AN INQUIRY INTO THE CHARACTER AND TENDENCY OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION, AND AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

BY WILLIAM JAY.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to my conscience, above all liberties."—Milton.

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CHAPTER VII.

SAFETY OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Although we may have succeeded in proving that the emancipation contemplated by Abolitionists, is not "unconstitutional," yet many may conscientiously doubt whether it would be safe and wise.

A few years only have elapsed, since the use of ardent spirits was universally countenanced by all classes of the community; and when the few who contended that their use was sinful, and ought to be immediately abandoned, were deemed no less visionary and fanatical than those are now who hold the same doctrine in regard to slavery.

The whole Colonization Society, with scarcely a solitary exception,* denounce immediate emancipation as dangerous, or rather as utterly ruinous, to the whites. Their objections were thus briefly summed up by the Rev. Dr. Hawkes, in his speech at a Colonization meeting in New-York:

"But 'if the plan of Colonization be abandoned, what remains? Are the slaves fitted for freedom? No—and if they are let loose at once, they must of necessity, to procure a living, either beg or steal, or destroy and displace the whites.'—New-York Com. Adv. 10th Oct. 1833.

Here we have broad unqualified assertions, without a particle of proof. We find it taken for granted, that if the slaves are at once restored to liberty, they must, from necessity, beg or steal, or destroy and displace the whites. What causes will produce this necessity, we are uninformed; why it will be impossible for liberated slaves to work for wages, is unexplained. Slavery is property in human beings. Immediate emancipation is therefore nothing more than the immediate cessation of this property. But how does this cessation of property imply that those who were the subjects of it must be "let loose?" Will they not, like other persons, be subject to the control of law, and responsible for their conduct? If incapable of providing for themselves, may they not like children, apprentices and

* The only exception known to the writer, is G. Smith, Esq.
paupers, be compelled to labor for their own maintenance? Immediate emancipation does not necessarily contemplate any relaxation of the restraints of government or morality; any admission to political rights, or improper exemption from compulsory labor. What then does such emancipation imply? It implies, that black men, being no longer property, will be capable of entering into the marriage state, and of exercising the rights, and enjoying the blessings of the conjugal and parental relations,—it implies, that they will be entitled to the fruits of their honest industry—to the protection of the laws of the land, and to the privilege of securing a happy immortality, by learning and obeying the will of their Creator.

Now, it is almost universally supposed, that such emancipation would, as a matter of course, lead to insurrection, robbery and massacre. Yet this opinion will, on examination, be found utterly irreconcilable with the divine economy, the principles of human nature, and the testimony of experience.

It is a trite remark, that nations are punished and rewarded in this world, and individuals in the next; and both sacred and profane history will be searched in vain for an instance, in which the Supreme Ruler has permitted a nation to suffer for doing justice and loving mercy. To believe that God would permit any community to be destroyed, merely because it had ceased to do evil, is to call in question the equity of his government, or the power of his providence. Who that acknowledges the truth of Revelation, can doubt, that if slavery be sinful, the sooner we part with it, the more confidently may we rely on the divine favor and protection. Infidelity alone will seek safety in human counsels, when opposed to the divine will.

But the opinion we are considering, is no less at variance with the motives and passions of our common nature, than with the dictates of Christian faith.

What is the theory on which this opinion rests? Why, that cruelty, injustice and grievous oppression, render men quiet, docile, and inoffensive subjects; and that if delivered from this cruelty, injustice, and oppression, they will rob and murder their deliverers!

This theory is happily unsupported by any facts, and rests upon the simple dogma, that the slaves are not yet fitted for freedom. Now we would ask, what is meant by fitness for freedom? Ought a man to be a slave, unless he can read, write
and cipher? Must he be taught accounts, before he can receive wages? Should he understand law, before he enjoys its protection? Must he be instructed in morals, before he reads his Bible? If all these are pre-requisites for freedom, how and when are they to be acquired in slavery?

If one century of bondage has not produced this fitness, how many will? Are our slaves more fit now, than they were ten, twenty, fifty years ago? Let the history of slave legislation answer the inquiry. When the British government insisted that female slaves should no longer be flogged naked in the colonies, the Jamaica legislature replied, that it would be impossible to lay aside the practice "until the negro women have acquired more of the sense of shame, which distinguishes European females." Slaves, while such, will become fit for freedom as soon but not sooner, than negro women will become modest in consequence of the West-Indian mode of correction. No postponement of emancipation, will increase the fitness of slaves for freedom, and to wait for this fitness, resembles the conduct of the simpleton who loitered by the brook, expecting to pass dry shod, after the water had run off.

The conclusion to which religion and common sense would lead us on this subject, is most abundantly confirmed by experience. Passing by the emancipation of the Serfs of Europe, let us advert to various instances of the sudden abolition of negro slavery, and let us see how far the theory we are considering is supported by facts.

On the 10th October, 1811, the Congress of Chili, decreed that every child born after that day, should be free.

On the 9th April, 1812, the government of Buenos Ayres, ordered that every child born after 1st January, 1813, should be free.

On the 19th July, 1821, the Congress of Colombia passed an Act, emancipating all slaves, who had borne arms in favor of the Republic, and providing for the emancipation in eighteen years, of the whole slave population of 280,000.

On the 15th September, 1821, the government of Mexico granted instantaneous and unconditional emancipation to every slave.

On the 4th July, 1827, ten thousand slaves were emancipated in the State of New-York by act of the legislature.

In all these various instances, not one case of insurrection
or of bloodshed is known to have resulted from emancipation. But St. Domingo—ah, what recollections are awakened by that name! With that name are associated the most irrefragable proofs of the safety and wisdom of immediate emancipation and of the ability of the African race, to value, defend and enjoy the blessings of freedom. The apologists of slavery, are constantly reminding Abolitionists of the "scenes in St. Domingo." Were the public familiar with the origin and history of those scenes, none but Abolitionists would dare to refer to them. We will endeavor in the next chapter to dispel the ignorance, which so extensively prevails relative to the "scenes in St. Domingo," and we trust our efforts will furnish new confirmation of the great truth, that the path of duty is the path of safety.

CHAPTER VIII.

EMANCIPATION IN ST. DOMINGO AND GUADALOUPE, AND PRESENT STATE OF ST. DOMINGO.

In 1790, the population of the French part of St. Domingo was estimated at 686,000. Of this number, 42,000 were white, 44,000 free people of color, and 600,000 slaves. At the commencement of the French revolution the free colored people petitioned the National Assembly, to be admitted to political rights, and sent a deputation to Paris to attend to their interests. On the 8th March, 1790, a law was passed, granting to the colonies the right of holding representative assemblies, and of exercising to a certain extent, legislative authority. On the 28th of the same month, another law was passed, declaring that "all free persons in the colonies, who were proprietors, and residents of two years standing, and who contribute to the exigencies of the State, shall exercise the right of voting."

The planters insisted that this law did not apply to free colored persons. They proceeded to elect a general assembly, and in this election the free blacks were, with but few exceptions, prevented from voting. The newly elected assembly issued a manifesto, declaring they would rather die, than divide their political rights with "a bastard and degenerated race." A portion of the free colored people resolved to maintain the rights
given them by the mother country, and assembled in arms under one of their own number named Oge. A letter addressed by this chief to the St. Domingo assembly, is fortunately extant, and explains the true origin of those awful calamities, which it is found expedient to ascribe to the Abolition of slavery.

"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 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 do hope you will regard them. I shall not have recourse to any raising of the slave gangs. It is unnecessary 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 all well disposed people: but I have demanded only concessions for a class of free men, who have endured the yoke of your oppression for two centuries. We have no wish but for the execution of the decree of the 28th 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 shout of battle was the only answer returned to this letter. The free blacks were defeated, and their brave leader being taken prisoner, was, with a barbarity equalled only by its folly, broken alive on the wheel. A ferocious struggle now commenced between the two parties, and Oge's death was awfully avenged. On the 15th May, 1791, the French Convention issued a decree declaring explicitly, that "free colored per-

* Oge had been one of the deputies who were sent to Paris.
sons were entitled to all the rights of citizenship." The planters however, refused to submit till after 2,000 whites and 10,000 blacks had perished. The free blacks had armed their own slaves; and many of the slaves belonging to the whites taking advantage of the disturbed state of the island revolted. The general assembly at length became alarmed, and on the 20th September, 1791, issued a proclamation announcing their acquiescence in the decree of the 15th May, admitting the free blacks to political equality with the whites. This proclamation immediately restored peace, and the free blacks even assisted the planters in reducing to obedience their revolted slaves. The peace, however, was of short duration. Intelligence was soon received that the French Convention had yielded to the clamors of the planters, and on the 24th September, only four days after the Assembly's proclamation, had repealed the decree giving political rights to the free blacks. The irritation caused by this measure may easily be imagined, and the feelings of the free blacks were exasperated by an act of folly and presumption on the part of the Colonial Assembly. This body passed an order for disarming the whole free colored population. That population, however, instead of surrendering their arms, challenged their proud oppressors to take them, and immediately renewed the war.

On the 4th April, 1792, the vacillating policy of the French government led it once more to pass a decree, investing the free negroes in the Colonies with political rights; and three Commissioners, with 6,000 troops, were sent to St. Domingo to enforce the decree. The Commissioners arrived on the 13th September, and assumed the government of the island. In June, 1793, they quarrelled with the governor, and each party took arms. The Commissioners called to their aid 3,000 revolted slaves, promising pardon for the past, and freedom for the future. About this time it was estimated that no less than 10,000 of the white inhabitants had fled from the island, in consequence of its disturbed state, and this, be it remembered, before a single slave had been emancipated. The Commissioners were successful in their contest with the governor, and retained the supreme power in their own hands. But a new danger threatened them. The planters were dissatisfied with the political rights conferred on the blacks, and were in many instances, hostile to the Republic which had been reared on the
ruins of the French Monarchy. They therefore, entered into intrigues with the British Government, inviting it to take possession of the island, hoping that thus the old order of things would be restored. The Commissioners became acquainted with the intentions of the British to invade the island. Their only defensive force consisted of the 6,000 French troops and about 15,000 militia. On the latter they were sensible but little reliance could be placed. Under these circumstances, they determined to emancipate the slaves, in order that the whole colored population might thus be induced to array itself under the Republican standard. Bryant Edwards, a well known English writer, and a most devoted apologist for slavery in his history of this affair, after stating as a fact within his own knowledge, the overtures made by the St. Domingo planters to Great Britain, and that the Commissioners could not muster more than 22,000 effective men, adds, "These being necessarily dispersed in detachments throughout the different provinces, became on that account, little formidable to an invading army. Aware of this circumstance, the Commissioners, on the first intimation of an attack from the English, resorted to the desperate expedient of proclaiming all manner of slavery abolished."

The proclamation was made in September, 1793, and on the 19th of the same month, the British armament, under Colonel White, arrived at Jeremie, and took possession of the town, and afterwards entered Port au Prince. Thus we find, that the abolition of slavery in St. Domingo was not, as is generally supposed, the result of an insurrection by the slaves, but an act of political expediency. Let us now see what were the consequences of this act. The whole colored population remained loyal to the Republican cause. The British were masters only of the soil covered by their troops, and at length wearied out by the inveterate opposition they experienced, they abandoned all hopes of conquest, and in 1795 evacuated the island. In the mean time, the intercourse between the colony and the mother country became more and more interrupted. The seas were scoured by British cruisers, and the colonists were left by France to govern themselves. The whole colonial administration had been entirely subverted, the Commissioners had returned to France, and it became necessary to adopt some political system. Under these circumstances, Toussaint, a black, who had acquired power and influence, submitted, in
1801, to a general assembly, a republican constitution, which was adopted, and the island was declared to be an independent State, on the 1st July, 1801. But during all this time, what was the conduct of the emancipated slaves? Before we answer this question, let us remind the reader that the emancipation was not only immediate but unpredmeditated. No measures had been taken to fit about 600,000 slaves for freedom, but suddenly, unexpectedly, almost in the twinkling of an eye, they ceased to be property, and were invested with the rights of human nature. And was the theory of the Rev. Dr. Hawkes verified in St. Domingo? Did the manumitted slaves maintain themselves by begging and stealing, or did they destroy and displace the whites? Let an eye-witness answer the inquiry. Colonel Malefant, then a resident on the island, says in his "Mémoire historique et politique des colonies et particulièrement de celle de St. Domingue." p. 58.

"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 them had been put in prison by Montburn, 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 those estates where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to planting of provisions: but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor quietly as before."

In another place, (p. 125,) he says:

"How did I succeed in the plain of the Cul de Sac, and on the plantation Gouraud, more than eight months after liberty had been granted to the blacks? Let those who knew me at that time, and even the blacks themselves, be asked. They will reply that not a single negro upon that plantation, consisting of 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." He goes on to assert that "the colony was flourishing under Toussaint—the whites lived happily, and in
peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them." Toussaint came into power under the French authority, 1796, and remained in power till 1802, or the commencement of the war with France. Thus it appears that the manumitted slaves continued quietly at work, from their emancipation in 1793, till 1802, a period of about eight years.

This was not, let it be remembered, a season of peace. During most of the time a fierce war was waged against the English invaders. In this war a portion of the planters took part with the enemy, and experienced at the hands of the blacks, those cruelties which so often distinguish a civil war. But on a careful and scrupulous examination of the history of this period, we cannot find, that from the date of the emancipation in 1793, to the French invasion in 1802, a single white man was injured by the liberated slaves, unless he had previously placed himself in the attitude of a political enemy by siding with the British. Immediately on the evacuation of the island by the British, profound tranquility prevailed, and the planters who remained, and the emigrants who returned, enjoyed their estates without molestation.

Malefants is not the only witness we can cite to these facts. General Lacroix, who published his "Memoirs for a history of St. Domingo," at Paris, in 1819, speaking of the colony in 1797, says, "It 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. 311.

The author of "the History of St. Domingo," printed in London, 1818, speaking of Toussaint, says:

"When he restored many of the planters to their estates, there was no restoration of their former property in human beings. No human being was to be bought or sold. Severe tasks, flagellations, and scanty food, were no longer to be endured. The planters were obliged to employ their laborers on the footing of hired servants; and, the negroes were required to labor for their own livelihood. The amount of remuneration was not left to individual generosity or private agreement, but it was fixed by law, that the cultivators should have for their wages a third part of the crops. While this ample encouragement was afforded for the excitement of industry, pe-
nalties were at the same time denounced for the punishment of idleness.

"The effects of these regulations were visible throughout the country. Obliged to work, but in a moderate manner, and for handsome wages, and at liberty for the most part to choose their own masters, the plantation negroes were in general contented, healthy and happy."*

And now let Abolitionists be reminded of the "scenes in St. Domingo"; yes, let those scenes be constantly kept before the public as an awful and affecting memento of the justice due to the free blacks, and as a glorious demonstration of the perfect safety of immediate and unconditional emancipation.

Yet men who believe it safe to do immediate justice, and who find from history that God never permits a nation to suffer for obeying his commands, are held up to the derision and detestation of the community as fanatics and incendiaries. Let us see what new proofs of their fanaticism are afforded by the history of the abolition of slavery in Guadalupe.

On the 20th April, 1794, a British armament, under Sir Charles Grey, took the French island of Guadalupe, many of the planters, as in St. Domingo, being royalists and favoring the cause of the invaders.

On the 5th June following, a French force, under Victor Hugo, arrived to dispute the possession of the island. The Republican general immediately proclaimed the freedom of the slaves, in pursuance of a decree of the National Assembly of the preceding February; and arming the negroes, led them against the enemy. The English were soon confined within narrow quarters, and by the 10th December, were compelled to evacuate the island. From this time, Guadalupe remained a dependance of France till 1810, when it was retaken by the English.

On the abolition of slavery, la police rurale, was substituted for it. The slaves were converted into free laborers, and were entitled to their food, and one fourth of the produce of their labor. They were 85,000 in number, and the whites only

* These representations are confirmed by the fact, that the exports from St. Domingo in 1801, seven years after emancipation, were of sugar, 16,638,182 lbs.; coffee, 43,420,270 lbs.; cotton, 2,480,340 lbs. McCulloch's Dict. of Commerce, p. 926.
13,000. So far was the cultivation of the island from being suspended by emancipation, that in 1801, an official report stated the plantations as follows, viz.: of sugar, 390; of coffee, 1355; of cotton, 328; and 25 grass farms. The peace of Amiens unhappily afforded Bonaparte an opportunity to re-establish slavery in Guadaloupe. In the summer of 1802, Richepanse landed on the island at the head of a powerful French force, and in a short time by the indiscriminate massacre of all who opposed his purpose, fulfilled the object of his mission at the sacrifice, it is said, of nearly 20,000 negro lives.

Immediately preceding this atrocious act, all was peace and prosperity; and so late as February, 1802, the supreme council of Guadaloupe, in an official document, alluding to the tranquility which reigned throughout the island, observed: "We shall have the satisfaction of having given an example, which will prove that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other, under an administration which secures justice to all classes."

In Guadaloupe, we see an instance of a great preponderating slave population suddenly emancipated, and yet peaceably pursuing their labors for seven years, and living in harmony with the white proprietors.

If we are to believe Colonizationists, the negro character is to be exhibited in all its perfection in Liberia; but in America, the black man can never rise from his present degradation. Do we inquire the reason, we are promptly told, that no equality can subsist between the white and black races, and that the latter to be great and happy must live alone. Strange it is, that instead of referring to St. Domingo as an apt illustration of their theory, they are fond of citing the present state of that island as a warning against Abolition—as a proof that free negroes are too indolent to work, too deficient in enterprise, to attain national prosperity. If such be the fact, how faithless must be their predictions of the future glory of Liberia. Let us now attend to the gloomy and disheartening account, which the chairman of the executive committee of the New-York Colonization Society gives us of St. Domingo; an account which, if true, ought to induce the Society to abandon their enterprise.

"More than thirty years have elapsed since slavery was
abandoned in St. Domingo. Through scenes of unparalleled devastation and blood, the blacks expelled their white masters, and have ever since lived under a government of their own. But from the day of their emancipation to the present, the population for the most part, have 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 choked their gardens, and the plantations have been barren from idleness. 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 Haytien enactment is in point, and will serve as a practical commentary upon the mad schemes of our well meaning but deluded philanthropists. We have extracted the following articles, which render the condition of the free blacks very little different from, if not actually worse than, the condition of the slaves in any part of the United States."

* Com. Advertiser, 24th September, 1834.

Then follow extracts from the rural code of Hayti, from which it appears, that all persons without land or occupation are compelled to labor, and are liable to imprisonment for idleness.

It is remarkable that the philanthropists, on whose mad schemes this code is supposed to be a commentary, are admitted on the 24th September, to be "well meaning," whereas, on the 9th June preceding, we were assured by this same

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* This last assertion is so very extraordinary, that we are constrained to believe Mr. Stone has never read the "enactment" from which he quotes. The present rural code of Hayti was adopted in 1826. It is a document filling about fifteen folio pages, and displays a strong desire to secure justice to the laborers. By this code, all "who shall not be able to show that they possess the means of subsistence, shall be bound to cultivate the earth." Such persons are required to hire themselves as farm laborers, but they are at perfect liberty to select their employer. The parties enter into written contracts for not less than three, nor more than nine years. The compensation to the laborers on a farm, varies according to the terms of the contract, from one-fourth to one-half of the whole produce of the farm. All disputes between the employer and his people are settled by a justice of the peace. The employer cannot more than the "cultivators," than an American farmer can his hired laborers. Not even for crimes is corporal punishment allowed in Hayti. The cultivator has by law, the whole of Saturday and Sunday to himself, and on other days he cannot be required to work after sunset. There is nothing to prevent him from accumulating property by industry and economy, buying a farm and hiring laborers in his turn.
gentleman, that the "design" of these philanthropists was "to foment a servile war in the South." To convince us how unfit negroes are for freedom, we are here informed that thirty years after slavery was abolished in St. Domingo, the government has at last exerted its power for the regulation of labor, to prevent the island from going entirely to ruin. It so happens, that the regulation of labor, instead of being an expedient resolved to at last to save the island from ruin, was coeval with the Act of emancipation. On the 28th February, 1794, Etienne Polverel, "civil commissary of the Republic, delegated to the French Leeward islands in America, for the purpose of re-establishing the public order and tranquillity," published in the name of the French people a rural code for the government of the liberated slaves in St. Domingo. It is long, and descends to minute particulars—a brief extract will show that it regulated labor.

"The ordinary day's labor is limited to about nine hours, viz: from sunrise to half-past eight—from half-past nine to twelve—and from two to sunset, and in crop time it shall be extended to eight o'clock in the evening—The laborers shall be bound to obey the overseers, and the overseers to obey each other according to their rank; but their authority shall be confined to the cultivation and good order of the plantation. Those laborers, who in these points shall refuse to obey the order of the overseers, shall be subject to a month's imprisonment, with labor during the day on public works, &c., &c. This code continued in force till August, 1798, when it was somewhat modified by Toussaint, and we have already seen on the authority of the history of St. Domingo, that "the planters were obliged to employ their laborers on the footing of hired servants, and the negroes were required to labor for their livelihood." Hence it appears that the regulation of labor in St. Domingo, is not as Mr. Stone seems to suppose, a recent exertion of power on the part of the government.

But what shall we say of the ruined villas, the barren plantations, the gardens choked with thorns? Admitting Mr. Stone's melancholy picture to be correct, cannot we explain it, on other principles than such as would be fatal to the freedom and happiness of millions? The zealous editor seems wholly to have forgotten the terrible war which the Haytiens were compelled to wage in defence of their liberty. In 1802,
a French army landed in St. Domingo, for the purpose of again reducing its inhabitants to slavery, and a war ensued, which, for its desolating fury, is probably without a parallel. An historian of this war, thus concludes his account of it:

"At length, in the month of December, 1803, the island was finally abandoned, a mere handful of the French troops escaping the destruction which had already overtaken 60,000 of their fellows! Thus for nearly two years, with a very brief interval, had a war raged in St. Domingo, singularly ferocious and vindictive in its character, and directed latterly more to extermination than to conquest, sparing neither sex nor age, and sweeping away from the whole face of the plains of that beautiful island every trace of cultivation. So complete was the extinction of all sugar culture in particular, that for a time not an ounce of that article was procurable. The very roots and fruits on which subsistence depended, were cultivated only in mornes. Desolation, therefore, could hardly be conceived more complete, than prevailed in 1804 and 1805 over all those parts of the colony, which had formerly been covered with plantations; and it is well known how soon the rank vegetation of a tropical climate converts the neglected plantation into jungle."

And is it a proof that slaves ought never to be emancipated, that St. Domingo has not in thirty years, after such wide spread desolation, become again in the hands of men recently delivered from bondage, and for the most part, poor and ignorant, "the garden of the new world?" And was, indeed, that an "idle and worthless" population which successfully resisted the arms of England and of France, and achieved their freedom by an heroic sacrifice of their lives and property—a sacrifice, which had their complexion been white, would have been celebrated by poets and orators in every portion of the civilized world?

Let us now inquire, whether the present state of the island is in truth such as is alleged.

The Rev. Simon Clough, D. D., L. L. D., has lately published a pamphlet, ("Appeal to the Citizens of the United States") in which he undertakes to justify slavery from the Scriptures, and to prove that all clergymen who advocate immediate abolition, are "false teachers," and ought to be dismissed by their congregations. Now this most veracious teacher, speak-
ing of St. Domingo, assures us, (p. 16 :) At the present time,* there is not one sugar, coffee, or cotton plantation on the island. There is now exported about five million pounds of inferior coffee, which grows wild, and is picked up by the inhabitants off the ground, where it falls after it becomes ripe."

Strange it is, that this island, if in the state described by Messrs. Stone and Clough, should support a population of 935,000.† Still more strange is it, that when the whole export of coffee is only about five million pounds, it should appear from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, that the coffee exported in 1833, from Hayti to the United States alone, amounted to eleven million, seven hundred eighty-four thousand, eight hundred and thirty-five pounds. Most passing strange is it, that the imports into this country, in the same year, from an island in which there is not ONE sugar, coffee, or cotton plantation; with an idle and worthless population; with its fields run to waste, and its plantations barren from idleness, should nevertheless exceed in value our imports in the same period, from either Prussia—Sweden and Norway—Denmark, and the Danish West-Indies—Ireland and Scotland—Holland—Belgium—Dutch East-Indies—British West-Indies—Spain—Portugal—all Italy—Turkey and the Levant—or any one republic in South America! ‡

Neither Mr. Stone nor Dr. Clough, profess to speak from personal observation. Let us then listen to an eye-witness. In 1831, was published in a London periodical, the journal of a traveller in Hayti. The following are extracts:

"Port au Prince, Island of Hayti, June 25, 1830.

"Being aware that this city had very recently suffered greatly by fire, I expected to see an unsightly waste of ruin and decay but the lots are rebuilt, and many a splendid and substantial edifice surpassing those to be seen in the city of Kingston in Jamaica, has arisen as the first fruits of the security which property enjoys, by the recognized independence of Hayti.

"I have made an excursion or two, just out of the town, to the little cottage settlements, on the side of the mountain above

* The pamphlet was published in New-York, 1334.
† Census of 1834.
‡ See documents accompanying Letter from Secretary of the Treasury to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 21st April, 1834.
the city. I am told, that in the ancient Regime—that is the phrase here for the old state of things, the plains were a source of so abundant a return for the industry of the proprietor, that the mountains in this neighborhood were comparatively neglected, so that the ‘Camp des Fourmis,’ the range of hills so called, extending from Point Lameinte to the Cul de Sac, were heretofore never cultivated as they are now. At present they are covered with a thousand small settlements appropriated to coffee, and provisions, and fruits, and vegetables, in which the advantages of irrigation, presented by the frequent springs, bursting from the mountain ravines, have been diligently attended to, in the agricultural economy. The water is trench ed over the sunny surface of each projecting irregularity of the ridge; and height above height, the cottage of the humble cultivator is seen; or the substantial country-seat of the Haytian merchant, with its baths, bowers, and terraced gardens have been erected.

"Port au Prince, though by no means a handsome town, is at this day, in style, and one may say splendor, far superior to what it was in the colonial period of its history.

"The frequent calamities to which it has been subjected from fire, and the immense and valuable property lost by earthquakes in the years 1820 and 1822, have led the Haytiens to attempt providing against the two-fold liability, as they expressed it of being bouleverse et incendie. They have commenced re-erecting some of the houses destroyed by these conflagrations, with stone or brick, cased over wooden frames, at once to sustain the shock of the earthquake, and to repel the action of the fire. They cover the roofs with tiles, or slates rather than shingles; and erect their stores for merchandise with fire-proof terraces, and wrought iron doors and windows. These buildings have galleries and arched colonnades, with heavy cornices and balustrades screening the roof; and floors of variegated marble, and tiles in the upper as well as lower stories. If continued generally, they will render this city not only one of the most elegant in the West-Indies, but one in which the houses will exhibit an interior economy, the very best adapted to the necessities of the climate. The decorations are appropriate. The rich, varied mahogany of the country is manufactured into elegant furniture by the artizans here; and the French taste of gilded mirrors, or Molu clocks, and porcelain vases,
filled with artificial flowers, impart to the dwellings of the simple Haytiens an air of refinement not unworthy of Europe.

"The scene presented to the view of the traveller, who quits the city of Port au Prince, to journey on the highway to the mountains, though a wild waste, is not a solitary one. On the road he will meet a multitude of cultivators coming to the city market, with horses and asses loaded with provisions. He will see waggons with produce drawn by hardy and healthy cattle. If he departs from the high-road, and turns to the right hand, through one of the woodland paths, he will find himself entering into open grounds, covered with verdant fields; he will see traces every where visible of renewed cultivation; mansions re-erected; aqueducts reconducting their streams to irrigate the land; the sound of water-mills at work; cottages no longer deserted, but tenanted by laborers once more issuing from them to gather in the harvest of the teeming soil.

"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.

"To me who have had an opportunity from the day of my birth, and long residence in a slave colony, of forming by comparison a correct estimate of this people's advancement, the general quiet conduct and respectful behavior of all classes here, publicly and privately, is a matter exciting great surprise."

All this, it may be said, is anonymous testimony. It is so, and yet it seems entitled to at least as much weight as the bare, naked assertions of Messrs. Stone and Clough. We will now offer testimony, to which we presume no objection will be made. The following are extracts from "the report of the select committee on the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions, with minutes of evidence, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 11th August, 1832."

Evidence of Mr. Robert Sutherland.

"Are there many persons who work for hire in Hayti? Yes—the whole cultivation is carried on by free labor. Do these persons work with industry and vigor?

"I have no reason to think they do not. The proof, that free labor in Hayti answers, is this, that after the French were
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expelled, there was absolutely no sugar work—there was no mill—there was nothing of that kind which could be put in use: it was destroyed; and since that period, various plantations have grown up in Hayti. Men have gone to the expense of thirty and forty thousand dollars, to build up those sugar works; and it stands to reason, that unless these men were repaid for their capital, they would not continue that sort of work. And there is another thing to be observed—that sugar is not the staple commodity of Hayti; they only make sufficient for their own consumption. Coffee is the staple commodity of the island.

"If a man can show, that he has the means of subsistence of his own, is he compelled to labor under the code rurale?"

"Decidedly not.

"Do you believe that corporal punishment is inflicted upon any of the laborers in Hayti?"

"I believe it is impossible. 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."

Evidence of Vice Admiral, the Hon. Charles Fleming, member of Parliament.

"Was told that vagrants and deserters worked by compulsion, but he did not see any himself. Had never heard of any working under the lash. The lash was prohibited by law. The Haytiens appeared to him the happiest, best fed, and most comfortable negroes he had ever seen; better off even than in the Caraccas: infinitely better than in Jamaica; there was no comparison between them. He could not speak positively of the increase of the Haytiens population since 1804, but believed it had trebled since that time. They now feed themselves, and they export provisions, which neither the French nor the Spaniards had ever done before.

"He saw a sugar estate near Cape Haytiens, General Bou-lon's, extremely well cultivated, and in beautiful order. It was wrought by blacks, all free. A new plantation was forming on the opposite side of the road. 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. The estate he visited near the Cape was large; it was calculated to make 300 hogsheads of sugar. It was beautifully laid out, and as well managed as any estate he had seen in the West Indies. His official correspondence as Admiral with the Hayti government, made him attribute much efficiency to it, and it bore strong marks of civilization. There was a better police in Hayti, than in the new South American States; the communication was more rapid; the roads much better. One had been cut from Port au Prince to Cape Hayti, that would do honor to any country. A regular post was established. The government is one quite worthy of a civilized people. The negroes of Hayti, are certainly richer, and happier, and in a better condition than he had ever seen elsewhere. They were all working in the fields when he was there. He rode about very much. He did not think any acts of oppression were practised on the people of Hayti by the government."

Mr. Jerome, late first president of the royal court of St. Lucia, informs us that in St. Domingo, "is found a happy, flourishing, and contented peasantry, engaged in the cultivation of their own small freeholds; and as these persons acquire capital, they form larger establishments, and are gradually rising. This proves, that the general wants of the community are supplied, and, if well governed, that community must soon acquire strength, and rise to importance." *Essays on Colonial Slavery*, 1832, p. 63.


In 1786, the exportation of coffee was about 35,000 tons. In consequence of the subsequent devastation of the island, the exportation for some years almost totally ceased; but it has now risen to about 20,000 tons! p. 309.

The amount of the following articles, exported in 1832, was estimated as follows, viz:

- Coffee, 50,000,000 lbs.
- Cotton, 1,500,000 lbs.
- Tobacco, 500,000 lbs.
- Cocoa, 500,000 lbs.
- Dye wood, 5,000,000 lbs.
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Tortoise shell . . . . . . . . 12,000 lbs.
Mahogany, . . . . . . . . 6,000,000 feet
Hides, . . . . . . . . 80,000—p. 927.

The quantity of sugar exported in 1832, is not stated; but in 1826, it amounted to 32,864 lbs.; and it should be recollected, that about twenty years before, not an ounce of that article was manufactured on the island, p. 926.

The imports into France, in 1831, from Hayti, exceeded in value the imports from Sweden—Denmark, the Hanseatic Towns—Holland—Portugal—Austria—the French East Indies—or China, p. 637.

In the same year, the importation of French wines into Hayti amounted to 108,495 gallons, p. 1250.*

Cotton manufactures, to the amount of 6,828,576 yards, were exported from Great Britain to Hayti in 1831, being about one-tenth the number of yards exported the same year to the United States, p. 446.

Our readers are now competent to judge for themselves how far the assertions of Mr. Stone and the Rev. Dr. Clough, are consistent with truth; and also, what is “the practical commentary” offered by the history and present state of St. Domingo, on “the mad schemes of our well meaning but deduced philanthropists.”

CHAPTER IX.

EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

The British Government, in part to conciliate the West India proprietors, and in part through apprehension of the danger of immediate emancipation, determined to abolish slavery in such a manner as to fit the slave for freedom. Instead of breaking his yoke, it was to be reduced in weight; and six years were to be occupied in filing off his manacles. On the first of last August, the slave was told and believed, that slavery was abolished; but on the morrow, he was sum-

* The quantity of French wine imported the same year into Great Britain for home consumption, was 254,366 gallons. p. 1255.