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5. *Gazette Royale d’Hayti.*

Some of these works have considerable intrinsic merit; and we have therefore resolved to place them before our readers, not only because they are little, if at all, known in this country, but also because they were written by the descendants of negroes, and by nobles of the late kingdom of Hayti. They will afford us a specimen of the literature of that singular nation, and some means of judging of the intellectual dignity, which a population of blacks may hope to reach, in the most favourable circumstances.

The writings of M. de Vastey, which consist of a chief part of the works at the head of this article and of a few pamphlets of less importance, are very favourable specimens of the native mental force of a Haytian. Self-educated, as are most of his countrymen of any distinction, struggling constantly for the first thirty years of his life against every thing which could damp or stifle a literary ambition, he has nevertheless acquired a respectable style, a correct knowledge of his language, and a store of information of considerable variety and
The manner in which those of his nation, who possessed acquaintance with letters, obtained it; and they are by means few, is feelingly described by himself in reply to some gross reproach of the late colonists.

The treatment of the slaves in St. Domingo is known to have been of the severest kind, and when the revolution broke out, they were in the most deplorable state that can be conceived; they knew nothing, hoped nothing, their apathy was so profound, their moral and physical faculties were so paralyzed by the weight of slavery. They looked not beyond the mere support of life, the bare vegetative existence of things rooted into the soil. From this abject condition they sprang up at once into the enjoyment of their faculties; an invincible love of freedom instantly transformed them into men; imperious necessity gave them writers to defend their cause, and soldiers who vanquished the best troops in the world: and in the brief intervals of repose from defeat and from forced marches, their leading characters snatched moments for intellectual acquisitions, which afterwards enabled them to independence and empire.

It is but twenty five years since we were plunged in slavery and in the most complete ignorance; we had no idea of civil society, no conception of happiness, not a single living sensation; our physical and moral faculties were so stupefied by the weight of slavery, that I myself, who write this, seemed the world ended with the scope of my vision; my thoughts were so confined that the simplest things were above my comprehension; and all my countrymen were as ignorant as myself, and if possible still more ignorant. I have been perfectly well acquainted with many who learned to read and write themselves, without instruction, they went about with books in their hands, interrogated those whom they met, and beseeched them to explain the signification of such a sign or such a word. Reflex. Pol. p. 92, 93, note.

Out of such a state of things and in such a manner arose M. de Vastey. His colour gave him some little advantage over pure blacks, during the continuance of the colonial government; but this advantage was brief and slight, and we may consider him as a person, who has escaped from the lowest moral and intellectual degradation, by the force of his own

The Baron de Vastey is a yellow man, either a mulatto or mestizo; it has not been in our power to ascertain which.
powers and in opposition to the whole strength of undeni- tious circumstances. If we criticise his writings point in view, we shall be compelled to think him a of no common talents, nor deserving of mere common applause. Each of his works was composed to repel the reiterated attacks, and expose the still accumulating calumnies of the former planters. The first in order of time, and that with which our readers are probably best acquainted, is particu- larly designed to maintain the character of blacks, and assert their right to hope for approaching civilization, with pass- ing reference to the revolution; the second to refute several of the most plausible misrepresentations made by foreign journalists and ex-colonial writers with regard to the present situation of the government, rights, and prospects of the king- dom of Hayti. An ardent spirit of patriotism runs through them, and gives them an animation and a zeal, which deeply fix the reader's attention. They teem with expressions of hatred against the late colonists, which, however, we cannot easily reprehend in the quarter from whence they proceed. The vehemence of a once oppressed, but now victorious sol- dier, the fire of an emancipated slave, the vigorous pride of a regenerate African are all wrought into the style of these pamphlets and supply atone for their few trifling defects in arrangement and composition. In examining the present intellectual condition of the blacks and more especially of the people of Hayti, we shall make free use of the materials scattered through these and several other publications of the same nature in our possession, together with what light we have been able to procure from different sources of intelli- gence.

The slave-trade, which originated in a superstitious notion prevalent in the dark ages, that infidels were not entitled to the privileges of human beings, has been since perpetuated and defended by prejudices equally ridiculous with regard to the minds of the blacks, whom we are desired to believe incapable of elevation, order, and improvement. The generous self-devotion of modern philanthropists has gone far towards eradicating this opinion and abolishing the traffic connected with it; and it is well known to have been our own country and our own southern states that set the example to the world of the abolition of this disastrous traffic. Among the grounds on which it was defended, was an alleged natural inferiority of
intract on the part of the blacks; and the difficulty was to put a nation of this colour that had reached any tolerable degree of civilization. Such an example is given to the world in the case of the people of Hayti. We consider the single fact of their regeneration as decisive in favour of the blacks. Never was a servitude more complete, never was abasement more hopeless, never was ignorance more deplorable, than that of the slaves of Saint Domingo. France, in the madness of the revolution, proclaimed liberty through the colony, and at once conferred political rights on these miserable beings; but shortly repenting of her generosity, she tried to reduce them again to slavery, by force or fraud; and when she found they had not tasted the sweets of freedom in vain, she commenced that series of barbarities, which surpassed even her own reign of terror, and which will never be forgotten as the revolution of Saint Domingo. But the party prevailed, which deserved to prevail; for once poetic justice was done in this grand drama of life; the blacks fought on, through reverses and sufferings unrivalled, till they became independent, and not a single one of their old oppressors remained on the soil of Hayti. What revolution has the world ever beheld, that was comparable to this in the credit which it does to the aptitude and perseverance of its leaders? Other revolutions were conducted by men who were free, if not independent; who had before enjoyed the rights of men and knew how to prize them; who were comparatively speaking enlightened and civilized. But this was of a nature far more wonderful: its chiefs were just loosed from slavery; they were utterly destitute of any species of knowledge, which was to fit them to be soldiers, politicians or even subjects; their arms were at first nothing but stakes or wooden dirks, or iron hoops rudely fashioned into sabres; in their early battles they precipitated themselves in disorganized crowds upon the cannon of their enemies;* and they were opposed to the most acute and warlike nation of modern times, acting under every excitement of interest, pride, indignation and despair. Surely no more convincing argument in proof of the capacity of blacks could be required, than their achievement of such a revolution.

* They fought with heroical coolness and courage. Their blindness was such, that many of them dared to thrust their arms into the cannons, crying out to their comrades, *veni, veni, mortis ben li,* &c. *Malenfant, Des Colonies,* p. 18.
A few extracts from the Baron de Vastey will show the sufferings of his countrymen to have been without any thing similar in revolutionary annals, and will justify us in the severe terms in which we have alluded to the colonists.

"We have seen our fellow-citizens, friends and relations, without distinction of age or sex, dragged to execution, some to be burnt at the stake, others to be exposed to birds of prey on gibbets; some thrown to the dogs to be devoured, others more fortunate perishing at the point of the dagger or bayonet. In places which the whites evacuated, thousands of the Haytians, who had fought in their ranks, were so credulous as to trust in their generosity; unwilling to abandon the whites in the extremity of their distress, they followed them to the vessels in which they embarked, taking with them their wives and children and the little property they had been able to save from pillage; but scarcely were they on board when they were loaded with chains and precipitated into the hold of the ship, there to suffer the most dreadful torments. Every night hundreds of them were brought on deck, bound together with cords and enclosed in large sacks with their babes, in which they were thrown into the sea after being stabbed through the sacks, as it otherwise some deity might interpose for their succor and preservation. At other times republican marriages were made like those of La Vendée. A man and woman being fastened together with chain-shot about their necks and thus thrown into the sea amid acclamations and cries of joy. Hundreds shut up in the holds of ships were stifled to death with burning sulphur. Day came to throw light upon the crimes of the night, and our shores, covered with the corpses of our friends, testified against the barbarity of the whites, and foretold us our own terrible destiny."

After describing a scene, that he had witnessed, in which some of his countrymen were burned at the stake with circumstances of aggravated cruelty, he proceeds to make mention of a horrible species of torture employed by the ex-colonists, namely, delivering up their captives to be devoured alive by blood-hounds.

"The first time that men were devoured by dogs* was at the Cape in the convent of nuns and even in the house of general Boyer!— Afterwards the theatre of this scene of horrors was

* A pack of blood-hounds was procured for this purpose from Cuba. Quarterly Rev. xxi, 448. The blacks were hunted down with these dogs, as the native inhabitants of the Antilles were by the Spaniards.
changed to the Haut-du-Cap, on the plantation Charrier. Here
the dogs were conducted, and in order to give them a relish for
it, they were from time to time fed with human flesh. Many
days beforehand, they were kept without food so as to stimulate
their hunger, and occasionally a victim was presented to them
and withdrawn as soon as they were ready to rush and seize
him; and when the day arrived in which prisoners were to be
delivered to the dogs, the victims were bound to posts to prevent
their defending themselves, the commissaries being present, clothed
in their municipal scarfs and military uniform. The dogs
were then let loose to rush upon their prey; while the whites
excited them on; and when the dogs were weary and sated with
blood, their masters were compelled to finish the work of death
with their poniards.

Having noticed the perfidious treatment which Toussaint is
well known to have experienced, our author repeats other
facts of the same nature.

'Generals J. Maurepas and C. Bélaïr were executed; Maure-
pas* being nailed alive to the mainmast of the ship Annibal, in
presence of his wife and children, and afterwards thrown into the
sea with his whole family; Bélaïrin was shot with his wife, this
heroine exhorting him to imitate her and die courageously.†
Thomany, Domage, Lamahotière, a crowd of officers and citizens
of rank were hung like convicts: those who escaped the dagger
and the gibbet died by poison, as did the generals Vilatte, Léveillé
and Gaulard: and many more were transported to the Main to
be sold for slaves, or to France to finish their career in the gal-
lies.'—Reflex. Sur les Noirs and les Blanches, p. 95—103.

All these are notorious facts unquestioned and unquestion-
able. The revolution is full of such enormities. Both sides
contended with a revengeful hatred, a personal animosity
that was terrible in its consequences. The planters fought
with all the desperate rage of men, who had long exercised
unrestrained tyranny over their antagonists, and who felt

* A pair of epaulettes was nailed upon his shoulders and a military hat
upon his head with iron spikes.
† The history of the revolution contains another instance of female
courage equally heroical. The black general Charles Chevalier was con-
demned to be hung; and his wife, perceiving that he exhibited signs of
weakness, sprung to the cord and hung herself before him, crying out:
What! do you not know how to die for liberty? Maitensfant, Des Colo-
nies, p. 103, note:
that wealth, power, vengeance would be gained by victory and lost by defeat; the liberated slaves, on the other hand, solemnly swore never again to submit to the cruelties of their former masters, but rather to shed every drop of blood in their veins, nay to die a thousand deaths. "What wait ye for? said one of these slaves to his compatriots.* Why do you not appease the spirits of your slaughtered brothers, sisters, children, wives? Remember that you will hereafter desire to sleep with their remains; will you descend into their tombs before you have avenged their wrongs? No: if you should dare to be so base, their bones would repulse yours with contempt or shrink from them with horror." Exhortations, such as this, must be maddening; they must produce a struggle unequalled by any thing else which history records.

France has never ceased to long for the restoration of her colonial dominions. She has sown faction and discord among the chiefs of Hayti; tampered with the people; resorted to every stratagem and every artifice to effect her ends. Her emissaries betrayed the generous and noble-minded Toussaint-Louverture to chains, transportation, imprisonment and death; they assassinated the brave emperor Dessalines; and they have been incessantly plotting the destruction of president Pétion and of king Henry, by stirring up their followers against each other and breeding civil wars in the bosom of Hayti. But these exertions have proved unavailing. One ephemeral government has passed away and a second has followed it, and others more firm and stable have arisen out of the ruins of their predecessors to share their fate, and a new one is just entering upon the stage; but Hayti, notwithstanding her divided and fluctuating governments, continues and probably will ever continue independent.

But, notwithstanding the character, which the blacks in Hayti must be allowed to have gained themselves, for physical hardihood, for independence of spirit and for zeal in the defence of their liberty, the advocates of the doctrines of their inferiority may still insist on their intellectual debility, and declare, that although the mere bodily strength and animal bravery of the blacks, aided by what the blacks themselves have been accustomed to denominate their avenging

*Acte de l'Indépendence d'Hayti.
climate,* may have given them independence, still they have not the wisdom, the knowledge, the force of mind required to perpetuate their national being and embellish it with literature, science, and civilization. Let us see if the history of Hayti does not overthrow this hypothesis. We feel confident that a review of the policy of that part of the nation, which constituted the late kingdom, and which, from the nature of its government as well as from the character of its rulers, hitherto has attracted more notice and actually done more that deserves attention than the rest of the island, will prove that a people of blacks are able to preserve that independence by their wisdom, which they had acquired by their resolution and perseverance.

A nation, which has attained considerable refinement, which is tranquil within and threatened by nothing but ordinary dangers from abroad, can enjoy a free and republican government; but when a country has been plunged for two centuries in the lowest degradation, when its inhabitants have been sunk below the level of ordinary political oppression, and when, although exalted to the rank of a nation, it has continued to be harassed by restless and able enemies,—in such a country, the firm hand of kingly power is needed to stifle faction, repel aggressors, and give energy, despatch, and secrecy to the public measures. It is impossible, therefore, not to praise the design which established a monarchy in Hayti, strengthened the king by the grant of adequate power and endowed him with revenues and military forces for his defence against foreign and domestic assailants. The recent death of the king has, it is true, been followed by a revolution in the government; but, as we shall take occasion to remark hereafter, this circumstance neither proves that the king was bad, nor that a monarchical government was ineligible in Hayti. The government was then, is now, and must be for a long time to come, a military despotism. Little does it matter, indeed, what is the form of a government, if it be sagely conducted, and its only aim be the public happiness and peace; but in no case whatever can there be freedom in the government, until there is a free people on whose foundation to build up that government. Hayti, we doubt not, enjoyed more prosperity under the sceptre of an absolute

* Acts de l'Indépendence d'Hayti.
king, than she could ever have hoped for from republican institutions.

Whatever ridicule we may attach to the notion of a black arrayed in the splendors of royalty, or decorated with orders of knighthood, or wearing the robes and coronets of nobility, we must hold it, particularly in all European countries, to be a ridicule highly misplaced. A nobility was the natural and proper consequence of the monarchical form of government, and was desirable to give it stability, finish, and strength. The court of king Henry was chiefly composed of military men of distinction, who had been ennobled or knighted for their merit alone; and we have no doubt that they might advantageously compare in politeness of manners and general intelligence with the best society in the colony previous to the revolution. The king himself was a man of fine features, noble presence, and accomplished manners, who exhibited unequivocal marks of talents of the very first order, in elevating himself from the meanest station of a black to royal and unlimited power, in defending his realm through civil and foreign warfare, in establishing the prosperity of his country and in securing the good will of his people, who regarded him as an affectionate father and revered him as a potent monarch. Foreign merchants and officers, as well as natives of Hayti, have uniformly borne testimony to the courage, military skill, humanity and benevolence of Henry. The mulattoes in the south, indeed, always reviled his measures; and since his death, many general assertions of his cruel disposition have gone the round of the public journals; but it is enough that no shadow of a proof exists in support of these foul and unauthorized aspersions on the character of the deceased monarch. His authority, although despotick, was

* English officers, who have seen king Henry, have repeatedly noticed his resemblance in features and appearance to the late king George III. Blackwood's Magazine; Quarterly Review.

† The lower classes, in speaking of him, almost universally employed the words bon papa a nous, that is notre bon père.

‡ Our favourable opinion of the late king was derived from persons who had the means of judging for themselves on the spot, and is contradicted by no facts in any of the histories of the revolution. Lest we should be thought singular in this opinion we will subjoin two extracts of a similar import, one from the Quarterly Review for April 1819, and another from the British Review for March 1820.

* His military talents were very respectable, and his courage unshaken; his disposition humane and benevolent. In the exercise of all the social
exercised with discretion and promptly obeyed. When the magazines a year or two since were fired and burned, by means of a stroke of lightning, all classes of men without distinction were instantly put in requisition for the purpose of repairing the damage, and with few exceptions readily marched out of Cape-Henry with drums beating and colours flying to labour on the works of Sans-Souci. Such a fact proves the subordination of the people and the strength of the government, in a manner the most indubitable. The king had ministers, of course, but he still was his own counsellor and personally judged of the correctness of his servants' administration. Thus every paper, every official report, all public documents were actually examined by him, so that no treasonable attempt could escape his knowledge, no fraud or act of oppression be concealed from his cognizance. It may be mentioned also, as illustrating his policy and showing the channel in which the measures of a strong government instinctively run, that almost all the specie, which entered the kingdom, finally reached the royal coffers; for a large proportion of the customs and taxes were required in money, and its exportation was strictly and effectually prohibited. Another curious indication of his views may be seen in the fact, that the court-dresses, fêtes, and other expenses of that nature were so designed as to consume much of the superfluous revenues of the noblemen, and thereby prevent their entertaining projects inimical to the peace of the kingdom. All these anecdotes betoken a suspicious government, and one gratuitously jealous; and can we reasonably expect less, considering the peril, to which the government was constantly exposed,

social virtues he has been eminently distinguished; he is a good husband, a good father, a steady friend, and strict in the observance of all the duties of religion and morality. Contrary to the common custom among his black countrymen, he attached himself in early life to one woman, whom he never forsook; and that woman is now queen of Hayti, beloved, by all ranks and conditions.

'During the struggle for independence, he displayed great bravery and military skill, and his disposition was then, and is now, generally considered to be both humane and benevolent. The republican inhabitants, however, of Hayti represent him as a severe and sanguinary tyrant, and in their journals and other writings usually call him another Phalaris. But those, who have resided under his government, unanimously give him the character of being a good husband and a good father, affable in private life, and observant of the duties of morality and of the offices of religion;—qualities which are utterly irreconcilable with the cruelties charged upon him by his enemies.'

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both from civil wars and from the insidious measures adopted by the court of France? But such details prove, beyond a doubt, the talents of the king to have been far above those of ordinary white monarchs. Nor are we quite sure that there is a king alive, who has shown himself half so worthy to wear a diadem, as the late sovereign of Hayti.

The compilation of the Code-Henry was an act of equal wisdom with the establishment of royalty in Hayti. The whole island was before governed by the colonial laws, by those tyrannical institutions, which originally caused the wretchedness and excited the revolution of Hayti. Emancipated slaves would have acquired only partial independence, if they had set down contentedly under the laws of their masters. It was requisite that a new code should be drawn up and enacted, applicable to the situation of the country and capable of securing the regular administration of justice. Such a system is the Code-Henry. Could a nation of whites have exhibited more prudence and wisdom in a similar situation? However imperfectly these laws may have been executed, their very existence proves the judgment of the Haytians. Even if the military power of the monarch did sometimes predominate over the laws, this is no more than was inevitable in a kingdom where a revolution was just subsiding and which had barely reached independence. But the truth is, that justice has been regularly and effectively administered with general reference to the Code-Henry.

The political situation of Hayti with respect to foreign nations likewise strongly testified in favour of the people and government. Content and happy to live in peace, satisfied with their lot, they felt no desire to disturb the tranquillity of their neighbours.* Throwing open their ports to the ships of every nation but that which bears one interdicted flag, they required of foreigners only that they would abstain from officiously meddling with the political and interior affairs of the kingdom. Circumspect, active and severe, suspicious from the dear-bought experience they had received, they were so conscious of their present happiness that they did every thing cheerfully which could tend to make it perpetual; and therefore as the state of the country required that the

* Let not us, said they in the declaration of independence, like revolutionary beacon-fires, standing up as legislators of the Western Islands, make our glory to consist in disturbing their tranquillity.
policeman should be strict and the government strong-armed, they were so from the free choice and inclination of the people. One of the earliest acts of the government was to fix on a system of financial administration, which should support and uphold the monarchy. The revenue of the king was employed in constructing citadels, fortresses and arsenals; in preparing artillery, ammunition and provisions for future emergencies; and in keeping under arms, clothing and maintaining a numerous body of troops of the line. The distrust, with which the situation of the country required that foreigners should be treated, deprived them of the means of ascertaining the true defensive force of the kingdom. But it was known that cannon, saltpetre and gunpowder were manufactured in the island; fortresses were erected in all parts of the sea-board and interior, some of which are reputed impregnable, especially the citadel and works at Sans-Souci; and the king was said to keep constantly in pay a standing army of fifty thousand men,* and to support a militia still more considerable. The king was fully seconded by his subjects. Not a man lay down to rest, who was not ready to wake with arms in his hands for the defence of his freedom. These at least are tokens of intellectual vigor, of a determination to be forever independent. Nor is it strange that martial law should have seemed to prevail in a kingdom, which was in constant apprehension of being assailed by the most deadly foes, and which was incessantly menaced with total extermination.

Indeed it is difficult and almost impossible to make the laws reign, when a whole people is menaced by a cruel and barbarous foe with extermination; and when all are in arms for the defence of their homes, their liberty and their independence. Then the best regulated government inevitably tends to become arbitrary; the police grows more suspicious, more active, and more severe; the ordinary course of affairs is interrupted; every thing suffers, every thing is changed; persons and property are harassed with requisitions; a universal movement is imparted to the nation.—Soldiers, merchants, manufacturers and husbandmen, men and women, young and old, even the strangers who reside in our cities, are more or less affected by this state of violence; the government unconsciously clashes with the laws; it knows and laments

*Lacroix however estimates the regular army at only 25,000 men. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution de St. Domingue.
it, but in this cruel necessity public safety is the supreme law.—As soon as this situation is diminished, the laws resume their empire; order and security are restored; each one returns to his accustomed labors, though without being lulled asleep by the seeming peace, but always keeping his eyes open on that object which concerns him most, the preservation of his rights, liberty and independence.*—Reflex. Pol. 74, 75.

With respect to the quality of their troops, perhaps there is not a country on earth which can produce an army in finer discipline, in more complete order, more brave, resolute, hardy, and faithful, than the troops of Hayti. The muscular strength of negroes, their capacity for supporting long-continued privations, their patience under hunger, thirst, fatigue and exposure, their adaptation to tropical climates, all render them superior to whites in their power of enduring the hardships of military service. When to these natural advantages of body and mind is added a knowledge of all the arts of modern warfare, exact subordination and regular exercise, the blacks become eminently powerful. No picked men that we can rank together, no splendor of uniform, can equal the appearance of their sinewy limbs, their dark features, their bright eyes and teeth, contrasted and set off against each other; and if we should be required to point out any troops in the world, which exhibited an aspect the most fearful and warlike, the best fitted to strike terror into the heart of an enemy, in short the most military, we should feel no hesitation in fixing upon a well-disciplined array of free able-bodied negroes. These circumstances being combined, we think ourselves justified in assigning the preference over all others to the black troops and especially the late royal dahomets of Hayti. That they produce able officers can any one doubt, who considers their victories over the best troops of Spain, of the Republic, and of Bonaparte, and who recollects the names of Vernet, Clervaux, Toussaint-Louverture, J. J. Dessalines, Petion, Christophe and Boyer?

Hayti has indicated more intellectual power in her military affairs, than elsewhere, because every thing has long compelled her to make war an object of almost undivided atten-

* Cape-Henry could not be defended in case of an invasion; and therefore every house-holder is prepared with torches, so that in half an hour the blacks could wrap in flames a city quite as populous and twice as large as Boston.
tion. Still menaced by the ex-colonists, exposed on her southern frontier, and unsettled in her interior provinces, an immense number of her inhabitants has been constantly withdrawn from the mechanical pursuits of peace, from agriculture, commerce and manufactures, both to recruit her armies and engage in the labor of erecting fortresses, transporting munitions of war, and otherwise aiding in the defence of the kingdom. They have nevertheless made a respectable advancement in the useful arts, particularly in those arts which are subservient to the purposes of war and agriculture. For the nation is a nation of warriors and husbandmen; the people go from the plough to the field of battle, and thence back again to the pursuits of agriculture; and almost every man past the middle age can show honorable scars in evidence of his bravery during the revolution. In military tactics, in engineering, in fortification, in cannon-foundry, in the manufacture of powder, bombs and arms, they are as expert as any whites could ever have been in the same circumstances. Leclerc had under his command many of the first military men of France; and the people of Hayti, by serving under or against him and receiving instructions from his officers, have acquired a portion of the proficiency in the art of war, which had been attained at that period by the Republic. Printing- presses have been erected; and their execution is such, that the books now before us might compare with some of the better publications in our country for beauty of type and paper, as well as correctness. In all the lesser manufactures, in those arts which are constantly required in the common affairs of life, the people have skill enough to supply most of their own ordinary wants, and in some few things they have reached considerable perfection. Commerce they have none, except what is carried on at home for the sale of their produce to foreigners or the purchase of articles in exchange;* and here they exhibit adequate intelligence and fairness. But it is in agriculture that the blacks have done most for the perfection of the peaceful arts. The land, it is true, is so rich and fertile, and the climate is so propitious, that little cultivation is requisite; and therefore while the state of the country re-

* This commerce is conducted very much by barter, as the country has not been quiet long enough to produce an abundance of specie.
mains unsettled and the population thin⁴ and called away to
different pursuits, we cannot expect that much refinement of
agriculture will be bestowed on the plantations. Indeed some
of the best of them are still but half-tenanted; so that immense
quantities of coffee have sprung up spontaneously every year
and perished on the stalks, even when the demand for it has
been greatest, through want of hands to gather it in for the
market. Still the art of agriculture was never in so respect-
able a state as it has been since the revolution. The colonial
system was execrable. The planters knew little of the use of
machines, and in fact employed no labor but that of slaves,
who were therefore in full and constant requisition. Noth-
ing was raised which could interfere with the produce of the
metropolis, no wine, oil, grain, nor any other of the staples
of France. Indigo, coffee, sugar, cotton and cocoa were al-
most the sole articles of cultivation in the colony. But now
the face of things is entirely changed: mechanical arts and
animals diminish the sum of human labour; and experiments
are making in order to introduce the general culture of
corn, vines and other plants, adapted to the climate and
wants of the present inhabitants. Potatoes are planted with
success; bananeries are established on all the considerable
farms; grain and articles of food of every description are
raised in many parts of the island; and rapid advances are
making toward an improved state of agriculture.

It has been said, that the lower class of people were bond-
men or serfs, that they were bought and sold with the land
on which they dwelt, and that in short a species of mitigat-
ed slavery still prevailed in Hayti. But the fact is, we
speak of the kingdom alone, that all classes of men, from the
noble to the husbandman, are properly and strictly speaking
free. As with all undertenants on extensive states a change
of the principal owner is made without asking the consent of
those who cultivate the land; and therefore the transfer
of a plantation might in this view be considered a transfer
of the labourers upon it, because it transfers their chosen resi-
dence. But the proprietors cannot by their own power re-
move a cultivator from plantation to plantation; the quantity,
kinds, and seasons of labour are fixed by law; the labourers
are hired by the proprietors, and receive as wages a regular

* The black population of Hayti was estimated at 700,000 in the year
1789; and has probably increased somewhat since that time.
Allotment of one quarter of the gross produce of the land, on which they live, for their own exclusive use and undisturbed enjoyment.*

One other circumstance connected with agriculture will be noticed; both on account of the loud outcries which have been made against the measure, and on account of the beneficial effects it must have on the prosperity of Hayti. We refer to the confiscation and sale of the property of ex-colonists.—This act the planters have loaded with reproach, declaring that it was contrary to every law, divine or human, natural or conventional, and contrasting it with what this country did after its independence was acknowledged. Did not the work before us furnish the evidence of it, we could not have believed in the existence of so absurd a claim. When the planters have formally acknowledged the real independence of Hayti, and have relinquished their pretence to be restored to the rank of unlimited masters over men who are now free as themselves, they may then appeal to the noble conduct of the United States.

"The people of Hayti," observes de Vastey, "are placed in a situation altogether different. They were blacks and slaves, without country, without property, despoiled of their rights, natural, civil and political; they were what is called dead in law; they dwelt on the soil as if they dwelt not; they lived as if they lived not; the colonists possessed over them the barbarous right of life and death; without support or protection, treated like the vilest animals and abandoned by all nature, they have fought and shed torrents of blood to conquer for themselves a country, an asylum, life and freedom,—to vindicate their sacred and imprescriptible rights, which odious tyrants had once ravished from them and were endeavouring to ravish again! What relations of good-will and of magnanimity can exist between us and the ex-colonists? We were deprived of every thing, we possessed nothing, we were nothing, we were accounted nothing; but we have gained every thing from these vamped, country, liberty, property and independence. We possess nothing which is not our own; we then owe them nothing, and we have nothing to give up or restore.—

* The laws on this head may be seen in the Code Henry, loi concernant la culture, especially titles 1 and 4. From this remark, as well as from others we have made, the curious fact is apparent, that the blacks unconsciously established a pure feudal monarchy in Hayti. The nobles were military men rewarded with titles and lands, for which specific services and rents were due; and the commoners were mostly undertenants on the lands of the nobility.
They were the first to put us out of the circle of social relations, and we may in return exclude them without scruple and with greater justice; they have incurred the same conditions which they desired to impose; if they had been victorious, we should have been killed or enslaved, we should have had nothing and demanded nothing; they have been vanquished and there is nothing for them to receive or demand.—Reflex. Pol. p. 49, 51.

No man of course but a colonist can seriously think the king of Hayti was under the least obligations to restore the lands of the planters, or even pay them an equivalent; since one expedient would have introduced the planters into the heart of the country, and the second must have totally impoverished the kingdom. The sequestration of this property has been of the greatest utility. The king made easy sales* and leases of the lands, and thus, by parceling many of them out among small proprietors, gave his subjects the possessions as well as rank of freemen. Nothing is ever more beneficial to a country, better calculated to give durability to its institutions and more conducive to the general happiness of its inhabitants, than estates in the lands of small freeholders. We therefore find as much to praise in the use which the king made of these lands as in the act of sequestration.

We need not here repeat what we have said before on the moral degradation of the slaves under the colonial order of things. Suffice it now to inquire how far they have risen from that degradation, and what the late king did for the civilization of Hayti. Every successive government in the island has been deeply sensible of the state of abasement in which the nation was sunk, and has constantly endeavoured to redeem its subjects from that state by holding forth encouragements to marry, and by patronising every thing which tended to produce a refinement of manners. The habit of military service has given the people a disposition for subordination and order, which the strictness of the public police has confirmed. Still it is to be confessed that the morals of the Haytians are lax, and must continue so till they can gradually recover from the baneful effects of servitude.

* Fifteen years were allowed for the discharge of the debt in yearly payments at the rate of the fourth of the gross annual produce of colonnies, cafeteries, sucreries, &c. and the twentieth of the first price of a house, until the whole demand is satisfied: the property itself being held as security for the final payment of all the purchase-money.
Since the regeneration of Hayti the manners and social habits of the people have been continually growing better, and we may hope that before long they will have wiped away all the disgraceful stains contracted in a life of bondage. — The noble exertions of the king were most instrumental in producing this effect. Military hospitals were erected by him and were well supported. Religious service was regularly performed in the capital, at which the court and most respectable people attended; but the king was so wise as to make no distinctions between different sects; and Catholicism was known to be the religion of the government, only because it was generally professed by the court, and not through any pains or disabilities inflicted or even discountenance thrown upon Protestants. An archbishop and three bishops, each with chapters, seminaries and colleges attached to his diocese, and a rector in every parish, constituted the ecclesiastical establishment. The proprietors of plantations were obliged to have prayers read to the laborers every night; and to invite them to attend the religious service in the parish on the several festivals. The king created a board of education consisting of some of his most patriotic and enlightened subjects, and entrusted it with the direction of the national education, the choice of books and instructors, and everything which regards this branch of public administration. — Under the superintendence of this board colleges and national schools were established, in which the professors and instructors were honorably paid by the government.

National schools existed in all the principal cities, on that system of mutual instruction, which has been carried to so high a degree of perfection in England, and is gradually advancing throughout Europe and America. In these schools children were instructed in the same manner and with the same success as among whites; their proficiency was respectable in all departments and what is remarkable the children actually felt a sense of gratefulness towards their teachers and exhibited an alacrity in learning, which forcibly remind us of the pupils of Sicard and Leclerc. The artifices of the late colonists have been the cause of such serious evils to the people of Hayti and the practice of them has been so much facilitated by the use of the French of language, that the king resolved to exterminate it from his dominions. He made such a choice of the language to be substituted as we should antici-
pate from his high character. He could not hesitate in adopting that language, which now possesses a literature unrivalled by the proudest in ancient or modern times, which is making rapid strides to a diffusion almost universal, and which is spoken in the first instance by two nations of which one is the noblest in the old and the other the noblest in the new world. He could not hesitate in adopting the language of that people, which has effected at least the partial abolition of the slave-trade, and which, however superannuated and oppressive in many of its institutions, is more liberal than either of its cotemporaries on the continent of Europe. He could not hesitate in adopting the language of England. The language of the better classes in Hayti is pretty correct, at least as correct as was spoken in the island before the revolution; but the middle and lower classes speak a most corrupt and barbarous dialect, whose substance indeed is French, encumbered by confused admixtures of English, Spanish and the native languages of the slaves from Africa. This jargon is always aided in conversation by numberless contortions and gestures, grimaces and interjections, and without them loses half its significance.* It can never be possible to convert

* The comedy of the count de Rosiers, contains many curious specimens of the creole dialect, some of which we subjoin with a collateral translation.

Dinpis Valentin aprés trotté dans tète à moé, mo dire adieu sommeil, adieu repos, adieu toute l'âme qui chose dans monde Mais qui fête pour nous toutes. Cé jordi papa nous va rivé, tout monde va présenté li bouquet à li, ma bali quienne à moé bon cœur.

Dire moé donc ; io dire nous bon papa à nous va rivé.

Cé chanté comme gnoun ange ; et pour la peine à toé, mo va rende toé ça q' moté prend toé.

Mo ta voindré io déjà passé, tant cœur à moé té va content.

Malgré toute monde après craire moé ce gnoun bête, à cause mo pas gagné gnoun bouche qui douce, ni gnoun langue qui dorée, ça pas em-péché mo trouvé dans tète à moé gnoun petit compliment capabe, &c.

Depuis que Valentin a trotté dans ma tête, je dis adieu sommeil, adieu repos, adieu toutes les autres choses dans le monde. Mais quelle fête pour nous tous. Ce jour-ci notre papa va arriver, tout le monde va le presenter son bouquet, je lui donnerai le mien avec bon cœur.

Dites-moi donc ; ils nous disent que notre bon papa va arriver.

C'est chanté comme un ange, et pour votre peine je vous rendrai ce que j'aurais pris de toi.

Je voudrai qu'ils avaient déjà passé, autant mon cœur en serait content.

Quoique tout le monde ait cru que j'étais une bête, parce que je n'ai pas une bouche douce, ni une langue dorée, cela n'empêche pas que je trouverois dans ma tête un petit compliment capabe, &c.
this into a perfectly correct language of any sort; but at the date of our intelligence instructors for the national schools had been procured in England by the king of Hayti; and their scholars had made such considerable progress in their new language, that there was good reason to believe their efforts would finally succeed in giving it currency among educated people and of course making it the vernacular language of the kingdom.

Now we consider all this to be proof, which cannot be set aside or evaded, of the capacity of blacks for improvement; for however imperfect might be the national schools and colleges, the mere establishment of such institutions indicated good sense in the people; and when we look farther, and find these institutions in a considerable degree successful and gradually spreading themselves over the kingdom, we must be blinded with prejudice if we do not confess them to be tokens of approaching civilization in Hayti. Franklins and Washingtons indeed she may not yet have produced; 'et quand même que nous n'avons pas eu des Franklin et des Washington,' says M. de Vastey, 'est-il raisonnable d'exiger que des hommes qui étaient courbés sous le poids de l'ignorance and de l'esclavage, à qui même on refusait de Pintellect, eussent tout-à-coup des Franklin et des Washington?'

This is a fair representation of the language universally spoken by the lower classes in Hayti. We perceive here the difficulty the blacks found in pronouncing the letter u, as instead of un and une they say gnoun. We perceive also for je and ils the strange pronouns mo and io, which the slaves perhaps brought from their native land. They seem unable to sound the letters l and r well, as they say autre, rendre, capable for autre, rendre, capable. They likewise drop the adjective pronouns mon, vos, notre, &c. making use instead of à moi, à vous, à nous. They confound the genders, of course. But the most remarkable thing is the conjugation of verbs, of which it appears they take some tense, true or corrupt, and modify that tense throughout by means of auxiliary prefixes or particles. Thus va rivié means est arrivé; mo ta voudré, je voudrai; io dire, ils disent; dire-moi, ditez-moi, &c. Thus too in the verb avoir they say mo gagné, il gagné, nous gagné, ou gagné, io gagné; mo après gagné; mo va gagné; mo te gagné; instead j'ai, tu as, &c. j'ai, tu as, j'aurai, &c. It was by the same process that ancient verbs, in passing through the lips of barbarians, became simplified of their terminal inflexions. Those who feel any curiosity with regard to this dialect may find a copious vocabulary and several dialogues at the end of Ducourjoli's Manuel des Habitans de St. Domingue.
With one more quotation we take our leave of Hayti.

We call to witness the strangers who frequent our ports, and have visited the interior of the kingdom, whether we are not constituted and organized like the civilized nations of Europe. Have we not a stable monarchy, a constitutional charter, institutions and laws? Is not justice administered with integrity? Our numerous and warlike armies, are they not as well disciplined as the first troops in the world? Have we not erected impregnable fortresses according to all the rules of art, in places almost inaccessible, where obstacles were to be surmounted, with labors won thy the majesty of Rome? Have we not built palaces and public edifices, which do honor to our country and excite the applause of strangers? Have we not manufactories of powder and salt? Is not the mass of our population entirely devoted to commerce and agriculture? Has not our country, although still in its infancy, produced writers and poets to celebrate its name? In short, experience has proved to the world that we, as well as whites, had an aptitude for the sciences and arts, by the immense progress we have made in civilization. Examine the history of the human race, and no where wilt you meet with such a prodigy.

Let the foes of the blacks produce a single instance of a people, which has been in a situation like ours, and which has done more in the short period of a quarter of a century. The people of Hayti has not only acquired immortal rights to the admiration of the universe and of posterity, but it has acquired still more distinguished glory by having raised itself from the depths of ignorance and servitude to its present height of eminence and prosperity.—Reflex. Sur les Noirs et les Blancs, p. 83, 85.

We should regret being mistaken for indiscriminate eulogists or even in any sense admirers of Hayti. She still bears the stigmas of her recent degradation. We know that her inhabitants have acquired but few of the virtues or comforts of refinement. Her sanguinary civil wars, the jealous temper of her government, the licentiousness of her popular morals, we know and lament as badges of former servitude, which time alone can enable her to throw off, and as wounds in the public frame, which nothing but the benignant influences of prosperity long-continued can heal.

The preceding remarks were chiefly written and ready for the press, when intelligence arrived of the late revolution in Hayti. We thought it necessary to make but few, and those for the most part verbal, alterations in consequence; be-
caused the death of the king and subsequent changes in the government have not, as we conceive, in any wise impaired the force of our arguments in support of the moral and intellectual character of negroes.

The anonymous and indirect reports, which are now current with regard to the situation of affairs in Hayti, accord so little with what we know to have been the fact a year or two since, that we think they ought to be received with caution, if not with suspicion. The dissolution of the monarchy, in consequence of the sickness, confinement, and death of the king, is no proof of the cruelty of his reign; because, as we have seen, his authority grew entirely out of his personal character and was maintained solely by his personal exertions; and when his mind and body were weakened by disease it is not wonderful that his enemies in the south improved such a favourable opportunity for tampering with his troops and seducing them from their allegiance.

Without making any pretensions to political sagacity, we are fully persuaded that the royalists will never peaceably continue under the rule of their new masters. The total difference in their past modes of life, of education, and of government, is a powerful obstacle to the consolidation of the blacks and mulattoes under a republican chief; but a more insurmountable impediment is the hatred which the two casts have generally entertained for each other since the very beginning of their struggle for independence.

We believe the blacks will have little reason to exult in their defection from the king, if they do not already lament it. The government of Pétion and of Boyer, as well as that of Henry, was always in its essence arbitrary. Pétion, who was partly educated in France, affected to imitate the revolutionary government of that country; but the president of the revolted colony, like the first consul of the metropolis, was possessed of absolute power. And it is a matter of little moment to the subject whether the government, he lives under, is monarchical, that is, consisting of a single individual at the head of the state and armies, or aristocratical, that is, consisting of a single individual aided and controlled by a council of his chief officers: the government is, in both cases, a pure military despotism.

How far the laws and institutions of king Henry will be suffered to remain at Hayti, it does not yet appear; but if
the republican government should be permanently established throughout the island, we fear it will be the means of checking the internal improvement of the country: for the manners of the republicans have always been more lax than those of the royalists; they have been more insubordinate; they have had less experience of the salutary effect of sage and efficient laws; and above all they have appeared less anxious to diffuse the blessing of education by the liberal endowment of schools, colleges, and other seminaries of instruction. Whatever may be the fate of the island, it must continue to be an object of increasing interest to the citizens of the United States.

ART. VII.—Geological Essays; or an Inquiry into some of the Geological Phenomena to be found in various parts of America, and elsewhere. By Horace H. Hayden, Esquire. Baltimore, J. Robinson, 8vo. pp. 412. 1820.

In the department of natural history, and particularly in the interesting branches of geology and mineralogy, the researches of Americans, if we do not deceive ourselves, have been as profound, and their progress as honourable to the skill and diligence with which these researches have been made, as those of the students of any other country. The numerous and splendid private cabinets, which are to be found in almost every state in the union, displaying not less taste than labour in the selection and arrangement, and the intimate acquaintance of their respective owners with the characters of the various specimens, will sufficiently attest the truth of our assertion. But, until within a few years past, each individual seemed content with the mere possession of this knowledge, without the desire of imparting it to others, or the ambition to be known to the world, as its possessor. The successful labours of Professors Cleaveland and Silliman, of Dr. Bruce, and a few others, have eminently tended, not only to diffuse a spirit of inquiry through our country, and to awaken a fondness for scientific research, but above all to remove that timidity, which has been the chief obstacle to the publication of works of science on the part of our countrymen. The adoption of Professor Cleaveland’s elementary treatise, by most of the mineralogical schools of