoned, at least every small township or bourgade is a military post, under the command of a colonel or captain commandant, with a suitable guard, who, besides regulating all matters connected with the order, appointments and duty of the soldiery, assists the civil authority in the execution of justice. Nothing but the dress, the small sword (briquet), and the body accoutrements of the soldier are in his own custody. His arms are deposited in the guard-room of his captain, from whence they are taken at the times of the periodical musters, the rendezvous of each company being the captain's house. It is only a portion of the regiment that is on constant duty. As the residence of every captain is a sort of arsenal, a guard appointed from his company performs duty there, as at a caserne or barrack, for a week. The whole company being subdivided into guards, and each taking his turn of periodical duty, it seems that there are long inter-
vals when the men are relieved from the exactions of military life. In these intervals, they are employed in handi-
craft labor, or in the cultivation of the land, and assume generally the habits of the people—the 'jaquet' of the arti-
zan, or the 'varais' of the cultivator. By this arrange-
ment, their utility as citizens is increased, but their spirit and discipline, as an effective military body, materially neutrali-
zed. Their pay and allowance not being as much as the earnings of a day laborer, many of those who think time of value, and the happiness of life something better than the luxury of repose, when their time of weekly guard oc-
curs, are indulged with the permission to pursue undis-
turbedly their avocations, by paying for a substitute, under special arrangement with the captain."

If, after all, it be objected that this testimony is anonymous, let the reader remember that by appearing in the "Anti-
Slavery Reporter," as authentic, it has, in effect, become the testimony of Zachary Macaulay, of Thomas Fowell Bux-
ton, of Wilberforce—men whose facts were never ques-
tioned with impunity.

The beauty of this testimony, as we have already hinted, is that it is consistent with itself as well as with human na-
ture; while that of the maligners of the Haytians is irre-
concilably at war with itself and with all mankind. Frank-
lin, in the same breath that he says, "The free laborer in Hayti, from innate indolence, and from his state of ignor-
ance, obtains barely enough for his subsistence," admits that the exports in 1825, one of the least prosperous years of Boyer's administration, amounted to the value of $8,000,-
000—more than $8 to every man, woman and child in Hayti! He will have it, that because the freeholders of Hayti do not work themselves and their children to the bone, to equal the exports under the old regime of slavery, they are fast sinking "to a level with the brutes." But why should they export more? Do we suppose the wants natural or artificial, of the present population of Hayti, are the same as those of the old French planters? Do they de-
siderate the costly luxuries of Paris and London, of which they know neither the use nor the name? Not at all. Hence the difference in the agriculture and exports. The

* Present state of Hayti, p. 329, 360.
old planter wanted silks, mirrors, paintings, jewelry, porcelain and plate, or he wanted money to live like a prince in Paris, accordingly he flogged and half starved a hundred slaves to export 200 hogsheads of sugar. But the present Haytian freeman wants food for his "thirteen children," and besides that, he wants handkerchiefs and calico frocks for his wife and daughters, and a decent coat for himself, and to supply these wants he cultivates his patch with moderate labor; the fertile soil yields him all the food that could be asked, and for his foreign comforts he exports one hundred dollars worth of his coffee, keeping his sugar to sweeten his own cup. The Haytians now exercise their "inalienable right" to pursue their own happiness. They live for their own comfort. Says Mr. Robert Sutherland, in his examination before a select committee of the House of Commons, 1832, "I have seen the peasantry in the Highlands of Scotland where I was brought up, and I declare that the negroes in St. Domingo are comparatively as much superior to them in comfort, as it is possible for one man to be over another." Admiral Fleming testified before the same committee, that the Haytians appeared to him "the happiest, best fed, and most comfortable negroes he had ever seen: better off than in Caracas: infinitely better than in Jamaica: there was no comparison between them." Again, "their victuals were very superior to those in Jamaica, consisting chiefly of meat; cattle being very cheap. The highest contract beef in Hayti, was 2d., in Jamaica it was 12d.* He saw no marks of destitution any where. The country seemed improving and trade increasing. A road had been cut from Port au Prince to Cape Haytien, that would do honor to any country. A regular post was established. The government was one quite worthy of a civilized people. He rode about very much, and every where saw the people working in the fields."

So much for the "horrors of idleness." Here is a nation rising from the mire of the streets, where for ages her people had been trampled under the feet of tyrants, shunned, hated, frowned upon and slandered by all the so called civilized nations of the earth; she moves forward, and al-

* As Hayti is hardly out of sight of Jamaica, it may be wondered why the latter did not import provisions from the former. The explanation is, that the slaveholders of Jamaica were afraid the Haytian beef, being infected with liberty, might spoil their slaves! So they had the commerce prohibited.
ready rivals the highest and best, in the security of property, the abundance of provisions, the peace, good order and happiness of her citizens. So far from deserving the foul reproaches of her enemies, Hayti stands forth a monument of strenuous and well directed enterprise, honorable alike to herself and to human nature. In the race of civilization, as we shall presently see, she may justly boast like the old Greek worthy, who not only outstripped his competitors, but did it with a four-year-old bull on his shoulders. We are now prepared to attend to

V. THE HORTORS OF DESOLATION.

We have by no means finished the lesson of St. Domingo, when we have shown that neither emancipation, nor the Code Rural, nor the character of the emancipated, is responsible for any of its troubles. That island is the theatre on which slavery has worked out its tendencies to their full development; first, grinding in the dust half a million of people, at an enormous sacrifice of human life, and next, after this people, driven by oppression to revolt, had established their liberty on the basis of constitutional law, waging against them a brutal and murderous war. What if it had been true, that the doctrine of emancipation caused the horrors of the first insurrection? Did it cause the far more desolating crusade against liberty? It is to be doubted whether this tyrant-ridden world ever saw a meaner, more perfidious, or more hellishly cruel attack upon any nation than that of the French in 1802 upon the free people of St. Domingo. If that invasion had not met with a fate most signal disaster, it would almost have amounted to a proof that Divine Providence had abandoned the earth to the author of evil.

The system of labor which could instigate such a war ought, for that one act, to be condemned by every friend of his race to everlasting execration and its utter abolition made the object of his unceasing endeavors. Had we known nothing of slavery but what has been taught us by the campaigns of Le Clerc and Rochambeau, upon that knowledge alone would we have vowed eternal enmity to the principle of PROPERTY IN MAN—a war never to be pacified in practice, while a slave shall tread the universe of God, nor in theory, while God continues to have a universe. We
have seen the condition of St. Domingo under the noble Toussaint, the perfect security of property to the planters, the industry of its people, the almost miraculous resuscitation of its ancient splendor,—truly the light was breaking forth as the morning. Long prior to the time (1796) when Toussaint was invested with the supreme command in St. Domingo, by the French government, he had in fact conducted the defence of the colony against the British arms. He rescued it. He reduced its jarring elements to harmony. He gave it a well digested constitution, and in so doing not only acted in accordance with the constitution of France, but expressly declared his allegiance to that power. And he might well boast that this instrument accomplished what was promised in its preamble,—it substituted "abundance for want; peace and industry for civil war and vagrancy, and security for terror."

Yet at this crisis it was that SLAVERY stirred up the throne-builder of Europe to reinstate her in her old dominion. No thanks to the slaveholders that Bonaparte had his own ends to accomplish as well as theirs. They swarmed at his levees, and urged him to the conquest. "I must get rid of sixty thousand men," said Bonaparte to his minister Forfait, and this necessary preparation for the assumption of the imperial crown doubtless helped his decision. When the new constitution of the colony, which guaranteed liberty to all and appointed Toussaint governor for life, was brought to France for the approbation of the mother country, Bonaparte replied to its bearer, Vincent, "That rebel slave must be punished; the honor of France has been outraged."

The first expedition under Bonaparte's brother-in-law, Le Clerc, consisting of thirty thousand of the veterans of Italy and Egypt, and a host of the old planters, eager to make up for lost time in using their favorite instrument upon the backs of the "rebels," descended upon St. Domingo at

*The anonymous History of St. Domingo "printed in London, 1818" asserts that a proclamation of independence "was made in due form on the first of July 1801," but we find no other authority to that effect. The constitution itself was styled "de la Colonie Française de St. Domingue." And its "Discours Préluminaire" as given by Mackenzie, in stating its object, says—"et enfin la soumettre toute entière à l'empire Français." If there had been any declaration of independence, it is not easy to see why Bonaparte failed to make that the pretext of his invasion. Mackenzie's Notes on Hayti. Vol. II. p. 259.
three points almost simultaneously about the 2d of February, 1802. The first act of hostility was the massacre of a large body of defenceless and unresisting people at the Bay of Mancenille, by Rochambeau. Christophe who had charge of Cape François, set fire first to his own house, and left the city in ashes. Finding Toussaint well aware of his designs, and not ill prepared to frustrate them, Le Clerc took himself to deceptive proclamations, and all manner of perfidy. By these means, rather than arms, he brought Toussaint to agree to a peace in which Liberty was solemnly guarantied to all. The next step was to seize the negro chief and send him to freeze and starve in the dungeons of France. [See the cover of this No.] Then it was that Le Clerc proceeded to gratify the planters by reestabishing slavery and the slave trade. Vengeance met him at the threshold. The cane fields and the sugar houses were in flames. Hardly any thing was left that a torch could set fire to. Pestilence swept away the thirty thousand veterans and Le Clerc soon followed them to his long home, Rochambeau succeeded to the chief command, his army being recruited from time to time by fresh victims from France. He was the school-master of Dessalines in the art of human butchery, and by how much France excelled St. Domingo in arts and sciences, by so much did Rochambeau exceed the perfidies and barbarities which have rendered the name of the negro chief so frightful. To recount a tithe of his atrocities would exceed our limits. He filled the land with scaffolds and gibbets, and corpses tainting the breeze; he burnt at the stake; he sewed up together in sacks old men, women and children and threw them into the sea. He imported from Cuba sloop loads of trained blood hounds, and as these his fit associates met sturdy resistance from the free men of the mountains, whom they were employed to hunt, he admitted famished gangs of them to his prisoners, bound hand and foot in an enclosed arena. Night after night was this spectacle the amusement of his army, and of the delicate wives and daughters of those whom it was his business to reinstate in their ancient possessions!—says Métral the French historian of the expedition, "When the vessel laden with dogs reappeared in the harbor of the Cape, some of the wives of the colonists went to receive them upon the shore, making the walkin
ring with their cries of joy; they put garlands on them and strewed flowers in their path. Some even stooped to cover with kisses these strange and novel instruments of their vengeance. "To what mistakes (égaremens,)" adds the mild and prudent historian, "does not slavery lead?" p. 182.—Here are "Horrors of St. Domingo" for us! Does the reader wonder why the freemen of St. Domingo named this war "une expédition de cannibales"? Does he wonder that they should drive the white race from their island? That they should make it a part of their organic law that no white should ever set foot upon their territory "à titre de maître ou de propriétaire"? Does any one after this fail to admire the magnanimity of the Haytian chieftains in availing themselves of the talents of white men for the improvement of their country?

To narrate the civil wars which grew out of these lessons taught the Haytian chiefs by the most accomplished generals of France, would swell inordinately an article already protracted much beyond our design. The violent reign of Dessalines lasted but two years. The quarrel of King Christophe and President Petion, left but little time to either to cultivate the arts of peace. The former, however, improved what he had much to the benefit of his subjects. He established the Lancasterian system of instruction in all his principal towns, and Harvey, a very enlightened and candid witness, bears testimony that his schools equalled, in all important respects, the best of the same kind in England.* The same gentleman describes the enterprise and industry of the people as marked, and their condition as infinitely superior to that of slaves. But Christophe's power was enough to corrupt a more enlightened man. His yoke became too heavy for a people who were at first proud of his talents. He built a splendid palace which he called Sans Souci, and a still more wonderful castle—almost the only things in Hayti which Franklin found to admire, and his tears over the ruins of which, show a love of tyranny even greater than his hatred of negroes. Like a true tyrant, as he was, Christophe perished by his own hands, October 8, 1820. In the mean time, republicanism had shown its better tendencies in the West and South. Jean Pierre

* Harvey's Sketches of Hayti, Lond. 1827. p. 204.
Boyer succeeded Petion in 1818, and renewed the war which his less energetic predecessor had remitted. The revolt of Christophe's subjects in 1820 opened to Boyer an easy conquest of the north, and he succeeded in reducing the whole Spanish part in 1822. The whole island is now governed under the constitution revised by Petion in 1816. The President holds his office for life with power to name his successor. In other respects the government is organized somewhat after the model of our own. A chamber of commons is elected by the universal suffrage of the people once in five years—and this body elects a senate which exists nine years.

The solicitude of the Haytians on the subject of education has won the commendation even of their enemies. We have already remarked the zeal and success of Christophe. His rival, Petion, was not behind him. At the present time primary schools are supported liberally by the government in all parts of the island under the supervision of eight committees of education. Higher schools are liberally assisted, and full license is given to teachers of all nations. Consul-General Mackenzie visited at the Cape in 1826, the "National School, now taught by a young mulatto, M. Papillon, who had been educated by Mr. Gullifer in the school established by Christophe. An examination of the pupils in French, English, grammar, and arithmetic, took place in my presence, and the eager anxiety of all the boys (between thirty and forty) showed that the teacher had succeeded in establishing the best ground of success—a spirit of emulation. One little mulatto boy was particularly acute, to the apparent discomfort of a little black fellow, whose zeal far exceeded his ability. Upon the whole, however, talent appeared pretty equal among the castes." Notes on Hayti, vol. I. p. 156. He visited another school at Les Cayes where were 130 scholars, 100 hundred of whom were supported by the government. The Lycée at Port au Prince is the Haytian University, founded by Petion after the model of the Lycée of Paris. It is well supported and efficient.

The commerce of Hayti has risen from flag prostration to a value of from eight to twelve millions of dollars per annum. See Mackenzie's Notes, and Jay's Inquiry. In 1802 according to M. Humboldt, the population of the whole
island did not exceed 375,000 souls. In 1824, it amounted by the government census to 935,335.*

All this has been achieved beneath the frowns of the whole, so called, civilized world. France was not content with the atrocities of Rochambeau. The sovereignty which she could not regain by violence, she sought to recover by intrigue and bribery.Repeatedly she sent her commissioners to skulk along the shores of Hayti and excite dissensions among her chiefs. When these disgraceful measures proved unavailing, she sent Baron Mackau *with fourteen ships of war* to offer a recognition of independence on condition that France should pay but half the duties required of other nations and should receive in five equal annual instalments the sum of 150,000,000 francs! The government of Hayti has been reproached as pusillanimous because it did not resist this insolent and unrighteous claim. But Hayti was for peace. She paid the whole sum rather than renew the horrors of Le Clerc and Rochambeau. Says a French geographical work, published last year in Paris, “It is well known that the chambers of this republic voted the sum of 150,000,000 francs to indemnify, so far as practicable, the ancient French colonists. The last instalment has been paid in 1835. This is a rare example in such a case, and worthy of record.” *L’Amerique &c.* Let the magnifiers of Haytian “horrors” and Haytian poverty and desolation account both for the disposition and the ability to pay for peace on such terms.

After most of this article had passed through the press we had the good fortune to procure a copy of Mackenzie’s "Notes on Haiti," from which it appears that Edwards' story of the connection of Ogé, with the Amis des Noirs, had even less foundation than we supposed. Mackenzie seems to have been disposed to give currency to this calumny, but as Mr. Clarkson was by some of the French pro-slavery writers included in

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* Mackenzie questions the truth of this and brings forward as the correct census a detailed statement which was laid on the table of the Haytian Chamber of Commons, in 1836, which makes a total of 423,942. This, however, has been shown to have been only an estimate of the portion of the community called on to contribute to the French indemnity.
the same conspiracy, he thought it prudent before his publication to apply to that philanthropist for information. The statement of Mr. Clarkson convinced Mackenzie that Ogé was driven to London by "pecuniary difficulties" and that he had bought this "lieutenant-colonelcy" himself. Notes &c. Vol. II. p. 18. Ogé fled from Paris to escape lodgings in jail, the persecution of his enemies, the white planters, having deprived him of the means of paying for lodgings elsewhere; and Clarkson, who had been known to him in Paris, paid his passage to America, purely through fear that the presence of such a person in London might injure the cause of the abolition of the slave trade! If the Amis des Noirs had smiled upon the designs of Ogé they would at least have paid his bills. See Clarkson's Letters, published at length in the appendix of Mackenzie's Notes. Vol. II. p. 246.

Our apology for this protracted dissertation must be found in the incalculable importance of the subject. Our country is the seat of the most cruel and unrelenting prejudice of caste, that exists, probably, on the face of this planet. This prejudice, and its inseparable curse, slavery, the most powerful minds in our country have sought to eternize. And to this end they have taken the case of St. Domingo and thrown the odium of its horrors, which are justly due only to its slavery, upon the holy doctrine of equal human rights. No less a man than JOHN MARSHALL, in his biography of the father of our country, holds such language as this: "Of that malignant philosophy which, disregarding the actual state of the world, and estimating at nothing the miseries of a vast portion of the human race, can coolly and deliberately pursue through oceans of blood, abstract systems for the attainment of some fancied, untried good, early and bitter fruits were gathered in the French West Indies. Instead of proceeding in the correction of abuses which might exist, by those slow and cautious steps which gradually introduce reform without ruin, which may prepare and fit society for that better state of things designed for them; and which, by not attempting impossibilities, may enlarge the circle of happiness; the revolutionists of France formed the mad and wicked project of spreading the doctrines of equality among persons, between whom there exist distinctions and prejudices to be subdued only by the GRAVE." If we have not labored in vain, it appears that history
proves such language to be as false, as conscience and revelation prove it to be wicked.

1. Slavery stored the magazine of insurrection, and slaveholders alone applied the torch.

2. St. Domingo furnishes the most dangerous conceivable case for the application of immediate abolition. Yet such abolition was not only safety but salvation, though applied at the last moment of the eleventh hour.

3. In spite of the two most powerful nations in the world and of all the vices engendered by slavery, the emancipated slaves of St. Domingo have not only improved in industry but have regulated themselves by wise laws, and have increased in arts, comforts, and population beyond any parallel.

These are facts which it is vital to our country to know and regard.

WHITEFIELD AND THE SLAVEHOLDERS.

George Whitefield was as much a "fanatic" in his day as George Thompson, and came as near teaching that "slaves ought to cut their masters' throats." He met with the same revilings from slaveholders, both clerical and laical, as our friend Thompson has done. He excited the same demoniac outcry, "Let us alone, "Art thou come hither to torment us before the time." Well, we have waited a hundred years and still it is "before the time!" Our Theological Reviewers tell us it is not time yet, for emancipation, and will not be time till the slaves are taught. The Rev. Plummers and Baileys of the south tell us it is not time yet, and, if it were, we have no right to intermeddle. They say the owners use their slaves with all due humanity; if they do not teach them all they ought to, they are about to do so, and that our rash denunciations only mar all their incipient plans, and make the slave the worse off. Well, this song was sung, as we shall presently see, in 1740, and lacks but four years of being a century old.—Nay, it is as old as slavery itself. It was on the lips of the Reverend apologists of British slavery till it was drowned by the Jubilee trumpet on the morning of the First of Aug. 1834. It would be on the lips of our American apologists, our Gurleys and Tracys, our Bechers and Fiaks, till the end of time, if slavery could last so long. What if Whitefield and his followers, instead of shunning interference for the peace of the churches, as they called it, had pressed the battle so well begun upon the foul fiend of slavery? Why, we should not have it to fight to-day; nor would our opponents, the apologists, have been peril to their souls in support of slavery to-day! Alas, when will the soldiers of Christ learn that it is bad generalship to leave the fortress of Satan pouring its hot shot and its infernal bombs upon their rear!