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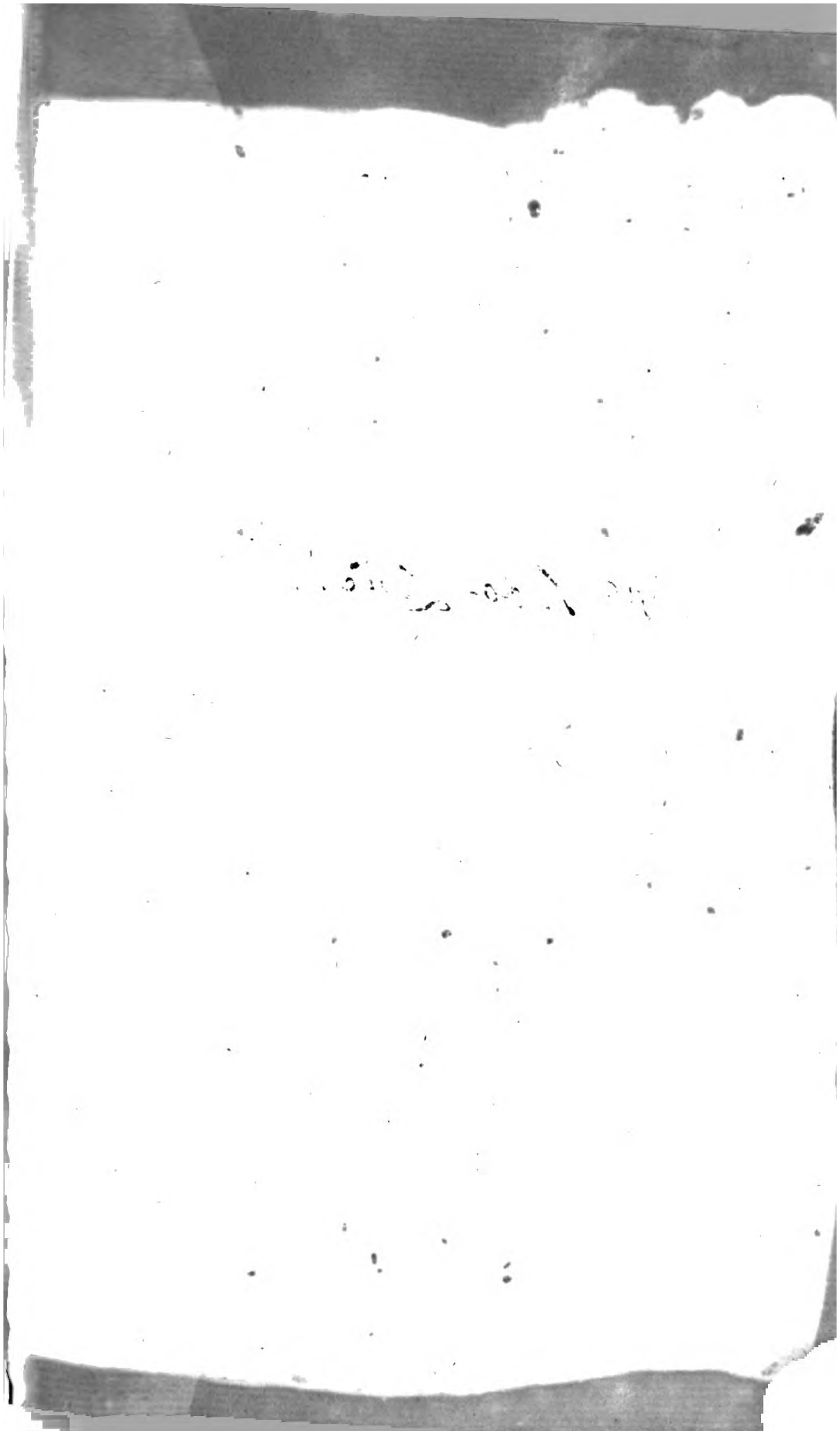


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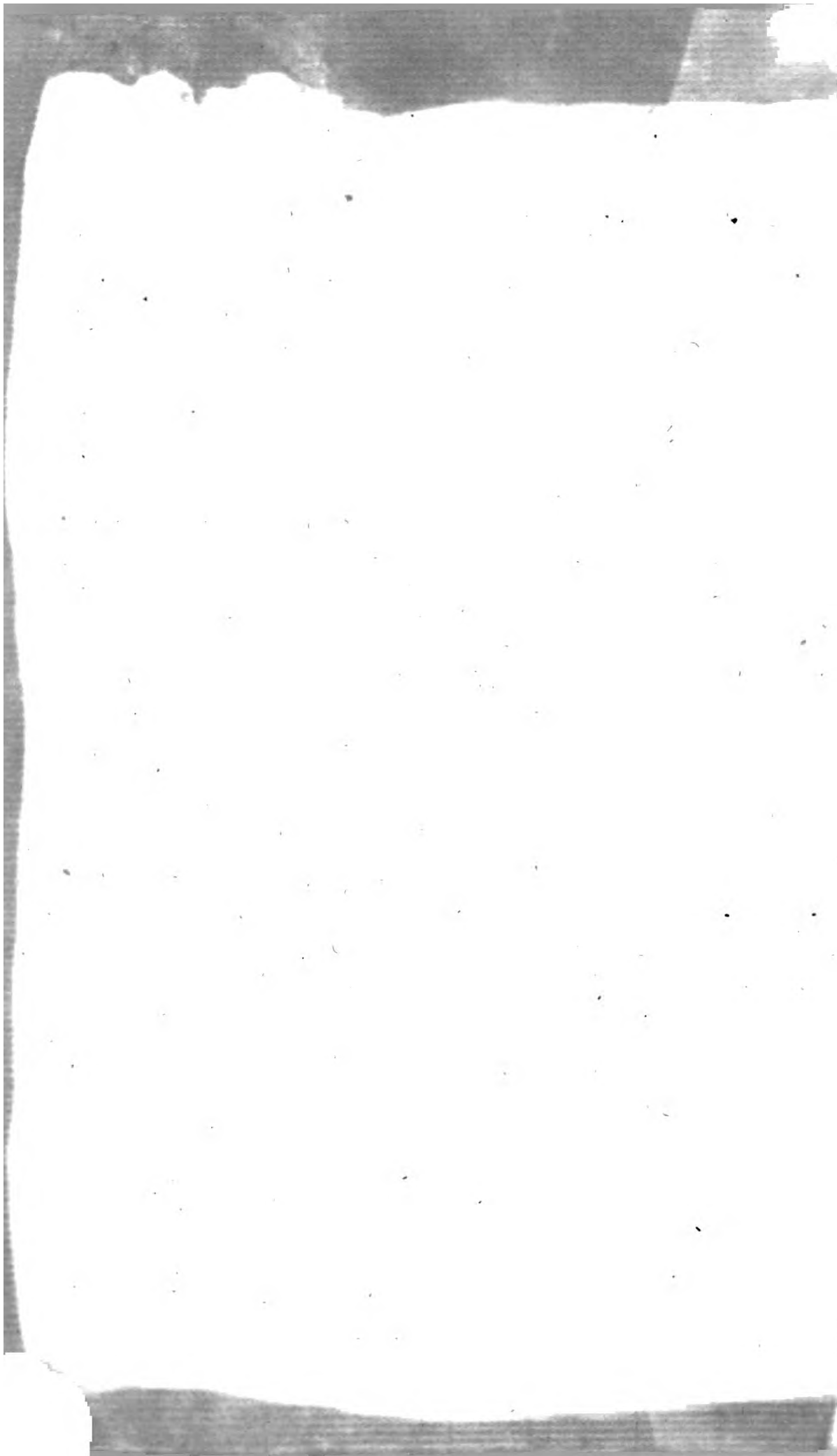
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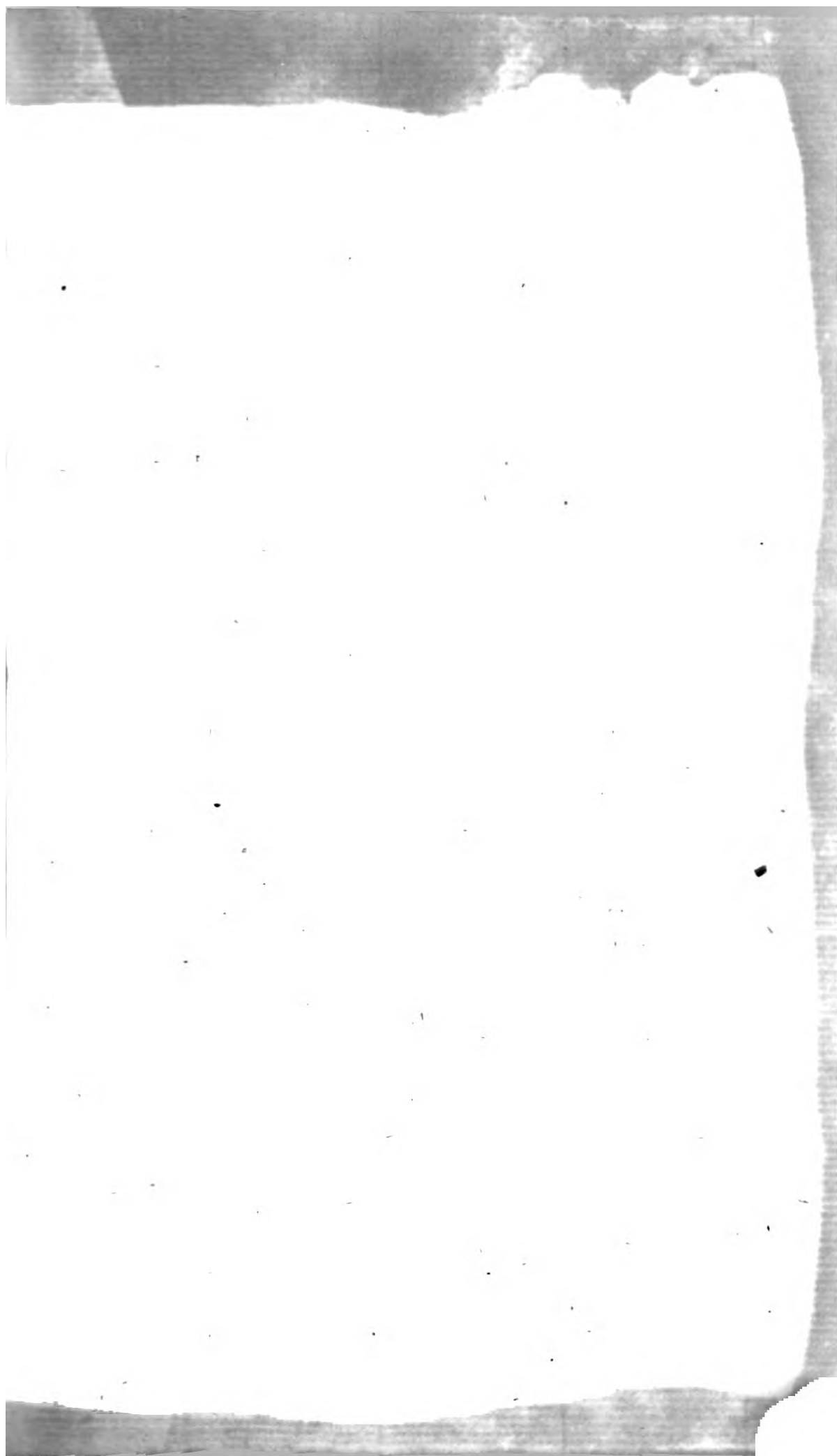
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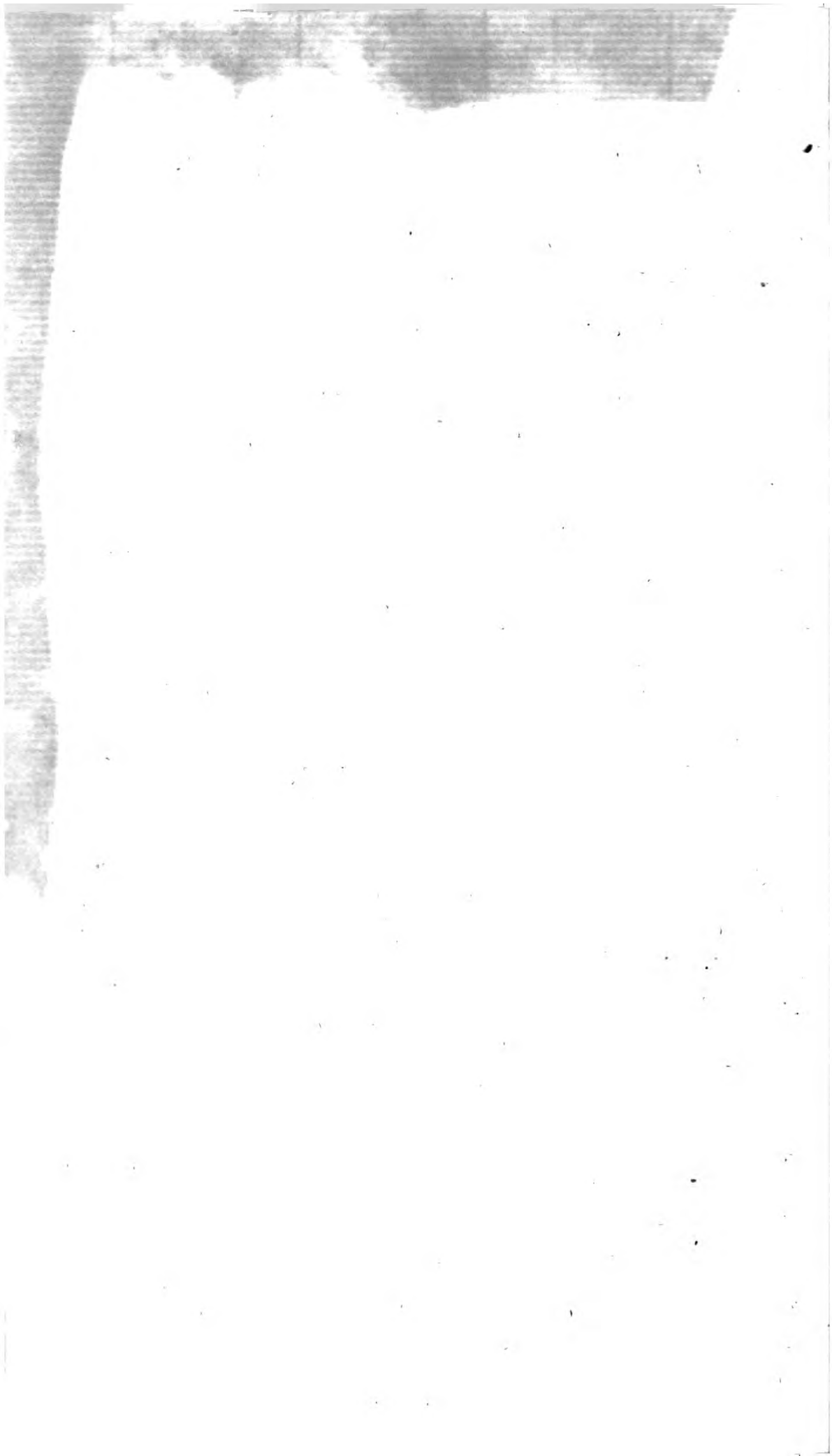












A  
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE  
OF THE  
E U R O P E A N S  
IN THE  
E A S T A N D W E S T I N D I E S.

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REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,  
IN TEN VOLUMES,  
By the ABBÉ RAYNAL.

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Newly translated from the French,  
By J. O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

WITH A  
NEW SET OF MAPS ADAPTED TO THE WORK,  
AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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VOLUME THE SIXTH.

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# C O N T E N T S

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EAST AND WEST INDIES.

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B O O K XIII.

*Settlement of the French in the American Islands.*

**H**ISTORY entertains us with nothing but the accounts of conquerors, who have employed themselves at the expence of the lives and the happiness of their subjects in extending their dominions; but it doth not set before our eyes the example of one sovereign who hath thought of restraining the limits of them. Would not this measure, however, have been as prudent as the other has been fatal, and may we not judge

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General  
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of the extent of empires, in the same manner as we do of the increase of population? A vast empire, and an immense population, may be two great evils. Let there be few men, but let them be happy; let the empire be small, but well governed. The fate of small states is to be extended, and of large ones to be dismembered.

THE increase of power, which most of the governments of Europe have flattered themselves with, from their possessions in the New World, hath for too long a time engaged my attention, not to have induced me frequently to consider within myself, or to inquire of men more enlightened, what idea it was proper to entertain of settlements formed at so much expence, and with so much labour, in another hemisphere.

DOth our real happiness require the enjoyment of the things which we go in search of at such a distance? Is it our fate for ever to persevere in such factitious inclinations? Is man born eternally to wander between the sky and the waters? Is he a bird of passage, or doth he resemble other animals, whose most distant excursions are exceedingly limited? Can the articles of commerce we derive from thence be an adequate compensation for the loss of the citizens who leave their country, to perish, either by the disorders with which they are attacked during their voyage, or by the climate at their arrival? At such considerable distance, what influence can the laws of the mother-country have upon the subjects? and how will their obedience to those laws be enforced? Will not the absence of the witnesses, and

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

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and judges of our actions, necessarily induce corruption in our manners, and occasion in time the subversion of the most wise institutions, when virtue and justice, which are the basis on which they are founded, shall no longer subsist? By what firm tie shall we secure a possession, from which we are separated by an immense interval? Hath the individual, who passes his whole life in voyages, any idea of the spirit of patriotism? and among all the countries he is obliged to traverse, is there any one which he still considers as his own? Can colonies interest themselves to a certain degree in the misfortunes or prosperity of the mother-country? and can the mother-country be very sincerely rejoiced or afflicted at the fate of the colonies? Do not the people feel a strong propensity, either of governing themselves, or of giving themselves up to the first power which hath strength enough to get possession of them? Are not the directors, sent over to govern them, considered as tyrants, who would be destroyed, were it not for the respect borne to the person whom they represent? Is not this extension of empire contrary to nature? and must not every thing that is contrary to nature have an end?

Would the man be considered as bereft of understanding, who should say to the nations: Your authority must either cease on the other continents, or you must make it the center of your empire? This is the alternative you have to chuse: You must either remain in this part of the world, and increase the prosperity of the

land on which you are placed, and upon which you dwell; or if the other hemisphere should offer you more power, strength, security, or happiness, you must go and settle upon it. Convey to it your authority, and your arms, your manners and your laws will prosper there. Do ye think that your commands will be obeyed upon a spot where you do not reside, when the absence even of the master is always attended with some disagreeable circumstance in the narrow limits of his own family? The sway of a monarch can only be established in the kingdom where he dwells; and it is still no easy matter to reign there with propriety. Wherefore, O sovereign! hast thou assembled numerous armies in the center of thy kingdom? Wherefore are thy palaces surrounded with guards? It is because the perpetual threats of thy neighbours, the submission of thy people, and the security of thy sacred person, require these precautions. Who will be responsible for the fidelity of your distant subjects? Your scepter cannot reach to thousands of leagues, and your ships can but imperfectly supply this authority. This is the decree pronounced by fate upon your colonies: You must either renounce them, or they will renounce you. Consider, that your power ceases of itself, beyond the natural limits of your own dominions.

THESE ideas, which begin to arise in the minds of men, would have excited them to revolt at the commencement of the seventeenth century. Every thing was then in commotion in most of the countries of Europe. The thoughts of all men

were generally turned towards the concerns of the New World, and the French appeared as impatient as other nations to take a share in them.

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EVER since the fatal catastrophe of the assassination of the best of their kings, that nation had been in perpetual confusion, from the caprices of an intriguing queen, the oppressions of a rapacious foreigner, and the schemes of a weak-minded favourite. A despotic minister began to enslave her; when some of her sailors, excited as much by a desire of independence, as by the allurements of riches, sailed towards the Caribbee islands, in hopes of making themselves masters of the Spanish vessels that frequented those seas. Their courage had been successful on many occasions; but they were at last obliged, in order to refit, to seek for an asylum, which they found at St. Christopher's in 1625. This island appeared to them a proper place for securing the success of their expeditions, and they were therefore desirous of procuring a settlement upon it. Desnambuc, their chief, not only obtained leave to form an establishment there, but likewise to extend it as far as he was either desirous or was able to do, in the great Archipelago of America. Government required, for this permission merely, without giving any assistance to the project, or encouraging it with any protection, the tenth part of the produce of every colony that might be founded.

First expeditions of the French to the American islands.

A COMPANY was formed in 1626, in order to reap the benefit of this concession. Such was the custom of those times, when trade and navigation were yet in too weak a state to be intrusted to pri-

The French islands are oppressed under exclusive privileges.



vate hands. This company obtained the greatest privileges. The government gave them, for twenty years, the property of all the islands they should cultivate, and impowered them to exact a hundred weight of tobacco, or fifty pounds of cotton, of every inhabitant from sixteen to sixty years of age. They were likewise to enjoy an exclusive right of buying and selling. A capital of forty-five thousand livres\* only, and which was never increased to three times that sum, procured them all these advantages.

It seemed impossible to rise to any degree of prosperity with such inadequate means. Considerable numbers, however, of bold and enterprising men came from St. Christopher's, who hoisted the French flag in the neighbouring islands. Had the company, which excited this spirit of invasion by a few privileges, acted upon a consistent and rational plan, the state must soon have reaped some benefit from this restless disposition. But, unfortunately, an inordinate thirst of gain rendered them unjust and cruel; a consequence that ever has, and ever will attend a spirit of monopoly.

THE Dutch, apprized of this tyranny, came and offered provisions and merchandize on far more moderate terms, and made proposals which were readily accepted. This laid the foundation of a connection between those republicans and the colonists, that could never afterwards be broken; and formed a competition, not only fatal to the company in the New World, where it prevented

the sale of their cargoes, but even pursued them in all the markets of Europe, where the contraband traders undersold all the produce of the French islands. Discouraged by these deserved disappointments, the company sunk into a total state of inactivity, which deprived them of most of their emoluments, without lessening any of their expences. In their despair, they gave up, in 1631, their charter to a new company, who in their turn ceded it also to another, in 1642. In vain did the ministry sacrifice to the last company the duties they had reserved to themselves; this indulgence could not change the pernicious system which had been hitherto the perpetual cause of all the calamities. A new revolution therefore soon became necessary. The exhausted company, to prevent their total ruin, and that they might not sink under the weight of their engagements, put their possessions up to auction: they were mostly bought up by their respective governors.

IN 1649, Boifferet purchased, for seventy-three thousand livres \*, Guadalupe, Marigalante, the island called *The Saints*, and all the effects belonging to the company on these several islands: he afterwards parted with half in favour of Houel, his brother-in-law. In 1650, Duparquet paid but sixty thousand livres † for Martinico, St. Lucia, Granada, and the Granadines. Seven years after, he sold Granada and the Granadines to Count Cerillac, for one third more than he had given for

\* 3,041 l. 13 s. 4 d.

† 2,500 l.

his whole purchase. In 1651, Malta purchased St. Christopher's, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, Santa Cruz, and Tortuga, for forty thousand crowns\*, which were paid by the commandant de Poincy, who governed those islands. The knights of Malta were to hold them in fief of the crown, and were not allowed to intrust any but a Frenchman with the administration of them.

THE new possessors enjoyed an unlimited authority, and disposed of the lands. All places, both civil and military, were in their gift. They had the right of pardoning those whom their deputies condemned to death; in a word, they were so many petty sovereigns. It was natural to expect, as their domains were under their own inspection, that agriculture would make a rapid progress. This conjecture was in some measure realized, notwithstanding the contests, which were necessarily sharp and frequent under such masters. However, this second state of the French colonies did not prove more beneficial to the nation than the first. The Dutch continued to furnish them with provisions, and to carry away the produce, which they sold indiscriminately to all nations, even to that which ought to have reaped the sole advantage of it, because it was her own property.

THE mother-country suffered considerably from this evil, and Colbert mistook the means of redress. That great man, who had for some time presided over the finances and trade of the kingdom, had begun upon a wrong plan. The habit of living

\* 5,000*l*.

with

with the farmers of the revenue under the administration of Mazarin, had accustomed him to consider money, which is but an instrument of circulation, as the source of every thing. He imagined that manufactures were the readiest way to draw it from abroad; and that in the workshops were to be found the best resources of the state, and in the tradesmen the most useful subjects of the monarchy. To increase the number of these men, he thought it proper to keep the necessaries of life at a low price, and to discourage the exportation of corn. The production of materials was the least object of his care, and he bent his whole attention to the manufacturing of them. This preference of industry to agriculture became the reigning taste, and unfortunately this destructive system still prevails.

HAD Colbert entertained just notions of the improvement of lands, of the encouragement it requires, and of the liberty the husbandman must enjoy, he would have pursued, in 1664, a very different plan from that which he adopted. It is well known that he redeemed Guadalupe, and its dependent islands, for one hundred and twenty-five thousand livres\*; Martinico for forty thousand crowns †; Granada for a hundred thousand livres ‡; and all the possessions of Malta for five hundred thousand livres §. So far his conduct deserved commendation: it was fit that he should restore so many branches of sovereignty to the body of the state. But he ought never to have sub-

\* 5,208 l. 6 s. 8 d.

† 5,000 l.

‡ 4,166 l. 13 s. 4 d.

§ 20,833 l. 6 s. 8 d.

mitted



mitted possessions of such importance to the oppressions of an exclusive company ; a measure forbidden as much by past experience, as by reason. It is probable, that the ministry expected that a company, which was to be incorporated into those of Africa, Cayenne, and North America, and interested in the trade that was beginning to be carried on upon the coasts of St. Domingo, would obtain a strong and permanent power, as well from the great connections it would have an opportunity of forming, as from the facility with which it might repair, in one part, the misfortunes it had sustained in another. They thought to secure the future splendour of the company, by lending them the tenth part of the amount of their capital, free from interest for four years, by permitting the exportation of all provisions duty-free into their settlements, and by prohibiting, as much as they could, the competition of the Dutch.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these favours, the company was never in any flourishing state. The errors they fell into seemed to increase, in proportion to the number of concessions that had been injudiciously granted to them. The knavery of their agents, the dejection of the colonists, the devastations of war, with other causes, concurred to throw their affairs into the utmost confusion. Their ruin was advancing, and appeared inevitable in 1674, when the state judged it proper to pay off their debts, which amounted to three millions five hundred and twenty-three thousand  
livres,

livres \*, and to reimburse them their capital of one million two hundred eighty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty-five livres †. These generous terms restored to the body of the state those valuable possessions which had been hitherto, as it were, alienated from it. The colonies became entirely French, and all the citizens, without distinction, were at liberty to go and settle there, or to open a communication with them.

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It would be difficult to express the transports of joy which this event excited in the islands. They were now freed from the chains under which they had so long been oppressed, and nothing seemed capable of abating, for the future, the active spirit of labour and industry. Every individual gave a full scope to his ambition, and thought himself at the eve of making an immense fortune. If they were deceived in these expectations, this cannot be attributed either to their presumption or their indolence. Their hopes were very natural, and their whole conduct was such as justified and confirmed them. Unfortunately, the prejudices of the mother-country threw insurmountable difficulties in their way.

The French islands recover their liberty. Obstacles which prevent their success.

FIRST, it was required, even in the islands, that every free man, and every slave of either sex, should pay an annual poll-tax of a hundred weight of raw sugar. It was in vain urged, that the condition imposed upon the colonies, to trade only with the mother-country, was of itself a sufficient

\* 146,791 l. 13 s. 4 d.

† 53,632 l. 14 s. 2 d.

hardship,



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hardship, and a reason why they should be exempted from all other taxes. These representations were not attended to, as they ought to have been. Whether from necessity, or from ignorance on the part of government, those cultivators who ought to have been assisted with loans without interest, or with gratuities, saw part of their harvest collected by greedy farmers of the revenue; which, had it been returned into their own fertile fields, would gradually have increased their produce.

WHILE the islands were thus deprived of part of their produce, the spirit of monopoly was taking effectual measures in France to reduce the price of what was left them. The privilege of buying it up, was limited to a few sea-ports. This was a manifest infringement of the essential rights vested in the other harbours of the kingdom; but to the colonies it proved a very unfortunate restriction, because it lessened the number of buyers and sellers on the coasts.

To this disadvantage another soon succeeded. The ministry had endeavoured to exclude all foreign vessels from those distant possessions, and had succeeded, because they were in earnest. These navigators obtained, from motives of interest, the privilege that was denied them by the laws. They purchased of the French merchants passes to go to the colonies, where they took in their loadings, and carried them directly to their own country. This dishonesty might have been punished and suppressed by a variety of methods; but the most destructive one was adopted. All ships

ships were required to give in their return, not only at home, but likewise at the ports from whence they had sailed. This restraint necessarily occasioned a considerable expence to no purpose, and could not fail of enhancing the price of American commodities.

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THEIR increase was also checked by the duties with which they were overladen; tobacco was subjected to a duty of 20 sols \* per pound. The use of indigo was at first prohibited in the dyes of the kingdom, under a pretence that it spoiled them, and that it would be prejudicial to one of the cultures of the mother-country. But when the most obstinate persons had been convinced by repeated experiments, that indigo, when mixed with pastel, or even when used alone, rendered the colours more beautiful and more lasting, government confined itself to the loading of it with taxes. They were so heavy as to render the exportation of it impossible. It was not till 1693, that the tax was taken off the indigo, which was intended for foreigners.

THE cacao was taken out of the hands of monopoly, only to be subjected, in 1693, to a duty of 15 sols † per pound, although it was sold for no more than 5 sols ‡ in the colonies. Its introduction in the kingdom was at first allowed only by Rouen and Marseilles, and by this latter port alone, since the pretended liberty granted to it,

\* 10d.

† 7½d.

‡ 2½d.

COTTON,

COTTON, which had at first escaped the rigours of the treasury, was taxed 3 livres \* per hundred weight in 1664. It was to no purpose that half of this impost was taken off in 1691. This modification could not renew the plants that had been extirpated.

THE consumption of ginger, which hath some of the qualities of pepper, and which might easily be used as a succedaneum, ought to have been encouraged. A stop was put to it by a duty of 6 livres † per quintal. It was afterwards reduced to 15 sols ‡; but at that period, the lowest class of citizens had contracted a dislike for that spice, which it was impossible to conquer.

THE American cassia was purchased in France for one quarter of the price that was paid for that of the Levant. If a proper analysis had been made of it, it would have dispelled the prejudices which were the cause of this enormous difference in the price. But government never thought of any expedient which might tend to increase the riches of their possessions.

SUGAR was the richest production of the islands till 1669, the direct exportation of it into all the ports of Europe had been allowed, as well as that of all the provisions of the colonies. At this period it was ordered, that it should be only deposited in the harbours of the kingdom. This arrangement necessarily enhanced its price, and foreigners, who could purchase it at a cheaper rate in other parts, contracted the habit of going

• 2 s. 6 d. † 5 s. ‡ 7½ d.

there

there in search of it. The resolution, however, that was taken of liberating the sugar from the duty of 3 per cent. which it had paid on its arrival, was the means of preserving some purchasers. A fresh mistake completed the ruin of this branch of trade.

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THE refiners, in 1682, petitioned that the exportation of raw sugar might be prohibited; in which they seemed to be influenced merely by public good. They alleged that it was repugnant to all sound principles, that the original produce should be sent away to support foreign manufactures, and that the state should voluntarily deprive itself of the profits of so valuable a labour. This plausible reasoning made too great an impression on Colbert; and the consequence of it was, that the refining of sugar was kept up at the same exorbitant price, and the art itself never received any improvement. This was not approved by the people who consumed this article: the French sugar-trade sank, and that of the rival nations was visibly increased.

SOME of the colonists, observing that the system was not dropped notwithstanding this fatal experiment, solicited leave to fine their own sugars. They were supplied with so many conveniences to go through this process at a trifling expence, that they flattered themselves they might soon recover that preference they had lost in the foreign markets. This change was more than probable, had not every hundred weight of refined sugar they sent home been clogged with a duty of eight  
livres



livres \* on entering the kingdom. All that could be done, notwithstanding this heavy imposition, was to support the competition of the French refiners residing in the kingdom. The produce of the sugar-houses in France, and of those in the colonies, were entirely consumed within the empire; and thus an important branch of trade was given up, rather than it would be acknowledged, that a mistake had been committed in prohibiting the exportation of raw sugars.

From this period the colonies, which supplied twenty-seven millions weight of sugar, could not dispose of the whole of it in the mother-country, which consumed but twenty millions. As the consumption of it decreased, no more was cultivated than was absolutely necessary. This medium could only be settled in process of time; and, before this was effected, the commodity fell to an exceeding low price. This decrease in the value, which was also owing to the negligent manner of making it, was so great, that raw sugar, which sold for fourteen or fifteen livres † per hundred in 1682, fetched no more than five or six ‡ in 1713.

THE low price of the staple commodity would have made it impossible for the colonists to increase the number of their slaves, even if the government, by its conduct, had not contributed to this misfortune. The Negro trade was always in the hands of exclusive companies, who im-

\* 6s. 8d.

† From 11s. 8d. to 12s. 6d.

‡ From 4s. 2d. to 5s.

ported

ported but few, in order to be certain of selling them at a better price. We have good authority to assert, that in 1698 there were not twenty thousand Negroes in those numerous settlements; and it may safely be affirmed, that most of these had been brought in by contraband traders. Fifty-four ships of a moderate size were sufficient to bring over the whole produce of these colonies.

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THE French islands could not but sink under so many difficulties. If the inhabitants did not forsake them, and carry the fruit of their industry to other places, their perseverance must be attributed to resources that did not depend upon administration. When some production was oppressed, the planter turned his attention suddenly to another, which had not yet attracted the notice of the treasury, or which they were apprehensive of crushing in its infancy. The coasts were never sufficiently guarded to prevent all the connections formed with foreign navigators. The plunders of the free-booters were sometimes converted into advances for culture. At length the propensity which was daily increasing in the Old World for the productions of the New, greatly encouraged the multiplication of them. These means, however, would never have been sufficient to raise the French colonies from their state of languor. A great revolution was necessary, and it was brought about in 1716.

At this period, a plain and simple regulation was substituted in lieu of a multitude of equivocal orders, which rapacious officers of the revenue had,

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from

Measures  
adopted by  
the court of  
Versailles,  
to render  
their colo-  
nies useful.

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from time to time, extorted from the wants and weakness of government. The merchandize destined for the colonies was exempted from all taxes. The duties upon American commodities designed for home-consumption were greatly lowered. The goods brought over for exportation were to be entered and cleared out freely, upon paying three *per cent*. The duties laid upon foreign sugars were to be levied every where alike, without any regard to particular immunities, except in cases of re-exportation in the ports of Bayonne and Marseilles.

IN granting so many favours to her remote possessions, the mother-country was not unmindful of her own interests. All merchandize prohibited at home, was also forbidden in the colonies. To secure the preference to it's own manufactures, it was enacted, that even such commodities as were not prohibited should pay duty on their entry into France, although they were destined for the colonies. Salt beef alone, which the mother-country could not furnish in competition, was exempted from this duty.

THIS regulation would have been as beneficial a one as the times would admit of, if the edict had allowed that the trade from America, which till then had been confined to a few sea-ports, should be general; and if it had released ships from the necessity of returning to the place from whence they came. These restraints limited the number of seamen, raised the expences of navigation, and prevented the exportation of the productions of the country. The persons who  
were



were then at the head of affairs ought to have been sensible of these inconveniencies, and no doubt intended one day to restore to trade that freedom and spirit which alone can make it flourish. They were probably forced to sacrifice their own views to the clamours of men in power, who openly disapproved of whatever opposed their own interest.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this weakness, the colonists, who had reluctantly given up the hopes of an excellent soil, bestowed their utmost industry upon it, as soon as they were allowed that liberty. Their success astonished all nations. If government, on the arrival of the French in the New World, had only foreseen, what they learned from experience a century later, the state might soon have enjoyed, from the advantages of cultivation, that wealth which would have added more to it's prosperity than conquests; it would not then have been as much ruined by it's victories as by it's defeats. Those prudent ministers, who repaired the losses of war by a happy revolution in trade, would not have had the mortification to see that Santa Cruz was evacuated in 1696, and St. Christopher's given up at the peace of Utrecht. Their concern would have been greatly heightened, could they have foreseen that in 1763 the French would be reduced to deliver up the Granades to the English. Strange infatuation of the ambition of nations, or rather of kings! After sacrificing thousands of lives to acquire and to preserve a remote possession, a greater number must still be lavished to lose it.



Notions  
concerning  
Guiana.  
Motives  
which in-  
duced the  
Europeans  
to frequent  
it.

Yet France has some important colonies left: let us begin with Guiana, which lies to windward of all the rest.

THE people, who roved about this vast tract, before the arrival of the Europeans, were divided into several nations, none of which were very numerous. Their manners were the same as those of the savages of the southern continent. The Caribs only, who from their numbers and courage were more turbulent than the rest, distinguished themselves by a remarkable custom in the choice of their chiefs. To be qualified to govern such a people, it was necessary a man should have more strength, more intrepidity, and more knowlege, than the rest of his brethren; and that he should give evident and public proofs of these superior qualifications.

THE man, who aspired to the honour of commanding his brethren, was previously to be well acquainted with all the places fit for hunting and fishing, and with all the springs and roads. He was obliged to endure long and severe fasts; and was afterwards exposed to carry burdens of an enormous weight. He used to pass several nights as a centinel, at the entrance of the carbet or principal hut. He was buried up to the waist in an ant's nest, where he remained for a considerable time exposed to sharp and bloody stings. If in all these situations he shewed a strength and fortitude fit to support the dangers and hardships incident to the lives of savages; if he was one who could endure every thing, and fear nothing; he was declared fit to be their chief. He with-  
drew,

drew, however, as if conscious of what his intended dignity required, and concealed himself under thick bushes. The people went out to seek him in a retreat, which made him more deserving of the post he seemed to decline. Each of the assistants trod upon his head, to shew him, that, being raised from the dust by his equals, it was in their power to sink him into it again, if ever he should be forgetful of the duties of his station. Such was the ceremony of his coronation. Here we behold savages who had juster notions of sovereignty, and were better acquainted with their privileges, than most civilized nations are. After this political lesson, all the bows and arrows were throw'n at his feet; and the nation was obedient to his laws, or rather to his example.

SUCH were the inhabitants of Guiana, when the Spaniard Alphonso de Ojeda first landed there in 1499, with Americus Vespucius and John de la Cosa. He went over a part of it; but this expedition afforded him only a superficial knowledge of so vast a country. Many others were undertaken at a greater expence, but they proved still more unsuccessful. They were, however, still continued, from a motive which ever did and ever will deceive mankind.

A REPORT had prevailed, though it's origin could not be discovered, that, in the interior parts of Guiana, there was a country know'n by the name of *El Dorado*, which contained immense riches in gold and precious stones; more mines and treasures than ever Cortez and Pizarro had found. This fable not only inflamed the ardent

imagination of the Spaniards, but fired every nation in Europe.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH in particular, one of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared in a country abounding in singular characters, was seized with this enthusiasm. He was passionately fond of every thing that was magnificent; he enjoyed a reputation superior to that of the greatest men; he had more knowledge than those whose immediate pursuit was learning; he possessed a freedom of thinking uncommon in those days; and had a kind of romantic turn in his sentiments and behaviour. This determined him, in 1595, to undertake a voyage to Guiana; but he returned without discovering any thing relative to the object of his voyage. On his return, however, he published an account, full of the most brilliant impostures that ever amused the credulity of mankind.

So splendid a testimony, determined some Frenchmen, in 1604, to sail towards those countries under the direction of la Ravardiere. Other adventurers of their nation soon followed their example. They all submitted to incredible fatigues. At length some of them, rather discouraged by the infinite labours they underwent, than undeceived in their expectations, settled on the island of Cayenne.

The French settle in Guiana, and languish there during a century.

SOME merchants of Rouen, thinking that this rising settlement might prove advantageous, united their stock in 1643. They intrusted their affairs in the hands of a man of a ferocious disposition, named Poncet de Bretigny, who, having declared

ed war both against the colonists and the savages, was soon massacred.

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THIS catastrophe having checked the ardour of the associates, a new company was established in 1651, which seemed to promise to be much more considerable than the former. They set out with so large a capital as to enable them to collect, in Paris itself, seven or eight hundred colonists. These embarked on the Seine, in order to sail down to Havre de Grace. Unfortunately, the virtuous Abbé de Marivault, who was the principal promoter of this undertaking, and was to have had the management of it as director-general, was drowned as he was stepping into his boat. Roiville, a gentleman of Normandy, who was going over to Cayenne as general, was assassinated in the passage. Twelve of the principal adventurers, who were the perpetrators of this act, and had undertaken to put the colony into a flourishing condition, behaved there in as atrocious a manner as might be expected from so horrid a beginning. They hanged one of their own number; two died; three were banished to a desert island; the rest abandoned themselves to every kind of excess. The commandant of the citadel deserted to the Dutch, with part of his garrison. The remainder, that had escaped hunger, poverty, and the fury of the savages, which had been roused by numberless provocations, thought themselves happy in being able to get over to the Leeward Islands in a boat and two canoes. They abandoned the fort, ammunition, arms, and merchandize, with five or six hundred dead bodies of



their wretched companions, fifteen months after they had landed on the island.

A NEW company was formed in 1663, under the direction of La Barre, master of requests. Their capital was no more than two hundred thousand livres\*. The assistance, they obtained from the ministry, enabled them to expel the Dutch, who, under the conduct of Spranger, had taken possession of the lands granted to them, after they had been evacuated by the first possessors. A year after, this inconsiderable body made a part of the great company, to which were united all those that the nation had formed for Africa and the New World. In 1667, Cayenne was insulted, pillaged, and abandoned by the English; the colonists, who had fled from it, took possession of it again; and it was again taken from them in 1672 by the subjects of the United Provinces, who could not keep it longer than to the year 1676. At this period they were driven out by the Marshal D'Etrées; but the colony hath not been attacked since.

THIS settlement, so often overturned, had but just begun to be re-established, and to enjoy some tranquillity, when great hopes were entertained of it's success. Some pirates, laden with spoils they had gathered in the South Seas, came and fixed there; and, what was of greater consequence, resolved to employ their treasures in the cultivation of the lands. It was probable that their plan would be prosecuted with vigour, because their

\* 8,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.



means were great; when Ducasse proposed to them in 1688 the plundering of Surinam. This excited their natural turn for plunder; the new colonists became pirates again, and almost all the inhabitants followed their example.

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THE expedition proved unfortunate. Some of the besiegers fell in the attack; the rest were taken prisoners, and sent to the Caribbee Islands, where they settled. The colony has never recovered this loss. Far from extending into Guiana, it has never been in a prosperous state at Cayenne.

THIS island, which is only parted from the continent by one river, which is divided into two branches, may be about fourteen or fifteen leagues in circumference. By a particular formation, very rarely to be met with in islands, the land is high near the water side, and low in the middle. Hence it is intersected with so many morasses, that all communication is almost impracticable. The only town in the colony is built in a plain of two miles in extent, where navigable canals might have been made with ease, though care hath not even been taken to drain the waters from it. This village consists of a number of barracks, heaped upon one another without order or convenience, where fevers are rather frequent in summer, notwithstanding the boasted salubrity of the spot. It is defended by a covered way, a large ditch, a mud rampart, and five bastions. In the middle of the town is rather a considerable eminence, of which a redoubt has been made, that is called the fort, where forty men might be able to capitulate after the place had been taken.

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The entrance into the harbour hath not much more than thirteen feet water. The ships might touch the ground at fourteen feet, but fortunately the mud is soft, and the keel may be driven into it without danger.

THE first productions of Cayenne were, the arnotto, cotton, and sugar. It was the first of all the French colonies that cultivated coffee; which was brought thither, as it hath always been, and perhaps is still believed, in 1721 by some deserters, who purchased their pardon by conveying it from Surinam, where they had taken refuge. An accurate historian, hath lately affirmed, probably from authentic information, that this plant was a present of M. de la Motte Aigron, who, in 1722, had the dexterity to bring away from this Dutch settlement, some fresh coffee berries, notwithstanding the strict prohibition there is against exporting any of them in the pods. Ten or twelve years after, cocoa was planted.

IN 1752, 260,541 pounds weight of arnotto, 80,363 pounds of sugar, 17,919 pounds of cotton, 26,881 pounds of coffee, 91,916 pounds of cocoa, and 618 trees for timber, were exported from the colony. All these articles were the result of the labour of ninety French families, a hundred and twenty-five Indians, and fifteen hundred blacks; which made up the whole of the colony.

The court of Versailles intend to render Guiana flourishing. Inquiry whether this plan

SUCH, and weaker still, was the state of Cayenne, when, in 1763, the court of Versailles endeavoured to render it extremely flourishing, by a system which occasioned a general astonishment. The French had then just emerged from the horrors of

an unsuccessful war. The situation of affairs had determined the ministry to purchase peace with the cession of several important colonies. It appeared equally necessary to make the nation forget her distresses, and the errors that had been the cause of them. The prospect of better fortune might amuse the people, and silence their clamours; while their attention was removed from possessions the nation had lost, and turned towards Guiana, which, it was pretended, would compensate all their misfortunes.

THIS was not the opinion of the citizens who appeared to be the best informed of the situation of things. A settlement formed a century and a half before, at a period when the minds of men were impetuously urged to great undertakings; a settlement, the labours of which had not been ruined by civil discords, nor by foreign wars; a settlement, which had been ruled by prudent directors, with attention and disinterestedness; a settlement, which had always experienced the favours of government and the assistance of trade; a settlement, where there was a constant and certain mart for the productions; yet, with all these advantages, this settlement was of no consequence. No plantation had ever been seen to flourish; no fortune had ever been raised in it. Misery and obscurity had obstinately attended at those periods, when the other French possessions in America astonished the Old and the New World by their splendour and by their riches. Its fate, far from being amended by time and by the advancement of knowledge, was become daily more unfortunate.

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was a judicious one, and whether it was prudently executed.

unfortunate. How therefore could it possibly fulfil the important destiny that was prepared for it? These considerations did not restrain the ministry. Let us hear what hath been said in justification of their views.

AMERICA, when it was first invaded by Europe, exhibited to it two regions entirely different from each other, the torrid zone, and the temperate zone of the North. The first presented to the thirst of gold, innumerable objects of gratification; various allurements to cupidity, to idleness, repose; to voluptuousness its incitement; to luxury its resources. That nation, which first took possession of it, must have dazzled by its splendour, and seduced men by the image of its happiness. An opulence as striking as it was rapid, could not fail of giving it in the Old World an influence so much the more extensive, as the nature of true riches was unknow'n there, and as its rivals found themselves suddenly plunged into a state of relative indigence, as insupportable as that which is real. Its new domain was the country calculated for despotism. The heat prevailing there exhausted the strength of the body; and indolence, the necessary consequence of a fertility which supplies all wants without labour, deprived the soul of all its energy. This country submitted to its destiny. The people who inhabited it were slaves who waited for a master; he came, and ordered them to obey, and his commands were respected. The spirit of absolute monarchy was a production of the soil, which he found already formed there; but he also found an



an impending enemy to which nothing can resist, and which, in its turn, must necessarily subdue him; this was the climate. In the first intoxication of conquest, the usurper formed the most extensive projects, and conceived hopes apparently the best founded. He considered the sign of wealth as the plastic and preserving principle of political strength; and how is it possible that he should not have been deceived in this particular? If we have got rid of this prejudice, it is perhaps to the disasters of that power that we owe this great lesson. They imagined, that with gold they could keep the nations in their pay, as they kept the Negroes in their chains; and never considered that this gold, which procured them jealous allies, would turn them into so many powerful adversaries; who, uniting their arms with the riches they received, would make use of this double power to effect their ruin.

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THE temperate zone of North America could only attract free and laborious people. It furnishes no productions but what are common and necessary; and which, for that very reason, are a constant source of wealth and strength. It favours population, by supplying materials for that quiet and peaceful species of husbandry which fixes and multiplies families; and, as it does not excite inordinate desires, is a security against invasion. It reaches through an immense continent, and presents a large extent of country, on every side, open to navigation. Its coasts are washed by a sea which is generally navigable, and abounds with harbours. The colonists are not at so great a distance from  
the

the mother-country; they live in a climate more analogous to their own; and in a situation that is fit for hunting, fishing, husbandry, and for all the manly exercises and labours which improve the strength of the body, and are preservatives against the vices that taint the mind. Thus, in America, as in Europe, the North will have the superiority over the South. The one will be covered with inhabitants and plantations: while the other will lavish it's voluptuous liquors, and it's golden mines. The one will be able to civilize the savage nations by it's intercourse with a free people; the other will only produce a monstrous mixture of a race of slaves with a nation of tyrants, which can never acquire any degree of strength.

It was of great importance to the southern colonies to have their resources for population and strength in the North, where they might exchange the commodities of luxury for those of necessity, and keep open a communication that might afford them succours if they were attacked; a retreat in case they were defeated, and a supply of land-forces to balance the weakness of their naval resources.

BEFORE the last war, the French southern colonies enjoyed this advantage. Canada, by it's situation, the warlike genius of it's inhabitants, their alliances with the Indian nations in friendship with the French, and fond of the frankness and freedom of their manners, might balance, or at least give umbrage to New England. The loss of that great continent determined the French ministry to seek  
for



for support from another. Guiana was thought a very proper situation for this purpose, if a free and national population could be established there, which might be able to resist foreign attacks, and, in course of time, to furnish a speedy assistance to the other colonies, when circumstances might require it.

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SUCH was evidently the system of the minister. It never occurred to him, that a part of the world, thus inhabited, could never enrich the mother-country by the produce of such commodities as are peculiar to the southern colonies. He was too intelligent not to know, that there is no such thing as selling, without complying with the general run of the market; and that this cannot be done but by producing saleable commodities at the same rate as other nations can afford them; and that labours, executed by free men, must of necessity bear a much higher price than those that are exacted from slaves.

THE measures were directed by an active minister. As a wise politician, who does not sacrifice safety to wealth, he only proposed to raise a bulwark to protect the French possessions. As a philosopher, who feels for his fellow-creatures, who knows and respects the rights of humanity, he wished to people these fertile but desert regions with free men. But genius, especially when too impatient of success, cannot foresee every circumstance. The mistake proceeded from supposing, that Europeans would be able to undergo the fatigues of preparing lands for cultivation under the torrid zone; and that men, who  
quitted

quitted their own country only in hopes of living with greater satisfaction in another, would accommodate themselves to the precarious subsistence of a savage life, in a worse climate than that which they had left.

THIS bad system, which the government was drawn into by a set of enterprising men, who were either misled by their presumption, or who sacrificed the public good to their own private views, was as extravagantly executed, as it had been inconsiderately adopted. Every thing was blended together, without any principle of legislation, and without considering in what manner Nature had adapted the several lands to the men who were to inhabit them. The inhabitants were divided into two classes, the proprietors and the mercenaries. It was not considered that this division, at present established in Europe, and in most civilized nations, was the consequence of wars, of revolutions, and of the numberless chances which time produces; that it was the effect of the progress of civilization, not the basis and foundation of society, which in its origin requires that all its members should have some property. Colonies, which are new populations and new societies, ought to adhere to this fundamental rule. It was broken through at the very first establishment of the colony, by allotting lands in Guiana to those only who were able to advance a certain fund for the cultivation of them. Others, whose desires were tempted with uncertain hopes, were excluded from this division of lands. This was an error equally contrary to sound policy and humanity.

Had

Had a portion of land been given to every new inhabitant that was sent over to this barren and desert country, each person would have cultivated his own spot, in proportion to his strength or abilities; one, by the means his money would have afforded him; another, by his own labour. It was necessary that those, who were possessed of a capital, should neither be discouraged, because they were men of great importance to a rising colony; nor that they should have an exclusive preference given them, lest it should prevent them from having assistants who might be willing to be dependent on them. It was also indispensibly necessary, that every member of the new colony should be offered some property, with which he might employ his labour, his industry, his money, in a word, his greater or less powers to his advantage. It ought to have been foreseen, that Europeans, in whatever situation they were, would not quit their own country, but with the hopes of improving their fortune; and that deceiving their hopes and confidence in this respect, would be an effectual way to ruin the colony intended to be established.

MEN, who are transplanted into uncultivated regions, are surrounded with wants of every kind; the best-directed, and most continued labours, cannot prevent those, who go into those deserts to clear the lands, from being deprived of every resource, till the period, more or less distant, of the harvest arrives. Accordingly, the court of Versailles, by whom so striking a truth could not be unnoticed, engaged to support, indiscriminate-

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ly, all the Germans, and all the French, who were intended to establish the population of Guiana. But this, though an act of justice, was not an act of prudence. It ought to have been foreseen, that the provisions would be ill-chosen by the agents of government. It ought to have been foreseen, that if they had even been chosen with zeal, prudence, and disinterestedness, most of them must unavoidably have been spoiled, either in the passage, or on their arrival. It ought to have been foreseen, that salt meats, either well or ill preserved, would never be a proper food for unfortunate refugees, who had forsaken a wholesome and temperate climate, to live among the burning sands of the torrid zone, and to breathe the damp and rainy air of the tropics.

A judicious plan of policy ought to have attended to the multiplication of cattle, before it had thought of settling men there. This precaution would not only have insured a wholesome subsistence to the first colonists, it would likewise have supplied them with convenient instruments for the undertakings which are required in the formation of a new colony. With this assistance, they would have thought nothing of labours, which the ministry would have undertaken to pay liberally, and would have prepared habitations and provisions for those who were to come after them. By pursuing such measures, which could not require any depth of thought, the settlement which it was intended to form, would have acquired, in a short time, the consistence of which it was susceptible.

THESE



THESE very plain and natural reflections were never suggested. Twelve thousand men, after a tedious voyage, were landed upon dreary and inhospitable shores. It is well know'n, that, almost throughout the torrid zone, the year is divided into two seasons, the dry and the rainy. In Guiana, such heavy rains fall, from the beginning of November to the end of May, that the lands are either overflowed, or at least unfit for tillage. Had the new colonists arrived there in the beginning of the dry season, and been placed on the lands destined for them, they would have had time to put their habitations in order, to cut down or burn the woods, and to plough and sow their fields.

FOR want of these precautions, they knew not where to bestow such multitudes of people as were constantly pouring in just at the rainy season. The island of Cayenne might have been a proper place for the reception and refreshment of the newcomers, till they could have been disposed of; there they might have found lodging and assistance. But the false opinion which prevailed, that the new colony must not be intermixed with the old, deprived them of this resource. In consequence of this prejudice, twelve thousand unfortunate men were landed on the islands *du Salut*, or on the banks of the Kourou, and were placed under tents, or under miserable sheds. In this situation, totally inactive, weary of existence, and in want of all necessaries, exposed to contagious distempers, which are always occasioned by tainted provisions, and to all the irregularities



which idleness necessarily produces among men of the lowest class, removed far from their native country, and placed under a foreign sky; they ended their wretched life in all the horrors of despair. Their fate will ever call aloud for vengeance on those who either invented, or promoted so destructive a scheme, to which so many victims were sacrificed; as if the devastations of war, which they were intended to repair, had not swept away a sufficient number in the course of eight years.

That nothing might be wanting to complete this disaster, and that 25,000,000 of livres \*, employed in the success of this absurd system, might be entirely lost, the man who was commissioned to put an end to these various calamities, thought proper to bring back into Europe two thousand men, whose robust constitution had resisted the inclemency of the climate, and had enabled them to support greater miseries than are to be described.

THE state hath fortunately had sufficient strength to bear these heavy losses. But how dreadful is it for our country, for the subjects, for every man who is interested in the lives of his fellow-citizens, to see them thus lavished upon ruinous enterprizes, by an absurd jealousy of authority, which enjoins the most rigorous secrecy upon all public transactions. Is it not then the interest of the whole nation, that her rulers should be well informed? And how can they be so, but from

\* 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.

collecting general information? Why should projects, of which the people are to be both the object and the instrument, be concealed from them? Can the will be commanded without the judgment, or can we inspire courage without confidence? The only true information is to be obtained from public writings, where truth appears undisguised, and falsehood fears to be detected. Secret memoirs, private schemes, are commonly the work of artful and interested men, who insinuate themselves into the cabinets of persons in administration, by dark, oblique, and indirect ways. When a prince or a minister has acted according to the opinion of the public, or of enlightened men, if he be unfortunate, he cannot on any account be blamed. But, when enterprises are undertaken without the advice, or against the sense of the people; when events are brought on unknown to those whose lives and fortunes are exposed by them; what can this be but a secret league, a combination of a few individuals against society in general? Can it be possible, that authority should think itself degraded by an intercourse with the citizens? Or will men in power for ever treat the rest of mankind with so great a degree of contempt, as not even to desire that the injuries they have done them should be forgiven?

WHAT has been the consequence of that catastrophe, in which so many subjects, so many foreigners, have been sacrificed to the illusions of the French ministry with respect to Guiana? This unhappy climate has been inveighed against

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Idea that  
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the coasts  
and of the  
soil of Gui-  
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with all the rancour with which resentment and misfortune can aggravate it's real evils. Fortunately, the observations of a few enlightened men enable us to clear up this confusion.

THIS vast country, which was decorated with the magnificent title of Equinoctial France, is not the sole property of the court of Versailles, as they formerly pretended. The Dutch, by settling to the North, and the Portugueze to the South, have confined the French between the rivers of Marony and Vincent Pinçon, or Oya-pock, which interval still forms a space of more than a hundred leagues.

THE seas which water this long extent of coast, are safe, open, and free from any obstacle which might impede navigation. There are only the islands *du Salut*, at three leagues distance from the continent, to be seen in them. As they are divided only by a channel of fourscore toises, they might be easily united, and after their junction they would form a sufficient shelter for the largest ships. Nature hath disposed things in such a manner, that the port might be rendered impregnable at a trifling expence, with the materials which are to be found upon the spot. From this harbour, which abounds in turtles part of the year, and which is situated to windward of the Archipelago of America, a squadron might, in time of war, sail in the space of seven or eight days, to the assistance of the national possessions, or to attack those belonging to the enemies of France,

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THERE is no danger to be feared in these latitudes. The winds are generally favourable for approaching the coasts, as much or as little as one may chuse. If the contrary should happen, which is extremely uncommon; or if there should be a calm, the ships have the resource of anchoring every where upon an excellent bottom.

THESE advantages are unfortunately accompanied with a few inconveniences. The navigators are obstructed, on their coming in, by rapid currents. If, in order to avoid them, they should go too near the land, they would find almost every where a deficiency of water. There is not any to be found, even at the mouth of the rivers, which can receive none but very small ships. The river of Aprouague is the only one which is twelve feet deep. In this river the vessels may be run aground upon a soft bottom, and may undergo all the necessary repairs, without creating any anxiety. It is necessary, however, to make great dispatch, because the best constructed, and best fitted out vessels, are destroyed in a small space of time, by the worms, by the muddy waters, by the rains, and by the heats.

IN this region, though near the equator, the climate is very supportable. This temperature may be attributed, perhaps, to the length of the nights, and to the abundance of fogs and dews. Guiana never experiences those suffocating heats which are so common in many other countries of America.

UNFORTUNATELY, this colony is destroyed by deluges of water, during the first six months of



the year, and sometimes longer. These superabundant rains level the elevated situations, drown the plains, destroy the plants, and frequently suspend the most urgent labours. Vegetation is at that time so powerful, that it is impossible to restrain it within proper limits, whatever numbers of people may be employed for that purpose. To this calamity succeeds another, and that is a long drought, which opens, and parches up the ground.

VARIOUS have, for a long time, been the opinions concerning the soil of Guiana. It is known at present, that it is mostly a stony turf, covered over with sand, and with the remains of some vegetables. These grounds are worked with facility, but their produce is very trifling, and even does not last longer than five or six years. The planter is then obliged to till new grounds, which undergo the same fate as the former. Those tillages even, which are executed in some parts of a deeper soil, which is to be found at intervals, do not last long, because the repeated rains, which fall in torrents in those regions, soon wash away the juice that might render them fruitful.

It was upon these meager plains that the first French, who were driven to Guiana by a fatal destiny, formed a settlement. The generations which succeeded them searched for more fertile territories in all parts, but could not find any. In vain did the treasury make several great sacrifices to improve this colony. These expences were unavailing, because they could not alter the nature of things. The example of  
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the Dutch, who, after having languished in the neighbourhood upon the high grounds, had at last succeeded upon plantations formed in morasses, which were drained off with immense labour, did not make any impression. At length M. Mallouet, being intrusted with the administration of this unfortunate settlement, hath himself carried into execution what he had seen practised at Surinam; and the place which he had rescued from the ocean was immediately covered with provisions. This circumstance hath inspired the colonists, with a spirit of emulation, of which they were not thought to be susceptible, and they wait only for the favourable assistance of government, to enrich the mother-country with their productions.

THE plantations will be hereafter established upon those territories that are formed by levelling of the mountains, and by the sea. It will be necessary to dry up the morasses, to dig canals, and to construct dykes. But why should the French be apprehensive of undertaking what they have executed with so much success upon their own frontiers? Why should the court of Versailles refuse to encourage, by loans and by gratifications, labours of tillage that are really useful? It is in the clearing of the lands that consists the true conquest over chaos, for the advantage of all mankind; and not in the obtaining of provinces, which are depopulated and laid waste, in order that we may acquire them; which lavish the blood of two nations, without enriching either; and which must be maintained at a great expence,  
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and covered for ages with troops, before we can flatter ourselves with the peaceable possession of them.

EVERY thing invites the French ministry to pursue the plan which we have ventured to propose. The subterraneous fires, which are so common in the rest of America, are at present extinguished in Guiana. There are never any earthquakes, neither do hurricanes exercise their ravages upon those coasts. The access to this country is attended with so many difficulties, that we may foretel it will not be conquered. The French islands, on the contrary, which have already been once taken, attract the attention, and incite the cupidity of a nation, highly dissatisfied with having restored them. This circumstance makes us presume, that they will always be disposed to repair, by force of arms, the defects of their negociations. The well-grounded confidence they repose in their navy, may perhaps soon precipitate them into a new war, in order that they may regain what they have restored, and extend their usurpations still further. Should fortune again favour their enterprizes; should a people, encouraged by victories, of which the citizens alone reap the advantages, be for ever triumphant over a nation which fights for their Kings only, Guiana would at least prove a great resource, where all the productions which are become necessary by habit, might be cultivated; for which an enormous tribute must be paid to foreigners,

foreigners, if the colonies of the nation were unable to furnish them.

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THE drying up of the coasts of Guiana would require long and difficult labours. Where can a sufficient number of men be found for the accomplishment of this undertaking?

It was thought in 1763, that the Europeans would be fit for this purpose. Twelve thousand of them were the victims of this opinion. About sixty German, or Acadian families, alone escaped the catastrophe. They settled upon the Sinamary, the banks of which are never overflowed by the sea, and where there are some natural meadows, and a great quantity of turtles. This small colony increases, and lives happily along the side of that river. Their resources consist of fishing, hunting, breeding of cattle, and the culture of a small quantity of rice, and of maize. Some speculative persons have concluded from this instance, that white people might be able to cultivate Guiana; but they have not considered, that colonies have been founded only for the purpose of obtaining vendible commodities; and that these commodities require labours, more constant and more fatiguing than those which are cultivated on the borders of the Sinamary.

What men  
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THE natives of the country might, it is said, execute without inconvenience those labours which are fatal to us. These savages were sufficiently numerous upon the coast when it was discovered; but their number hath been so much diminished by European cruelties, that there are

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at present no more than four or five hundred of them capable of bearing arms. But some adventurers, who have lately penetrated into the inland countries, have discovered several small nations, each more barbarous than the other. They have every where perceived the oppression of the women, superstitions which prevent the increase of population, animosities which can only be extinguished by the entire destruction of families, and of colonies; the shocking neglect of old and of sick people; the habitual use of the most various and the most subtle poisons, and a multitude of other evils, the hideous spectacle of which is too generally displayed in a state of nature. Travellers, however, are received with respect, and assisted with the most unbounded generosity, and the most affecting simplicity. They enter into the hut of the savage, sit down by the side of his naked wife and daughters, partake of their repast, and repose upon the same bed. The next day they are laden with provisions, and accompanied to some distance on their journey by the savages, from whom they part with demonstrations of friendship. But this hospitable scene may become bloody in an instant. The savage is jealous to excess, and on the least sign of familiarity which should alarm him, he would put his guest to death.

The first step to be taken would be, to collect these perpetually wandering people. This measure might be facilitated, by distributing in a proper manner a few presents, suited to their taste. The most scrupulous attention should be exerted,



exerted, to avoid bringing together, in the same place, such of these nations as have an insurmountable aversion to each other.

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THESE colonies should not be casually formed. It would be proper to distribute them in such a manner, as to be able to penetrate, with ease, into the inland parts. In proportion as these settlements shall acquire strength, they will facilitate the establishment of new habitations.

No consideration hath yet been powerful enough to fix these Indians. The best way to succeed, would be to distribute cows among them, which they would not be able to feed, without cutting down woods, in order to form pasture grounds. The vegetables and the fruit-trees with which their habitation would be enriched, might prove a further inducement to them to give up their wandering life. It is probable that these resources, the advantage of which they have never know'n, might disgust them, in time, of hunting and fishing, which are at present the only support of their miserable and precarious existence.

THERE would still remain a much more fatal prejudice to subdue. It is an idea generally adopted among nations, that sedentary occupations are suitable to women only. This senseless pride degrades all kinds of labours in the eyes of the men. An intelligent missionary might employ his time to advantage, in combating this infatuation. He would ennoble the labours of agriculture, by exercising them himself with his children; and by this great and fortunate stratagem,



agement, he would succeed in diffusing a new system of morality among the young men. It might, perhaps, be also possible to overcome the indolence even of the parents, if it could be contrived to excite their desires. It is not improbable but that they would cultivate provisions, in order to barter them against some other mercantile articles, which might have become necessary to them from habit.

THIS salutary end would be far from being answered, if the savages, when collected together, were subjected to a poll-tax, and to the labours of vassalage, as they have been by the Portuguese and the Spaniards, upon the borders of the Amazon, of the Rio-Negro, and of the Oroonoko. These people must have been suffered to enjoy, for ages, the benefits of cultivation, before they should be obliged to bear the burthens of it.

BUT even after this happy revolution, Guiana would still but very imperfectly fulfil the extensive views which the court of Versailles may have. The feeble hands of the Indians will only bring forth commodities of moderate value. In order to obtain rich productions, it will be necessary to have recourse to the strong arms of the Negroes.

THE facility which these slaves will have of deserting their manufactures, excites apprehensions. They will take refuge, they will gather together, they will intrench themselves, it is said, in vast forests, where the plenty of game, and of fish, will supply them with an easy subsistence; where

where the heat of the climate will allow them to go without clothes; and where they will never want for wood fit to make bows and arrows. One hundred of them had taken this resolution about thirty years ago. The troops sent to reduce them again to subjection were repulsed. This check excited the apprehensions of a general desertion, and consternation prevailed throughout the colony. They were uncertain what measures to pursue; when a missionary set out, attended by a single Negroe, arrived at the spot where the engagement had taken place, raised up an altar, assembled all the deserters by ringing a bell, said mass to them, harangued them, and brought them all back, without exception, to their former masters. But the Jesuits who had merited, and obtained the confidence of these unfortunate people, are no longer in the colony; and their successors have not shew'n either the same activity, or an equal knowledge of the human heart. Nevertheless, it would not, perhaps, be impossible to prevent the evasion of these unhappy victims of our cupidity, by rendering their condition supportable. The law of necessity, which commands even tyrants, will establish in this region a spirit of moderation, which humanity alone ought to excite every where.

THIS new arrangement of things would engage the government in considerable expences. Before they enter upon them, they will examine, whether the colony hath hitherto obtained from nature, that kind of constitution which was necessary to make it prosper, and whether Cayenne be the

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Before any funds are bestowed upon Guiana, it would be proper to consider, whether the colony be well confi-

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tuted, and  
it's limits  
must be re-  
gulated.

the most suitable place to become the capital of a large establishment. This indeed is our opinion: but some able men think otherwise, and their arguments must be discussed.

THESE views may be excellent; and yet it is not a matter of surprise that the advantages of them should not have been sooner perceived. The discernment of some things is attended with so much difficulty, that it can only be surmounted by experience, or by genius. But the progress of experience is slow, and requires time; and genius, which, like the couriers of the gods, clears an immense interval at one leap, may be expected for ages. When it appears, it is either rejected or persecuted; and when it speaks, it is not heard. If it should by chance be attended to, the spirit of jealousy inveighs against its projects, and traducing them, as sublime reveries, makes them abortive. The general interest of the multitude might, perhaps, supply the penetration of genius, if it were suffered freely to exert its influence: but it is incessantly thwarted by authority; the depositaries of which, while they understand nothing, pretend to regulate every thing. Who is the man whom they will honour with their confidence, and with their intimacy? It is the impudent flatterer, who, without believing it, will be continually repeating to them, that they are a set of wonderful beings. The mischief is first done by their folly, and is perpetuated by a spirit of false shame, which prevents them from acknowledging their errors. False combinations are exhausted, before they have discovered the true ones, or before they can resolve to approve, after having

having rejected them. Thus it is that the evil prevails, by the childishness of the sovereigns, by the incapacity and pride of the ministers, and by the impatience of the victims. One might be comforted with respect to past and present misfortunes, if the future were to produce an alteration in this destiny: but this is a hope with which it is impossible to flatter ourselves. And if the philosopher were asked, of what use are the counsels which he persists in giving to nations, and to those who govern them, and that he were to answer with sincerity, he would say, that he is only satisfying an invincible propensity to declare the truth, at the risk of exciting general indignation, and even of being obliged to drink the cup of Socrates.

It would be proper to fix the yet unsettled boundaries of Guiana, before any final resolution be taken respecting this colony. The Dutch are very desirous of extending the frontiers of Surinam to the North, as far as the banks of the Sinamary; but the military post which the court of Versailles have caused to be established upon the right bank of the river Maroni, seems entirely to have set aside this ancient pretention. Towards the South, the difficulties are still greater. The Amazon was formerly, without dispute, the boundary of the French possessions; since by a treaty of the 4th March 1700, the Portuguese engaged to demolish the forts which they had erected upon the left bank of that river. At the peace of Utrecht, France, which was under subjection, was compelled to cede the navigation of that



river, together with the lands, which extend as far as the river Vincent Pinçon, or the Oyapock. When the time fixed for the execution of the treaty arrived, it was found, that these two words, which were employed as synonymous, were described in the country, as well as in ancient maps, as two rivers thirty leagues distant from each other. Both courts were equally desirous of turning this error to their own advantage. The court of Lisbon wished to extend its boundaries as far as the Oyapock, and that of Versailles as far as Vincent Pinçon. Nothing could be determined upon, and the contested lands have remained desert ever since that rather remote period.

We will not presume to decide this important question. The only observation we shall allow ourselves to make, will be, that the motive of the cession required by Portugal, was to secure to it the exclusive trade upon the Amazon. The subjects of this crown will therefore possibly enjoy this advantage; by restraining the limits of the French possessions only twenty leagues, and as far as to the river of Vincent Pinçon, without its being necessary to push them back to the distance of fifty leagues, as far as the Oyapock.

Present state  
of French  
Guiana.

EVERY thing still remains to be done at Guiana; there are no more than thirty plantations at Cayenne itself, and almost all of them are in a miserable condition. The continent is in a still worse state than the island. The habitations are often moved. They are separated by immense deserts. Placed at a great distance from the general



mart, they have no facility for bartering their commodities. They enjoy none of the conveniences which men, when collected together, mutually procure to one another. The laws, the police, decency, emulation, the influence of the ministry: none of these advantages are known there. In 1775 there were no more than thirteen hundred free men, and eight thousand slaves, for the clearing of an extent of one hundred leagues of coast. The productions of the colony were even inadequate to these trifling means, because, in the manufactures there were none but white men without understanding, and Negroes who were under no kind of subordination. The commodities which were taken away, by the vessels that came from North America, from Guadeloupe, and from Martinico, did not amount to 100,000 livres \*, and France received upon six vessels only forty quintals of sugar, which were sold in Europe for 2,156 livres †; six hundred and fifty-eight quintals, fourscore and eight pounds of coffee, which were sold for 31,296 livres 16 sols ‡; three quintals thirty-four pounds of indigo, which were sold for 2,839 livres §; one hundred and fifty-two quintals forty-one pounds of cacao, which were sold for 10,668 livres 16 sols ¶; three thousand and three quintals fifty-five pounds of annatto, which were sold for 187,706 livres 7 sols 6 deniers ¶¶; nine hun-

\* 4,166 l. 13 s. 7 d. † 89 l. 16 s. 8 d.

‡ 1,304 l. 0 s. 8 d. § 118 l. 5 s. 10 d.

¶ 444 l. 10 s. 8 d. ¶¶ 7,821 l. 11 s. 11 ½ d.

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dred and feventy-two quintals fixty pounds of cotton, which were fold for 243,150 livres \*; three hundred and fifty-three hides, which were fold for 3,177 livres †; fourteen hundred and twenty-two quintals eight pounds of wood, which were fold for 7,604 livres three fols nine deniers ‡; which made upon the whole, 488,598 livres 3 fols 3 deniers §. The 600,000 livres || which were fpend by the court, in this as well in other years, for this antient establishment, ferved to pay for what had been received beyond thefe exportations. At this period Cayenne was indebted 2,000,000 livres ¶ to the government, or to the merchants of the mother-country.

SOMETHING may be expected from the knowledge which M. de Mallouet hath diffufed through the colony, and from the encouragements which this able adminiftrator hath granted, in 1777, to thofe colonifts who fhould devote their labours to the felling of wood for fhip-building, to the culture of articles of fubfiftence, to the falting of fifh, and to fome other productions of little value, for which he hath infured them a market. Greater expectations are ftill raifed from the fice trees. The clove tree hath already yielded cloves, which are very little inferior to thofe that come from the Moluccas; and every thing feems to promife that the nutmeg tree will thrive as

\* 10,131 l. 5 s.

† 316 l. 16 s. 10 d.

|| 2,500 l.

‡ 132 l. 7 s. 6 d.

§ About 20,388 l. 5 s. 2 d.

¶ 83,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

well.

well. But nothing great can be undertaken without a capital; and, indeed, without a considerable one.

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THIS capital is in the hands of a rich company, which hath been formed, but without any exclusive privilege for this part of the world. This association, the original funds of which consist of 2,400,000 livres\*, hath obtained from government the vast space which extends from the river Aprouage to the Oyapock; and every encouragement which could reasonably be granted them, to fertilise this soil, which is considered as the best of Guiana. 'Till their success shall enable them to employ themselves in draining the morasses, and in cultures of importance, this powerful association have turned their views towards the felling of wood, the multiplication of cattle, and the cultivation of cotton, and of cacao, but principally of tobacco.

SOME slaves have for a long time cultivated, for their own use, round their huts, this last-mentioned plant. It hath the same properties as the tobacco of the Brazils, which sells to advantage in all the European markets, and which is absolutely requisite for the purchase of Negroes, upon a great part of the coasts of Africa. If this undertaking should succeed, the wants of France will be diminished, and it's navigators will not be obliged to go to Lisbon for that part of their cargo. The expectations arising from St. Lucia are founded upon a different basis.

\* 100,000 l.

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The possession of St. Lucia, for a long time disputed, is at last ceded to the French.

THE English took possession of this island without opposition, in the beginning of the year 1639. They lived there peaceably for a year and a half, when a ship of their own nation, which had been overtaken by a calm off Dominica, carried off some Caribs, who were come in their canoes to bring them fruit. This violence occasioned the savages of St. Vincent and Martinico to join the offended savages; and in August 1640, they all attacked the new colony. In their fury, they massacred every one that opposed them. The few who escaped their vengeance, quitted, for ever, a settlement that was only in it's infant state.

IN the first ages of the world, before civil societies were formed and polished, all men in general had a common right to every thing upon earth. Every one was free to take what he chose for his own use, and even to consume it, if it were of a perishable nature. The use that was thus made of a common right, supplied the place of property. As soon as any one had in this manner taken possession of any thing, it could not be taken from him by another without injustice. It was in this point of view, which can only be applied to the primitive state of nature, that the European nations considered America when it was first discovered. They paid no regard to the natives, and imagined they were sufficiently authorised to seize upon any country, if no other nation of our hemisphere were in possession of it. Such was constantly and uniformly the only public right observed in the New World, and which men have not



not scrupled to avow, and attempt to justify, in this century during the late hostilities.

Is not then the nature of property the same every where; is it not every where founded upon possession acquired by labour, and upon a long and peaceable enjoyment? Europeans, can you then inform us, at what distance from your residence the sacred title becomes abolished? Is it at the distance of a few steps, of one league, or of ten leagues? You will answer in the negative; in which case it cannot possibly be even at the distance of ten thousand leagues. Do you not perceive, that while you arrogate to yourselves this imaginary right over a distant people, you confer it at the same time to those distant people over yourselves? Nevertheless, what would you say, if it were possible that the savages should enter upon your country, and reasoning in the same manner as you do, should say, this land is not inhabited by our own people, and therefore it belongs to us. You hold the system of Hobbs in abhorrence among your neighbouring country; and yet this fatal system, which makes of strength the supreme law, you practise it at a distance. After having been thieves and assassins, nothing remained to complete your character, but that you should become, as you really are, a set of execrable sophists.

According to these principles, which must always be reprobated by just and upright men, St. Lucia was to belong to any power that could or would people it. The French attempted it first. They sent over forty inhabitants in 1650,



under the conduct of Rouffelan, a brave, active, prudent man, and singularly beloved by the natives, on account of his having married one of their women. His death, which happened four years after, put a stop to the general good he had begun to effect. Three of his successors were murdered by the Caribs, who were dissatisfied with their behaviour to them; and the colony was declining when it was taken in 1664 by the English, who evacuated it in 1666.

THEY had scarce left it, when the French appeared again on the island. Whatever was the cause, they had not greatly increased their number, when the enemy, that had before driven them out, again forced them to quit their habitations twenty years after. Some, instead of evacuating the island, took refuge in the woods. As soon as the conquerors, who had made only a temporary invasion, were gone, they resumed their labours only for a short time. The war, which soon after raged in Europe, made them apprehensive that they might fall a prey to the first privateer that should be desirous of plundering them; with a view, therefore, of obtaining greater tranquillity, they removed to other French settlements, which were either stronger, or might expect to be better defended. There was then no regular culture or colony in St. Lucia. It was only frequented by the inhabitants of Martinico, who came thither to cut wood, and to build canoes, and who had considerable docks on the island.

SOME soldiers and sailors having deserted thither after the peace of Utrecht, Marshal d'Estrees petitioned

tioned for a grant of the island. No sooner was it obtained in 1718, than he sent over a commandant, troops, cannon, and inhabitants. This gave umbrage to the court of London, which had a kind of claim to this island from prior settlement, as that of Versailles had from almost uninterrupted possession. Their complaints determined the French ministry, to order that things should be put into the same condition they were in before the grant. Whether this compliance did not appear sufficient to the English, or whether it gave them room to think they might attempt any thing, they themselves gave St. Lucia, in 1722, to the duke of Montagu, who was sent to take possession of it. This clashing of interests occasioned some disturbance between the two courts; which was settled, however, by an agreement made in 1731, that, till the respective claims should be finally adjusted, the islands should be evacuated by both nations; but that both should have the liberty to wood and water there.

This agreement did not prevent the French from fixing there again a commandant, a garrison, and batteries. The court of London were either not informed of this breach of faith, or they overlooked it, because this channel was useful to their navigators, to assist them in carrying on with richer colonies a smuggling trade, which the subjects of both governments thought equally advantageous to them. This trade has been more or less considerable till the treaty of 1763, which secured to France the long and obstinately contested property of St. Lucia.

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First trans-  
actions of  
the French  
at St. Lu-  
cia.

THE first use which the court of Versailles proposed to make of their acquisition, was to establish a magazine there. Since their windward islands had cut down their forests, extended their cultures, and lost the resources they used to derive from Canada, and from Louisiana, it had been impossible for them to do without the woods and cattle of North America. It was thought great inconveniencies would attend the direct admission of these foreign assistances; and St. Lucia was fixed upon as a very proper place for the exchange of these commodities against the molasses of Martinico and Gaudalupe. Experience soon shewed that this scheme was impracticable.

IN order that this arrangement might be carried into execution, it would be necessary that the Americans should either deposit their cargoes in store-houses, keep them on board, or sell them to traders settled on the island; three things equally impossible.

THESE sailors will never consent to land their cattle, as the expences they would incur for having them taken care of for their food, or to secure them from accidents, would infallibly ruin them. Neither will they pay for warehouses for their wood, which is too cheap and too bulky a commodity to be worth the charge of store-room. They will never wait on board their ships for distant purchasers who might not arrive, nor will they ever meet with intermediate purchasers, whose profits would necessarily absorb so much, that it would be impossible to employ them,

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THE proprietors of molasses have the same reasons to dislike this mart. The carriage, the leakage, and commission, would reduce their commodities to nothing. If the English should determine to pay a higher price for the molasses, they must consequently raise that of their own merchandize; and after this advance, the consumer would not purchase them.

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THE French ministry, undeceived as to their first notion, without entirely giving it up, attended, since 1763, to the formation of cultures in St. Lucia. This plan was a prudent one, but it was not executed in a proper manner. Had the governor and the intendant of Martinico, from which this island is no more than seven leagues distant, been intrusted with this business, the colonists, who would have been sent there, would have obtained the succours which can be furnished with ease, by a settlement that hath existed more than a century. Precipitation, a passion for novelty, the desire of providing for friends or favourites, and other motives perhaps still more blameable, made the government prefer the sending of an independent administration, who were to have no connections but with the mother-country. This erroneous system cost the treasury 7,000,000 of livres\*, and to the state seven or eight hundred men, whose unhappy fate is more a matter of pity than surprize. Under the tropics, the best established colonies always destroy one third of the soldiers that are sent thither, though they

\* 291,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

are



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are healthy stout men, and find good accommodations. It is not surprising then, that a set of miserable wretches, the refuse of Europe, and exposed to all the hardships of indigence, and all the horrors of despair, should most of them perish in an uncultivated and uninhabited island.

THE advantage of peopling this colony was reserved to the neighbouring settlements. Some Frenchmen, who had sold, upon very profitable terms, their plantations at the Granades to the English, brought part of their capital to St. Lucia. Several planters from St. Vincent's, incensed at being obliged to buy lands which they themselves had been at incredible pains to clear and fertilize, took the same step. Martinico also furnished some inhabitants, whose possessions were either not sufficiently fertile, or too much confined, and merchants who have withdraw'n part of their stock from trade in order to devote it to husbandry. Lands have been gratuitously distributed to all of them.

Opinion  
that may be  
formed of  
St. Lucia.

THIS would have been but a fatal present if the prejudice which prevailed against St. Lucia had had any foundation. It was said, that nature had refused it every advantage necessary to form a colony of any importance. In the opinion of the public, it's dry, uneven, and stony soil, could never pay the expences of manuring. The inclemency of the climate would infallibly destroy every man, who from a strong desire of enriching himself, or who driven by despair, should be bold enough to go there. These notions were generally received.

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THE fact is, that the soil of St. Lucia is not bad on the borders of the sea, and that it becomes better the further one advances in the country. The whole of the island may be cultivated, except some high and craggy mountains, which bear evident marks of antient volcanoes. In one deep valley there are still eight or ten hollow places of some feet in diameter, where the water boils up in a most dreadful manner. There are not indeed many extensive plains in the island, but several small ones, where sugar may be cultivated with success. The shape of the island, which is long and narrow, will make the carriage easy wherever the canes are planted.

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THE air in the inland parts of St. Lucia, is the same as it was in all the other islands before they were inhabited; foul and unwholesome at first, but less noxious, as the woods are cleared, and the ground laid open. The air, on some part of the sea-coast, is more unhealthy. On the leeward side the lands receive some small rivers, which springing from the foot of the mountains, have not a slope sufficient to wash down the sands with which the influx of the ocean choaks up their mouths. Stopped by this insurmountable barrier, they spread themselves into unwholesome morasses upon the neighbouring grounds. So obvious a reason had been sufficient to drive away the few Caribs who were upon the island when it was first discovered. The French, driven into the New World by a more powerful motive than even self preservation, have been less careful than the savages. It is upon this very spot that they chiefly



chiefly fixed their plantations. Several of them have been punished for their rapaciousness. Others will be so hereafter, unless they construct dykes and dig channels to drain off the waters. Government hath already set the example of this in the principal part of the island; some citizens have followed it, and it is to be imagined, that so useful a practise will in time become general.

Present state  
of the colony  
of St.  
Lucia.

THERE are already eleven parishes in the colony, almost all of them to leeward. This preference given to one part of the island, is not for the sake of a better soil, but for the conveniency of the shipping. In time, that part that was neglected at first, will likewise be inhabited, as bays are continually discovered, in which canoes may put in and receive all kinds of commodities on board.

A ROAD which goes all round the island, and two others that cross it from east to west, are very convenient for carrying the produce of the plantations to the landing places. In process of time, and with some expence, these roads will be brought to a much greater degree of perfection than it was possible they should be at first, without running into expences too burthensome for a settlement in an infant state. The labours of vassalage required for making these roads, have unavoidably retarded the culture of the lands, and excited great complaints; but the colonists now begin to bless the wise and steady hand that has ordered and conducted this work for their benefit. Their burthen hath been in some degree alleviated in latter times, by the attention  
which

which the directors have had to apply to these labours the taxes required to procure an exemption from them.

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ON the first of January 1777, the number of white people at St. Lucia amounted to two thousand three hundred souls, men, women, and children.

THERE were fifty-thousand blacks, or free mulattoes. The catttle consisted of eleven hundred and thirty mules, or horses; two thousand and fifty-three head of horned cattle, and three thousand seven hundred and nineteen sheep, or goats.

THERE were fifty-three sugar plantations, which occupied fifteen hundred and forty-one pieces of land; five millions forty thousand nine hundred and sixty-two coffee-trees; one million nine hundred and forty-five thousand seven hundred and twelve cacao plants; and five hundred and ninety-seven plots of cotton.

THESE united productions were sold in the island for little less than 3,000,000 of livres\*. Two thirds of them were delivered to the Americans, to the English, and to the Dutch, who were allowed a free trade with the colony. The remainder was carried to Martinico, upon which this island was dependent, and from whence it received some merchandize and some liquors, brought from the mother-country.

THE character and abilities of the Earl of Ennery, the founder of this colony, authorized us to

\* 125,000 l.

affirm,



affirm, that when St. Lucia, which is about forty leagues in circumference, hath attained the degree of cultivation it is capable of, it may employ fifty or sixty thousand slaves, and yield to the value of nine or ten millions \* in commodities. This great testimony hath been confirmed since by other directors. By what fatality is it, that this settlement hath acquired so small a degree of improvement, notwithstanding all the encouragements which it hath received?

Obstacles  
that have  
prevented  
the progress  
of St. Lucia.

THE reason of this is, that from the beginning properties were precipitately given to vagabonds, who had neither the habit of labour, nor the means for cultivation: it is because an immense territory was granted to greedy speculators, who were only able to cultivate a few acres: it is because the inland parts were distributed before the borders had been cleared: it is because the ants, which so cruelly infested Martinico, have conveyed the same ravages in the rising sugar plantations of St. Lucia: it is because coffee hath experienced there the same diminution in value as every where else: in a word, it is because the administration hath been neither sufficiently regular, nor sufficiently continued, nor sufficiently enlightened. What remedy can be employed against so many errors, against so many calamities?

IT will be necessary to establish a more firm system of government, a more strict police. It will be necessary to deprive of their territory those who have not at least partly fulfilled the engage-

\* From 375,000 l. to 416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.



ment they had contracted, of rendering it useful. It will be necessary, by modes of union prudently contrived, to bring together, as much as possible, some of the plantations that are separated by distances, which deprive their owners of the will, of the inclination, and of the facility of assisting each other. It will be necessary legally to compel all debtors to pay proper attention to their creditors, with whom it had been customary to sport. It will be necessary, by a long series of years, and by authentic acts, to secure to the traders of all nations a free intercourse with this island. Matters ought indeed to be carried still further.

THE French of the mother-country cannot, and those of the islands will not, cultivate St. Lucia. Many foreigners, on the contrary, have offered to convey their industry and their capitals there, if the barbarous right of escheat were suppressed; a right which impedes the reciprocal commerce of nations; which repels the living man, and spoils the dead one; which disinherits the child of the foreigner; which obliges him to leave his wealth in his own country; and which prohibits him from obtaining elsewhere any acquisition of personal or real estate; a right which a people, who have the least idea of good policy, will abolish among themselves, and the extinction of which they will carefully abstain from soliciting in other countries. It is to be hoped that the court of Versailles will no longer persist in rejecting the only method of raising an interesting colony from that languid state into which it hath



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XIII.

Measures  
which the  
court of  
Versailles  
proposes to  
adopt, in  
order to se-  
cure St.  
Lucia from  
an invasion.

been plunged by calamities which it was impos-  
sible to avert, and by the vices of a bad admini-  
stration.

WHEN the proper steps have been taken to ren-  
der St. Lucia flourishing, the French ministry  
may pursue the system which they seem to have  
adopted, of defending their colonies by fortresses.  
To keep possession of this island, it will be suffi-  
cient to defend the Carenage harbour.

THIS harbour, which is the best in the Antilles,  
unites many advantages. It hath a great deal  
of water every where, with an excellent bottom.  
Nature hath provided it with three complete ca-  
reening places, one for the largest ships, and the  
two others for frigates. Thirty ships of the line  
might ride safely there, and be sheltered from  
the most terrible hurricanes. They have never  
yet been injured by the worms. The winds are  
always favourable for sailing out, and the largest  
squadron would be cleared out in less than an  
hour.

So favourable a situation is capable of defend-  
ing not only all the national possessions, but also  
of threatening those of the enemy throughout  
America. The naval forces of England cannot co-  
ver all parts. The smallest squadron sent out from  
St. Lucia, would in a few days invade those colo-  
nies, which, being least exposed, would think  
themselves quite secure. The only way to pre-  
vent this danger, would be to block up the  
Carenage; and even then, the purport of so ex-  
pensive and tiresome a cruize might be defeated  
by

by a man who should be bold enough to undertake any enterprize that can be effected at sea.

THIS harbour, which is subject to the inconvenience of exposing every ship that comes within view to be taken, has never appeared worthy the attention of the British nation, though too powerful and too enlightened not to consider, that ships are to protect the roads, and not the roads the ships. With regard to France, this harbour affords the greatest maritime defence, that is to say, a position that will not allow a ship under sail to enter. She must be warped for a considerable space before she can get into it. There is no plying to windward between the two points. The foundings increasing suddenly near the land from twenty-five to a hundred fathom, will not permit the assailants to come to an anchor. Only one ship can come in at a time, and she would be exposed to the fire of three masked batteries in front and on both sides.

A SHIP that would attack the harbour would be under the necessity of landing at Shoque Bay, a shore a league long, which is only parted from the Carenage by the point called Vigie, which forms this bay. If the enemy were once masters of the Vigie, they would sink every ship in the harbour, or at least compel them to bring to, and that without any loss on their side; because this peninsula, though commanded by a citadel built on the other side of the harbour, would cover the assailants by its own back. It would only have occasion for mortars, and neither fire a single gun, nor endanger the life of one man.

If the shutting up of the entrance of the harbour against the enemy were sufficient, it would be needless to fortify the Vigie. The enemy might be kept out without this precaution; but the ships of the French must be protected. It is necessary that a small squadron should be able to set the English forces at defiance; compel them to block up the place; take advantage of their absence, or of some error they might fall into; all which cannot be effected without fortifying the top of the peninsula. It must be considered, that by thus multiplying the points of defence, a greater number of men will be wanted; but if there be any ships in the harbour, their sailors and gunners may be employed in defending the Vigie, which they would do with the greater alacrity, as on this would depend the safety of the squadron. If there be no vessels in the harbour, the Vigie will be abandoned, or ill defended, and that for the following reason:

ON the other side of the harbour there is an eminence, called *Morne Fortuné*. The flat on the top offers one of those favourable situations, that are seldom to be met with for erecting a citadel, which would require almost as great a force to attack it, as the best fortified place in Europe. This fortification, the plan of which is already laid, and will certainly one day be carried into execution, will have the advantage of defending the Carenage bay on all sides, of commanding all the eminences that surround it, and of making it impossible for the enemy to enter; of securing the town which is to be built on the back of the mountain;

mountain; in short, of hindering the assailants from penetrating into the island, even if they had actually landed at Shoque Bay, and made themselves masters of the Vigie. Further discussions on the means of preserving St. Lucia must be left to the professors of the military art.

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It is not, in truth, a motive of vanity that hath engaged us in the discussion of this matter, which is so contrary to our profession, and which implies so many studies to which we are strangers, and so long an experience in those who follow it. But zeal, the desire of doing good, and the spirit of patriotism, direct the thoughts of the man and of the citizen upon every object. His heart grows warm; he reflects; and if he thinks he has discovered what is right to be done, he must speak, because his silence would be reproachful to himself. "If my ideas be just," saith he to himself, "perhaps government may avail themselves of them; if they be erroneous, the worst that can happen will be, that I shall excite a smile, and that I shall be called the good man, a name which the venerable Abbé of St. Pierre took so much pride in. I would rather run the risk of being ridiculous, than lose the opportunity of being useful." Whether this duty be well fulfilled or not, let us fix the attention of the reader on Martinico.

This island hath sixteen leagues in length, and forty-five in circumference, exclusive of the capes, which sometimes extend two or three leagues into the sea. It is very uneven, and intersected in all parts by a number of hillocks, which are mostly

The French settle at Martinico, upon the ruins of the Caribs.



of a conical form. Three mountains rise above these smaller eminences. The highest bears the indelible marks of an antient volcano. The woods with which it is covered, continually attract the clouds, which occasions noxious damps, and contributes to make it horrid and inaccessible, while the two others are in most parts cultivated. From these mountains, but chiefly from the first, issue the many springs that water the island. These waters, which flow in gentle streams, are changed into torrents on the slightest storm. Their quality partakes of the nature of the soil they pass through; in some places they are excellent, in others so bad, that the inhabitants are obliged to drink the water they have collected in the rainy season.

DENAMBUC, who had sent to reconnoitre Martinico, failed from St. Christopher's in 1635, to settle his nation there; for he would not have it peopled from Europe. He foresaw that men, tired with the fatigue of a long voyage, would mostly perish soon after their arrival, either from the effects of a new climate, or from the hardships incident to most emigrations. The sole founders of this new colony were a hundred men, who had long lived in his government of St. Christopher's. They were brave, active, inured to labour and fatigues; skilful in tilling the ground and erecting habitations; abundantly provided with potatoe plants, and all necessary seeds.

THEY completed their first settlement without any difficulty. The natives, intimidated by the fire-arms, or seduced by the promises that were made



made them, gave up to the French the western and southern parts of the island, and retired to the other. This tranquillity was of short duration. The Caribs, when they saw these enterprising strangers daily increasing, were convinced that their ruin was inevitable, unless they could extirpate them; and they therefore called in the savages of the neighbouring islands to their assistance. They fell jointly upon a little fort that had been accidentally erected; but they met with such a warm reception, that they thought proper to retreat, leaving seven or eight hundred of their best warriors dead upon the spot. After this check they disappeared for a long while; and when they returned, they brought with them presents, and expressed their concern for what had happened. They were received in a friendly manner; and the reconciliation was sealed with some bottles of brandy that were given them to drink.

THE labours had been carried on with difficulty till this period. The fear of a surprize obliged the colonists of three different habitations to meet every night in that which was in the center, and which was always kept in a state of defence. There they slept secure, guarded by their dogs and a centinel. In the day-time no one ventured out without his gun, and a brace of pistols at his girdle. These precautions were needless when the two nations came to be on friendly terms; but the one, whose friendship and favour had been courted, took such undue advantages of her superiority, to extend her usurpations, that she soon rekindled in the others a hatred that had never  
F 4 entirely

entirely subsided. The savages, whose manner of life requires a vast extent of land, finding themselves daily more straitened, had recourse to stratagem, to weaken an enemy whom they dared not attack by force. They separated into small bands, waylaid the French, who frequented the woods, waited 'till the sportsman had fired his piece, and, before he had time to load it again, rushed upon him and destroyed him. Twenty men had been thus destroyed before any one was able to account for their disappearance. As soon as this particular was discovered, the aggressors were pursued and beaten, their carbets burnt, their wives and children massacred, and those few, that escaped the carnage, fled from Martinico, and never appeared there again.

First labours  
of the  
French in  
Martinico.

THE French, by this retreat, now become sole masters of the island, lived quietly upon those spots which best suited their plantations. They were then divided into two classes. The first consisted of such as had paid their passage to America; and these were called inhabitants. The government distributed lands to them, which became their absolute property upon paying a yearly tribute. They were obliged to keep watch by turns, and to contribute, in proportion to their abilities, towards the necessary expences for the public welfare and safety. These had under their command a multitude of miserable people brought over from Europe at their expence, whom they called *engages*, or bondsmen. This engagement was a kind of slavery for the term of three years. When that time was

was expired, the bondsmen, by recovering their liberty, became the equals of those whom they had served.

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THEY all confined themselves at first to the cultivation of tobacco and cotton; to which was soon added that of the arnotto and indigo. That of sugar was not begun till about the year 1650. Benjamin Dacosta, one of those Jews who are beholden for their industry to that very oppression which their nation is now fallen under, after having exercised it upon others, planted some cocoa trees ten years after. His example was not followed till 1684, when the chocolate grew more common in France. Cocoa then became the principal dependence of the colonists, who had not a sufficient fund to undertake sugar plantations. One of those calamities which arise from the seasons, and which sometimes affect men, and sometimes vegetables, destroyed all the cocoa trees in 1727. This spread a general consternation among the inhabitants of Martinico. The coffee tree was then proposed to them, as a plank is held out to mariners after a shipwreck.

THE French ministry had received, as a present from the Dutch, two of these trees, which were carefully preserved in the king's botanical garden. Two shoots were taken from these. Mr. Desclieux, who was intrusted to carry them over to Martinico, in 1726, happened to be on board a ship which wanted water. He shared with his young trees the portion that was allotted him for his own drinking; and by this generous sacrifice saved half of the valuable trust that had been put  
into

into his hands. His magnanimity was rewarded. The culture of coffee was attended with the greatest and most rapid success; and this virtuous patriot enjoyed, till the end of 1774, the pleasing satisfaction, the uncommon felicity, of having as it were saved an important colony, and enriched it with a fresh branch of industry.

INDEPENDENT of this resource, Martinico was possessed of those natural advantages which seemed to promise a speedy and great prosperity. Of all the French settlements, it is the most happily situated with regard to the winds that prevail in those seas. It's harbours possess the inestimable advantage of affording a certain shelter from the hurricanes which annoy these latitudes. It's situation having made it the seat of government, it has obtained the greatest marks of favour, and enjoyed the ablest and most upright administration of them all. The enemy has constantly respected the valour of it's inhabitants, and has seldom attacked it without having cause to repent. It's domestic peace has never been disturbed, not even in 1717, when urged by a general discontent, the inhabitants ventured, boldly indeed, but prudently, to send back to France a Governor and an Intendant, who oppressed the people under their despotism and rapaciousness. The order, tranquillity, and harmony, which they found means to preserve in those times of anarchy, were a proof that they were influenced rather by their aversion from tyranny, than by their impatience of authority; and served in some measure to justify to the mother-country, a step, which in it-  
self



self might be considered as irregular, and contrary to the established principles.

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NOTWITHSTANDING all these advantages, Martinico, though in greater forwardness than the other French colonies, had made but little progress at the end of the last century. In 1700, it contained but 6597 white men in all. The savages, Mulattoes, and free Negroes, men, women, and children, amounted to no more than 507. The number of slaves was but 14,566. All these together made a population of 21,640 persons. The whole of the cattle was 3,668 horses or mules, and 9,217 head of horned cattle. They grew a great quantity of cocoa, tobacco and cotton, and had nine indigo houses, and one hundred and eighty-three small sugar plantations.

ON the cessation of the long and obstinate wars, which had ravaged all the continents, and been carried on upon all the seas of the world, and when France had relinquished her projects of conquests, and those principles of administration by which she had been so long misled; Martinico emerged from that feeble state in which all these calamities had kept her, and soon rose to a great degree of prosperity. She became the general mart for all the windward national settlements. It was in her ports that the neighbouring islands sold their produce, and bought the commodities of the mother-country. The French navigators loaded and unloaded their ships no where else. Martinico was famous all over Europe. She was the object of speculation, considered under the different views of a planter, an agent to the

Prosperity  
of Marti-  
nico.  
Cause of it.



colonies, and a trader with Spanish and North America.

As a planter, it employed, in 1736, seventy-two thousand slaves, upon a soil, great part of which was newly cleared, and which constantly yielded very abundant crops.

THE connections of Martinico with the other islands intitled her to the profits of commission, and the charges of transport, as she alone was in possession of carriages. This profit might be rated at the tenth of the produce, which was increasing daily. This standing debt, seldom called in, was left them for the improvement of their plantations. It was increased by advances in money, slaves, and other necessary articles. Martinico, thus becoming more and more a creditor to the other islands, kept them in constant dependence, but without injuring them. They all enriched themselves by her assistance, and their profit was beneficial to her.

HER connections with Cape Breton, with Canada, and with Louisiana, procured her a market for her ordinary sugars, her inferior coffee, her molasses and rum, which would not sell in France. They gave her, in exchange, salt fish, dried vegetables, deals, and some flour.

IN her clandestine trade on the coasts of Spanish America, consisting wholly of goods manufactured by the nation, she was well paid for the risques which the French merchants did not chuse to run. This traffic, less important than the former as to it's object, was much more  
lucrative

lucrative in it's effects. It commonly brought in a profit of fourscore or ninety per cent. upon the value of three or four millions of livres \*, yearly sent to the Caraccas, or the neighbouring colonies.

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So many prosperous transactions had brought immense sums into Martinico. Twelve millions of livres † were constantly circulated there with amazing rapidity. This is, perhaps, the only country in the world where the specie has been so considerable, as to make it a matter of indifference to them whether they dealt in gold, or silver, or in commodities.

HER extensive trade annually brought into her ports two hundred ships from France, fourteen or fifteen fitted out by the mother-country for the coast of Guinea, thirty from Canada, ten or twelve from the islands of Margareta and Trinidad; beside the English and Dutch ships that come to carry on a smuggling trade. The private navigation from the island to the northern colonies, to the Spanish continent, and to the Windward Islands, employed a hundred and thirty vessels, from twenty to seventy tons burden, manned with six hundred European sailors of all nations, and fifteen hundred slaves long enured to the sea service.

At first, the ships that frequented Martinico used to land in those parts where the plantations lay. This practice, seemingly the most natural,

Manner in which the trade is carried on in Martinico.

\* From 125,000 l. to 166,666 l. 1 s. 4 d.

† 500,000 l.

†

was

was liable to great inconveniences. The north and north-easterly winds which blow upon part of the coasts, keep the sea in a constant and violent agitation. Though there are many good roads, they are either at a considerable distance from each other, or from most of the habitations. The sloops, destined to coast along this interval, were frequently forced by the weather to anchor, or to take in but half their lading. These difficulties retarded the loading and unloading of the ship; and the consequence of these delays was, a great loss of men, and an increase of expence to the buyer and seller.

COMMERCE, which must always reckon among it's greatest advantages that of procuring a quick return, could not but be impeded by another inconvenience, which was the necessity the trader lay under, even in the best latitudes, of disposing of his cargo in small parcels. If some industrious man undertook to save him that trouble, this enhanced the price of the goods to the colonists. The merchant's profit is to be rated in proportion to the quantity he sells. The more he sells, the more is he able to abate of the profit which another must make who sells less.

A GREATER inconvenience than either of these was, that some places were overstocked with some sorts of European goods, while others were in want of them. The owners of the ships were equally at a loss to take in a proper lading. Most places did not afford all sorts of commodities, nor every species of the same commodity. This deficiency

deficiency obliged them to touch at several places, or to carry away too great or too small a quantity of what was fit for the port where they were to unload.

THE ships themselves were exposed to several difficulties. Many of them wanted careening, and most required at least some repair. The proper assistance on these occasions was not to be found in the roads that were but little frequented, where workmen did not chuse to settle, for fear of not getting sufficient employment. They were therefore obliged to go and refit in some particular harbours, and then return to take in their lading at the place where they had made their sale. These different expeditions took up at least three or four months.

THESE and many more inconveniences made it very desirable to some of the inhabitants, and to all the navigators, to establish a magazine, where the colonies and the mother-country might send their respective articles of exchange. Nature seemed to point out Port Royal as a fit place for this purpose. It's harbour was one of the best in all the Windward Islands, and so celebrated for it's safety, that, when it was open to the Dutch vessels, they had orders from the republic to shelter there in June, July, and August, from the hurricanes which are so frequent and so violent in those latitudes. The lands of the Lamentin are distant but a league, and are the most fertile and richest of all the colony. The numerous rivers which water this fruitful country, convey loaded canoes to a certain distance from  
the



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the place where they empty into the sea. The protection of the fortifications secured the peaceable enjoyment of so many advantages; which, however, were balanced by a swampy and unwholesome soil. This capital of Martinico was also the asylum of the men of war; which branch of the navy at that time despised, and even oppressed the merchant-men. On this account, Fort Royal was an improper place to become the center of trade, which was therefore turned to St. Peter's.

This little town, which, notwithstanding the fires that have reduced it four times to ashes, still contains eighteen hundred houses, is situated on the western coast of the island, in a bay or inlet which is almost circular. One part of it is built on the strand along the sea-side; which is called the Anchorage; and is the place destined for the ships and warehouses. The other part of the town stands upon a low hill: it is called the Fort, from a small fortification that was built there in 1665, to check the seditions of the inhabitants against the tyranny of monopoly; but it now serves to protect the road from foreign enemies. These two parts of the town are separated by a rivulet, or fordable river.

THE anchorage is at the back of a pretty high and perpendicular hill. Shut up, as it were, by this hill, which intercepts the easterly winds, the most constant and most salubrious in these parts; exposed, without any refreshing breezes, to the scorching beams of the sun, reflected from the hill, from the sea, and the black sand on the beach;



beach; this place is extremely hot, and always unwholesome. Besides, there is no harbour, and the ships, which cannot winter safely upon this coast, are obliged to take shelter at Fort Royal. But these disadvantages are compensated by the conveniency of the road of St. Peter's, for loading and unloading of goods; and by it's situation, which is such, that ships can freely go in and out at all times, and with all winds.

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THIS village was the first that was built, and the first that was cultivated on the island. It hath not been, however, so much on account of it's antiquity as of it's convenience, that it enjoys the advantage of having become the center of communication between the colony and the mother-country. At first, St. Peter's was the storehouse for the commodities of some districts, which lay along such dreary and tempestuous coasts; that no ship could ever get at them; so that the inhabitants could carry on no trade without removing elsewhere. The agents for these colonists in those early times, were only the masters of small vessels, who having made themselves know'n, by continually sailing about the island, were enticed, by the prospect of gain, to fix upon a settled place for their residence. Honesty was the only support of this intercourse: most of these agents could not read. None of them kept any books or journals. They had a trunk, in which they kept a separate bag for each person, whose business they transacted. Into this bag they put the produce of the sales, and took out what money they wanted for the purchases.

When the bag was empty, the commission was at an end. This confidence, which must appear fabulous in our days of degeneracy and dishonesty, was yet common at the beginning of this century. There are some persons still living, who have carried on this trade, where the employer had no other security for the fidelity of his agent, but the benefit resulting from it.

THESE plain men were successively replaced by more enlightened persons from Europe. Some had gone over to the colony, when it was taken out of the hands of the exclusive companies. Their number increased as the commodities multiplied; and they themselves contributed greatly to the extending of the plantations by the loans they advanced to the planters; whose labours had, till then, gone on but slowly for want of such help. This conduct made them the necessary agents for their debtors in the colony, as they were already for their employers at home. Even the colonist, who owed them nothing, was in some measure dependent on them, as he might possibly hereafter stand in need of their assistance. If his crop should fail, or be retarded, a plantation of sugar canes be set on fire, or a mill blow'n down: if his buildings should fall, mortality carry off his cattle or his slaves; or if every thing should be destroyed by drought or heavy rains; where could he find the means of supporting himself during these calamities, or of repairing the loss occasioned by them? These means are in twenty different hands. If only one refuses his assistance, the distress must necessarily increase.

increase. These considerations induced such as had not yet borrowed money, to trust the agents of St. Peter's with their concerns, in order to secure a resource in times of distress.

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THE few rich inhabitants, whose fortunes seemed to place them above these wants, were in some degree compelled to apply to this factory. The trading captains, finding a port where they might with advantage complete their business, without stirring out of their warehouses, or even of their ships, forsook Fort Royal, Trinity Fort, and all the other places where an arbitrary price was put upon the commodities, and where the payments were slow and uncertain. By this revolution, the colonists, being confined to their works, which require a constant and daily attendance, could no longer go out to dispose of their produce. They were therefore obliged to intrust it to able men, who, being settled at the only frequented sea-port, were ready to seize the most favourable opportunities for buying and selling; an inestimable advantage this, in a country where trade is continually fluctuating. Guadalupe and Granada followed this example, induced by the same motives.

THE war of 1744 put a stop to this prosperity; not that the fault was in Martinico itself. Its navy, constantly exercised, and accustomed to frequent engagements, which the carrying on of a contraband trade required, was prepared for action. In less than six months, forty privateers, fitted out at St. Peter's, spread themselves about the latitudes of the Caribbee Islands. They sig-



nalized themselves in a manner worthy of the ancient freebooters. They were constantly returning in triumph, and laden with an immense booty. Yet, in the midst of these successes, an intire stop was put to the navigation of the colony, both to the Spanish coast and to Canada, and they were constantly disturbed even on their own coasts. The few ships that came from France, in order to compensate the hazards they were exposed to by the loss of their commodities, sold them at a very advanced price, and bought them at a very low one. By this means the produce decreased in value, the lands were but ill cultivated, the works neglected, and the slaves perishing for want. Every thing was in a declining state, and tending to decay. The peace at last restored the freedom of trade, and with it the hopes of recovering the ancient prosperity of the island. The event did not answer the pains that were taken to attain it.

Decline of  
Martinico,  
and the  
cause of it.

Two years had not yet elapsed since the cessation of hostilities, when the colony lost the contraband trade she carried on with the American Spaniards. This revolution was not owing to the vigilance of the guarda-costas. As it is more the interest of the traders to set them at defiance, than their's to defend themselves; the former are apt to despise men who are ill paid to protect such rights, or enforce such prohibitions as are oftentimes unjust. The substitution of register ships to the fleets was the cause that confined the attempts of the smugglers within very narrow limits. In the new system, the number of ships

was



was undetermined, and the time of their arrival uncertain, which occasioned a variation in the price of commodities unknow'n before. From that time the smuggler, who only engaged in this trade from the certainty of a fixed and constant profit would no longer pursue it, when it did not secure him an equivalent to the risques he ran.

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BUT this loss was not so sensibly felt by the colony, as the hardships brought upon them by the mother-country. An unskilful administration clogged the reciprocal and necessary connection between the islands and North America with so many formalities, that in 1755 Martinico sent but four vessels to Canada. The direction of the colony, now committed to the care of avaricious and ignorant clerks, soon lost it's importance, sunk into contempt, and was prostituted to venality.

IN the mean while the trade of France was not yet affected by the decay of Martinico. The French found traders in the road of St. Peter's, who purchased their cargoes at a good price, and sent their ships home with expedition, and richly laden; and they never inquired from what particular colony the consumption and produce arose. Even the Negroes who were carried there were sold at a high price; but few remained. The greatest part were sent to the Granades, to Guadalupe, and even to the Neutral Islands, which, notwithstanding the unlimited freedom they enjoyed, preferred the slaves brought by the French, to those the English offered, though ap-



parently on better terms. They were convinced, from long experience, that the chosen Negroes, who cost the most, enriched their lands, while the plantations did not flourish in the hands of the Negroes bought at a lower price. But these profits of the mother-country were foreign, and rather hurtful to Martinico.

SHE had not yet repaired her losses during the peace, nor paid off the debts which a series of calamities had obliged her to contract; when war, the greatest of all evils, broke out afresh. A series of misfortunes for France, after repeated defeats and losses, made Martinico fall into the hands of the English. It was restored in July 1763, sixteen months after it had been conquered; but deprived of all the necessary means of prosperity, that had made it of so much importance. For some years past, the contraband trade carried on to the Spanish coasts was almost intirely lost. The cession of Canada and of Louisiana had precluded all hopes of opening again a communication, which had only been interrupted by temporary mistakes. The productions of the Granades, St. Vincent, and Dominica, which were now become British dominions, could no longer be brought into their harbours; and a new regulation of the mother-country, which forbid her having any intercourse with Guadalupe, left her no hopes from that quarter.

THE colony, thus destitute, could depend upon nothing but it's cultures; unfortunately, at the period when it's inhabitants began to attend to them with advantage, there appeared in the island  
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a species of ant unknow'n in America, before it had exercised such ravages in Barbadoes, that it was deliberated, whether it would not be proper to abandon a colony formerly so flourishing. It is not know'n whether this insect was transferred to Martinico from the Continent, or from this island. It is however certain, that it occasioned inexpressible ravages in all the sugar plantations in the island where it appeared. This calamity, which had been too ineffectually resisted, had lasted for eleven years, when the colonists assembled on the 9th of March 1775, announced a reward of 666,000 livres \*, for the person who should find a remedy against these destructive scourges. This important secret hath been already discovered and practised by an officer named Desvouse, upon one of the plantations the most infested with ants. This excellent cultivator had obtained plentiful crops by multiplying the labours, the manure, and the weedings, by burning the straw in which this insect concealed itself, by replanting the sugar canes after every crop, and by disposing them in such a manner as to facilitate the circulation of the air. This example hath at length been followed by the rich colonists, others will imitate it in proportion to their means, and it is to be hoped that in process of time, the recollection only will remain of this great disaster.

THIS calamity was raging in it's greatest force, when the hurricane of 1766, the most furious of

\* 27,750l.

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those which had ravaged Martinico, destroyed the provisions and the harvests, rooted up the trees, and even overthrew the buildings. The destruction was so general, that scarce a few inhabitants remained able to administer comfort to so many unfortunate people, and to relieve so many miseries.

The high price to which for some time coffee had risen, assisted them in supporting these misfortunes. This production, which had been too much cultivated, fell into disgrace, and the planters preserved only the regret of having devoted their lands to a commodity, the value of which was no more sufficient for their subsistence.

To complete these misfortunes, the mother-country suffered the colony to be in want of the persons necessary for the labours of it; for from the year 1764, to 1774, the trade of France did not introduce into Martinico more than three hundred and forty-five slaves, one year with another. The inhabitants were reduced to the necessity of renewing their men from the refuse of the English cargoes clandestinely introduced.

An enlightened minister, whose watchful care would have extended itself to all parts of the empire, would have alleviated the fate of a great settlement so cruelly afflicted, but this was not the case. New offices established on the colony were substituted to those succours it had a right to expect.

In the French settlements in the New World, and undoubtedly in those of other nations like-

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and

and this was, because they were certain of impunity. Their masters, seduced by a blind motive of interest, never brought the criminals to justice. In order to put a stop to this great mischief, the black code regulated that the price of every slave who should be condemned to death, after information lodged against him with the magistrate by the proprietor, should be paid for by the colony.

COLLECTIONS were immediately made for this useful purpose, but part of them was soon employed in expences foreign to their institution. That of Martinico was still more oppressed than the others with these acts of injustice; when in 1771, it was burthened with the expences incurred by the chamber of agriculture belonging to the colony, and with the salary of a deputy, which its council keeps to no purpose in the mother country.

OPPRESSION was carried still further. The duties which the government collected at Martinico, were originally very trifling, and were paid in provisions, which were changed into metals, when these universal agents of commerce were multiplied in the island. Nevertheless, the impost was moderate till 1763, when it was raised to eight hundred thousand livres\*. Three years after, it became necessary to lower it, but this diminution, extorted by the calamities of the times, was put a stop to in 1762. The tribute was lowered again in 1778, to the sum of 666,000

\* 833,333 l. 6s. 8d.

livres,



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livres\*, which is equal to a million † in the islands. It is paid by a poll-tax upon the white people and upon the Negroes, by a tax of five per cent. on the rent of houses, by a duty of one per cent. on all heavy merchandize which enters the colony, and an equal duty upon all provisions that are exported from it, except coffee, which pays three per cent.

Present state  
of Martini-  
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ON the first of January 1778, the population of Martinico consisted of twelve thousand white people of all ages, and of both sexes; three thousand free Negroes or Mulattoes, and upwards of fourscore thousand slaves, though it's calculations did not amount to more than seventy-two thousand.

It's cattle consisted of eight thousand two hundred mules or horses; nine thousand seven hundred head of horned cattle, and thirteen thousand one hundred hogs, sheep, or goats.

It's sugar plantations amounted to two hundred fifty-seven, which occupied ten thousand three hundred and ninety-seven squares of land. It cultivated sixteen millions six hundred two thousand eight hundred and seventy coffee plants; one million four hundred thirty thousand and twenty cacao plants; and one million six hundred forty-eight thousand five hundred and fifty cotton plants.

IN 1775, the French navigators loaded at Martinico one hundred and twenty-two vessels, with two hundred and forty-four thousand four

\* 27,750 l. † 41,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.



hundred and thirty-eight quintals, fifty-eight pounds of clayed or raw sugar, which were sold in the mother-country for 9,971,155 livres, 3 sols, 7 deniers \*; with ninety-six thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine quintals, sixty-eight pounds of coffee, which were sold for 4,577,259 livres, 16 sols †; eleven hundred and forty-seven quintals eight pounds of indigo, which were sold for 975,018 livres ‡; eight thousand six hundred and fifty-six quintals, sixty-three pounds of cacao, which were sold for 605,964 livres, 12 sols §; eleven thousand and twelve quintals of cotton, which were sold for 2,753,100 livres ¶; nine hundred and nineteen hides, which were sold for 8,271 livres ¶¶; twenty-nine quintals ten pounds of rope-yarn, which were sold for 29,100 livres \*\*; nineteen hundred sixty-six quintals, thirty-five pounds of black cassia, which were sold for 52,980 livres, 10 sols ††; one hundred and twenty-five quintals of wood, which were sold for 3,125 livres ‡‡; the total amount of these articles was 18,975,974 livres, 1 sol, 7 deniers §§; but this sum did not entirely belong to the colony; a little more than a quarter of it belonged to St. Lucia and Guadalupe, which had sent part of their productions to Martinico.

ALL those who from instinct or duty are concerned for the interest of their country, would

Hath Martinico any prospect of improving?

\* About 415,465 l. 16 s.

† 40,625 l. 15 s.

‡ 114,712 l. 10 s.

\*\* 1,212 l. 10 s.

‡‡ 130 l. 4 s. 2 d.

† 190,719 l. 3 s. 2 d.

§ 25,248 l. 10 s. 6 d.

¶ 344 l. 12 s. 6 d.

¶¶ 2,207 l. 10 s.

§§ About 790,665 l. 11 s. 9 d.

with

with to see the productions multiplied at Martinico. It is well known, indeed, that the center of the island, full of horrid rocks, is unfit for the culture of sugar, coffee, or cotton; that too much moisture would be hurtful to these productions; and that, should they succeed, the charges of carriage across mountains and precipices would absorb the profits of the crops. But in this large space meadows would turn to very good account. The soil is excellent for pasture, and only wants the attention of government to furnish the inhabitants with the necessary increase of cattle both for labour and food. There are other spots on the island where the soil is ungrateful. Craggy territories which have been levelled by the torrents and the rains; swampy grounds, which it would be difficult, and perhaps impossible to dry up; and stony lands, which cannot be fertilized by any kind of labour. The observers, however, who are the most acquainted with the colony, unanimously agree, that these cultures are capable of being increased nearly by one third, and that even this improvement might be brought about by a better and more steady method of cultivation, without any further clearing of lands. But in order to attain to this improvement, a greater number of slaves would be required. It is a considerable thing that the inhabitants have been able to preserve, till our time, their works in the same state as they had received them from their ancestors. We do not think that it will be in their power to increase them.

THE proprietors of the lands at Martinico may be divided into four classes. The first are possessed of a hundred large sugar plantations, in which twelve thousand Negroes are employed. The second have one hundred and fifty, worked by nine thousand blacks. The third class possesses thirty-six, with two thousand blacks. The fourth, devoted to the culture of coffee, cotton, cocoa, and cassava, may employ twelve thousand Negroes. The remaining slaves of both sexes are engaged in domestic services, in fishing, or in navigation, they are children or infirm persons.

THE first class consists entirely of rich people. Their culture is carried to the highest degree of perfection, and they are able to preserve it in the flourishing state to which they have brought it. Even the expences they must be at for replacing deficiencies, are not so great as those of the less wealthy planter, as the slaves born upon these plantations supply the place of those destroyed by time and labour.

THE second class, which is that of planters in easy circumstances, have but half the hands that would be necessary to acquire a fortune equal to that of the opulent proprietors. If they were even able to buy the number of slaves they want, they would be deterred from it by fatal experience. Nothing can be more imprudent than the custom of putting a great number of fresh Negroes upon a plantation. The sickness those miserable wretches are liable to, from a change of climate and diet; the trouble of inuring them to a kind  
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of labour to which they are not accustomed, and which they dislike, cannot but disgust a planter, from the constant and laborious attention he must pay to this training up of men for the cultivation of land. The most active proprietor, is he, who is able to increase his works by one-sixth of the number of slaves every year. Thus the second class might acquire fifteen hundred blacks yearly, if the net produce of their lands would admit of it. But they must not expect to meet with credit. The merchants in France do not seem disposed to trust them; and those who circulated their stock in the colony, no sooner found that they could not make use of it without running considerable risques, than they removed it to Europe, or to St. Domingo.

THE third class, which are but little removed from indigence, cannot change their situation by any means which the natural course of trade can supply. It is a matter of difficulty for them to be able to subsist. The indulgence of government can alone put them into such a flourishing condition as to render them useful to the state, by lending them, without interest, the sums they may want, to raise their plantations. This class might employ a greater number of fresh Negroes than we have allotted to the second, without the same inconveniences; because each planter having fewer slaves to look after, will be able to pay a greater attention to those he may purchase.

THE fourth class, who are employed in cultures of less importance than that of sugar, do not



not stand in need of such powerful helps, to recover that ease and plenty from which they are fallen, by war, hurricanes, and other misfortunes. Could these two last classes but make an acquisition of fifteen hundred slaves every year, it would be sufficient to raise them to that degree of prosperity to which their industry naturally intitles them.

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THUS Martinico might hope to revive her declining plantations, and to recover the first splendour to which her diligence had raised her, if she could get a yearly accession of three thousand Negroes. But it is well know'n that she is not in a condition to pay for these recruits. She owes the mother-country, for balance of trade, about a million\*. A series of misfortunes has obliged her to borrow four millions† of the merchants settled in the town of St. Peter. The engagements she has entered into on account of divided inheritances, and those she has contracted for the purchase of a number of plantations, have made her insolvent. This desperate state will neither allow her the means of soon recovering her former situation, nor the ambition of pursuing that road to fortune which once lay open to her.

ADD to this, that she stands exposed to invasion. But though there are a number of places where the enemy may land, yet they will never make the attempt. It would indeed be fruitless, because of the impossibility of bringing up the artillery and ammunition, across such a rugged country to

Whether  
Martinico  
can be con-  
quered?

\* 41,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

† 166,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.



Fort Royal, which defends the whole colony. It is in this latitude only that the enemy would sail, in order to make such an attempt.

IN the front of this strong and principal place of defence is a famous harbour, situated on the side of a broad bay, that cannot be entered without many tackings, which must decide the fate of any ship that is forced to avoid an engagement. If she happens to be unrigged, or is a bad sailer, or meets with some accident from the variations of the squalls of wind, the currents, or whirlpools, she will fall into the hands of an assailant that is a better sailer. The garrison of the fortress itself may become a useless and inglorious spectator of the defeat of a whole squadron, as it has been often of the taking of merchant ships.

THE inside of the harbour is much injured on account of the hulks of several ships that have been sunk there, to keep out the English in the last war. These vessels have been taken up again; but it will still require a considerable expence to remove the heaps of sand which had gathered about them, and to put the harbour in the same state it was before. This work will not admit of any delay; for the port, though not very spacious, is the only one where ships of all rates can winter; the only one where they can be supplied with masts, sails, cables, and excellent water, which is brought there from the distance of a league by a very well-contrived canal, and which may be easily procured.

AN enemy will always land near to this harbour, and there is no possibility of preventing them, whatever

whatever precautions be taken. The war could only be carried on against them in the field; it could not be continued for any time, and the people would soon be reduced to shut themselves up in their fortifications.

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THEY formerly had no other fortification than Fort Royal, where immense sums had been buried through want of skill under a ridge of mountains. All the knowledge of the ablest engineers has never been sufficient to give any degree of strength or solidity to works occasionally erected by the most unskilful hands, and without any sort of plan. They have been obliged to content themselves with adding a covered way, a rampart and flanks, to such parts of the place as would admit of them. But the work of the most consequence has been to cut into the rock, which easily gives way; and to dig subterraneous rooms, which are airy, wholesome, and fit to secure warlike stores and provisions; as also to shelter the sick, and to defend the soldiers, and such of the inhabitants whose attachment to their country would inspire them with courage to defend the colony. It has been thought, that men who were sure of finding a safe retreat in these caverns, after having exposed their lives on the ramparts, would soon forget their fatigues, and face the enemy with fresh vigour. This idea was fortunate and sensible, and must have been suggested, if not by a patriotic government, at least by some sensible and humane minister.

But the bravery this must inspire could not be sufficient to preserve a place which is commanded

on all sides. It was therefore thought advisable to fix upon some more advantageous situation; and the point called *Morne Garnier* was chosen for this purpose, which is higher by thirty-five or forty feet than the highest tops of Patate, Tortenson, and Cartouche, all which overlook Fort Royal.

UPON this eminence a citadel has been raised, consisting of four bastions. The bastions in front, the covered way, the reservoirs for water, the powder magazines; all these means of defence are ready. The cazernes, and other necessary buildings, will soon complete the work. If even the redoubts and the batteries, intended to force the enemy to make their descent at a greater distance than Casco bay, where they landed at the last invasion, should not be attended with the effect that is expected from them; yet still the colony would be able to resist about three months. Fifteen hundred men will defend the *Morne Garnier* for thirty or six-and-thirty days against an army of fifteen thousand; and twelve hundred men will sustain themselves for twenty or five-and-twenty days in Fort Royal, which cannot be attacked till *Garnier* has been taken. This is all that can be expected from an expence of ten millions of livres\*.

THOSE, who are of opinion that the navy alone ought to protect the colonies, think that so considerable an expence hath been misapplied. As it was not possible, in their opinion, to erect forti-

\* 416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

fications, and to build ships at the same time, the preference ought to have been given to the latter, as being indispensably necessary; especially if the impetuosity in the character of the French disposes them to attack rather than to defend, they ought sooner to destroy than erect fortresses; or none but ships should be built, those moveable ramparts which carry war with them, instead of waiting for it. Any power that aims at trade, and the establishment of colonies, must have ships, which bring in men and wealth, and increase population and circulation; whereas bastions and soldiers are only fit to consume men and provisions. All that the court of Versailles can expect from the expence they have incurred at Martinico, is, that if the island should be attacked by the only enemy it has to fear, there will be time enough to relieve it. The English proceed slowly in a siege; they always go on by rule, and nothing diverts them from completing any works that concern the safety of the assailants; for they esteem the life of a soldier of more consequence than the loss of time. This maxim, so sensible in itself, is, perhaps, misapplied in the destructive climate of America; but it is the maxim of a people, whose soldiers are engaged in the service of the state, not mercenaries paid by the prince. But whatever be the future fate of Martinico, it is now time to inquire into the present state of Guadalupe.

THIS island, which is of an irregular form, may be about eighty leagues in circumference. It is divided into two parts by a small arm of the sea,

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which is not above two leagues long, and from fifteen to forty toises broad. This canal, know'n by the name of the salt river, is navigable, but will only carry Indian boats.

THAT part of the island which gives it's name to the whole colony, is, towards the center, full of craggy rocks, and so cold, that nothing will grow there but fern, and some useles shrubs covered with moss. On the top of these rocks, a mountain called *la Soupbriere*, or the Brimstone mountain, rises to an immense height into the middle region of the air. It exhales, through various openings, a thick black smoke, intermixed with sparks that are visible by night. From all these hills flow numberless springs, which fertilize the plains below, and moderate the burning heat of the climate by a refreshing stream, so celebrated, that the galleons, which formerly used to touch at the Windward Islands, had orders to renew their provision with this pure and salubrious water. Such is that part of the island properly called Guadalupe. That which is commonly called Grande Terre, has not been so much favoured by nature. The soil is not so fertile, or the climate so wholesome or so pleasant. It is, indeed, less rugged; but it wants springs and rivers. There are even no springs to be found there. Aqueducts, which would not be very expensive, would undoubtedly, in process of time, enable it to enjoy this advantage in common with the other part of the colony.

No European nation had yet taken possession of this island, when five hundred and fifty Frenchmen,



men, led on by two gentlemen named Loline and Dupleffis, arrived there from Dieppe on the 28th of June, 1635. They had been very imprudent in their preparations. Their provisions were so ill chosen, that they were spoiled in the passage; and they had shipped so few, that they were exhausted in two months. They were supplied with none from the mother-country. St. Christopher's, whether from scarcity or design, refused to spare them any; and the first attempts in husbandry they made in the country, could not yet afford any thing. No resource was left for the colony but from the savages; but the superfluities of a people who cultivate but little, and therefore had never laid up any stores, could not be very considerable. The new comers, not content with what the savages might freely and voluntarily bring, came to a resolution to plunder them; and hostilities commenced on the 16th of January, 1636.

THE Caribs, not thinking themselves in a condition openly to resist an enemy who had so much the advantage from the superiority of their arms, destroyed their own provisions and plantations, and retired to Grande Terre, or to the neighbouring islands. From thence the most desperate came over to the island from which they had been driven, and concealed themselves in the thickest parts of the forests. In the day-time they shot with their poisoned arrows, or knocked down with their clubs, all the French who were scattered about for hunting or fishing. In the night, they burned the dwellings, and destroyed the plantations of their unjust spoilers.

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A DREADFUL famine was the consequence of this kind of war. The colonists were reduced to graze in the fields, to eat their own excrements, and to dig up dead bodies for their subsistence. Many who had been slaves at Algiers, held in abhorrence the hands that had broken their fetters; and all of them cursed their existence. It was in this manner that they atoned for the crime of their invasion, 'till the government of Aubert brought about a peace with the savages at the end of the year 1640. When we consider the injustice of the hostilities which the Europeans have committed all over America, we are almost tempted to rejoice at their misfortunes, and at all the judgments that pursue those inhuman oppressors. We are ready, from motives of humanity, to renounce the ties that bind us to the inhabitants of our own hemisphere, to change our connections, and to contract beyond the seas, with the savage Indians, an alliance which unites all mankind, that of misfortune and compassion.

Guadalupe recovers by degrees from it's miseries, but does not become a flourishing colony 'till after having been conquered by England.

THE remembrance, however, of hardships endured in an invaded island, proved a powerful incitement to the cultivation of all articles of immediate necessity; which afterwards induced an attention to those of luxury consumed in the mother-country. The few inhabitants who had escaped the calamities they had draw'n upon themselves, were soon joined by some discontented colonists from St. Christopher's, by Europeans fond of novelty, by sailors tired of navigation, and by some sea-captains, who prudently chose to commit to the care of a grateful soil the treasures they had saved

saved from the dangers of the sea. But still the prosperity of Guadalupe was stopped, or impeded, by obstacles arising from it's situation.

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THE facility with which the pirates from the neighbouring islands could carry off their cattle, their slaves, their very crops, frequently brought them into a very desperate situation. Intestine broils, arising from jealousies of authority, often disturbed the quiet of the planters. The adventurers who went over to the Windward islands, disdaining a land that was fitter for agriculture than for naval expeditions, were easily attracted to Martinico, by the convenient roads it abounds with. The protection of those intrepid pirates, brought to that island all the traders who flattered themselves that they might buy up the spoils of the enemy at a low price, and all the planters who thought they might safely give themselves up to peaceful labours. This quick population could not fail of introducing the civil and military government of the Caribbee Islands into Martinico. From that time, the French ministry attended more seriously to this than to the other colonies, which were not so immediately under their direction; and, hearing chiefly of this island, they turned all their encouragements into that channel.

It was in consequence of this preference, that in 1700 the number of inhabitants in Guadalupe amounted only to 3825 white people; 325 savages, free negroes, or mulattoes; and 6,725 slaves, many of whom were Caribs. Her cultures were reduced to 60 small plantations of sugar, 66 of indigo, a little cocoa, and a consider-

able quantity of cotton. The cattle amounted to 1,620 horses and mules, and 3,699 head of horned cattle. This was the fruit of sixty years labour.

THE colony did not make any rapid progress 'till after the peace of Utrecht. Its population consisted of 9,643 white men; 41,140 slaves; and its cattle and provisions were proportioned to it, when, in the month of April 1759, it was conquered by the arms of Great Britain.

FRANCE lamented this loss; but the colony had reason to comfort themselves for this disgrace. During a siege of three months, they had seen their plantations destroyed, the buildings that served to carry on their works burnt down, and some of their slaves carried off. Had the enemy been forced to retreat after all these devastations, the island was ruined. Deprived of all assistance from the mother-country, which was not able to send her any succours, and expecting nothing from the Dutch, who on account of their neutrality came into her roads, because she had nothing to offer them in exchange, she could never have subsisted 'till the ensuing harvest.

THE conquerors delivered the colonists from these apprehensions. The English, indeed, are no merchants in their colonies. The proprietors of lands, who mostly reside in Europe, send their representatives whatever they want, and draw the whole produce of the estate by the return of their ship. An agent settled in some sea-port of Great Britain, is intrusted with the furnishing of the plantation, and with receiving the produce. This was impracticable



at Guadalupe; and the conquerors in this respect were obliged to adopt the custom of the conquered. The English, informed of the advantage the French made of their trade with the colonies, hastened, in imitation of them, to send their ships to the conquered island; and so multiplied their expeditions, that they overstocked the market, and sank the price of all European commodities. The colonist bought them at a very low price, and, in consequence of this plenty, obtained long delays for the payment.

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To this credit, which was necessary, was soon added another arising from speculation, which enabled the colony to fulfil its engagements.

THE victorious nation sent there eighteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-one slaves, in the expectation of reaping in time great advantages from their labour. But their ambition was frustrated, and the colony was restored to its former possessors in July 1763.

THE flourishing state to which Guadalupe had been raised by the English, was remarked by all the world, when they restored it. It acquired that degree of consideration, which opulence always inspires at present. The mother-country beheld it with a kind of respect. Till that time it had been subordinate to Martinico, as were all the French Windward Islands. The island was released from these shackles, which it considered as a disgrace, by giving it an independent administration. This arrangement lasted 'till 1768, at which period it was again subjected to the former yoke, from which it was released in 1772, and placed

Various systems adopted by the ministry of France, in the government of Guadalupe.



placed under it again six months after. In 1775 a governor of it's own was again granted to it; and it is to be hoped, that after so many variations, the court of Versailles will no more depart from this arrangement, the only one which is conformable to the principles of an enlightened policy. Should administration ever swerve from this fortunate plan, the governors and the intendants would again bestow their care, their credit, and their regard, upon the metropolitan island immediately under their inspection, while the dependant island would be abandoned to subalterns, without influence, or without consideration, and consequently without the power or the will of doing any thing useful.

THE military men, who have been of opinion that the two colonies should be united under one governor, have been led into it from considering the advantages that would arise from collecting the forces of both islands, for their mutual defence. But they have not reflected, that at an equal distance between Martinico and Guadalupe, there is Dominica, an English settlement, which cannot be avoided, and which overlooks equally the double canal that divides it from the French possessions. Should the French naval forces be inferior to the English, the communication would be impracticable, because the respective succours would infallibly be intercepted; if, on the contrary, they should be superior, the communication would become useless, because no invasion could be apprehended. In either

ther of these cases, the system proposed is chimerical.

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It would be very different, if it were necessary to carry on offensive measures. The union of the powers belonging to each of these islands might become useful, and even necessary, under such circumstances. In that case, the command of the whole would be intrusted to one of the governors, and this command would cease at the conclusion of the projected enterprize.

BUT is it proper to leave a free trade between the territorial productions of one colony and those of the other? Till the conquest of Guadalupe by the English, the immediate connections of that island with the ports of France had been limited to six or seven vessels annually. Its provisions, from motives more or less maturely considered, were mostly sent to Martinico. When, at the period of the restitution, the administration of the two colonies was separated, their trade became likewise distinct. The communications have since been opened again, and are still permitted at this present time.

THIS arrangement is censured by some people in France. It is necessary, say they with acrimony, that the colonies should fulfil their destination, which is, to consume a great quantity of merchandize from the mother-country, and to send back a great abundance of productions. And yet, notwithstanding her abilities to fulfil this double obligation, Guadalupe will neither do the one nor the other, as long as she shall be allowed to carry her commodities to Martinico.

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This intercourse will always be the cause or the occasion of an immense trade in foreign markets, and at Dominica in particular. This fraudulent trade can only be stopped, and the habit of smuggling eradicated, by prohibiting this communication.

THESE arguments, which are founded upon motives of private interest, ought not to prevent the confirmation of the connections which Guadalupe and Martinico have formed with each other. Liberty is the wish of all mankind; and every proprietor hath a natural right to sell the productions of his soil to whom he chuses, and to as much advantage as he can. This fundamental principle of all well-regulated societies hath been set aside in favour of the mother-country; and it was perhaps necessary in the present state of affairs. But to be desirous of extending farther the prohibitions to which the colonists are subjected; to wish to deprive them of the conveniences and advantages which they may derive from a lasting or a temporary communication with their own fellow-citizens, is an act of tyranny which the merchants of France will one day be ashamed of having solicited, and which will never be granted but by an ignorant, corrupt, or weak minister. If, as it is pretended, the intercourse permitted at present between the two islands, should give part of their commodities to artful and rapacious rivals, government may find some fair means of introducing into the kingdom the territorial riches of Guadalupe, and of the small islands which are under it's dependence.

DESEADA,

DESEADA, at the distance of four or five leagues from Guadalupe, is one of these islands. Its territory is exceedingly barren, and is ten leagues in circumference. It reckons but few inhabitants, who are all employed in the culture of a few coffee and cotton trees. It is not know'n at what precise time this settlement was begun, but it is a modern one.

THE Saints, three leagues distant from Guadalupe, are two very small islands, which, with another yet smaller, form a triangle, and have a tolerable harbour. Thirty Frenchmen were sent thither in 1648, but were soon driven away by an excessive drought, which dried up their only spring, before they had time to make any reservoirs. A second attempt was made in 1652, and lasting plantations were established, which now yield fifty thousand weight of coffee, and one hundred thousand of cotton.

AT the distance of six leagues from Guadalupe is Marigalante, which hath fifteen leagues in circumference. The numerous savages by whom it was inhabited, were driven from it in 1648, by the French, who were obliged to sustain and repel several warm attacks, in order to maintain themselves in their usurpation. It hath an excellent soil, upon which a population hath successively been formed, of seven or eight hundred white people, and of six or seven thousand Negroes, most of whom are employed in the culture of sugar.

ST. MARTIN, and St. Bartholomew, are likewise dependent upon Guadalupe, though at the distance

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Islands dependent upon Guadalupe.

distance of forty-five or fifty leagues from it. The former of these islands hath been spoken of in the history of the Dutch settlements. It remains to say something of the latter.

It is said to be eleven leagues in circumference. It's mountains are nothing but rocks, and it's vallies nothing but sands, which are never watered by springs or by rivers, and much too seldom by the waters of the sky. It is even deprived of a good harbour, although all geographers have bestowed this advantage upon it. In 1646, fifty Frenchmen were sent there from St. Christopher's; they were massacred by the Caribs in 1656, and were replaced only three years after. The barrenness of the soil obliged them to have recourse to the Guyacum wood, which covered their new country, and of which they made some small works, that were in great request. This resource was soon exhausted, and it was succeeded by the care of a few cattle, which supplied the neighbouring islands. Soon after this, the culture of cotton was introduced; and the crop of this amounts to fifty or sixty thousand weight, when not checked by obstinate droughts, which are very frequent. Till these present times, the labours have all been carried on by white people; and it is still the only one of the European colonies established in the New World, where free men do not disdain to partake of the labours of agriculture with their slaves. The numbers of the latter do not exceed four hundred and twenty-seven, nor those of the former three hundred and forty-five. The island could not,  
without



without difficulty, maintain a greater number, even in the most prosperous times.

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THE wretchedness of the inhabitants is so well know'n, that the enemy's privateers, which frequently put in there, have always paid punctually for what few refreshments they could spare them, though the miserable inhabitants were too weak to compel them. There is then some humanity left even in the breast of enemies and pirates; man is not naturally cruel; and only becomes so from fear or interest. The armed pirate, who plunders a vessel richly laden, is not destitute of equity, nor even of compassion for a set of poor defenceless islanders.

ON the first of January 1777, the population of Guadalupe, and of the islands more or less fertile, under it's dependence, amounted to twelve thousand seven hundred white persons of all ages, and of both sexes, thirteen hundred and fifty free Negroes, or Mulattoes, and a hundred thousand slaves; although, in the account of the colony, there were only fourscore and four thousand one hundred mentioned.

Present state  
of Guada-  
dalupe, and  
of the small  
islands unde-  
r it's depend-  
ence.

THEIR cattle consisted of nine thousand two hundred and twenty horses, or mules, fifteen thousand seven hundred and forty head of horned cattle, and twenty-five thousand four hundred sheep, hogs, or goats.

THEIR cultures consisted only of four hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-two cacao trees; eleven million nine hundred seventy-four thousand and forty-six cotton plants; eighteen million seven hundred and ninety-

ninety-nine thousand six hundred and fourscore coffee trees; and three hundred and eighty-eight sugar plantations; which occupied twenty-six thousand and eighty-eight squares of land.

THEIR government, taxes, and imposts, were the same as at Martinico.

IF these frequent calculations be disgusting to the idle reader, it is hoped that they will not be so disagreeable to political calculators; who, discovering, in the population and in the productions of the lands, the exact proportion of the strength of the state will be the better enabled to compare the natural resources of all nations.

IT is only by a well-regulated register of such a nature, that we can judge, with some degree of precision, of the present state of the maritime and commercial powers that have settlements in the New World. The merit of the work, in this point, consists in its accuracy; and some allowances ought, perhaps, to be made to the author, for the want of embellishments, in favour of the useful information which is substituted to them. There are eloquent descriptions, and ingenious representations enough of distant countries, which serve to amuse and to deceive the multitude. It is time to appreciate the truth, which results from the history of them, and to be informed, not so much of what they have been, as of what they are at present: for the history of what is passed, especially from the manner in which it is written, is almost as much applicable to future ages, as to the present. Let me

me be allowed, therefore, once again to declare, that no man should be surpris'd at the numerous repetitions of the quantity of Negroes, of animals, of lands, and of productions; and at details, in a word, which however dry and unentertaining they may be to the mind, are nevertheless the natural foundations of society.

GUADALUPE must obtain from it's cultures, a very considerable mass of productions, and more considerable even than Martinico. It hath a greater number of slaves; it employs less of them in it's navigation and in it's commerce; it hath placed a number of them upon a soil which is inferior to that of it's rival, but great part of which being newly manured, yields more abundant crops, than the grounds which are fatigued by a long continuance of tillage. Accordingly, it is evident, that such of it's plantations as are not devoured by ants, yield an income much superior to that which is obtained at Martinico. Nevertheless, eighty-one vessels of the mother-country did not carry away, in 1775 from this island, more than one hundred and eighty-eight thousand three hundred and eighty-six quintals six pounds of raw or clayed sugar, which were sold in Europe for 7,137,930 livres 16 sols\*; sixty-three thousand twenty-nine quintals and two pounds of coffee, which were sold for 2,993,860 livres 19 sols†; fourteen hundred thirty-eight quintals and twenty-seven pounds of indigo, which were sold for 1,222,529 livres 10

\* 297,413 l. 15 s. 8 d.

† 124,744 l. 4 s. 1½ d.

fols\* ; one thousand twenty-three quintals fifty-nine pounds of cacao, which were sold for 71,651 livres 6 fols † ; five thousand one hundred and ninety-three quintals seventy-three pounds of cotton, which were sold for 1,298,437 livres 10 fols ‡ ; seven hundred and twenty-seven hides, which were sold for 6,973 livres § ; sixteen quintals and fifty-six pounds of rope yarn, which were sold for 16,560 livres || ; twelve quintals and sixty-two pounds of black cassia, which were sold for 336 livres 15 fols ten deniers ¶ ; one hundred and twenty-five quintals of wood, which were sold for 3,125 livres \*\*. These sums collectively, amounted to no more than 12,751,404 livres 16 fols 10 deniers ††.

SOME of the productions of the colony were sent to Martinico. It's molasses, and some other commodities, were bartered with the Americans, for wood, cattle, flour, and salt fish: it's cottons were sent to Dominica, from whence it received slaves; and it's sugars to St. Eustatius, which paid for them in specie, or with bills of exchange, and with merchandize from the East Indies.

THE vigilance of it's last directors hath put some stop to these smuggling connections, and the French vessels intended for the exportation of these commodities, have immediately been multiplied. Many of them have been in-

\* 50,938 l. 14 s. 7 d.

† 54,101 l. 11 s. 3 d.

|| 690 l.

\*\* 130 l. 4 s. 2 d.

†† About 531,291 l. 14 s. 0½ d.

† 2,985 l. 9 s. 5 d.

§ 290, l. 10 s. 10 d.

¶ About 14 l. 0 s. 8 d.

duced by habit to go to Guadalupe, properly so called, and to St. Charles of the Basse Terre, where all the cargoes were formerly taken in, although it be but a foreign harbour the access of which is difficult, and in which it is dangerous to remain: but the greatest number of them go to Pitre Point.

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THIS is a deep, and tolerably safe harbour, situated at one of the extremities of Grande Terre: it was discovered by the English at the time when they were in possession of the colony; and they were employed in rendering it healthy, when they were deprived of this acquisition by the peace. The court of Versailles pursued this idea of an enlightened conqueror, and, without delay, had the plan of a town traced, which hath rapidly increased. Nature, the winds, the bearing of the coasts, all seem to concur in concentrating in this staple, almost the whole trade of so beautiful a possession. St. Charles can preserve no more trade than it can be supplied with from the fine sugars of the Three Rivers collected, and from the coffees which are gathered in the districts of the Bailiff, of Deshays, of Bouillante, and of Pointe Noire. This town will, however, continue to be the seat of government, since the forces of the colony, and the fortifications are there.

If some observers are to be believed, the colony must expect to decline. That part of it which is called Guadalupe, and hath been cultivated for a long time, is not susceptible, say they, of much improvement. On the other hand, they



affirm, that Grande Terre will not support itself in the flourishing state to which a fortunate hazard hath brought it. That vast space, which was almost entirely covered with briars, seventeen or eighteen years ago, and which furnishes at present three fifths of the territorial riches, hath not a good soil. It's sugars are of a very inferior quality; it is destitute of forests, of dews, and of rivers, and is exposed to frequent droughts, which destroy it's cattle, and it's productions: calamities which cannot but be increased by time.

WE are very far from adopting these anxieties, and our readers may judge of the reasons we have for our security. The calamities of an unfortunate war, had almost annihilated Guadalupe. But scarce had it submitted to a foreign yoke, in 1759, than it's planters hastened to restore the ruins of their manufactures, in order to profit by the high price which the conquerors put upon their productions. The three years subsequent to it's restitution, were employed in the restoration of the buildings, that had been constructed with precipitation. In the years 1767 and 1768, the roads of the colony were all mended, and an easy communication was opened between Guadalupe and Grande Terre, by means of two causeways of three thousand toises each, which it was necessary to raise in the morasses. Before, and after this period, considerable fortifications, and more than one hundred batteries were erected upon the coasts. These labours have deprived the lands, for a long while, of part of the hands destined to

fertilize them. At present, that the slaves are all restored to their manufactures, is it not fortunately a necessary consequence, that the commodities should increase?

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THE colony hath still other reasons to expect a rapid advancement. It hath some territories which have not yet been manured; and those which are already cultivated, are capable of improvement. Its debts are not considerable. With fewer wants than the settlements have, where opulence hath for a long time multiplied propensities and desires, it can bestow more upon the improvement of its cultures. The English islands will continue to furnish it with slaves, if the French navigators still limit themselves to convey to it annually no more than five or six hundred, as they have hitherto done. All these circumstances united, suggest the idea that Guadelupe will soon rise of itself to the height of its prosperity, without the assistance, and notwithstanding the shackles of government.

BUT can France be assured of enjoying a long and quiet possession of this island? If the enemy that might attack the colony, chose only to plunder the Grande Terre, and to carry off the slaves and cattle from thence, it would be impossible to prevent this, or even to retaliate, unless an army were opposed to them. Fort Lewis, which defends this part of the settlement, is but a wretched star-fort, incapable of much resistance. All that could possibly be expected, would be to prevent the devastation from extending any further. The nature of the country presents several situa-

Measures taken by France to preserve Guadelupe from invasion.

tions, some more favourable than others, by which the progress of an assailant may be securely stopped, whatever his courage or his forces may be. He would, therefore, be forced to reembark and proceed to the attack of what is properly called Guadalupe.

THE landing of the enemy could be effected nowhere but at the bay of the Three Rivers, and and at that of the Bailiff; or rather these two places would be most favourable to the success of his enterprise; because they would bring him nearer than any other to Fort St. Charles of the Basse Terre, where he would have less difficulties to encounter.

LET the enemy chuse whichever of these landings they prefer, they will find nothing more than a spot covered with trees, intersected with rivers, hollow ways, narrow passes, and steep ascents, which they must march over exposed to the French fire. When, by the superiority of their forces, they have surmounted these difficulties, they will be stopped by the eminence of the great camp. This is a platform surrounded by nature with the river Galleon, and with dreadful ravines, to which art hath added parapets, barbettes, flanks, and embrasures, to direct the artillery in the most advantageous manner. This intrenchment, though formidable, must be forced. It is not to be imagined that an intelligent general would ever leave such a post as this behind him: his convoys would be too much exposed, and he would not get up what would

be necessary for carrying on the siege of Fort St. Charles without much difficulty.

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IF those who were first employed in fortifying Guadalupe, had understood the art of war, or even been only engineers, they would not have failed chusing the position between the river of the Great Bay and that of Galleon, for erecting their fortifications. The place then would have had towards the sea-side a front, that would have inclosed a harbour capable of containing forty sail of ships, which would have annoyed the enemy's fleet, without being themselves in the least exposed. The fronts towards the river Galleon and that of the Great Bay would have been inaccessible, being placed upon the summit of two very steep ascents. The fourth front would have been the only place open to an attack; and it would have been an easy matter to strengthen that as much as might have been thought proper.

By chusing the present position of Fort St. Charles, the works, which were constructed there, ought at least to have flanked each other from the sea, and from the heights. But the principles of fortification were so much neglected, that the fire was pointed entirely in a wrong direction, that the internal works were in all parts open to the view, and that the revetments might be battered from the bottom.

SUCH was the condition of Fort St. Charles, when, in 1764, it was thought proper to put it in a state of defence. Perhaps, it might have been best to destroy it totally, and to place the new

fortifications on the position just pointed out. It was however thought necessary to cover the bad fort, constructed by unskilful persons, with out-works; adding two bastions towards the sea-side; a good covered-way, which goes all round, together with a glacis, partly cut and partly in a gentle slope; two large places of arms with re-entering angles, having each a good redoubt, and behind these, good tenailles, with caponieres and posterns of communication with the body of the place; two redoubts, one on the prolongation of the capital of one of the two places of arms, and the other at the extremity of an excellent intrenchment made along the river Galleon, the platform of which is defended by the cannon from another intrenchment made on the top of the bank of the other side of the same river; large and deep ditches, a reservoir for water, and a powder magazine, bomb proof; in a word, a sufficient quantity of works under ground to lodge a third part of the garrison. All these out-works, well contrived, being added to the fort, will enable an active and experienced commander to hold out a siege of two months, and perhaps more. But whatever may be the resistance that Guadalupe can oppose to the attacks of the enemy, it is time to pass on to St. Domingo.

Short description of the island of St. Domingo.

THIS island is one hundred and sixty leagues in length; its main breadth is about thirty; and its circumference three hundred and fifty, or six hundred in coasting round the several bays. It is parted lengthways, from East to West, by a ridge



ridge of mountains, from which gold was extracted, before the continent of America had disclosed mines infinitely richer.

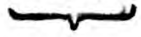
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THE navigator who draws near to, or who approaches the Spanish part of the island, perceives nothing but an irregular mass of lands, heaped one upon another, covered with trees, and divided towards the sea-side by bays or promontories: but he is indemnified for this prospect, which is none of the most agreeable, by the perfume of the flowers of Acacia, and of the orange and lemon trees, which are conveyed to him every morning and evening, from the midst of the woods, by the land breezes.

THE French part of the coast, although cultivated, doth not exhibit a much more smiling aspect. There is a sameness in all the horizon; the same accidents of nature, the same cultures, the same colours, and the same edifices present themselves on all sides. The eye, fatigued, cannot fix itself on any spot, without meeting with the same object, and without seeing what it had seen before. There is only the northern part, which being full of rich plantations, from the sea-side to the tops of the hills, exhibits a prospect worthy of some attention. This is the only landscape in the island; but it cannot be compared to those in Europe, where nature and art abound much more in interesting beauties.

THE heats are always considerable in the plains. Although the temperature of the vallies depend partly upon their opening to the East or to the  
West,

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West, it may be said in general, that the air, which is damp and fresh before and after sun-set, is very hot in the course of the day. The difference of climate is indeed only to be felt upon the mountains; where the thermometer is at seventeen degrees, in the shade, when, with the same exposure, it rises to twenty-five, in the plain.

Some  
French ad-  
venturers  
take refuge  
at St. Do-  
mingo.

SPAIN was the sole and useless proprietor of this large possession, when some English and French, who had been driven out of St. Christopher's, took refuge there in 1630. Though the northern coast, where they first settled, was in a manner forsaken, they considered, that being liable to be attacked by a common enemy, it was but prudent to secure a retreat. For this purpose they pitched upon Tortuga, a small island within two leagues of the great one; and twenty-five Spaniards, who were left to guard it, retired on the first summons.

THE adventurers of both nations, now absolute masters of an island eight leagues long and two broad, found a pure air, but no river, and few springs. The mountains were covered with valuable woods, and the fertile plains only wanted the hand of the cultivator. The northern coast appeared to be inaccessible; but the southern had an excellent harbour commanded by a rock, which required only a battery of cannon to defend the entrance of the island.

THIS happy situation soon brought to Tortuga a multitude of those people who are in search either of fortune or liberty. The most moderate applied

applied themselves to the culture of tobacco, which grew into repute, while the more active went to hunt the buffaloes at St. Domingo, and sold their hides to the Dutch. The most intrepid went out to cruize, and performed such bold exploits as will be long remembered.

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THIS settlement alarmed the court of Madrid. Judging, by the losses they had already sustained, of the misfortunes they had still to expect, they gave orders for the destruction of the new colony. The general of the galleons chose, for executing his commission, the time when the brave inhabitants of Tortuga were out at sea or a hunting, and, with that barbarity which was then so familiar to his nation, hanged or put to the sword all those who were left at home. He then withdrew, without leaving any garrison, fully persuaded that such a precaution was needless, after the vengeance he had taken. But he soon found that cruelty is not the method to secure dominion.

THE adventurers, informed of what had passed at Tortuga, and hearing at the same time that a body of five hundred men, destined to harass them, was getting ready at St. Domingo, judged that the only way to escape the impending ruin, was to put an end to that anarchy in which they lived. They, therefore, gave up personal independence to social safety, and made choice of one Willis to be at their head; an Englishman, who had distinguished himself on many occasions by his prudence and valour. Under the guidance of this chief, at the latter end of 1638, they retook an island which they had possessed for eight years,

years, and fortified it, that they might not lose it again.

THE French soon felt the effects of national partiality. Willis having sent for as many of his countrymen as would enable him to give the law, treated the rest as subjects. Such is the natural progress of dominion; in this manner most monarchies have been formed. Companions in exile, war, or piracy, have chosen a leader, who soon usurps the authority of a master. At first he shares the power or the spoils with the strongest; till the multitude, crushed by the few, embolden the chief to assume the whole power to himself; and then monarchy degenerates into despotism. But such a series of revolutions can only take place in many years in great states. An island of sixteen leagues square is not calculated to be peopled only with slaves. The commander De Poincy, governor-general of the Windward Islands, being informed of the tyranny of Willis, immediately sent forty Frenchmen from St. Christopher's, who collected fifty more on the coast of St. Domingo. They landed at Tortuga; and, having joined their countrymen on the island, they altogether summoned the English to withdraw. The English, disconcerted at such an unexpected and vigorous action, and not doubting but that so much haughtiness was supported by a much greater force than it really was, evacuated the island, and never returned.

THE Spaniards were not so tractable. They suffered so much from the depredations of the pirates who were daily sent out from Tortuga, that

that they thought their peace, their honour, and their interest, were equally concerned in getting that island once more in their own power. Three times they recovered it, and were three times driven out again. At last it remained in the hands of the French, in 1659, who evacuated it when they were firmly established at St. Domingo, but without giving up the property of it. The government have always draw'n from thence the woods necessary for ship-building, for the use of the artillery, and for the troops, till a rapacious minister took the island out of the hands of the treasury, in order to increase his family inheritance with it.

THEIR progress, however, was but slow; and they first attracted the attention of the mother-country in 1665. Huntsmen, indeed, and pirates were continually seen hovering about from one island to another; but the number of planters, who were properly the only colonists, was exceedingly limited. The government was sensible how necessary it was to multiply them; and the care of this difficult work was committed to a gentleman of Anjou, named Bertrand Dogeron.

THIS man, whom nature had formed to be great in himself, independent of the smiles or frowns of fortune, had served fifteen years in the marines, when he went over to America in 1656. With the best-contrived plans, he failed in his first attempts; but the fortitude he shewed in his misfortunes, made his virtues the more conspicuous; and the expedients he found out to extricate himself, heightened the opinion already entertained

The court of Versailles acknowledged these enterprising men, when they had acquired some stability, and gave them a governor.





tertained of his genius. The esteem and attachment, he had inspired the French with at St. Domingo and Tortuga, induced the government to intrust him with the care of directing, or rather of settling, that colony.

THE execution of this project was full of difficulties. It was necessary to establish the regularity of society upon the ruins of a ferocious anarchy; to subject the uncontrouled spirit of plunder to the sacred and severe authority of the laws; to revive sentiments of humanity in men hardened by the habit of crimes; to substitute the innocent instruments of agriculture to the destructive weapons of murder; to incite to a laborious life, barbarians accustomed to idleness, which is the general attendant upon rapine; to inspire violent men with patience; to induce them to prefer the tardy fruits of obstinate labour to rapid enjoyments, acquired by sudden exertions; to substitute a propensity for peace to the thirst of blood; to instill the fear of danger in the mind of him who delighted to expose himself to it, and the love of life in him who despised it; it was necessary, in a word, that men who had never respected any thing, and who had always traded freely with all nations, should be prevailed upon to respect the privileges of an exclusive company formed in 1664, for all the French settlements. When all this was effected, it then became necessary to allure, by the sweets of a well-regulated government, new inhabitants into a country which had been traduced as a bad climate,

climate, and which was not yet know'n to be so fertile as it really was.

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DOGÉRON, contrary to the general opinion, was in hopes he should succeed. A long intercourse with men he was to govern, had taught him how they were to be dealt with; and his sagacity could suggest, or his honest soul adopt no method of engaging them, but what was noble and just. The free-booters were determined to go in search of more advantageous latitudes; he detained them, by relinquishing to them that share of the booty which his post entitled him to, and by obtaining for them from Portugal commissions for attacking the Spaniards, even after they had made peace with France. This was the only method to make these men friends to their country, who otherwise would have turned enemies, rather than have renounced the hopes of plunder. The buccaneers, or huntsmen, who only wished to raise a sufficiency to erect habitations, found him ready to advance them money without interest, or to procure them some by his credit. As for the planters, whom he preferred to all the other colonists, he gave them every possible encouragement within the power of his industrious activity.

THESE happy alterations required only to be made permanent. The governor wisely considered, that women could alone perpetuate the happiness of the men, and the welfare of the colony, by promoting population. This was a natural one; but it was necessary to consider what kind of women they must have been, from whom  
such

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such pleasing effects could have been expected. Women born of honest parents, and well educated; prudent and industrious women, who would one day become good wives and affectionate mothers. The total want of one sex, in the new settlement, condemned the other to celibacy. Dogeron thought of remedying this kind of indigence, which is the most difficult of any to bear, and which plunges a man into a state of melancholy, and inspires him with a disgust for life, deprived, for him, of it's most powerful attraction. Fifty young women were sent over to him from France, and were soon disposed of at a very high price. Soon after, a like number arrived, and were obtained on still higher terms. They were sold as so many slaves, and bought as any common merchandize. It was money, and not the choice of their heart, that decided their lot. What expectations could be formed, from alliances thus contracted? And yet this was the only way to gratify the most impetuous of all passions without quarrels, and to propagate the human race without bloodshed. All the inhabitants expected to have female companions from their own country, to alleviate and to share their fate. But they were disappointed; none were afterwards sent over, except abandoned women, vile and despicable wretches, who embarked with all the vices of the mind, and the diseases of the body, that are attached to an abject condition, which they were far from being ashamed of, since they shewed not the least reluctance to engage themselves for three years in the service of

of the men. This method of loading the colony with the refuse of the mother-country, introduced such a profligacy of manners, that it became necessary to put a stop to so dangerous an expedient, but without substituting a better. By this neglect, St. Domingo lost a great many brave men, who could not live happy there, and was deprived of an increase of population, which might have proceeded from the colonists, who still preserved their attachment to the island. The colony has long felt, and, perhaps, feels to this day, the effects of so capital an error.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this error, Dogeron found means to increase the number of planters to fifteen hundred in four years time, when there were only four hundred at his first coming. His successes were daily increasing; when they were suddenly stopped, in 1670, by an insurrection, which put the whole colony in a ferment. He did not incur the least censure for this unfortunate accident, in which he certainly had no share.

WHEN this worthy man was appointed by the court of France to the government of Tortuga and St. Domingo, he could only prevail upon the inhabitants to acknowledge his authority, by giving them hopes that the ports under his jurisdiction should be open to foreigners. Yet such was the ascendent he gained over their minds, that by degrees he established in the colony the exclusive privilege of the company; which, in time, engrossed the whole trade. But this company became so elated with prosperity, as to be guilty of the injustice of selling their goods for

two-thirds more than had till then been paid to the Dutch. So destructive a monopoly revolted the inhabitants. They took up arms; and it was but a year after, that they laid them down, upon condition that all French ships should be free to trade with them, paying five per cent. to the company at coming in and going out. Dogeron, who brought about this accommodation, availed himself of that circumstance to procure ships, seemingly destined to convey his crops into Europe, but which in fact were more the property of his colonists than his own. Every one shipped his own commodities on board, allowing a moderate freight. On the return of the vessel, the generous governor caused the cargo to be exposed to public view, and every one took what he wanted, not only at prime cost, but upon trust, without interest, and even without notes of hand. Dogeron had imagined he should inspire them with sentiments of probity and greatness of soul, by taking no other security than their word. By this conduct, he exemplified how well he was acquainted with the human heart. The man whom we have degraded in his self-estimation, by mistrusting him, having nothing to lose in our minds, will not scruple to shew himself occasionally a rogue, a base villain, a traitor, an impostor, such as he really is, or even perhaps such as he is not, but such as he knows you think him to be; while the man, for whom we shall have shew'n some share of esteem, will not debase himself if he should have deserved it, and will pique himself upon his honour, if he should not. To  
impute



impute virtues or vices to men, is frequently the way to inspire them with either. In the midst of these parental offices Dogeron was cut off by death in 1675.

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MINISTERS and depositaries of the royal authority, instead of those long and useless instructions draw'n by clerks, as ignorant as they are rapacious, and sent to the persons whom you intend for the government of the colonies, who receive them with the utmost contempt; get the life of Dogeron written for their use, and let it be concluded with these words: POSSESS THE VIRTUES OF THIS MAN, AND LET YOUR CONDUCT CONFORM ITSELF TO HIS.

O DOGERON! thy neglected remains repose, perhaps, in some unknow'n part of St. Domingo, or of Tortuga. But if thy memory be extinct in those countries, if thy name, transmitted from fathers to children, be not pronounced with emotion; the descendents of those colonists, whose felicity you insured by your talents, by your disinterestedness, by your courage, by your patience, and by your labours, are ungrateful people, who do not deserve better governors than most of those who are sent to them.

DOGERON left no other inheritance than an example of patriotism, and of every humane and social virtue. Pouancey succeeded him. With the same qualifications as his uncle, he was not so great a man; because he followed his steps more from imitation, than from natural disposition. Yet the undiscerning multitude placed an equal confidence in both; and both had the honour

and happiness to establish the colony upon a firm footing, without laws and without soldiers. Their natural good sense, and their know'n integrity, determined all differences to the satisfaction of both parties; and public order was maintained by that authority which is the natural consequence of personal merit.

So wise a constitution could not be lasting; it required too much virtue to make it so. In 1684 there was so visible an alteration, that, in order to establish a due subordination at St. Domingo, two administrators were called in from Martinico, where good policy was already in a great measure settled. These legislators appointed courts of judicature in the several districts, accountable to a superior council at Little Guave. In process of time this jurisdiction growing too extensive, a like tribunal was erected in 1701, at Cape St. Francis, for the northern districts.

ALL these innovations could hardly be introduced without some opposition. It was to be feared that the hunters and pirates, who composed the bulk of the people, averse from the restraints that were going to be laid upon them, would go over to the Spaniards and to Jamaica, allured by the prospect of great advantages. The planters themselves were under some temptation of this kind, as their trade was clogged with so many restrictions, that they were forced to sell their commodities at a very low price. The former were gained by persuasions; the latter by the prospect of a change in their situation, which was truly desperate.

SKINS had been the first article of exportation from St. Domingo, as being the only things the Buccaneers brought home. Tobacco was afterwards added by culture; and it was sold to great advantage to all nations. This trade was soon confined by an exclusive company; which, indeed, was in a short time abolished, but with no advantage for the sale of tobacco, since that was farmed out. The inhabitants, hoping to meet with some indulgence from government, as a reward for their submission, offered to give the king a fourth part of all the tobacco they should send into the kingdom, free of all charge, even of freight, upon condition they should have the entire disposal of the other three-fourths. They made it appear, that this method would bring in a clearer profit to the revenue than the forty sols\* per cent. which were paid by the farmer. Private interests opposed so reasonable a proposal.

IN circumstances such as these, I am always astonished at the patience of the oppressed people. I say to myself, why do they not all assemble together at the house of the member of administration appointed to govern them, and address him in the following terms: “ We are weary of an  
“ authority which vexes us. Retire from our  
“ country, and tell the person whose representa-  
“ tive you are, that we are no rebels, be-  
“ cause no rebellion can exist unless it be against  
“ a good king, and that he is only a tyrant

\* 1 s. 8 d.

“ against whom we have a right to revolt. You  
 “ may add, that if he should be desirous of pos-  
 “ sassing a desert country he will soon be satis-  
 “ fied; for that we are all determined to perish,  
 “ rather than live any longer miserable under an  
 “ unjust government.” The colonists did not  
 give way to the suggestions of despair, but in  
 their resentment they timed their industry with  
 success to the culture of indigo and cocoa. Cot-  
 ton was a very promising article, because it had  
 in former times greatly enriched the Spaniards;  
 but they soon gave it up, for what reason is not  
 know’n; and in a few years not a single cotton  
 plant was to be seen.

TILL then the labours had all been performed  
 by hirelings, and by the poorest of the inhabit-  
 ants. Some successful expeditions against the  
 Spaniards, procured them a few Negroes. The  
 number was increased by two or three French  
 ships, and much more by prizes taken from the  
 English during the war of 1688; by an invasion  
 of Jamaica, from whence the French brought  
 away three thousand blacks, in 1694. Without  
 slaves, the culture of sugar could not be under-  
 taken; but they alone were not sufficient. Mo-  
 ney was wanting to erect buildings, and to pur-  
 chase utensils. The profit some inhabitants  
 made with the free-booters, who were always  
 successful in their expeditions, enabled them to  
 employ the slaves. They therefore undertook  
 the planting of the canes, which convey the gold  
 of Mexico to those nations whose only mines are  
 fruitful lands.

BUT

BUT the colony, which, though it had lost some of its Europeans, had still made a progress to the north and west, amidst the devastations that preceded the peace of Ryswick, was yet but little advanced to the south. This part did not reckon a hundred inhabitants, all living in huts, and all extremely wretched. The government could fix upon no better expedient, to make some advantage of so extensive and so fine a country, than to grant, in 1698, for the space of half a century, the property of it to a company, which took the name of *St. Louis*.

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A company  
is established  
for the  
southern  
part of St.  
Domingo.

THIS company engaged, under the penalty of forfeiting their charter, to form a capital of 1,200,000 livres \*, and to convey, in the course of the five first years, upon the lands granted to them, fifteen hundred white people, and two thousand five hundred Negroes, with one hundred of the former and two hundred of the latter each of the following years: they were to distribute lands to whoever should be desirous of them. Each person, according to his wants and abilities, obtained slaves that were to be paid for in three years; the men at the rate of six hundred livres †; and the women at the rate of four hundred and fifty livres ‡. The same credit was allowed for merchandize.

UPON these conditions, the charter insured to the new society the exclusive right of buying and selling throughout the whole territory assign-

\* 50,000 l.      † 25 l.      ‡ 18 l. 15 s.



ed to them, but at the prices only that were settled in the other parts of the island. Even this dependence, oppressive to the colonist, was still alleviated, by allowing him to take, where he thought proper, whatever he was left in want of, and to pay out of his provisions whatever he might have occasion to buy.

MONOPOLY, as a torrent that is lost in the abyss itself has made, works it's own ruin by it's rapaciousness. The company of St. Louis affords an instance, among many others, of the defects and abuses of exclusive associations. It was ruined by the knavery and extravagance of it's agents; nor was the territory committed to it's care the better, for all these losses. The plantations and people that were found there, when the company gave up her rights to the government in 1720, were chiefly owen to the contraband traders.

The colony of St. Domingo becomes the most flourishing settlement in the New World, notwithstanding the calamities it experiences.

It was during the long and bloody war begun on account of the Spanish succession, that this attempt had been made towards the improvement of the colony. It might have been expected to have made a speedy progress, when tranquillity was restored to both nations by the peace of Utrecht. These happy prospects were blasted by one of those calamities which it is not in the power of man to foresee. All the cocoa-trees upon the colony died in 1715. Dogeron had planted the first in 1665. In process of time they had increased; especially in the narrow valleys to the westward. There were no less than twenty thousand upon some plantations; so that, though cocoa sold for no  
more

more than five sols\* a pound, it was become a plentiful source of wealth.

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CULTIVATIONS of greater importance amply compensated this loss, when a circumstance of the most distressing nature threw the whole colony into consternation. A considerable number of its inhabitants, who had devoted twenty years labour in a burning climate, to lay up a competency to spend a comfortable old age in their native country, were returned to it, with a sufficient fortune to enable them to discharge their debts, and purchase estates. Their commodities were paid them in bank notes, which proved useless to them. This fatal calamity obliged them to return poor into an island from whence they had departed rich; and reduced them, in their old age, to solicit employment from the very people who had formerly been their servants. The sight of so many unfortunate persons inspired a general detestation for the India Company, which was considered as accountable for these calamities. This aversion, raised by mere compassion, was soon changed into a profound hatred, and not without sufficient reason.

THE French colonies, since their establishment, received their slaves from the hands of the monopoly, and consequently received but few, and at an exorbitant price. Being reduced in 1713 to the impossibility of continuing their languid operations, the company themselves made the private merchants partners in their trade, upon

\* Two pence halfpenny.

condition that they should pay 15 livres \* for every Negro they should carry to the Windward Islands, and 30 livres † for those whom they should introduce into St. Domingo. This new arrangement was followed by so great a degree of activity, that the government were at length induced to give up exclusive privileges, by granting in 1716 the Guinea trade to the ports of Rouen, of Bourdeaux, of Nantz, and of La Rochelle. It was to cost them two pistoles ‡ for every slave who should arrive in America; but the commodities which were to be acquired by the sale of these unfortunate people, were exonerated from one half of the duties to which the other productions were subject. The inhabitants were just beginning to feel the good effects of this liberty, imperfect as it was, since it was confined to four ports, when St. Domingo was condemned again to receive it's planters from the India Company, who were not even obliged to furnish them with more than two thousand every year. We cannot, indeed, determine which is the most astonishing circumstance in the course of the events relative to the New World, either the rage of the first conquerors who laid it waste, or the stupidity of the governments, which by a series of absurd regulations, seem to have proposed to themselves either to perpetuate the misery of the inhabitants, or to plunge them again into that state, whenever they entertained hopes of emerging from it.

\* 12s. 6d.      † 1l. 5s.      ‡ 16s. 8d.

IN 1722, the agents of this odious company arrived in the colony. The buildings where they transacted their business were burnt to the ground. The ships that came to them from Africa were either denied admittance into the harbour, or not suffered to dispose of their cargoes. The chief governor, who endeavoured to oppose these disturbances, saw his authority despised, and his orders disobeyed, as they were not enforced by any compulsive power: he was even put under arrest. Every part of the island resounded with the clamours of sedition, and the noise of arms. It is difficult to say how far these excesses would have been carried, had not government had the prudence to make concessions. In this one instance, the people did not suffer for the folly of their rulers; and the duke of Orleans convinced mankind, upon this occasion, that he was above the ordinary stamp of men, by avowing himself the author of a rebellion which he had excited by a defective institution, and which, under a ruler less enlightened or less moderate, would have been severely punished. After two years of trouble and confusion, the inconveniencies resulting from anarchy disposed the minds of all parties to peace, and tranquillity was restored without having recourse to violent measures.

FROM that period, no colony ever so much improved its time as that of St. Domingo. It advanced with the utmost rapidity to a prosperous state. The two unfortunate wars which annoyed its seas, have only served to compress its strength, which has increased the more since the cessation of hostilities.

hostilities. A wound is soon healed when the constitution is sound. Diseases themselves, in the state, as well as in the body, are a kind of remedies, which, by the expulsion of the vitiated humours, add new vigour to a robust habit of body. Those disorders that are fatal to either the one or the other, are such as being slow in their progress, keep them in a state of perpetual indisposition, and lead them imperceptibly to the grave. But after diseases that are acute have brought on a violent crisis, the delirium ceases and the debility goes off; and as the strength is restored, a more regular and uniform motion is established, which promises a lasting duration to the machine. So war seems to strengthen and support national spirit in many states of Europe, which might be enervated and corrupted by the prosperity of commerce, and the enjoyments of luxury. The immense losses which almost equally attend victory and defeat, excite industry, and quicken labour. Nations will recover their former splendour, provided their rulers will let them follow their own bent, and not pretend to direct their steps. This principle is peculiarly applicable to France, where nothing more is requisite to prosperity than to give a free course to the activity of the inhabitants. Wherever nature leaves them at full liberty, they succeed in giving her powers their full scope. St. Domingo affords a striking instance of what may be expected from a good soil, and an advantageous situation, in the hands of Frenchmen.



THE Southern part, which is occupied by France, extends from Pitre Point to Cape Tiburon. At the period of their conquests in the New World, the Spaniards had built upon this coast two large villages, which they forsook in less prosperous times. The vacated places were not immediately occupied by the French, who must be apprehensive of the vicinity of St. Domingo, where the chief force of that power, upon whose ruin they were rising, was concentrated. Their privateers, who commonly assembled at the little island called Vache Island, to cruize upon the Castilians, and divide their spoils, encouraged some planters to begin a small settlement upon the continent in 1673. It was soon destroyed, nor was it resumed 'till a considerable time after. The company appointed to settle and extend this colony did not fulfil their obligations. Its progress was owing to the English of Jamaica, and to the Dutch of Curassou, who having resolved to carry slaves to this place, bought up the produce of a land, which they themselves alone contributed to improve. It was not 'till 1740, that the merchants of the mother-country began to attend to this settlement. From this period they frequent this part of the colony a little, notwithstanding the winds, which often render the sailing out of this road tedious and difficult.

THE part which is to the East of all the rest is called Jaquemel. It consists of three parishes, which occupy thirty-six leagues of the coast, and run into a moderate and very unequal degree of depth. This vast space is filled up with sixty plantations

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Settlements  
formed in  
the southern  
part of St.  
Domingo.

plantations of coffee, sixty-two of indigo, and sixty of cotton. Most of their planters are poor, and can never grow very rich. A soil, which is in general full of hills, stony, and exposed to droughts, prevents them from aspiring to wealth. This can only be done by those who divide the plain of Jaquemel. There are twenty very spacious habitations, of which ten only are watered, though they be all susceptible of this advantage. It is there, that in an exhausted soil, indigo, which would require a virgin soil, is cultivated. When hands, and other means for carrying on an extensive culture, shall no longer be wanting, sugar will be substituted to it, which succeeds as well as can be desired, in the only plantation where the colonists have begun to cultivate it.

AQUIN hath an extent of fifteen leagues along the borders of the sea, and of three, four, and sometimes six leagues in the inland parts. This settlement reckons forty plantations of indigo, twenty of coffee, and nine of cotton. It's mountains, less elevated than those which are contiguous to them, on that account enjoy only the benefit of a few springs, and a small quantity of rain, and promise nothing but great abundance of cotton, which will undoubtedly be one day required of them. With regard to it's plains, they were formerly in a flourishing state; but the droughts, which have gradually increased in proportion as the country hath been cleared, have diminished more and more the quality of the indigo, which constituted all the riches of the colony.

This plant, which leaves the ground almost habitually exposed to the heat of a burning sun, should be replaced by fugar, which would keep the earth covered for eighteen months together, and will preserve in it for a long time the smallest degree of moisture. Four of the most wealthy inhabitants have already made this change in their plantations. The nature of the soil will allow twenty-five colonists to follow their example, and they will no doubt resolve upon it, when they shall have acquired the means sufficient for that purpose, and when the waters of the river Serpente shall have been prudently distributed. In the present state of things, all the productions of that district are collected in one town only, which is far advanced in the inland parts. The impossibility of conveying them to the coast in the rainy seasons, and the unavoidable expences of the carriage, even in the most favourable times, had suggested the idea of forming this staple upon the borders of a deep bay, where the commodities are shipped: but this situation doth not afford one acre of ground fit for cultivation; there is no sweet water to be found in it, and the stagnating waters of the sea corrupt the air. These reasons have caused this project to be laid aside, for its inconveniences would be greater than the advantages derived from it.

ST. LEWIS is a kind of town, which, though built at the beginning of the century, hath no more than fifty houses. The forming of this settlement was determined upon, on account of an exceeding good harbour, even for ships of the line.

line. Considerable fortifications were erected upon a small island, situated at the entrance of the harbour, which were destroyed by the English in 1748, and have never since been restored. The territory of this district extends five or six leagues along the coast. It's mountains, covered with acacia wood, are most of them susceptible of culture. It's plain, which is uneven, hath some fertile spots upon it, and it's numerous morasses might be dried up. There are no more than twenty plantations of coffee, fifteen of indigo, six of cotton, and two of sugar here. This last production would succeed in ten or twelve plantations, especially if they were watered by the river St. Lewis, which, it is thought, they might easily be.

CAVAILLON doth not occupy more than three leagues upon the borders of the ocean. This is a long neck of land, which extends eight or nine leagues up the country. It is divided by a large river, which, in times of heavy rains, unfortunately overflows to a considerable distance, and occasions great ravages. At the distance of two leagues from it's mouth is a small town, where the vessels arrive, and where they take in the productions, which are furnished by twenty plantations of coffee, ten of indigo, six of cotton, and seventeen of sugar. The number of the last might be doubled with facility, in a plain which hath five or six thousand squares in extent; but the three most flourishing of those which exist, have scarce yielded half of what they might produce, and the others only yield a trifling produce, and of a bad quality. The mountains, though

though covered with an excellent soil, do not compensate for this deficiency. The districts granted by government will remain uncultivated, 'till roads shall have been made for the conveyance of the productions. This undertaking, which is beyond the means of the inhabitants, ought to be executed by the troops. Idleness, and infectious morasses, have hitherto deprived the soldiers of their industry, and have made them perish upon the banks of the sea. The freshness of elevated places, the wholesome air which is breathed there, a moderate share of labour, and the easy circumstances which it would be proper they should enjoy ; in a word, all these concurring causes, would they not maintain them in their natural strength ? would they not insure their preservation ?

THE plain at the bottom of Vache Island contains twenty-five thousand squares, of a soil which is excellent every where, except in some parts that have been covered with gravel by the torrents, and a few morasses, which might be easily dried up. There have been successively formed here, eighty-three sugar plantations, and there might still be fifty more established. Those which exist have scarce more than one third of their territory cultivated, and yet they yield an immense quantity of raw sugar. From this we may judge how much the whole of the grounds would furnish, if they were properly cultivated. One might depend upon a produce so much the more regular, as the rains do not fail so often in this district as in the others, and as there are



three rivers running through it, which offer themselves, as it were, for the watering of all the plantations.

THE sugar and the indigo which grow in the plain, the coffee and the cotton, which descend from the mountains, are all carried to the town of Cayes, formed by near four hundred houses, which are all built in a marshy territory, and are most of them surrounded with stagnant waters. The air which is breathed in that place is equally deficient in elasticity as in salubrity.

THIS staple seems to have been placed, as it were, fortuitously, in the bottom of a shallow bay, which grows more and more so, and has but three channels. The anchorage is so confined, and so dangerous during the equinox, that ships which happen to be there at that season, are frequently lost. The great quantity of mud brought thither by the waters of a torrent on the south side, has increased to such a degree, that in twenty years time there will be no entrance. The canal, formed by the vicinity of Vache Island, is of no use, and only obstructs the navigation. The creeks in this place are the resort of the privateers of Jamaica. As they cruize there without fails, and can observe without being seen, they always have the advantage of the wind over such vessels as are hindered by the violence and constant struggle of the winds, from passing above the island. If it were possible that any men of war could put into this bad harbour, the impossibility of surmounting this obstacle and that of the currents, in order to get to windward of  
the

the island, would oblige them to follow the track of merchant ships. Doubling, therefore, one after another, the point of Labacou, on account of the shoals, these ships would get between the land and the enemy's fire, with the disadvantage of the wind, and would infallibly be destroyed by an inferior squadron.

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XIII.

THE town of Cayes is not better than it's harbour. It contains 280 houses, all sunk into swampy ground, and most of them surrounded with stagnant water. The air of this spot is foul and unwholesome; and on this account, as well as the badness of the harbour, it has often been wished by the court of Versailles, that the trade with the mother-country could be transferred to St. Lewis. But the efforts that have been made to effect this, have hitherto been unsuccessful; and will for ever be so; because it is reasonable to suppose, that exchanges will always be established on that spot where the productions are most plentiful, and where the consumption is greatest. To pretend to thwart this order of things prescribed by nature, would be to retard to no purpose the progress of a good settlement. Even the caprices of industry should be indulged by government. The least uneasiness in the trader creates distrust. Political and military reasonings will never prevail against those of interest. Trade only flourishes in a soil of it's own chusing. It is alarmed at every kind of restraint.

ALL that the French ministry could reasonably propose, would be to withdraw the tribunals from St. Lewis, which neither is, nor ever will be of

any consequence, in order to transfer them to Cayes, where the population and the productions, which are already considerable, must increase greatly; to dig a bed for a torrent, the violent overflowings of which frequently occasion inexpressible ravages; and to fortify, and render the town more wholesome. Both might be effected, by digging a ditch all round the town, and the rubbish would serve to fill up the marshes within. The ground being raised higher by this contrivance, would consequently grow drier; the water, which would be brought down by a gentle descent from the river into this deep ditch, would, by the assistance of some fortifications, secure the town from the attacks of the privateers; and would even afford a temporary defence, and allow time to capitulate with a small squadron.

GREATER improvements might and ought to be made. Why not allow a factitious harbour to an important mart, which will soon be stopped? The merchant ships that seek shelter in what is called the Flemish Bay, two leagues to windward of Cayes, seem to point out this spot as the harbour that this town stands in need of. It would contain a considerable number of men of war, safe from all winds; would afford them several careening places; would admit of their doubling the Vache Island to windward, and enable them to carry on with the town, along-side the coast, an intercourse, which, being protected by batteries properly disposed, would keep the privateers in awe. The only inconvenience is, that  
the

the ship-worm is more apt to injure the vessel in this place than in other parts, on account of the nature of the bottom, and the calmness of the sea.

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ABACOU is a peninsula, which was formerly in a flourishing state, on account of the abundance and the quality of it's indigo. But since this voracious plant hath destroyed every principle of vegetation upon the numerous little hillocks of that place, it is no where cultivated with any success but upon the borders of the sea, which are enriched with the spoils of the upper grounds. This decrease hath determined a certain number of colonists to transfer their industry to other parts. Those who, either from habit or reason, have persevered in remaining on their plantations, have enlarged them as much as they have found it convenient. They still maintain themselves by suffering part of their grounds to lie fallow, while the other part is cultivated. But this resource is not equal to what it would be in Europe. This is the opinion of the inhabitants themselves, who direct their industry towards the culture of sugar, as much as their fortune and their credit will allow them.

It is upon the cultivated and exhausted heights of this quarter, that it would be proper to breed cattle. Government were in an error, when they ceded the mountains, upon condition that they should be covered with horned cattle. Besides that a virgin soil could not be reasonably employed in pasture ground, as it might be rendered more productive to the state; it was impossible to

expect that enterprizing men would make themselves shepherds, when they could derive greater advantages from their grounds, in whatever culture they might employ them. It may even be affirmed, that the cattle will always be infinitely scarce at San Domingo, even in these places which cannot be employed for any other purpose, as long as the monopoly of slaughter-houses shall subsist in the colony.

COTEAUX occupies about ten leagues of the shore, and is from two to five leagues in depth. Small creeks are every where found, where it is easy to land; but none of them offer a secure shelter in rough weather. This quarter contains twenty-four plantations of coffee, three of cotton, and sixty-six of indigo. This last production hath less decreased in quantity, and less degenerated in quality, at this place, than any where else; advantages which must be attributed to the nature and to the disposition of the territory. The time, however, doth not seem far distant, when the borders of the sea will display fourteen or fifteen sugar plantations, formed upon the ruins of the antient cultures. Habit, and the facility of obtaining slaves by contraband connections, will facilitate this revolution.

TIBURON, which hath ten leagues of extent upon the borders of the sea, and two, three, or four in the inland parts, terminates this coast. The road of this cape doth not offer a sufficient shelter against storms; but well-disposed batteries may render it a place of retreat for the French vessels,



vessels, which are pursued in time of war in these latitudes. This settlement hath four habitations for cotton, thirty for indigo, and thirty-seven for coffee. Four sugar plantations have been established there since the peace, and their number may be increased to sixteen.

B O O K  
XIII.

Means by which the cultures of the southern part of the colony might be improved.

ALL the settlements which we have just taken a review of, languish in a state of greater or less misery. Accordingly, the sales and the purchases are not made there with metals as in the northern or eastern part of the colony. On the southern, the merchandize of Europe is exchanged for the productions of America. This savage practice occasions eternal discussions, innumerable frauds, and ruinous delays, which keep off the navigators, those especially who carry on the slave trade.

IT is a fact, which is but too well proved, that the annual loss of Negroes amounts naturally to one twentieth part of them, and that accidents carry off a fifteenth part. From this circumstance it follows, that the country we are speaking of, and in which upwards of forty thousand slaves are collected, must have seen five and twenty thousand of them die in ten years time. Eight thousand one hundred and thirty-four Africans, who have been introduced by French privateers from 1763 to 1773, have not certainly been able to fill up this great void. What would then have been the fate of those settlements if the smuggling trade had not supplied the deficiency? But this is not the whole.

THE southern part of St. Domingo hath a great disadvantage. The mountains that command it, deprive it, as well as the western coast, during the space of about six months of the rains of the north and the north-east, which fertilise the northern parts of the country. It will then remain untilled or be ill cultivated, till the waters of the rivers shall have supplied the place of those from the sky. This operation, which would increase the productions by two-thirds, requires a vast capital and a great number of slaves. The trade of France, whether from inability or mistrust doth not furnish them.

WHAT measures ought government to pursue? They should lay open that part of the colony for the space of ten or fifteen years, freely to all foreigners. The English would carry Negroes to it, and the Dutch would advance money at an interest, which might very well be sustained by the cultures of the New World. The success of this step would be infallible, if laws were made which should give a proper degree of validity to the credit of the two nations.

Settlements  
formed to  
the west of  
St. Domin-  
go.

THE western part of the colony differs greatly from the southern. The first settlement, of any consequence, which is found there, is that of Jeremiah, or the Great Bay. It occupies twenty leagues of coast, from Cape Tiburon to Petit-trou, and extends from four to six leagues in the inland parts. As this district is still an infant settlement, the borders of the sea only are inhabited, and these even very little. All the productions, however, which enrich the rest of the

the island are cultivated here. There is also one production which is peculiar to it, and this is cacao, which could not succeed in more open places; and one hundred thousand pounds weight are annually gathered. The staple is a small town agreeably built and situated upon an eminence, where the air is exceedingly wholesome. It must in time become a considerable mart. Unfortunately it hath got a bad harbour; whenever the north winds blow with any degree of violence, the ships are obliged either to take refuge at *Cape Dame Marie*, where no measures have been taken to protect them, or to seek for the island of *Caymites*, which is exposed to the inroads of the pirates.

THE little *Guave* was formerly in great reputation, which was owing to its harbour, where ships of all sizes found an excellent anchorage, conveniencies for refitting, and a shelter from all winds. It was an asylum the most convenient for adventurers, whose only design was to appropriate to themselves the spoils of the Spanish navigators. This place hath lost much of its celebrity since cultures have succeeded to piracy; it owes the small degree of consideration it still retains to the richness of its territorial productions, which are limited to fifteen plantations of sugar, twenty of coffee, and twelve of indigo or cotton; and still more to the produce of twenty-four plantations of sugar, fifty of indigo, sixty-seven of coffee, and thirty-four of cotton, which are poured into its staple from the parishes of *Petit-Trou*, *Lance-à-Veaux*, *St. Michel*, and the Great *Guave*.

Guave. It is unhealthy, and will always be so, till a slope hath been made for the river Abaret, the stagnant waters of which form infectious morasses.

THE dependencies of Leogane have some degree of extent, twenty habitations are reckoned among them destined for indigo, forty for coffee, ten for cotton, and fifty-two for sugar. Before the earthquake of 1770, which destroyed every thing; the town had fifteen regular built streets, and four hundred houses of stone, which are at present only built of wood. Its position, which is upon a narrow, fertile, and well watered plain, would be excellent, if a navigable canal were made to open an easy communication with its harbour, which is no more than a mile distant.

IF it were adviseable to have a fortified town on the western coast, undoubtedly Leogane would claim the preference. It stands upon plain ground, is not commanded by any eminence, nor can it be annoyed by any ships. But to secure it from being surpris'd, it should at least have been surrounded with a deep ditch, which might easily be filled with water without the least expence. This might have been effected at a much more reasonable rate than the works which have been begun at Port-au-Prince.

THE western part of the island was the first that was cultivated by the French, that being at the greatest distance from the Spanish forces, which they had then reason to fear. This being in the center of the coasts that belonged to them, the seat of government was fixed there. It was  
first

first settled at the little Guave, hath been since transferred to Leogane, and hath at last been fixed at Port-au-Prince in 1750.

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THE territory of this district contains forty plantations of sugar, fifty of coffee, and fifteen of cotton. This produce is increased by several still more considerable, which arise from the rich plains of the Cul-de-Sac, of the Arcahaye, and of the mountains of Mirbalais. In this point of view, Port-au-Prince is an important staple, to which a protection ought to be granted sufficient to prevent any surprize, and to secure the retreat of the citizens. But let us consider whether it was proper to concentrate in this spot the civil and military authority, the tribunals, the troops, the ammunition, the provisions, and the arsenals; every thing, in a word, which contributes to the support of a great colony.

THE place that was made choice of for the intended capital, is an opening about 1400 toises long in a direct line, and commanded on both sides. Two harbours, formed by some islets, have afforded a pretence for this injudicious choice. The harbour intended for trading vessels being now almost filled up, can no longer admit men of war with safety; and the great harbour designed for these, being as unwholesome as the other, from the exhalations of the small islands, neither is nor can be defended by any thing against a superior enemy.

A SMALL squadron might even block up a stronger one in so unfavourable a position. Goave, which divides the bay in two, would leave  
a free



a free and safe passage for the smaller squadron; the sea winds would prevent the other squadron from getting up to it; the land winds, by facilitating the exit of the enemy's ships from the harbour, would leave them the choice of retreating through either of the outlets of St. Mark and Leogane; and all other circumstances being equal, they would always have the advantage of keeping Gonave between them and the French squadron.

BUT what would be the consequence if the French squadron should prove the weakest? Disabled and pursued, it could never gain a shelter that runs so deep into land as Port-au-Prince, before the conqueror had taken advantage of its defeat. If the disabled ships should reach the place, nothing could hinder the enemy from pursuing them almost in a line, and even from entering the king's harbour, where they would take refuge.

THE best of all stations for a cruize is that where one may chuse whether one will accept or decline the fight, where there is but a small space to guard, where the whole may be viewed from one central point, where a safe anchorage may be found at every tack, where one may be concealed without going far, procure wood and water at pleasure, and sail in open seas, in which there is nothing to fear but from squalls. These are the advantages that an enemy's squadron will always have over the French ships at anchor in Port-au-Prince. A single frigate might safely come and bid them defiance, and be sufficient to intercept

intercept any trading ships that should attempt to go in or out without a convoy.

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NEVERTHELESS, a harbour so unfavourable as this, hath determined the building of the town. It extends along the sea-shore the space of 1200 toises, that is, nearly along the opening which the sea has made in the center of the western coast. In this great extent, which runs in to the depth of 550 toises, are, as it were lost, 558 houses or dwelling-places, dispersed in 29 streets. The drainings of the torrents that fall from the hills, render this place always damp, without supplying it with good water. Add to all this, the little security there is in a place commanded on the land side, and on the sea side easy of access in all parts. Even the small islands which divide the harbours would be so far from defending the town from an invasion, that they would only serve to cover the landing.

SUCH is the spot, which on account of private interests, hath been unfortunately chosen to build the capital of St. Domingo upon. It hath been entirely destroyed by an earthquake which happened in 1770. This was the time to have brought about an alteration, and there was the more reason to expect it, as there is the greatest probability that the new town is built upon the cavern of the volcano. But these hopes were frustrated, the private houses and the public edifices have all been rebuilt.

SLEEP on then, thou senseless inhabitant of St. Domingo, since thou art so intrepid; sleep on, upon the slight and thin layer of earth which parts thee

thee from the gulph of fire that burns under thy pillow. Remain ignorant of the danger with which thou art threatened, since thy apprehensions would tend only to embitter every instant of thy life, without preserving thee from it.—Consider not how much thine existence is precarious. Be not informed, that it depends upon the casual fall of a stream, or upon the infiltration already perhaps far advanced, of the small quantity of waters by which thou art surrounded in the subterranean cauldron, which thy habitation hath been doomed to cover. If thou shouldst emerge from thy stupidity only for an instant, what would become of thee! Thou wouldst behold death moving under thy feet. The hollow found of the torrents of sulphur expanded, would continually assail thine ears. Thou wouldst feel the oscillation of the layer of earth that supports thee. Thou wouldst hear it open with tumultuous noise. Thou wouldst fly from thy house and run distractedly about the streets. Thou wouldst think that the walls of thy dwelling, and that all the edifices were shaking, and that thou wert going to descend in the midst of their ruins into the gulph which is prepared, if not for thee, at least for thy unfortunate posterity. The completion of the disaster that awaits them will be shorter than my account of it. But if there exist a justice to avenge great crimes; if there be an infernal region, it is there, I trust, that the villains, who, blinded by views of self-interest, have imposed upon the throne, and whose fatal councils have raised this monument of ignorance and stupidity upon

upon which thou dwellest; and which hath perhaps but an instant of duration; it is there that they will go, and groan perpetually in unextinguishable flames.

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ST. MARC, which hath only two hundred houses, but pleasantly built, is situated at the bottom of a bay, which is crowned with a crescent of little hills filled with freestone. Two rivulets run through the town, and it's air is pure. There are to be found upon it's territory no more than ten plantations of sugar, thirty-two of indigo, one hundred of coffee, and seventy-two of cotton. It's harbour, however, though a bad one, attracts a great number of navigators, and it is indebted for this advantage to the riches of the Artibonite.

THIS is an exceeding good plain, fifteen leagues in length, and of unequal breadth, from four to nine leagues; it is divided into two parts by the river from which it takes it's name, and which flows with rapidity along the highest part of the plain, after having run through some of the Spanish possessions and the country of Mirbalais. The elevation of these waters hath suggested the idea of dividing them, the possibility of doing which hath been geometrically demonstrated. So great is the power of enlightened nations over nature itself; but a project founded on the basis of mathematical knowlege, requires the utmost caution in the execution.

IN the present state of things, the plantations formed upon the right shore are exposed to frequent droughts, which often disappoint the best grounded

grounded expectations. Those of the left shore, which are evidently placed much lower, are well watered, and have risen by this advantage to the highest perfection in their cultures. The proprietors of the former hasten the spreading of the waters, which is guarded against by the latter, who are apprehensive of seeing their grounds overflowed.

IF, as it is generally understood, these are effectual methods to render one part fertile, without reducing the other part to barrenness, why should this operation be postponed, by which an increase of ten or twelve millions weight of sugar might be obtained? This increase would be still more considerable, if a method could be devised to drain that part of the coast which is overflowed by the waters of the Artibonite. Thus it is, that the civilized man, by changing the course of rivers, makes the earth subservient to his use. The fertility he imparts to the lands can only justify his conquests; if indeed art and labour, laws and virtues, may be allowed in process of time to atone for the injustice of invasion.

THE territory of the Gonaves is flat, tolerably even, and very dry; it hath two plantations of sugar, ten of coffee, six of indigo, and thirty of cotton; this last production might be easily multiplied, upon a great extent of sand, which at present doth not appear proper for any other kind of culture. But should the waters of the Artibonite be ever prudently distributed, a considerable part of this large district would be covered with sugar canes. It would then be perceived, that  
the



the seat of government ought to have been placed in it's port, which is excellent, and might be easily fortified. Another advantage which must necessarily add to the value of this country, is, that mineral waters are to be found there. They were neglected for a long while, in a colony which is always full of sick persons or convalescents; but at length in 1772, baths and fountains, commodious habitations, and an hospital for soldiers and sailors were built there.

THE colonies present us with some contradictory phænomena which it is impossible to deny, and which it is difficult to conciliate.

THERE can scarce be a doubt, but that we hold the productions of the colonies in high estimation. Why therefore do we concern ourselves so little about the prosperity and the preservation of the colonists? If the violence of a hurricane shall have buried thousands of unfortunate people under the ruins of their dwellings, and shall have laid waste their possessions; this is an event which takes up our attention less than a duel fought, or an assassination committed at home. Should a vast country of the distant continent continue to be ravaged by some epidemical disease, we talk of the matter at home with more coolness, than of the uncertain return of the small-pox after inoculation. If the horrors of famine should reduce the inhabitants of St. Domingo, or of Martinico, to seek for their food in the country, or to devour one another, we are less concerned at such a catastrophe than at the calamity of a hail storm, that should have destroyed the harvest in some one of

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Reflections upon the little concern which the mother-country and the colonies have for each other.

our villages. It is natural enough to think, that this indifference is the effect of distance, and that the colonists are not more affected with our misfortunes than we are with their's.

BUT it will be said, that our towns are contiguous to our country places, and that we have the misery of their inhabitants incessantly in our view. We are not the less desirous of plentiful harvests of all kinds from them, and yet it is scarce possible, that there should be a greater neglect shew'n for the encouragement, the multiplication, and the preservation of the husbandmen. From whence can this surprizing contradiction arise? It must be, that we are mad respecting the manner in which we treat our colonists, and both inhuman and mad in our conduct with our farmers, since both at home and at a distance we require the same things; and that yet we will not adopt the means of procuring them in either of those places.

BUT how doth it happen, that this inconsistency of the people should likewise extend to the government? It is because there is, according to all appearances, a greater spirit of jealousy than of true interest, either in the acquisition or the preservation of this species of distant property; it is because the sovereigns scarce reckon the colonists as among the number of their subjects. I shall not scruple to declare, since it is my opinion, that an irruption of the sea, which should swallow up this portion of their domain, would affect them less than the loss of it from the invasion of a rival power. They care very little whether these men  
live

live or die, provided they do not belong to any one else.

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I SHALL therefore first address myself to the sovereigns, and I shall tell them: either leave these men to their fate, or assist them; I shall then address myself to the colonists, and I shall say: implore the assistance of the mother-country, to which you are subject; and if you should experience a denial, break off your connections with it. It is too much to be obliged to support at once misery, indifference, and slavery.

BUT wherefore are the colonies worse regulated, and more unhappy still, under those powers to whose strength and splendour they are the most necessary? It is because those powers are still more absurd than we are; and being commercial states the spirit of their administration is still more cruel. It is because in imitation of the farmer, who is not certain of enjoying a new lease, they exhaust a land, which from one year to another may pass into the hands of a new possessor. When the provinces of a state are contiguous, those that are nearest the frontiers are treated with most management. It is directly contrary with the colonies. They are oppressed, from the sole apprehension, that in circumstances of a perilous nature the care that might have been bestowed upon them should be entirely throw'n away.

THE western part of the colony is separated from the northern part by the Mole of St. Nicholas, which lies on both coasts. At the head of the cape is a good, safe, and commodious harbour. It stands directly opposite to Point Maizi,

Settlements  
formed to  
the north of  
St. Domin-  
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in the island of Cuba, and seems naturally destined, by this position, to become the most important port in all America for the convenience of navigation. The opening of the bay is 1450. toises broad. The road leads to the harbour, and the harbour to the basin. All this great recess is wholesome, though the waters of the sea are almost in a state of stagnation there. The basin, which seems as if made for the purpose of careening, has not the inconvenience of close harbours: it is open to the West and North winds; and yet, if they blow ever so hard, they can never interrupt or retard any work that is done in the port. The peninsula where the harbour is situated, rises gradually to the plains, which stand upon a very large basis; it seems, as it were, a single mountain, with a broad and flat top, descending with a gentle slope to unite with the rest of the island.

THE Mole of St. Nicolas was long neglected by the inhabitants of St. Domingo. The bare hills and flat rocks it abounded with, afforded nothing worth their notice. The use which the English made of it during the last war, has rendered it of some kind of consequence. The French ministry, enlightened even by their enemies, settled in 1767 a staple there, where foreign navigators might freely barter the wood and cattle, of which the colony was in want, for its molasses and brandy, which were rejected by the mother-country. This communication, which, by a reasonable toleration, and industrious smuggling, hath been extended to several other objects,

jects, gave birth to a town, which at present consists of three hundred wooden houses, brought ready built from New England.

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At some distance from the port, but still within the district of the mole, is the town of Bombardopolis. The Acadians, and Germans, who had been carried there in 1763, perished at first with astonishing rapidity. This is constantly the fate that attends all new settlements between the Tropics. The few of these unfortunate people that have outlived the fatal effects of the climate, and those of disappointment and poverty, were wishing only to quit this barren soil, when the transactions carried on in their neighbourhood, revived, in some measure, their hopes. They cultivate provisions, fruits, and vegetables; which they sell to the ships, or to the inhabitants of the port, and even a small quantity of coffee and cotton for Europe.

THE next settlement on the North coast, after the mole of St. Nicolas, is called Port Paix. It owed its origin to the neighbourhood of Tortuga, whose inhabitants took refuge there when they forsook that island. The grounds were cleared so early, that this is one of the healthiest spots in St. Domingo, and has long since attained the utmost degree of riches and population it is capable of; but these are not very considerable, though industry has been carried so far as even to pierce through mountains for the conveyance of water to moisten the grounds. Port Paix is on all sides so difficult of access, that it is in a manner cut off from the rest of the colony.



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THE little Saint Louis, the Borgne, Port Margot, Limbé, and Laçul, have likewise no communication with each other. These places are divided by rivers, which overflow and ravage the best lands. Accordingly, they are in general too cold for sugar-canes to thrive in them. The waters of these torrents ought to be confined in large and deep beds. After these labours are finished, it would be an easy matter to construct bridges, which would draw the inhabitants nearer together, would enable them to communicate their improvements to each other, and would make them enjoy the advantages of a better regulated society. The plantations in indigo would then be improved, and those of sugar would be multiplied, while the coffee would not be forsaken; this plant is considered as the best of the kind in the colony. Limbé alone collects two millions weight of it, as good as that of Martinico.

Great importance of the town of Cape St. Francis, situated upon the northern coast of St. Domingo.

THIS is very little, if indeed it be any thing, in comparison of the productions of the plain of the Cape, which is twenty leagues in length, and about four in breadth. Few lands are better watered; but there is not a river where a sloop can go up above three miles. All this great space is intersected with straight roads forty feet wide, and planted on both sides with hedges of citron trees. These roads would have been perfect in their kind, had they been ornamented with tall trees, which would have afforded a delightful shade for travellers, and prevented that scarcity of wood which this district already begins to feel. This is the country of America which produces

produces the greatest quantity of sugar, and of the best sort. The plain is terminated by a ridge of mountains, which varies in depth from four to eight leagues. Few of them are very high; several of them may be cultivated to the very summit, and they are all intersected at intervals with an infinite number of plantations of coffee, and some exceeding fine plantations of indigo.

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ALTHOUGH the French had been early acquainted with the value of a territory, the fertility of which surpasses all that can be said of it, yet they did not begin to cultivate it till 1770, the time when their apprehensions of the Spaniards, who till then had remained in force in the neighbourhood were dissipated. A Calvinist, named Gobin, one of those whom the spirit of intoleration in religious matters began to drive out from their native country, went and reared the first habitation at this cape. More houses were built as the grounds were cleared. This settlement had already made such progress in the space of twenty years, as to excite the jealousy of the English. They joined their forces with those of Spain, and, attacking it both by land and sea, in 1695, they took, plundered, and reduced it to ashes.

A GREAT advantage might have been made of this misfortune. Interest, which is the primary founder of all colonies, had induced the inhabitants to chuse, in a harbour that is three leagues in circumference, the foot of a hill for the portion of the cape, because it was the place that lay most convenient for the anchorage. A situation

more wholesome, more convenient, and more spacious, might have been chosen. This was not attended to; but the town was rebuilt, where it ought never to have been built, in a bottom, where the rays of the sun are rendered more scorching by the reflection of the mountains; and which never can be refreshed by the coolness of the land breezes. Yet such is the richness of the adjacent country, that this settlement hath continually increased.

THE Cape is now cut by twenty-nine straight streets, into 225 clusters of houses, which amount to 900; but these streets are too narrow, and having no slope, though the soil itself be prominent in the center, are always dirty; for, as they are paved only in the middle, the kennels, which are not even on each side, gather into puddles and common shores, instead of draining off the waters.

THE old square of Notre-Dame, and the church built with stones brought from Europe that terminates it; the new square of Clugny, where the market hath been fixt; the fountains that embellish both of these monuments; the governor's house, the barracks, the theatre; none of these public edifices, in a word, would attract the notice of the curious traveller, who should have any idea of the principles of architecture. But if nature had endowed him with sensibility, his heart would expand at the bare mention of the house called *La Providence*.

MOST of the adventurers who first come into the colony, are destitute of resources and talents,  
and

and before they have acquired industry to procure subsistence, become subject to disorders that are often fatal. A humane and generous citizen, founded at the cape two habitations for these helpless and distressed persons, where the men and the women are severally provided with every thing they want. This fine institution, the only one of the kind in the New World, and which would never have been sufficiently supported by authority, nor sufficiently enriched by the gifts of the citizens, had seen it's revenues gradually decrease by the dishonesty of those who administered them, and by the neglect of government.

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Is it then impossible, that any good institution should subsist among mankind? Will the rich still continue to attack the poor, even in their asylum, if the presence of the gallows doth not restrain them? Infamous wretches! ye know not all the atrociousness of your conduct; if one of your fellow creatures were brought before you, convicted of having seized upon a passenger in the night time, and of having presented a pistol to his breast in order to get his purse, to what kind of punishment would you sentence him? Be it what it may, you deserve still a greater one. You unite baseness, inhumanity, and prevarication to the theft; and to what species of theft: you take from him, who is dying with hunger, the bread that has been intrusted to you for his use. You strip misery itself abandoned to your care, and you do it clandestinely and without risk. The imprecation which I am going to thunder out against you, I extend it to all the dishonest

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honest directors of hospitals, of whatsoever countries they may be, even of my own; I extend it to all negligent ministers, from whom they shall conceal the knowledge of their crimes, or who shall overlook them. May the ignominy, may the punishments reserved for the vilest malefactors fall upon the proscribed head of villains, who are capable of so enormous a crime against humanity, and of a flagitious act so contrary to good policy; and if it should happen, that they should escape from infamy and from punishment, may the ministry, who have been ignorant of such an excess of corruption, or who have tolerated it, become an object of execration among all nations and in all ages.

NOTWITHSTANDING the confusion into which the houses of Providence, so famous for the preservation of the human species are fallen, there are still proportionally a less number of people who die at the Cape than in any other of the maritime towns of the colony. This advantage must be attributed to the circumstance of the whole territory being cultivated, to the filling up of the neighbouring foughs, to dissipation, to the conveniencies of life, to industry, and to succours of all kinds, which are found united in a numerous and active society. The air will acquire all the salubrity which the nature of things will allow, when the morasses of the little bay shall have been dried, which diffuse, in very dry seasons, an infectious odour.

THE harbour is worthy of the town; and it is admirably well adapted to admit the ships that  
come



come from Europe, which may anchor here with convenience and safety, of whatever size they may be. It lies open to none but the north-east wind, and cannot even be hurt by this, the entrance being full of reefs, which break the violence of the waves.

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IT is into this famous staple that more than one half of the productions of the colony are conveyed. They are brought from the mountains and from the vallies, but principally from the plains. The parishes which furnish the most important of them are know'n by the names of the North Plain, the Little Bay, the Great River, the Morin; the Lemonade, the Terrier Rouge, Fort Dauphin, and Ouanaminthe, which terminates at the river Massacre. The district Morin, and the Islet of Lemonade, are much superior to the other settlements, both in the quantity and quality of their sugars.

ALL the productions of St. Domingo, amounted, in 1720, to no more than one million four hundred thousand weight of raw sugar, to one million four hundred thousand pounds of earthen sugar, and to one million two hundred thousand pounds of indigo. These productions have had a prodigious and rapid increase. Towards 1737, cotton and coffee were added to them. Even the culture of cacao hath been revived, though somewhat later.

Nature, and quantity of the productions, which France annually receives from it's colony of St. Domingo.

IN 1775, France received from this colony, upon three hundred and fifty-three ships, one million two hundred and thirty thousand six hundred and seventy-three quintals, seventy pounds  
of

of sugar, which were worth 44,738,139 livres, 2 fols, 2 deniers \*; four hundred and fifty-nine thousand three hundred and thirty-nine quintals, forty-one pounds of coffee, which were worth 21,818,621 livres 19 fols 6 deniers †; eighteen thousand eighty quintals, twenty-nine pounds of indigo, which were worth 15,373,346 livres 10 fols ‡; five thousand seven hundred eighty-seven quintals, sixty-four pounds of cacao, which were worth 405,134 livres 16 fols §; five hundred and eighteen quintals sixty-one pounds of arnotto, which were worth 32,663 livres 2 fols 6 deniers ||, twenty-six thousand eight hundred and ninety-two quintals, eighty two pounds of cotton, which were worth 6,723,205 livres ¶; fourteen thousand one hundred and twenty-four hides, which were worth 164,657 livres \*\*; forty-three quintals forty-six pounds of rope yarn, which were worth 43,460 livres ††; ninety quintals nineteen pounds of black cassia, which were worth 2,435 livres ††† deniers †††; ninety-two thousand seven hundred and forty-six quintals ninety-two pounds of wood, which were worth 908,368 livres 3 fols 8 deniers §§; and in small productions, some of which belonged to the other colonies 1,352,148 livres |||, and in money, 2,600,000 livres ¶¶. The total

\* About 1,864,089 l. 2 s. 7 d.

† 909,109 l. 4 s. 11  $\frac{3}{4}$  d.

‡ 640,556 l. 2 s. 1 d.

§ 16,880 l. 12 s. 4 d.

|| 1,360 l. 19 s. 3  $\frac{3}{4}$  d.

¶ 280,133 l. 10 s. 10 d.

\*\* 6,860 l. 14 s. 2 d.

†† 1,810 l. 16 s. 8 d.

†† About 101 l. 9 s. 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  d.§§ About 37,848 l. 13 s. 5  $\frac{1}{2}$  d.

||| 56,339 l. 10 s.

¶¶ 108,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

of all these sums produces an income of 94,162,178 livres 16 sols 9 deniers\*.

If to the 94,162,178 livres 16 sols 9 deniers †, the produce of San Domingo, be added the 488,598 livres 3 sols 3 deniers ‡, produced by Cayenne; the 18,975,974 livres 1 sol 10 deniers §, produced by Martinico; and the 12,751,404 livres 16 sols 10 deniers ¶, produced by Guadalupe, it will be found, that in 1775, France received from her possessions in the New Hemisphere, upon five hundred and sixty-two ships, 126,378,155 livres, 18 sols, 8 deniers ¶¶.

THE kingdom consumed of these productions only to the amount of 52,763,763 livres 5 sols 8 deniers\*\*. The remainder, which amounted to 73,584,392 livres 13 sols ††, was consequently sold to foreigners.

THIS great exportation was formed by one million forty thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight quintals sixty-six pounds of sugar, which produced 38,703,463 livres ††; by five hundred thousand five hundred and eighty-two quintals forty-six pounds of coffee, which produced 23,727,608 livres 13 sols †††; by eleven thousand three hundred and six quintals thirty-eight pounds of indigo, which produced 9,610,423 livres §§; by seven thousand nine hundred and twenty-two

\* 3,923,424 l. 2 s. 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  d.      † 3,923,424 l. 2 s. 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  d.  
 ‡ About 20,354 l. 3 s. 5  $\frac{1}{2}$  d.    § 790,664 l. 9 s. 3 d.  
 ¶ About 531,307 l. 10 s. 9 d.    ¶¶ About 5,265,757 l. 6 s. 3  $\frac{1}{2}$  d.  
 \*\* About 2,199,740 l. 1 s. 8  $\frac{3}{4}$  d.  
 †† 3,066,016 l. 17 s. 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  d.    ††† 1,612,644 l. 5 s. 10 d.  
 †††† 988,650 l. 7 s. 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  d.      §§ 400,434 l. 5 s. 10 d.

quintals

quintals seventy-five pounds of catao, which produced 554,592 livres 10 sols \*; by fifteen hundred and thirty-one quintals seventy-eight pounds of arnotto, which produced 95,838 livres †; by one thousand and twenty quintals eleven pounds of cotton, which produced 255,027 livres 10 sols ‡; by twelve hundred and seven quintals fifty-nine pounds of black cassia, which produced 32,605 livres §; by forty-one thousand eight hundred and eight quintals, twenty pounds of wood, which produced 598,723 livres ¶; by five hundred and sixty-eight hides, which produced 5,112 livres ¶; and by one hundred pounds weight of rope-yarn, which produced 1000 livres \*\*.

To return to St. Domingo; it's astonishing wealth was produced by three hundred and eighty-five sugar-houses for raw sugars, and two hundred and sixty-three for earthed sugars; by two thousand five hundred and eighty-seven plantations of indigo; by fourteen millions eighteen thousand three hundred and thirty-six cotton plants; by ninety-two millions eight hundred and ninety-three thousand four hundred and five coffee trees; and by seven hundred and fifty-seven thousand six hundred and ninety-one cacao trees.

At the same period, the cattle of the colony amounted to seventy-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight horses or mules, and seventy-seven thousand nine hundred and four head of horned cattle. It's provisions consisted of seven

\* 23,108 l. 0 s. 5 d.

† 3,993 l. 5 s. 10 d.

‡ 10,626 l. 2 s. 11 d.

§ 1,358 l. 10 s. 10 d.

¶ 24,947 l. 5 s. 10 d.

¶ 213 l.

\*\* 41 l. 13 s. 4 d.

million

million seven hundred and fifty-six thousand two hundred and twenty-five banana trees; one million one hundred and seventy-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-nine trenches of manioc; twelve thousand seven hundred and thirty-four plots of maize; eighteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight plots of potatoes; eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty-five plots of yams; and seven thousand forty-six plots of small millet.

THE labours occupied thirty-two thousand and fifty white persons, of all ages, and of both sexes; six thousand and thirty-six Negroes, or free Mulattoes, and about three hundred thousand slaves. The annual calculation did not indeed reckon the number of these unfortunate captives at more than two hundred forty thousand and ninety-five; but it is well know'n, that at that time every planter concealed as many as he could from the researches of the treasury, in order to avoid the rigour of the imposts.

THESE cultures, and these inhabitants, are distributed over forty-six parishes, some of which are twenty leagues in circumference. The limits of a great number of them are not yet fixed, and most of them have nothing but huts or ruins for their churches. Divine service is scarce performed in any of them with proper decency. The churches of the South and of the Western parts are under the direction of Dominican friars, and those of the North under Capuchins, who have succeeded the Jesuits. They have all a large village or a town belonging to them.



THE large villages are formed by the shops of some merchants, and by the manufactures of some artificers, all of them constructed round the presbytery. On festival days a kind of market is established, to which the slaves resort, in order to barter the fruits, the poultry, and other trifling provisions which belong to them, for furniture, cloaths, and ornaments, which, though of small value, procure them some kind of convenience, and distinguish them from their fellow-creatures, who are not in possession of similar enjoyments. We cannot sufficiently express our indignation, that tyranny should still pursue them, while they are employed in these trifling exchanges, and that the vile satellites of justice, intrusted with the regulation of the police of these assemblies, should make these unfortunate people sensible of the hardships of their situation, even during the short respite which is granted them by their barbarous masters.

HERE we may perceive two very odious characters; the bailiff who torments the slave, and the director who doth not exercise his authority against the bailiff. But the bailiff is a man devoid of compassion, whose daily functions have perhaps hardened him to such a pitch, that he grows weary when the exercise of them is suspended, and when he has no opportunity of making any one suffer. The director, on the contrary, is a magistrate, whose breast doth not harbour the same degree of ferociousness, whose habitual business it is to display a kind of dignity, and in whom justice ought always to be tempered

with compassion. How doth it happen, that two such different beings seem to concur in adding to the misfortune of the slaves? Is it owing to a barbarous contempt of these miserable people; who are almost expunged from the race of mankind? Or are they so completely doomed to grief and pain, that their cries and their tears shall not make any further impression?

THE towns of the colony, and in general all those of the American islands, exhibit a picture very different from that which the European towns display. In Europe, our cities are peopled with men of every class, of all professions, and of all ages; some of them rich and idle, others poor and laborious; all of them pursuing, amidst the tumult and amidst the multitude, the object which they have in view; some following pleasure, others fortune; some reputation, or momentary fame, which is often mistaken for it, and others seeking their subsistence. In these great vortices, the collision and variety of passions, of interests, and of wants, necessarily produce great agitations, unexpected contrasts, some virtues, and many vices or crimes. These are moving pictures, more or less animated in proportion to the number of actors, and consequently of scenes that are exhibited there. At St. Domingo, and in the rest of the American Archipelago, the spectacle presented by the towns is uniform, and exactly the same. They have neither nobles, tradesmen, nor annuitants. They present nothing but magazines appropriated to the productions of the soil, and to the different labours



they require. They have none but agents, innkeepers, and adventurers, exerting themselves to obtain a post by which they may subsist, and accepting the first that offers. Every man is in haste to get rich, in order to quit a situation where there are no distinctions, no honours, no pleasures to be found, and which supplies no other stimulus beside that of interest. No man resides there with an intention of living and dying upon the spot. The views of all men are fixed upon Europe; and the principal idea that tends to the increase of riches, consists in the expectation, more or less distant, of bringing them back into our hemisphere, among our own relations.

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BESIDE the immense productions which the colony sends to the mother-country, and which may at least be increased by one third, a small portion of them are delivered to it's indolent neighbour. It is with sugar, rum, and especially with the liquors and the manufactures of Europe, that the colony pays what the Spanish part of St. Domingo, furnishes in pork and hung beef, in wood, hides, horses, and horned cattle, for it's manufactures, and for it's shambles; and that it appropriates to itself all the silver sent from the mines of Mexico to this antient settlement. The court of Madrid have endeavoured to diminish the activity of this intercourse, by prohibiting the foreign merchandize from being brought into it's possessions, and by loading the cattle, which might be exported, with heavy duties. This faulty regulation hath had no other effect than to put a restraint upon those exchanges which ought

ought to have continued perfectly free. It is particularly in this part of the world, that mutual wants prevail over natural antipathy, and that the uniformity of climate stifles this source of discord.

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THE Dutch of Curassou engross a great part of the trade of the French colony, during the wars in which they are not engaged; and they likewise carry off some commodities in peace time. It is with the productions in the East Indies, and with bills of exchange, that they keep up this trifling intercourse.

THE connections between the people of Jamaica and those of St. Domingo, are much more considerable. The twelve or thirteen thousand slaves which are annually carried to the colony by the French navigators, do not prevent it's receiving four or five thousand from the English. The latter cost one sixth less than the other, and are paid with cotton, and especially with indigo, which is accepted at a higher price than is given by the national trade. These smugglers carry it into their own country, as a production of the British islands, and receive a gratification of 12 sols \* per pound.

It is with North America, however, that St. Domingo keeps up a more regular and more useful intercourse. In times of urgent calamities, the vessels of that vast region of the New World are admitted in all the harbours, but at ordinary times only in the mole of St. Nicholas.

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In common times, their cargoes consist of wood for ship-building, vegetables, cattle, flour, and salt fish. They carry off publicly five and twenty or thirty thousand hogheads of molasses, and fraudulently, all the provisions which the colonists can deliver to them, or choose to do it.

SUCH is, in time of peace, the division which is made of the territorial riches of St. Domingo. War opens a new scene. As soon as the signal for hostilities is given, the English take possession of all the latitudes about the colony. They restrain it's exports and it's imports. Every article, either entering or going out, falls into their hands; and the small quantity which might have escaped in the New Hemisphere, is intercepted upon the coasts of the Old, where the enemy are equally strong. The merchants of the mother-country are then obliged to postpone their expeditions, and the inhabitants of the island neglect their labours. Languor and despair succeed to important and rapid communications, and last as long as the divisions subsist between the belligerent powers.

THIS would have been otherwise, had the French, who first appeared at St. Domingo, thought of establishing cultures. They would have occupied, as they might have done, that part of the island which lies to the East. The plains on this side are spacious and fertile; and the coasts are safe; a ship enters the harbours upon the day they are discovered, and loses sight of them the very day it sails out. Such is the nature of the road, that the enemy cannot lay any  
ambuscade



ambuscade there. The coast is unfit for cruising. These latitudes are convenient for the Europeans, and the passage expeditious; but as the scheme of these adventurers was to attack the Spanish ships, and to infest the Gulph of Mexico with their piracies, the possessions they occupied upon a winding coast, were surrounded by Cuba, Jamaica, the Turks, Tortuga, the Caicos, Gonaiva, and Lucayos islands. They are also surrounded by a multitude of sand-banks and rocks, which make the progress of a ship slow and uncertain; and by narrow seas, which must give a great advantage to the enemy, either for landing, for blocking up, or for cruising.

THE court of Versailles will never be able to maintain a regular intercourse with its colony during time of war, unless by the means of some ships of the line to the South, and the West, and a good squadron to the North. Nature hath formed, at Fort Dauphin, a vast, commodious, and safe harbour, which can be defended with facility. From this harbour, situated to the windward of the other settlements, it would be easy to protect the several latitudes; but the works of the place ought to be repaired and extended, and particularly a proper naval arsenal ought to be formed. If this were done, the French admirals, being secure of an asylum, and of all the necessary assistances, after either a successful or an unsuccessful engagement, would be no longer fearful of engaging the enemies of their country.

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The part of St. Domingo which is occupied by the French, may be attacked by the Spaniards, who are in possession of the other part.

THE measures which would be proper to be taken to prevent the ravages which the Spaniards might commit in the inland part of St. Domingo, deserve likewise some attention.

CASTILE, which is still in possession of two-thirds of the island, formerly had the whole of it, when, a little before the middle of the last century, a few bold and enterprising Frenchmen went there to seek a refuge from the laws, or from misery. The Spaniards endeavoured to repulse them; but though without any other support than their courage, they were not afraid of sustaining war with a people armed under a regular authority. These men were acknowledged by their nation as soon as they were thought strong enough to maintain themselves in their usurpations. A commander was sent to them. The brave man, who was first appointed to command those intrepid adventurers, caught their spirit to such a degree, as to propose to his court the conquest of the whole island. He pledged his life for the success of the undertaking, provided they would send him a squadron strong enough to block up the harbour of the capital.

THE ministry of Versailles, neglecting a project which was in reality more practicable than it appeared to them at a distance, left the French exposed to continual hostilities. Notwithstanding this, they always repulsed them successfully, and even carried devastation into the enemy's country; but those animosities kept up in their minds a spirit of robbery and plunder, indisposed them for useful labours, and stopt the progress of agriculture,

culture, which should be the ultimate end of every well-regulated society.

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THE error which France had fallen into, in not seconding the ardour of the new colonists for the conquest of the whole island, had nearly occasioned her the loss of that part of which she was already in possession. While the French were engaged in carrying on the war of 1688, against all Europe, the Spaniards and the English, who both dreaded seeing them firmly established at St. Domingo, united their forces to expel them. Their first attempts gave them reason to expect an entire success; when they quarrelled with each other, and from that time became irreconcilable enemies. Ducasse, who managed the colony with much sagacity and great reputation, took advantage of their divisions to attack them successively. He first invaded Jamaica, where he destroyed every thing with fire and sword. From thence he was preparing to turn his arms against St. Domingo; and would infallibly have reduced the whole island, had he not been stopped in this expedition by orders from his court.

THE house of Bourbon ascended the throne of Spain, and the French nation lost all hopes of conquering St. Domingo. Hostilities, which had not even been suspended there by the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, and Ryswick, ceased at last between people who could never be true friends to each other. Those who had established cultures derived some advantage from this reconciliation. For some time past, their slaves, availing themselves of the national divisions, had

shaken off their chains, and removed into a district where they found freedom and no labour. This desertion was abated, by the Spaniards entering into a contract to bring home the fugitives to their neighbours, for the sum of 250 livres \* a head. Although this agreement was not very scrupulously observed, it proved a powerful check, till the dissensions that divided the two nations in 1718. At this period the Negroes deserted their works in multitudes. This loss induced the French to think of reviving their old project of expelling totally from the island such neighbours, who were equally dangerous from their indolence, as others would be from their turbulent spirit. The war did not last long enough to bring about this revolution. At the conclusion of the peace, Philip V. gave orders for the restitution of all the fugitives that could be found. They were just embarked, to be sent to their old masters, when the people rose and rescued them; an act which we could hardly disapprove, had they been prompted to it by humanity, rather than by national hatred. It will always be pleasing to see people excited to rebellion on account of the slavery of the Negroes. Those who were rescued on this occasion, fled into inaccessible mountains, where they have since multiplied to such a degree, as to be able to afford a safe retreat to all the slaves that can find means to join them. There, in consequence of the cruelty of civilized nations, they become as

free and as savage as tigers; in expectation, perhaps, of a chief and a conqueror, who may restore the violated rights of mankind, by seizing upon an island which seems to have been intended for the slaves who till the ground, and not for the tyrants who water it with the blood of those victims.

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THE present system of politics will not allow France and Spain to be at war with each other. Should any event occasion a rupture between the two nations, notwithstanding the compact between the two crowns, it would probably be but a transient quarrel, that would not allow time for projecting conquests which must soon be restored. The enterprizes on both sides would, therefore, be confined to the ravaging of the country; and in this case the nation that does not cultivate, at least at St. Domingo, would prove formidable, by its very poverty, to that which has already made some progress in the culture of its lands. A Castilian governor was so sensible of this, that he once wrote to the French commandant, that, if he forced him to an invasion, he would destroy more in the compass of one league, than the French could, if they were to lay waste all the country he commanded.

HENCE it is demonstrable, that, if a war should break out in Europe between these two powers, the most active of them ought to sue for a neutrality in favour of this island. It ought even, as it hath often been said, to solicit the absolute cession of a possession which is useless, or burthensome, to its possessor. We know not whether



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ther the court of Versailles have ever entertained this ambitious idea. But how much must we suppose that the Spanish ministry would have been averse from this cession, when they have stated so many difficulties, respecting the fixing of the confused and uncertain limits of the two nations! This treaty, ardently desired, projected for a long time, and even begun at several intervals, hath been at length concluded in 1776.

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THE only equitable and reasonable basis of these negociations, should have been the state of these possessions in 1700.

AT this period, both nations being upon friendly terms, remained the just owners of the lands they then possessed. The incroachments made during the course of this century, by the subjects of one of the crowns, are the incroachments of individuals upon each other; they are not become lawful possessors by being tolerated; and the rights of both powers are still the same, since they have not been abrogated, directly or indirectly, by any convention.

BUT it is certain, from incontestible facts, that, in the beginning of this century, the French possessions, which are now bounded on the northern coast by the river of Massacre, extended then to the river Rebone. Those of the southern coast, which had been carried on as far as the river of Neybe, have been at present stopped at the inlet of Pitre. This surprizing revolution is the natural consequence of the œconomical system of the two neighbouring nations. The one which has applied itself chiefly to agriculture, has col-  
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lected all its possessions towards the most frequented ports, where the produce might be most certainly and advantageously disposed of. The other, whose subjects have always continued shepherds, took possession of all the lands that were abandoned, for the breeding of more cattle. The pastures have naturally been enlarged, and the fields contracted, or at least brought closer together.

A NEGOTIATION properly conducted, would have restored France to that situation in which it was when it gave a king to the Spaniards. This was the wish of equity and of reason; which were not desirous that active colonists, who render the land which they fertilize useful, should be sacrificed to a small number of vagabonds, who consume, without assisting, in these productions. Nevertheless, from motives of policy, the springs of which are unknow'n to us, the court of Versailles have given up what they formerly possessed, and confined themselves to what they were in actual possession of, upon the borders of the sea, at the time of the convention. But hath this power, at least regained in the inland parts, what it hath sacrificed upon the coast? We are under the necessity of declaring, that it hath not received the smallest indemnity.

BEFORE the treaty, the French colony formed a kind of crescent, the convexity of which produced, around the mountains, an extent of two hundred and fifty leagues of coast to the North, to the West, and to the South of the island. The same arrangement subsists since the limits have been

been settled; sooner or later it must be changed, for a reason which must prevail over all other considerations.

THE French settlements, to the West and the South, are divided from those to the North by the Spanish territory. The impossibility of succouring each other, exposes them separately to the invasion of a power which is equally an enemy to both nations. Common interest will determine the court of Madrid, to fix the limits in such a manner, that her ally may meet with the assistance that may be wanted for her defence. But this can never be, unless a line be draw'n from the two fixed points upon the banks of the ocean, which shall determine the property of the two people. In vain would Spain perpetually grant to it's neighbour the liberty of passing through it's states, as it did in 1748, for a time: this complaisance would be of no use. That space, of fifteen or twenty leagues, is intersected with mountains so steep, forests so thick, ravins so deep, and rivers so irregular in their course, as to render it impracticable for an army to pass through it in it's present situation. Immense labours would be requisite to render it useful, and those will never be executed, unless by orders of the crown to which the domain belongs. The court of Madrid will the more readily determine to cede this communication, so necessary to a nation whose interests are the same as their own, as the intermediate territory is of little value. It is rugged, not very fertile, and at a great distance from the sea. A few scattered flocks

flocks only are seen upon it. The proprietors of these uncultivated lands, would be indemnified by France, with a generosity which would leave them no room to regret what they had lost.

WHEN the possessions of the colony are thus connected and supported internally, by an uninterrupted chain of communication, the enemy will be more easily repulsed. If the English mean to attack St. Domingo by the West or South, they will collect their forces at Jamaica; if by the North, they will make their preparations at the Windward Islands, and most probably at Antigua, which is the magazine of their naval stores.

THE West and South are incapable of being defended. The immense extent of the tract renders it impossible to maintain any connection or regularity in the motion of the troops. If they should be dispersed, they would become useless by being thus divided; if they should be collected for the defence of such posts as are most liable to be attacked, from the natural weakness of their position, they would be in danger of being all lost together. Large battalions would only be burthensome to such extensive coasts, which present too much flank and too much front to the enemy. It will only be necessary to erect, or keep up, batteries to protect the roads, the merchant-ships, and the coasting-trade; to keep off privateers, and even to prevent the landing of a man of war or two, that might come to ravage the coast, and levy contributions. The light troops, which are sufficient to support these  
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batteries, will give ground in proportion to the advances of the enemy, and only take care to avoid surrendering till they are in danger.

BUT it is not necessary to relinquish every kind of defence. At the back of each coast, there should be a place for shelter and for reinforcements; always open for retreat, out of the enemy's reach, safe from insults, and able to resist their attack. This should be a narrow pass, capable of being intrenched, and of defending the troops to advantage. From these impregnable retreats, the conqueror might continually be harassed; who, having no strong hold, will be perpetually exposed to a surprise; and will sooner or later be obliged to reimbark.

THE northern coast; richer, more populous, and less extensive than the other two, is more adapted to support a land war, and to make a regular defence.

THE sea-side, which is more or less full of reefs, affords in many places a swampy ground; and the mangroves which cover these marshes, make them quite impenetrable. This natural defence is not so common as it was, since many of these coppices have been cut away. But the landing-places, which are commonly no better than gaps, flanked by these woods overflowed with water, require but a moderate front to stop them up. Magazines, and other stone buildings, are common there; they furnish posts for the erection of battlements, and secure the placing of some masked batteries.

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THIS first line of the shore seems to promise, that a coast of eighteen leagues, so well defended by nature, would, when seconded by the valour of the French, put the enemy in danger of being beaten the moment they should land. If their schemes were discovered, or if the dispositions they were making at sea should, from a distance, point out the place of their landing, the forces might repair thither and prevent it. But experience shews the infallible advantage of squadrons at anchor.

It is not only by the firing of broadsides from the ships to cover the approach of boats, it is by the impossibility there is of guarding every part of the coast, that a squadron at anchor can easily effect landing, as it is a constant check to so many places at once. Land forces move very slowly about the windings of the coast, while the boats and floops arrive speedily by a shorter way. The assailant follows the string, while the other must go all along the bow. Disappointed and wearied out with a variety of motions, the latter is not less apprehensive of those he sees in the day-time, than of the manœuvres of the night which he cannot see.

In order to be able to oppose a descent, the first thing to be done is to suppose it actually accomplished; all our courage and strength is then exerted in taking advantage of the delays or mistakes of the enemy. As soon as they are observed at sea, they may immediately be expected on land. A large shore, on which a landing may be effected, will

will always leave the plain of the Cape open to invasion; so that the chief attention must be directed, not to the sea-shore, but to the inland parts.

THE inland parts are in general covered with sugar-canes, which being more or less high, according to their degree of maturity, successively make the fields appear so many thickets. These are occasionally set on fire, either to cover a march, or to retard the enemy's pursuit, to deceive or astonish him. In two hours time, instead of fields covered with crops, nothing is to be seen but an immense waste, covered with stubble.

THE partitions of the cane grounds, the savannahs, and the storehouses for provisions, do not obstruct the motions of an army more than our meadows. Instead of our villages, they have their habitations, which are not so full of people, but are more numerous. The thick and straight hedges of citron-trees are closer and more impenetrable than the fences that inclose our fields. This is what constitutes the greatest difference in the view of the fields of America and those of Europe.

A SMALL number of rivers, some hollow ways, very low hillocks, a soil generally even, some dikes constructed against inundations, few ditches, if any, one or two forests, not very thick set with trees, a small number of morasses, a ground that is overflowed in a storm, and grows dusty again with twelve hours sunshine, rivers that are full

one day, and dried up the next; these are the general appearances of the plain of the Cape. This diversity must afford advantageous encampments, and it must ever be remembered, that in a defensive war, the post one removes to, cannot be too near the one that is quitted.

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It is not the province of a writer to prescribe rules to military men. Cæsar himself has told us what he has done, not what we are to do. Topographical descriptions, determining the goodness of such or such a post, the combination of marches, the art of encampments and retreats, the most learned theory; all these must be submitted to the eye of the general, who, with the principles in his mind, and the materials in his hand, applies both to the circumstances of time and place, as they chance to occur. The military genius, though mathematical, is dependent on fortune, which suits the order of the operations to the diversity of appearances. Rules are liable to numberless exceptions, which must be discovered in the instant. The very execution almost always alters the plan, and discomposes the system of an action. The courage or timidity of the troops, the rashness of the enemy, the casual success of his measures, an accidental combat, an unforeseen event, a storm that swells a torrent, a high wind that conceals a snare or an ambuscade, under clouds of dust, thunder that frightens the horses, or is confounded with the report of the cannon, the temperature of the air, which constantly influences the spirits of the commander and the blood of the soldiers: all these



are so many natural or moral causes, which, by their uncertainty, may overturn the best-concerted projects.

WHATEVER place is made choice of for a descent at St. Domingo, the town of the Cape will always be the object of it. The landing will be somewhere in the bay of the Cape, where the ships will be ready to augment the land-forces with two-thirds of their crews, and to furnish them with artillery, ammunition, and whatever they may want for the siege of that opulent fortress. It is towards this bulwark of the colony that all endeavours to keep off the assailer must be directed. The choice of advantageous positions will, in some measure, compensate for the inequality of numbers. At the moment of landing, the ground must be disputed by supporting a kind of false attack, without engaging the whole of the troops. These must be posted in such a manner as to secure two retreats, the one towards the Cape, to form the garrison of that place, the other in the narrow passes of the mountains, where they will keep an intrenched camp, from whence they may annoy the besiegers, and retard the taking of the place. Should the place surrender, as it would be an easy matter to favour the evasion of the troops when they evacuate it, the conquest would not yet be completed. The mountains in which they would take refuge, inaccessible to an army, surround the plain with a double or treble chain, and guard the inhabited parts, by very narrow passes, which may be easily defended. The principal of these is the defile of  
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the great river, where the enemy would find two or three passes of the river, that reach from one mountain to the other. In this place four or five hundred men would stop the most numerous army, by only sinking the bed of the waters. This resistance might be seconded by 25,000 inhabitants, both white and black, who are settled in these vallies. As the white men are more numerous here than upon the richer lands, and their crops are smaller, they cannot afford to consume any great quantity of the produce of Europe, so that what they cultivate is chiefly for their own subsistence; from this they might easily supply the troops that should defend their country. Any deficiency in the article of fresh meat could be made up by the Spaniards, who breed vast quantities of cattle on the backs of these mountains.

AFTER all, it may happen that the firmness of the troops may be sunk under the want of provisions or warlike stores, and they may be either forced or turned back. This suggested the idea some years ago at Versailles, of building a fortified town in the center of the mountains. Marshal Noailles was a warm advocate for this scheme. It was then imagined, that by means of some redoubts of earth scattered upon different parts of the coast, the enemy might be enticed by regular attacks, and insensibly exhausted by the loss of a great number of men, in a climate where sickness suddenly proves more destructive than the sword. It was suggested that no more strong holds should be erected on the frontiers, where they lie exposed



to the invasion of the masters of the sea; because, while they are unable to defend their own habitations, they become so many bulwarks for the conquerors, who can easily take and guard them with their ships, and depose or draw from thence arms and men to intimidate the vanquished. An entirely open country was better, in their opinion, for a power that has no maritime strength, than forces dispersed and forsaken upon shores, wasted and depopulated by the inclemency of the climate.

It was in the center of the island that the strongest place of defence was expected to be made. A road of twenty or thirty leagues, full of obstacles, where every march must be attended with several engagements, in which the advantage of the posts would render a detachment formidable to a whole army; where the removing of the artillery would be tedious and laborious; where the difficulty of convoys, and the distance of communication with the ocean; where every thing, in short, would conspire to destroy the enemy: such was to be, as it were, the glacis of the intended fortification. This capital was to stand upon high ground, where the air is more pure and temperate than in the plains beneath; in the midst of a country which would supply the town with necessaries, surrounded with flocks and herds, which, feeding upon a soil most favourable to their increase, would be reserved for times of want; provided with storehouses proportioned to the town and garrison: such a city would have changed the colony into a kingdom,

dom, able to support itself for a long time; whereas it's present opulence does but weaken it, and having superfluities without necessaries, it enriches a few proprietors, without affording them sustenance.

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If the enemy had made themselves masters of the sea-coast, which would not be disputed with them, and were desirous of collecting the produce of the lands, they would stand in need of whole armies to keep merely upon the defensive; for the continual excursions from the center would not permit them do more than this. The troops in the inland parts of the island, always sure of a respectable retreat, might easily be relieved by recruits from Europe, which would find no difficulty in penetrating to the center of a circle of so immense a circumference; whereas all the English fleets would not be sufficient to fill up the vacancies which the climate would be continually making in their garrisons.

NOTWITHSTANDING the evidence of these advantages, the project of a fortification in the mountains has been dropt, and a system pursued, which would confine the whole defence of the island to the Mole of St. Nicholas. This new plan could not fail of being applauded by the planters, who were not fond of citadels and garrisons near their plantations, as they are more injurious than they can possibly be beneficial to them. They are sensible, that the whole force being directed to one point, they should have none but light troops left in their neighbourhood on the three coasts, which are sufficient to drive away the privateers by the

assistance of their batteries; and are, besides, very convenient defenders, ever ready to yield without resistance, and to disperse or capitulate on the least intimation of an invasion.

THIS plan, so favourable to private interest, has also met with the approbation of some persons well versed in military affairs. They were of opinion, that the few troops which the colony will admit of, being in a manner lost in so large an island as St. Domingo, would make an appearance at the Mole. Bombardopolis is the place that has been chosen, as the most respectable post. This new city stands on the margin of a plain, which is sufficiently elevated to render it cool and temperate. It's territory is covered with a natural savannah, and adorned with groves of palm-trees of various kinds. It is not commanded; which is an uncommon circumstance at St. Domingo. It might be made a regular fortification, and of any degree of strength. If it did not prevent an invasion, it would, at least, prevent the conquerors from getting a firm establishment upon the coasts.

It were to be wished, say the partizans of this new system, that, from the first moment the works had been begun at the Mole, it had at the same time been fortified to the degree that so advantageous a situation would admit of. It is a treasure, the possession of which should have been secured as soon as it was discovered. Should this valuable key of St. Domingo, and, indeed, of all America, fall into the hands of the English, this Gibraltar of America would be more fatal

fatal to France and Spain than even that of Europe.

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It is no wonder, if all the precautions which have been taken hitherto for the defence of St. Domingo, have been conducted with so little judgment. As long as forecast and protection shall be confined to secondary means, which can only protract, not prevent, the conquest of this island, no invariable plan can be pursued. Fixed principles are the exclusive privilege of such powers as can depend upon their naval force, to prevent the loss, or secure the recovery of, their colonies. Those of France have not hitherto been guarded by those floating arsenals, which can at the same time attack and defend; but this power hath at length been roused, and it's navy is becoming formidable. But does she govern her possessions abroad by the maxims of sound policy and good order? This is what we shall next inquire into.

THE British government, ever actuated by the national spirit, which seldom deviates from the true interests of the state, has carried into the New World that right of property which is the ground-work of her legislation. From a conviction, that man never thinks he has the entire possession of any thing but what he has lawfully acquired; they have, indeed, sold the lands in the islands but at a very moderate price to such as were willing to clear them. This hath appeared the surest way to hasten the cultivation of them; and to prevent partialities and jealousies, the ne-

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Is the right  
of property  
well esta-  
blished in  
the French  
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cessary consequences of a distribution guided by caprice or favour.

FRANCE has taken a method seemingly more generous, but not so prudent, that of granting lands to all who applied for them. In the infant state of these colonies, a vagabond went into the midst of the forests and marked out the space of greater or less extent which he chose to occupy, and fixed it's limits by cutting down trees all around it.

THIS confusion could not last long, and yet authority did not choose to strip those who had thus settled their own rights. It was ordained only that for the future there should be no legitimate property but that which was granted by the administrators. Protection became then the only rule of the distributions, without any regard to talents or to means. Indeed, it was stipulated, that they should begin their settlements within a year after the grant, and not discontinue the clearing of the ground, upon pain of forfeiture. But, beside the hardship of requiring those men to be at the expence of clearing the land, who could not afford to purchase, the penalty fell upon those only, who not having the advantage of family and fortune, could not make interest with the great; or upon minors, who being left destitute by the death of their parents, ought rather to have been assisted by the public; whereas every proprietor who was well recommended or supported, was not called to account, though he let his grounds lie fallow.

To



To this partiality, which evidently retarded the progress of the colonies, we may add a number of ill-judged regulations relative to cultivation. First, it was required of every person who obtained a grant of land, to plant 500 trenches of manioc for every slave he had upon his plantation. This order was equally detrimental both to private and public interest, as it compelled the planter to encumber his ground with this ordinary production, when it was able to yield richer crops; and rendered the poor grounds, which were only fit for this kind of culture, useless. This double error could not but lessen the growth of all kinds of commodities; and, indeed, this law, which laid a restraint upon the disposal of property, has never been strictly put in execution; but as it has also never been repealed, it still remains a scourge in the hand of an ignorant, capricious, or violent minister, who may chuse to make use of it against the inhabitants. This evil, great as it is, is, however, the least of those they have to complain of from administration. The restraint of the Agrarian law is still increased by the burden of labours imposed upon the vassals.

THERE was a time in Europe, that of the feudal government, when gold and silver was little regarded in public or private transactions. The nobles served the state, not with their purses, but with their persons; and those of their vassals, who were their property by right of conquest, paid them a kind of quit-rent or homage, either in the fruits of the earth, or in so much labour. These customs, so destructive to men and lands, tended

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tended to perpetuate that barbarity to which they owed their rise. But at length they were gradually laid aside, as the authority of kings prevailed in overthrowing the independence and tyranny of the great, by restoring freedom to the people. The prince, now become the sole master, abolished, as a magistrate, some abuses arising from the right of war, which destroys every other right. But several of these usurpations, which time had consecrated, were still retained. That of the average, or a certain proportion of labour required of the vassals; has been kept up in some states, where the nobles have lost almost every advantage, though the people have not acquired any. The liberty of France is at this day infringed by this public bondage; and this injustice has been reduced into a system, as if to give it a colour of justice.

Who would imagine that in the most enlightened age of the nation, at a time when the rights of man have been most rigidly discussed, when the principles of natural morality have no longer been contradicted, under the reign of a beneficent king, under humane ministers, and under upright magistrates; who would imagine, that it should have been pretended to be consistent with the order of justice and agreeable to the constitution of the state, that a set of unhappy people who have no property, should be dragged from their huts, taken from their repose, or from their labours, they, their wives, their children, and their cattle, in order to go and exhaust themselves after long fatigues in labours of a new kind;

kind; in the construction of roads, more pompous than they are useful, for the benefit of those who possess every thing, and this without pay and without food.

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O MEN! whose hearts are of steel, go one step further, and you will soon persuade yourselves that you are allowed! . . . But here, let me hold: indignation would carry me too far. It is, however, proper to warn government, that the dreadful system of vassalage is still more fatal to the colonies.

THE culture of these lands, from the nature of the climate and of the productions, requiring expedition, cannot easily spare a number of hands to be sent to a great distance, and employed in public works, which are often useless, and should never be carried on but by idle persons. If the mother-country, with all the various means she can employ, has never yet been able to correct or mitigate the hardships of vassalage, she ought to consider what evils must result from them beyond the seas, where the direction of these works is committed to two overseers, who can neither be directed, censured, nor controuled, in the arbitrary exercise of absolute power. But the burden of these services is light, when compared with that of the taxes.

A TAX may be defined to be a contribution towards public expence, necessary for the preservation of private property. The peaceable enjoyment of lands and revenues requires a proper force to defend them from invasion, and a police that secures the liberty of cultivating them.

Are the  
taxes pro-  
perly levied  
in the  
French  
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Whatever is paid towards the maintenance of public order, is right and just ; whatever is levied beyond this, is extortion. Now, all the government expences which the mother-country is at for the colonies, are repaid her by the restraint laid upon them, to cultivate for her alone, and in such a manner as is best adapted to her wants. This subjection is the most burdensome of all tributes, and ought to exempt them from all other taxes.

ANY one must be convinced of this truth, who reflects on the difference of situation between the Old World and the New. In Europe, subsistence and home consumption are the principal object of culture and of manufactures; exportation only carries off the overplus. In the islands, the whole is to be exported. There life and property are equally precarious.

IN Europe, war only deprives the manufacturer and the husbandman of the trade to foreign countries; they still have their resource in that which circulates in the internal part of the kingdom. In the islands, hostilities annihilate every thing; there are no more sales, no more purchases, no more circulation; the planter hardly recovers his costs.

IN Europe, the owner of a small estate, who is able to make only a few expences, improves his land as much in proportion as he who hath a wide domain and immense treasures. In the islands, the improvement of the smallest plantation requires a tolerable stock to begin with.

IN

IN Europe, it is commonly one citizen that is indebted to another; and the state is not impoverished by these private debts. Those of the islands are of a different nature. Many planters, in order to carry on the labour of clearing their grounds, and to repair the losses incurred by the misfortunes of war, which had put a stop to their exports, have been obliged to borrow such large sums, that they may be considered rather as farming the trade, than as proprietors of the plantations.

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WHETHER these reflections have not occurred to the French ministry, or whether particular circumstances have obliged them to depart from their plan; certain it is, they have added fresh taxes to the obligation already laid on the colonies to draw all their necessaries from France, and to send thither all their own commodities. Every Negro has been taxed. In some settlements, this poll-tax has been confined to the working blacks; in others, it was laid on all the slaves without distinction. Both these arrangements have been opposed by the colony assembled at St. Domingo. Let us now judge of the force of their arguments.

CHILDREN, old and infirm men, make up about one-third of the slaves. Far from being useful to the planter, some of them are only a burden, which humanity alone can prompt him to support, while the rest can afford him but distant and uncertain hopes. It is difficult to conceive how the treasury should have thought



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of taxing an object that is already chargeable to the owner.

THE poll-tax upon blacks extends beyond the grave; that is to say, it is fixed upon a person who exists no more. If a slave should die after the assessment has been made, the planter, who is already unhappy on account of the diminution in his income and of his capital, is still obliged to pay a tax, which reminds him of his losses, and makes him feel them more sensibly.

EVEN the working slaves are not an exact tariff of the appraisement of a planter's income. With a few Negroes, a good soil will yield more than a poor one with a great number. The commodities are not all of the same value, though they are all procured by the labour of those persons upon whom the tax is equally laid. The changing from one kind of culture to another, which the ground requires, suspends for a while the produce of labour. Droughts, inundations, fires, devouring insects, often destroy the fruits of labour. Suppose all things alike, a less number of hands makes in proportion a less quantity of sugar; either because the whole of the wants must be taken into consideration, or because labour is truly advantageous so far only as the most favourable opportunities can be improved.

THE poll-tax upon blacks becomes still more oppressive in time of war. A planter who cannot then dispose of his commodities, and must run in debt to support himself and to keep up his land, is further obliged to pay a tax for slaves, whose labour will hardly be equivalent to their maintenance.

nance. Nay, he is often constrained to send them at a distance from his plantation for the imaginary wants of the colony, to support them there at his own expence, and to see them perish without any reason, while he is under the severe necessity of replacing them one time or other, if ever he means to retrieve his wasted and almost ruined lands.

THE burden of the poll-tax was still heavier upon such of the proprietors as were absent from the colony, for these were condemned to pay the tax treble; which was the more unjust, as it was matter of indifference to France whether her commodities were consumed at home or in the islands. Could it be her intention to hinder the emigration of the colonists? But it is only by the mildness of the government that citizens can be induced to fix in a country, not by prohibitions and penalties. Besides, men who by hazardous labours carried on in a sultry climate, had contributed to the public prosperity, ought to have been indulged in the liberty of ending their days in the temperate regions of the mother-country. Nothing could more effectually rouse the ambition and activity of numbers of idle people, than to be spectators of their fortune; and the state might thus be relieved of the load of these useless men, to the profit of industry and commerce.

NOTHING can be more detrimental to both than this taxing of the blacks, as the necessity of selling obliges the planter to lower the price of his commodities. A moderate price may be an advantageous circumstance, when it is the result of great plenty, and of a very quick circulation.

But it is ruinous to be obliged to lose constantly upon one's merchandize, in order to pay taxes. Finance, is like a foul ulcer, in which the mortified flesh destroys the live flesh. In proportion as the blood is conveyed into the wound by the circulation, it becomes corrupted there while it supplies it. The profits of trade are all absorbed by the treasury, which is continually receiving, without making any returns.

LASTLY, it is a very difficult matter to levy this tax. Every proprietor must give in an annual account of the number of his slaves. To prevent false entries, they must be verified by clerks, or excisemen. Every Negro that is not entered must be forfeited; which is a very absurd practice, because every labouring Negro is so much stock, and by the forfeiture of him the culture is diminished, and the very object for which the duty was laid, is annihilated. Thus it happens that in the colonies, where the success of every thing depends upon the tranquillity which is enjoyed, a destructive war is carried on between the financier and the planter. Law-suits are numerous, removals frequent, rigorous measures become necessary, and the costs are great and ruinous.

If the Negro-tax be unjust in it's extent, unequal in it's repartition, and complicate in the mode of levying it, the tax laid upon the commodities that are carried out of the colonies is nearly as injudicious. The government have ventured to impose this duty, from a persuasion that it would fall entirely upon the consumer and the merchant; but there

there cannot be a more dangerous error in political œconomy than this is.

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THE act of consuming does not supply money to buy what is consumed; this must be gained by labour; and all labour, if things are traced up to their origin, is, in fact, paid by the first proprietor out of the produce of the earth. This being the case, no one article can be always growing dearer, but all the rest must rise in proportion. In this situation, there is no profit to be made upon any of them. If this equilibrium between the articles of commerce be removed, the consumption of the advanced article will decrease; and, if it decrease, the price will fall of course, and the dearness will have been only transient.

THE merchant can no more take the duty upon him, than the consumer. He may, indeed, advance it once or twice; but if he cannot make a natural and necessary profit upon the commodities so taxed, he will soon discontinue that branch of trade. To hope that competition will force him to take the payment of the duty out of his profits, is to suppose that they were exorbitant; and that the competition, which was then insufficient, will become more considerable when the profits are less. If, on the other hand, things were as they ought to be, and the profits no more than necessary, it is supposing that the competition will subsist, though the profits that gave rise to it subsist no longer. We must admit all these absurdities, or allow that it is the planter in the islands who pays the duty, whether it be levied from the first, second, or hundredth hand.

FAR from thus burdening the cultivation of the colonies with taxes, it ought to be encouraged by liberalities; since by the state of restraint in which trade is kept, these liberalities, with all the advantages arising from them, must necessarily return to the mother-country.

IF the situation of a state, that is in arrears on account of losses or mismanagement, will not admit of liberalities, or easing the subjects of their burdens, the payment of the taxes in the colonies themselves might, at least, be suppressed, and the produce of them levied at home. This would be the next best system that could be pursued, and would be equally agreeable to the Old and New World.

NOTHING is so pleasing to an American, as to remove from his sight every thing that denotes his dependence. Wearied with the importunities of collectors, he abhors standing taxes, and dreads the increase of them. He in vain seeks for that liberty which he thought to have found at the distance of two thousand leagues from Europe. He disdains a yoke which pursues him across the storms of the ocean. Discontented, and inwardly repining at the restraint he still feels, he thinks with indignation on his native country; which, under the name of mother, calls for his blood, instead of feeding him. Remove the image of his chains from his sight; let his riches pay their tribute to the mother-country only at landing there, and he will fancy himself free and privileged; though at the same time, by lowering the value of his own commodities, and enhancing the



the price of those that come from Europe, he, in fact, ultimately bears the load of a tax of which he is ignorant.

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NAVIGATORS will also find an advantage in paying duties only upon goods that have reached the place of their destination in their full value, and without any risque, and will restore the capital of their stock along with the profits. They will not then have the mortification of having purchased of the Prince the very hazards of shipwreck, and of losing a cargo for which they had paid duty at embarking. Their ships, on the contrary, will bring back, in merchandize, the amount of the duty; and the productions being advanced in value by exportation, the duty will hardly be felt.

LASTLY, the consumer himself will be a gainer by it; because the colonist and the merchant cannot benefit by any regulation, of which in time the consumer will not experience the good effects. All the taxes will no sooner be reduced to a single one, but trade will be clogged with fewer formalities, fewer delays, fewer charges, and consequently the commodities can be sold at a more reasonable rate.

THIS system of moderation, which every thing seems to point out as the fittest, will be easily introduced. All the productions of the islands are subject, at their entry into the kingdom, to a duty know'n by the name of *Domaine d'Occident*, or Western Domain, which is fixed at three and a half per cent. with eight sols \* per pound. The value

\* Four-pence.

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of these productions, which is the rule for the payment of the duty, is determined in the months of January and July. It is fixed at twenty, or five and twenty per cent. below the real price. The western office allows, besides, a more considerable tare than the feller in trade does. Add to this duty that which the commodities pay at the custom-houses of the colonies, which produces nearly the same, and those that are paid in the inland parts of the islands; and we shall have the whole of the revenue which the government draws from the settlements in America.

IF this fund were confounded with the other revenues of the state, we might be apprehensive that it was not applied to its destination, which should be solely the protection of the islands. The unforeseen exigencies of the royal treasury would infallibly divert it into another channel. There are some moments when the critical state of the disease will not admit of calculating the inconveniencies of the remedy. The most urgent necessity engrosses all the attention. Nothing then is secured from the hand of arbitrary power, urged by the wants of the present moment. The ministry is continually drawing out of the treasury, under the delusive hopes of replacing in a short time what they have received; but the execution of this design is perpetually retarded by fresh demands.

HENCE it appears, that it would be highly necessary that the treasury, destined for the duties on the productions of the colonies, should be kept wholly separate from that destined to receive the  
revenues

revenues of the kingdom. The sums deposited there, as in trust, would always be ready to answer the demands of those settlements. The colonist who always has stock to send over to Europe, would gladly give it for bills of exchange, when he was once assured that they would meet with no delays or difficulties in the payment of them. This kind of bank would soon create another means of communication between the mother-country and the islands; the court would be better acquainted with the state of their affairs in these distant countries, and would recover the credit they have long since lost; but which is of the utmost consequence, especially in time of war. We shall now put an end to our discussions on taxes, and consider the regulations respecting the militia.

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THE French islands, like those of other nations, had no regular troops at first. The adventurers, who had conquered them, looked upon the right of defending themselves as a privilege; and the descendents of those intrepid men thought themselves sufficiently strong to guard their own possessions. They had nothing, indeed, to do but to repulse a few vessels, which landed some sailors and soldiers, as undisciplined as themselves.

Is the militia well regulated in the French islands?

THE situation of affairs has, indeed, undergone an alteration. As these settlements became more considerable, it was to be expected that they would, sooner or later, be attacked by numerous European fleets and armies; and this made it necessary to send them other defenders. The event has

shew'n the insufficiency of a few scattered battalions, to oppose the land and sea forces of England. The colonists themselves have been convinced that their own efforts could never prevent a revolution; and fearing that a fruitless resistance would only exasperate a victorious enemy, they were more inclined to capitulate than to fight. Having become political calculators, their weakness made them sensible that they were unfit for military operations, and they have contributed their money in order to be discharged from a service, which, though glorious in it's principle, had degenerated into a burdensome servitude. The militia was suppressed in 1763.

THIS act of compliance has been applauded by those who only considered this institution as the means of preserving the colonies from all foreign invasions. They very sensibly imagined, that it was unreasonable to require that men, who were grow'n old under the hardships of a scorching climate, in order to raise a large fortune, should expose themselves to the same dangers as those poor victims of our ambition, who are perpetually hazarding their lives for a pay which is not sufficient for their subsistence. Such a sacrifice hath appeared to them too unreasonable to expect it should be complied with; and the ministry, who saw the impropriety of keeping up such a vain and burdensome service, have therefore discontinued it, and been commended.

THOSE who are better acquainted with the American settlements, have not judged so favourably of this innovation. The militia, say they,

is necessary to preserve the interior police of the islands; to prevent the revolt of the slaves; to check the incursions of the fugitive Negroes; to hinder the banditti from assembling in troops; to protect the navigation along the coasts, and to keep off the privateers. If the inhabitants be not embodied; if they have neither commanders nor standards, how can they avert so many dangers? How will it be possible to dissipate these destructive calamities, when they have not been able to check them before they broke out? From whence will arise that harmony and uniformity of action, without which nothing can be carried on with propriety?

THESE reflections, which, though striking and natural, had at first escaped the court of Versailles, soon produced an alteration in their conduct. They became convinced of the necessity of restoring the militia, but without giving up the taxes which were agreed to for the support of the regular troops. It was a difficult matter to dispose the people to consent to this arrangement. The ministry negotiated, bribed, and threatened. Guadalupe and Martinico, though displeas'd with the abuses committed by an inconstant and precipitate authority, submitted at length, in 1767, to the wishes of administration, but this example did not make the impression upon St. Domingo that was desired, and perhaps expected. The year following it became necessary to carry on a war against this rich colony, and it was not till after the magistrates of the west and south of the island had been throw'n into prison, and till the



earth was strewed with dead bodies, that it was possible to reduce to submission the planters, exasperated by the vexations of a rapacious government.

SINCE this period, unfortunately stamped with characters of blood, all the inhabitants of the other hemisphere are again embodied. The obligations that are imposed by this kind of registering are various, and are not yet properly explained. This obscurity, which is always dangerous in the hands of rulers, who are perpetually intent upon the extending of their jurisdiction, keeps the citizens in continual alarms for their liberty, which they are more jealous of in the colonies than we are in Europe; it exposes them to numberless vexations. The evils it has occasioned have excited a detestation for this kind of servitude, which none but tyrants or slaves can be surpris'd at. It is necessary, if possible, to eradicate the impressions of the past, and remove all mistrust for the future. The legislature will succeed in this by making all those alterations in the form of the militia, which are consistent with it's object; which is, to maintain public order and safety. The welfare of the people is the great end of all authority. If the actions of the sovereign do not tend to this end, his existence will be supported only by the assistance of money, or the sanction of old records, which time will destroy, or posterity despise. In vain does flattery raise numberless and magnificent monuments to princes; the hand of man erects them, but it is the heart that consecrates them, and affection that renders them immortal.

immortal. Without this, public trophies are only a proof of the meanness of the people, not of the greatness of the ruler. There is one statue in Paris, the sight of which makes every heart exult with sentiments of affection. Every eye is turned with complacency towards this image of paternal and popular goodness. The tears of the distressed silently call upon it under the hardships of oppression. Men secretly bless the hero it immortalizes. All voices unite to celebrate his memory after two centuries are elapsed. His name is in veneration to the uttermost parts of America. In every heart he protests against the abuses of authority; he declares against the usurpations of the rights of the people; he promises the subjects the redress of their grievances, and an increase of prosperity; and demands both of the ministry.

AMONG the circumstances which require reformation, we ought to reckon a custom established in the French possessions in the New World, of dividing equally the paternal inheritance among all the children, and the inheritance of a relation among all the coheirs.

WE hold in abhorrence, with all reasonable men, whom pride or prejudice have not corrupted, the absurd right of primogeniture, which transfers the entire patrimony of a family to the eldest son, whose morals are corrupted by it; which reduces his brothers and sisters to a state of indigence, and punishes them, as it were, for the casual fault of having been born a few years too late. Are they the less legitimate on that account? and is the person who hath given them existence

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Is the regulation of inheritance properly settled in the French islands?

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existence the less responsible for their happiness?

A chief of a family is nothing more than a depositary; and is a depositary ever allowed to make an unequal division of his trust between persons who have an equal claim? If a savage should be in possession, at his death, of two bows, and should have two children; and if he should be asked, what was to be done with the two bows; would he not answer, that one should be given to each of his children? And if he were to bequeath them both to one, would it not be understood that he had considered the excluded child as not being his own offspring? In the countries where this monstrous custom of disinheriting is authorized, the father is the least respected by all; by the eldest, because he can take nothing away from him; and by the youngest children, because he can give them nothing. To filial affection, which is extinguished, succeeds a meanness of sentiment, which accustoms three or four children, almost as soon as they are born, to cringe to one alone, who from this circumstance conceives a degree of personal importance, which seldom fails to render him insolent. Respectable parents are apprehensive of multiplying around them a number of indigent persons, who are to be condemned to celibacy. The whole inheritance is placed in the hands of a madman, whose dissipations can only be put a stop to by substitution, which is another evil. Calamities of so great magnitude must necessarily suggest the idea, that the right of primogeniture, which was not originally consecrated by superstition, and which despotism hath

hath no interest in perpetuating, will, sooner or later, be abolished. It is the remains of feudal barbarism, which our descendents will one day be ashamed of.

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THE law of equality, however, which seems dictated by nature; which occurs instantly to every just and good man; which leaves no doubt in the mind as to its rectitude and utility; this law may sometimes, perhaps, be prejudicial to the preservation of society. We have an instance of this in the French islands, which it diverts from the end of their destination, and gradually paves the way for their ruin.

THIS division was necessary at the first formation of colonies. Immense tracts of lands were to be cleared. This could not be done without people; nor could men, who had quitted their own country for want, be any otherwise fixed in those distant and desert regions, than by assigning them a property. Had the government refused to grant them lands, they would have wandered about from one place to another; they would have begun to establish various settlements, and have had the disappointment to find, that none of them would attain to that degree of prosperity as to become useful to the mother-country.

BUT since inheritances, too extensive at first, have in process of time been reduced by a series of successions, and by the subdivisions of shares, to such a compass as renders them fit to facilitate cultivation; since they have been so limited as not to lie fallow for want of hands proportionable to their extent,

extent, a further division of lands would again reduce them to nothing. In Europe, an obscure man, who has but a few acres of land, will make that little estate more advantageous to him in proportion, than an opulent man will the immense property he is possessed of, either by inheritance or chance. In America, the nature of the productions, which are very valuable; the uncertainty of the crops, which are but few in their kind; the quantity of slaves, of cattle, of utensils necessary for a plantation; all this requires a large stock, which they have not in some, and will soon want in all the colonies, if the lands be parcelled out and divided more and more by hereditary successions.

If a father leave an estate of 30,000 livres \* a year, and this estate be equally divided between three children, they will all be ruined if they make three distinct plantations; the one, because he has been made to pay too much for the buildings, and because he has too few Negroes, and too little land in proportion; the other two, because they must build before they can begin upon the culture of their land. They will all be equally ruined, if the whole plantation should remain in the hands of one of the three. In a country where a creditor is in a worse state than any other man, estates have risen to an immoderate value. The possessor of the whole will be very fortunate if he is obliged to pay no more for interest than the net produce of the plantation. Now, as the primary

\* 1,250l.



law of nature is the procuring of subsistence, he will begin with procuring that without paying his debts. These will accumulate, and he will soon become insolvent, and the confusion consequent upon such a situation will end in the ruin of the whole family.

THE only way to remedy these disorders, is to abolish the equality of the division of land. In this enlightened age, government should see the necessity of letting the colonies be more stocked with things than with men. The wisdom of the legislature will, doubtless, find out some compensation for those it has injured, and in some measure sacrificed to the welfare of the community. They ought to be placed upon fresh lands, and to subsist by their own labour. This is the only way to maintain this sort of men; and their industry would open a fresh source of wealth to the state.

AT the conclusion of the peace, a favourable opportunity offered itself for making the proposed alteration in St. Lucia and Guiana. The French ought not to have neglected this opportunity, perhaps the only one that will offer, to repeal the law relating to the divisions of estates, by distributing to those, whose expectations they had frustrated, such lands as they intended to cultivate; and by giving them those considerable sums that have been expended to no purpose, as the necessary advance for carrying on the cultivation. Men injured to the climate, acquainted with the only kind of culture that could possibly be thought of, encouraged by the example, assistance, and advice

vice of their own families, and aided by the slaves with which government would have supplied them, were much fitter for this purpose than a set of profligate men, collected from the refuse of Europe, and were not much more likely to raise new colonies to that pitch of wealth and prosperity which might be expected. Unfortunately, it was not foreseen, that the first colonies in America must have increased by slow degrees and of themselves, with the loss of a great many men, or by extraordinary exertions of bravery and patience, because they had no competition to support; but that the succeeding settlements could only be formed by the natural means of population, as an old swarm begets a new one. The overflowings of population in one island must spread into another; and the superfluities of a rich colony furnish necessaries to an infant settlement. This is the natural order which good policy points out to maritime and commercial powers. All other methods are irrational and destructive. Though the court of Versailles have overlooked this plain principle, productive of so much good, this is no reason why they should reject the proposal of putting a stop to the further division of lands. If the necessity of such a law be evident, it must be enacted, though the present time be less favourable than that which has been neglected. When the plantations are restored to their state of prosperity, by the suppression of that division of land, which precludes every means of improvement, the planters may then be compelled to clear themselves

selves of the debts with which their plantations are now oppressed.

PART of these debts originated from the claims that were allowed by an injudicious law, to the several coheirs. This distressed situation hath increased in proportion as the colonies have acquired more wealth. When they had increased so far, as that the number of inhabitants became superior to the plantations, the superabundant part of the population remained idle creditors of the lands they did not occupy, and consequently useless, and even burthensome to the culture.

THERE are other credits proceeding from the sale which the colonists have reciprocally made of their habitations. We seldom go to America, without the prospect of enjoying in Europe those riches, which are commonly acquired by obstinate labour, or by fortunate events. Those who do not lose sight of this aim, live with more or less œconomy, and send to their own country all that they have been able to save out of their income. As soon as they have acquired that degree of fortune to which they aspired, they endeavour to dispose of their plantations. In a country where the specie is deficient, it is necessary to sell them upon credit, or to keep them; and most of the proprietors rather chuse to give up their possessions to purchasers who sometimes fail in their engagements, than to trust them in the hands of stewards who are seldom faithful.

LASTLY, The advances made to the colonists have been the occasion of much credit being given. The lands of the French islands, as well

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vided for?

as of the other islands in America, did not originally yield any production fit for exportation. Funds were necessary to clear them, and the first Europeans who occupied them had no property. Trade came to their assistance; it furnished them with utensils, provisions, and slaves, necessary to form productions. This association between monied and industrious people gave birth to a great number of debts, which have multiplied in proportion as the plantations have increased.

THE debtors have but too often failed in fulfilling the obligations they had contracted. An inordinate luxury, which cannot be excused in men who are born in misery, hath compelled several of them to this breach of faith. Others have been draw'n into it by an indolence, inconceivable in eager minds, that had gone beyond the seas to seek an end to their indigence. The most abundant means have been lost in the hands of some people, who were destitute of the skill necessary to improve them. There have been likewise some planters devoid of shame, and without principle, who, though capable of settling with their creditors, have daringly withholden the property of others. Other causes have likewise occurred in lessening the force of engagements.

HURRICANES, the violence of which cannot be easily described, subverted the country, and destroyed the crops. The most expensive and the most necessary buildings have been swallowed up by earthquakes. Insects, which could not be destroyed, have devoured, during a long series of years, all the produce that might have been expected



pected from a fertile and well-cultivated soil. Some commodities, the produce of which hath exceeded their consumption, have lost their value, and have fallen into the utmost contempt. Long and cruel wars, by opposing insurmountable obstacles to the exportation of the productions, have rendered useless the most constant and most obstinate labours.

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THESE calamities which have sometimes happened at the same time, or which have at least succeeded each other too rapidly, have given rise to a system of jurisprudence favourable to the debtors. The legislature have encumbered the seizure of lands and slaves with so many formalities, that it should seem as if their design had been to render it impracticable. The public opinion hath branded the small number of creditors who have undertaken to overcome these difficulties; and the tribunals themselves did not accede, without extreme reluctance, to the rigorous measures they were desirous of pursuing.

THIS system, which hath appeared for a long time the best that could be followed, hath still it's partisans. What is it to the state, say these political calculators, whether the riches be in the hands of the creditor or of the debtor, provided public prosperity be increased? But can public prosperity increase when justice is trampled upon; when administration encourages a breach of faith, by offering it an asylum under the protection of the laws, for if the laws do not prosecute they protect; when the seeds of mistrust are encouraged among citizens, which must in time



render them so many rogues, and enemies to each other; when loans, without any kind of security, shall have become impossible, or ruinous; when the rapaciousness of usury shall be exercised without restraint; when credit shall no longer exist either in or out of the state; and when the whole nation shall be considered as a set of men, devoid of principles, and of morality. General felicity can have no solid foundation, without the validity of engagements from whence it arises. Even the government ought only to free itself from its incumbrances according to the rules of justice. A bankruptcy of the state is infamous, and still more prejudicial to the morality of society than to the fortunes of individuals. A time will come, when all these iniquities shall be summoned to the tribunal of nations, and when the power which hath committed them shall be judged by its victims.

OTHER speculators, not so loose in their principles, have asserted, that an enlightened legislation would annul the debts anterior to a period which ought to be fixed. We will not examine whether this practice of some antient republics hath ever been salutary; but we will affirm, without any fear of mistaking, that such a breach of the public faith, if it were common, would again plunge Europe, now become commercial, into that state of inaction and misery in which it was three or four centuries ago. Fortunately, this destructive revolution is not to be apprehended. The respect for property increases daily even among the least enlightened nations. In  
process

process of time, it will be established in the French islands, as well as elsewhere, when government shall at length compel the colonists to give some kind of satisfaction to their creditors. The best method of bringing about this act of justice is not yet agreed upon.

SOME persons are desirous of sumptuary laws, which, by restraining the expences of the inhabitants, would enable them to fulfil their engagements. How could such an idea ever enter into the minds of men, to establish this system of privation as a maxim in the colonies? The value of their productions being entirely owing to exchanges, would not the annihilation of these compel the Americans either to raise few commodities, or to sell them for a trifle? Should the mother-country be willing to make up in money the deficiencies in the sale of their merchandize, then all the gold that is drawn from one part of America would return into the other. After fifteen or twenty years of such a trade, the powers that are enemies to France would have an additional motive for attacking possessions, the fertility of which excites in them so much surprize and jealousy.

OTHERS have imagined, that all kind of credit should henceforward be prohibited. But would not the cultures already established suffer from so absurd a system? Would not the cultivation of the virgin lands, which are generally most productive, be impeded? Would not the operations of the merchants in the mother-country become daily more languid?

It is well know'n how reluctantly they see the rich planter accustom himself to send his own productions to Europe, to draw the articles of his own consumption from thence, and reduce his correspondents to the bare profits of commission. If that dependence, which is a necessary consequence of debts, should cease, they would no longer be a few planters, but the whole colony, who would make their own purchases and sales in the mother-country; they would all become traders, and even would soon have no competitors, because they alone would be acquainted with the measure of their own wants.

SEVERAL persons have wished that it should be permitted to seize and to sell the Negroes of debtors. Then the slaves who should cease to work upon one plantation, would be employed upon another, and the colony would not be injured. This is a mistake; the Negroes will never be made to pass, without mischief, from one plantation to another. These men, already too unhappy, would not contract the fresh habits required by a change of place, of master, of method, and of employment. They cannot live without their mistresses and their children, which are their dearest comforts, and the only thing that makes them endure life. Separated from this only consolation to men in affliction, they pine away, and sicken, and frequently desert, or at least they work but with reluctance and carelessness.

MOREOVER, by securing the payment of one creditor, several would infallibly be ruined. The  
most

most intelligent and the most active planters, deprived of part of the hands requisite for the labours of their plantations, would soon become insolvent, and would continue so for ever.

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HONOUR hath appeared to some people a more effectual resource than any other. Stamp, say they, but a mark of infamy upon the fraudulent debtor, render him incapable of ever exercising any public office, and we need not apprehend he will sport with this prejudice. The most rapacious of men, and especially the American planters, sacrifice a part of their lives to hard labour, with no other view than to enjoy their fortune. But there is no enjoyment for a man who is branded with infamy. Observe only how punctually all debts of honour are paid. It is not an excess of delicacy, it is not a love of justice, that brings back the ruined gamester, within four-and-twenty hours, to the feet of his creditor, who, perhaps, is no better than a sharper; it is the sense of honour; it is the dread of being excluded from society. But in what age, and what period, do we here invoke the sacred name of honour? Should not the government set the example of that justice, the practice of which it means to inculcate? Is it possible that public opinion should disgrace individuals for actions which the state openly commits? When infamy has insinuated itself into families, into great houses, into the highest places, even into the camp and the sanctuary, can there be any sense of shame remaining? What man will henceforth be jealous of his



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honour, while those who are called men of honour, know of no other than that of being rich to get places, or of getting places to grow rich; when a man must cringe in order to rise; please the great and the women to serve the state; and when the art of being agreeable, implies at least an indifference for every virtue? Shall honour, which seems to be banished from Europe, take refuge in America?

THE court of Versailles, perpetually led astray by the administrators of it's colonies, have always appeared desirous that the payment of debts should depend entirely upon their arbitrary decision. They have never comprehended that this was establishing a system of tyranny in the New World. Ignorant, capricious, interested, or vindictive chiefs, may select, at pleasure, those debtors whom it may suit them to ruin. It is equally in their power to commit injustices towards the creditors. It will neither be the oldest nor the most distressed, nor the most honest creditor whom they will cause to be paid; but the most powerful, the best protected, the most active, or the most violent. Authority ought not to take place of justice, nor probity or virtue of the law, in any part of the world, or from any motive whatever; because all authority is liable to corruption, and because there is no probity or virtue which may not be shaken.

Two centuries, wasted in attempts, experiments, and combinations, must have convinced the French ministry, that the calamity which we here deplore, can only be put a stop to by clear  
and



and plain regulations, easily carried into execution. When creditors shall be able, without delays, without expence, and without restraining formalities, to take possession of all the property of their debtors; then only will order be established. This severe act of jurisprudence should not have a retroactive effect. Humanity and policy will indicate the proper medium to be adopted for the liquidation of old debts. But with respect to new engagements, nothing should screen them from the rigour of the law that should be enacted.

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VERY bitter remonstrances will certainly be made at first. Where shall we find, will it be said, a planter so rash as to attempt an undertaking of any consequence, when he shall be certain of ruin, if his labours should not be seconded by chance and by the elements, upon the day appointed for him to fulfil his engagements? The dread of misery and of ignominy will seize upon the minds of all men. Henceforward there will be no loans, no business, no circulation. Industry will degenerate into sloth, and credit will be destroyed by the very system adopted to re-establish it.

We have no doubt but that this would be the language of the colonists in the first instance; but in the end, and even in a short time, this arrangement would be most agreeable to those who had been at first the most violent against it. Informed by public knowlege and by experience, they would be sensible that the facility of putting off payment had been burdensome to them, and

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that they had found credit only by purchasing it upon such terms as were sufficient to balance the risque of lending to them.

THE indulgences which might have been proper in the early state of the colonies, would, in our days, become an inexcusable weakness. These settlements will never thrive as they ought to do, unless the means of cultivation be multiplied; which they will not be, till the creditor be enabled to put an entire confidence in his debtor. The system which is favourable to want of skill, to rash undertakings, and to dishonesty, must be overturned; and the face of all things will soon be changed. The European merchant, who at present only advances trifling sums to the American planter, and that with great apprehensions, will not find a better way of employing his capital. With greater assistances, other plantations would be formed; and the old ones will acquire a new value. The French islands will at length arrive to that degree of fortune, to which the richness of their soil hath, in vain, for so long a time invited them. If, notwithstanding the progress of knowlege, the court of Versailles should not be able to contrive a system of legislation, more wise and more perfect than that which is established in the English and in the Dutch possessions, they must not hesitate to adopt the same. Already have these three powers shew'n other marks of conformity in their principles. They have alike concentrated the connections of their American settlements in the mother-country.

ALL

ALL the colonies have not had the same origin. Some took their rise from the restless spirit of some tribes of barbarians, who, after having long wandered through desert countries, fixed themselves at last, from mere weariness, in any one where they might form a nation. Others, driven out of their own territory by some powerful enemy, or allured by chance to a better climate than their own, have removed thither, and shared the lands with the natives. An excess of population, an abhorrence for tyranny, factions, and revolutions, have induced other citizens to quit their native country, and to go and build new cities in foreign climes. The spirit of conquest made some soldiers settle in the countries they had subdued, to secure the property of them to themselves. None of these colonies were first formed with a view to trade. Even those that were founded by Tyre, Carthage, and Marseilles, which were all commercial republics, were only meant for necessary retreats upon barbarous coasts, and for marts, where ships that were come from different ports, and tired with a long voyage, reciprocally made their exchanges.

THE conquest of America gave the first idea of a new kind of settlement, the basis of which is agriculture. The governments that founded those colonies, chose that such of their subjects as as they sent thither, should not have it in their power to consume any thing but what they drew from the mother-country, or to sell the produce of their lands to any other state. This double obligation has appeared to all nations to be consonant

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Has the mother-country, in compelling the islands to deliver their produce only to herself, sufficiently secured the exportation of them ?

sonant to the law of nature, independent of all conventions, and self-evident. They have not looked upon an exclusive intercourse with their own colonies as an immoderate compensation for the expences of settling and preserving them. This has constantly been the system of Europe relative to America.

FRANCE, like other nations, was always desirous that it's settlements of the New World should send all their productions to the mother-country, and should receive all their provisions from thence. But, in the present state of things, this arrangement is impracticable.

THE islands are in want of flour, wine, oil, linen, stuffs, household furniture, and every thing that contributes to the conveniencies of life. They must receive all these things from the mother-country, which even supposing a system of indefinite liberty, would sell them exclusively, except flour, which North America might furnish at a cheaper rate.

BUT these possessions are likewise in want of Negroes to carry on the labours. The mother-country hath hitherto supplied this deficiency in a very imperfect manner only. It therefore becomes necessary to have recourse to the English, who are alone able to fill up the void. The only precaution which would be proper to be taken, would be, to establish, perhaps, upon the succours received from these rivals, a duty that would deprive them of the advantages which particular circumstances give them over the French merchants.

LASTLY,

LASTLY, in the present state of the colonies, cattle, salt fish, and foreign woods, are become absolutely necessary for them. It must be considered as an impossibility to convey them from Europe; and it is only from New England that they can obtain these means which are essentially requisite for the culture of their plantations.

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SMUGGLING, more or less tolerated, hath been hitherto the only resource of the planters; but this method, beside being too expensive, is dishonest and insufficient. It is time that prohibitive laws should give way to the imperious law of necessity. Government should point out the ports where foreign productions may be received; they should settle the provisions which should be allowed to be carried; they should form judicious institutions, which might give a degree of consistency to this arrangement; and advantages will be found to accrue from this new system, exempt from every inconvenience; a trial was made of it in 1765. If this fortunate plan was given up, it was on account of that fatal instability which hath for a long time disgraced the naval operations of France: it will therefore be resumed, and at the same time the colonies will be secure of a mart for all their productions.

THESE settlements send annually to the mother-country, besides what they keep for their own consumption; a hundred thousand hogheads of melasses; the value of which may be from nine to ten millions\*. From ill-judged motives of

\* From 375,000 l. to 416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

interest,



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interest, perhaps, she hath deprived them and herself of this benefit; from an apprehension of injuring the sale of her own brandy. The brandies drawn from sugar, always inferior to those extracted from wine, can only be for the use of poor nations, or of the lower class of people in the rich ones. They will never be preferred to any but malt spirits, and these are not distilled in France. There will always be a demand for the French brandies, even in the islands, for the use of that class of men who can afford to pay for them. The government, therefore, can never too soon retract so unjust and so fatal an error, and ought to admit melasses and rum into it's ports, to be consumed there, or wherever else they may be wanted. Nothing would more extend their consumption, than to authorise French navigators to carry them directly to the foreign markets. This indulgence ought even to be extended to the whole produce of the colonies. As an opinion that clashes with so many interests and so many prejudices, may probably be contested, it will be proper to establish it on clear principles.

THE French islands furnish the mother-country with sugars, coffee, cotton, indigo, and other commodities, that are partly consumed at home, and partly disposed of in foreign countries, which return in exchange either silver, or other articles that are wanted. These islands receive from the mother-country clothes, provisions and instruments of husbandry. Such is the twofold destination of the colonies. In order to fulfil it they must be rich. In order to be rich, they must  
grow

grow large crops, and be able to dispose of them at the best price: and that this price may be kept up, the sale of them must be as general as possible. To obtain this, it must be made entirely free. In order to make it as free as possible, it must be clogged with no formalities, no expences, no labours, no needless incumbrances. These truths, which may be proved from their close connection with each other, must determine whether it be advantageous that the trade of the colonies should be subjected to the delays and expence of a staple in France.

THESE intermediate expences must necessarily fall either upon the consumer or upon the planter. If upon the former, he will consume less, because his means do not increase in proportion to his expences; if upon the latter, as his produce brings in less, he will be less able to make the necessary advances for the next crop, and of course his lands will yield less. The evident progress of these destructive consequences is so little attended to, that every day we hear people confidently say, that merchandize, before it is consumed, must pass through many hands, and undergo many charges, both for handicraft and carriage; and that as these charges employ and maintain a number of persons, they are conducive to the population and strength of a state. Men are so blinded by prejudice, as not to see, that if it be advantageous that commodities, before they are consumed, should undergo a two-fold expence, this advantage will still be increased, to the greater emolument of the nation,

if

if this expence should amount to four, eight, twelve, or thirty times more. Then, indeed, all nations might break up their highways, fill up their canals, prohibit the navigation of their rivers; they might even exclude animals from the labours of the field, and employ none but men in these works, in order to add to the expences that precede the consumption of the produce: Yet such are the absurdities we must maintain, if we admit the false principle we are now opposing.

BUT political truths must be long canvassed before they are perceived. I shall advance, without fearing to be contradicted, that the transcendent parts of geometry have neither the depth nor the subtilty of this species of arithmetic. There is nothing possible in mathematics, which the genius of Newton, or of some of his successors, might not have flattered itself to accomplish. But I shall not say as much of them, with respect to the matters we are now treating of. At first sight we imagine that we had but one difficulty to solve: but this difficulty soon brings on another; that again a third, and thus we proceed, *ad infinitum*; and we perceive that we must either give up the work, or embrace at once the whole immense system of social order, without which we shall obtain only an incomplete and defective result. The data, and the calculations, vary according to the nature of the place, it's productions, it's specie, it's resources, it's connections, it's laws, it's customs, it's taste, it's commerce, and it's manners. Where shall we find the man sufficiently

sufficiently informed to embrace all these elements? Where the mind sufficiently accurate to appreciate them only at their proper value? All informations concerning the different branches of society, are no more than the branches of that tree, which constitutes the science of the man engaged in public life. He must be an ecclesiastic, a military man, a magistrate, a financier, a merchant, and a husbandman. He must have weighed all the advantages and obstacles which he is to expect from passion, from rival pretensions, and from private interest. With all the knowledge that may be acquired without genius, and with all the genius that may have been bestowed upon him without knowledge, he is instantly led into mistakes. It is not therefore surprising, that so many errors should have gained credit among the people, who never repeat any thing but what they have hear'd; that so many should have prevailed among speculators, who suffer themselves to be led away by the spirit of system, and who scruple not to conclude a general truth, from some particular success; that so many mistakes should happen among men of business, who are all of them more or less enslaved to the routine of their predecessors, and more or less restrained by the ruinous consequences of attempting any thing contrary to custom; in a word, that so many faults should be committed among statesmen, who by their birth, or by favour, are brought up to important places, to which they come with profound ignorance, that leaves them at the discretion of corrupt subalterns, who  
either



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either deceive or mislead them. In every well regulated society, there ought to be no matter upon which a freedom of discussion should not be allowed. The more weighty, and the more difficult this matter is, the more necessary doth this discussion become. Can we then have a more important, a more complicated subject than that of government? Or could any court, that was fond of truth, do better than to encourage all men to exercise their thoughts upon it? And should we not be authorized to think of that court, who should forbid this study, that we must either distrust their operations, or conclude them to be bad? The true result of a prohibitive edict upon this point, might very properly be contained in the following words: THE SOVEREIGN FORBIDS THAT IT SHOULD BE DEMONSTRATED TO HIM, THAT HIS MINISTER IS EITHER A FOOL OR A KNAVE, FOR IT IS HIS PLEASURE THAT HE SHOULD BE EITHER THE ONE OR THE OTHER, WITHOUT ANY NOTICE BEING TAKEN OF IT. The council of Versailles, long blinded by that darkness in which they suffered their nation to remain, had not yet acquired a sufficient degree of knowledge to discover what kind of administration was fittest for the colonies, and they are still equally ignorant of the form of government best calculated to make them prosper.

Is the authority in the French islands committed to those persons who are

THE French colonies, settled by profligate men, who fled from the restraints or punishments of the law, seemed at first to stand in need of nothing but a strict police; they were therefore committed



committed to chiefs who had an unlimited authority. The spirit of intrigue, natural to all courts, but more especially familiar to a nation where gallantry gives the women an universal ascendant, has at all times filled the higher posts in America with worthless men, loaded with debts and vices. The ministry, from some sense of shame, and the fear of raising such men where their disgrace was know'n, have sent them beyond sea, to improve or retrieve their fortunes, among people who were ignorant of their misconduct. An ill-judged compassion, and that mistaken maxim of courtiers, that villany is necessary, and villains are useful, made them deliberately sacrifice the peace of the planters, the safety of the colonies, and the very interests of the state, to a set of infamous persons only fit to be imprisoned. These rapacious and dissolute men sifted the seeds of all that was good and laudable, and checked the progress of that prosperity which was rising spontaneously.

ARBITRARY power carries along with it so subtle a poison, that even those men who went over with honest intentions, were soon corrupted. If ambition, avarice, and pride, had not begun to infect them, they would not have been proof against flattery, which never fails to raise it's meanness upon general slavery, and to advance it's own fortune by public calamities.

THE few governors who escaped corruption, meeting with no support in an arbitrary administration, were continually committing mistakes. Men are to be governed by laws

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and not by men. If the governors be deprived of this common rule, this standard of their judgments, all right, all safety, and all civil liberty, will be extinct. Nothing will then be seen but contradictory decisions, transient and opposite regulations and orders, which, for want of fundamental maxims, will have no connection with each other. If the code of laws were cancelled, even in the best-constituted empire, it would soon appear that justice alone was not sufficient to govern it well. The wisest men would be inadequate to such a task. As they would not all be of the same mind, and as each of them would not always be in the same disposition, the state would soon be subverted. This kind of confusion was perpetual in the French colonies, and the more so, as the governors made but a short stay in one place, and were recalled before they had time to take cognizance of any thing. After they had proceeded without a guide for three years, in a new country, and upon unformed plans of police and laws, these rulers were replaced by others, who, in as short a space, had not time to form any connection with the people they were to govern, nor to ripen their projects into that justice which, when tempered with mildness, can alone secure the execution of them. This want of experience, and of precedents, so much intimidated one of these absolute magistrates, that, out of delicacy, he would not venture to decide upon the common occurrences. Not but that he was aware of the inconveniencies of his irresolution; but, though an able man, he

did not think himself qualified to be a legislator, and therefore did not chuse to usurp the authority of one.

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YET these disorders might easily have been prevented, by substituting an equitable legislation, firm, and independent of private will, to a military government, violent in itself, and adapted only to critical and perilous times. But this scheme, which has often been proposed, was disapproved by the governors jealous of absolute power; which, formidable in itself, is always odious in a subject. These slaves, escaped from the secret tyranny of the court, were remarkably attached to that form of justice which prevails in Asiatic governments, by which they kept even their own dependents in awe. The reformation was rejected even by some virtuous governors, who did not consider, that, by reserving to themselves the right of doing good, they left it in the power of their successors to do ill with impunity. All exclaimed against a plan of legislation that tended to lessen the dependence of the people; and the court was weak enough to give way to their insinuation and advice, from a consequence of that propensity to arbitrary power natural to princes and their ministers. They thought they provided sufficiently for their colonies, by giving them an intendant to balance the power of the governor.

THESE distant settlements, which, till then, had groaned under the yoke of one proprietor only, now became a prey to two, equally dangerous by their division and their union. When they were at variance they divided the minds of the people,

fowed discord among their adherents, and kindled a kind of civil war. The rumour of their dissensions was at length brought to Europe, where each party had it's favourers, who were animated by pride or interest to support them in their posts. When they agreed, either because their good or bad intentions happened to be the same, or because the one had got an entire ascendant over the other, the colonists were in a worse condition than ever. Whatever oppression these victims laboured under, their complaints were never hear'd in the mother-country, who looked upon the harmony that subsisted between her delegates, as the most certain proof of a faultless administration.

THE fate of the French colonies is not much improved. Their governors, besides having the disposal of the regular troops, have a right to inflict the inhabitants; to order them to what works they think proper: to employ them as they think proper in time of war, and even to make use of them for conquest. Intrusted with absolute authority, and desirous of exerting all the powers that can establish or extend it, they take upon themselves the cognizance of civil debts. The debtor is summoned, throw'n into prison, or into a dungeon, and compelled to pay without any other formality; and this is what they call the service, or the military department. The intendants have the sole management and disposal of the finances, and generally order the collecting of them. They inquire into all causes, both civil and criminal; whether justice has not yet taken cognizance of them, or whether they have already been brought before



before the superior tribunals; and this is what they call administration. The governors and intendants jointly grant the lands that have not yet been given away, and determined, a few years ago, all differences that arose respecting the old possessions. This arrangement placed the fortunes of all the colonists in their hands, or in those of their clerks and dependants; and consequently made all property precarious, and occasioned the utmost confusion.

IN mechanics, the further the resisting powers are removed from the center, the more the moving force must be increased; in like manner, we are told, the colonies cannot be secured any otherwise than by a harsh and absolute government. If so, Sir William Petty was in the right to disapprove of these sort of settlements. It would be better that the earth should remain unpeopled, or thinly inhabited, than that some powers should be extended to the misfortune of the people. It is incumbent upon France to invalidate this system of an Englishman against colonies, by improving more and more in the method of governing them. That enlightened spirit which distinguishes the present age, whatever may be the assertion of those who attribute to the contempt of certain prejudices the vices inseparable from luxury, and to the freedom of thinking and writing, those corrupt manners that arise from the passions of the great, and from the abuse of power: that enlightened spirit, I say, which still supports and guides the nation, while morality is little attended to, will restore the court of Versailles to those judicious principles which we



have so often pointed out to them. If any person hath been offended by them, he need only be questioned, and it will be found that he is some vile adulator of the great, or some inferior person attached by his situation or by interest to the administration, of which he is the panegyrist; we may conclude, that he hath not the least idea of the duty which a citizen owes to his country. Shall I be considered as the accomplice of a villain, if I should not call out when I see him throwing a lighted torch into the house of a fellow citizen; and shall not my silence be deemed culpable, when I see the whole empire threatened with a conflagration? It is not the subject who keeps his sovereign in the dark, respecting the dangers of his situation, who can be called a faithful subject; it is he who acquaints him of it with frankness at the risk of incurring his displeasure. But it is urged, why do you not address yourself to those who govern the kingdom, rather than to the public? Can those who govern be approached? Would they listen to you? Do they not think that all knowledge is centered in them? Do they judge for themselves? Would not the most important speculations be sent back to offices and submitted to the decision of a clerk, who would not fail to disapprove them, either from ignorance, from vanity, or from some other less secret and more vile motive. It is not certain that I should be hear'd, even if my voice were assisted by a multitude of other voices. Let me therefore be allowed to speak. Let me be allowed to tell my country what can raise her possessions in the New World,

World, to that degree of prosperity and of happiness of which they are susceptible.

FEW alterations will be found necessary, with regard to what concerns public worship; it hath been made subordinate as much as possible to civil authority. It's ministers are monks, whose appearance of gravity, and whose singular dress, make more impression upon the ignorant and superstitious Negroes, than could be expected from the most sublime moral precepts of religion. The allurements of novelty, so powerful in France, had a few years ago suggested a project of substituting bishops and a numerous clergy to these convenient pastors. In vain had all men united in rejecting a body of clergy, formidable by their ambition, their avarice, and their pretensions. Had not the turbulent and unskilful minister, who had formed this destructive plan been disgraced, the French colonies would have been tormented by a calamity, still greater than that which they have experienced for so long a time from legislative authority.

THESE great settlements were founded by chance, either fortunate or unfortunate, a little before the middle of the last century. There was at that time no fixed idea respecting the countries of the New World. For this reason the customs adopted at Paris, and the criminal laws of the kingdom were chosen for their regulation. Judicious men have since that been well aware, that this kind of jurisprudence could not be suitable to a country of slavery, to a climate, to morals, to cultures, and to possessions, which

have no kind of resemblance to our's; but these reflections of some individuals have had no influence upon the operations of government. Far from correcting the defects of these first institutions, they have added to the absurdity of the principles, embarrassments, confusion, and a multiplicity of forms, and consequently no justice hath been rendered.

THINGS will remain in the same state till a system of legislation peculiarly adapted to the islands shall render juridical decisions possible and even easy; but this important work cannot be done in France. Leave to the colonists assembled the care of representing their own wants, let them be suffered to form themselves such a code as they shall think most suitable to their situation. When this great labour shall have been executed with mature deliberation, it should be submitted to the deepest and most rigorous disquisitions. The sanction of government ought not to be granted to it, till every doubt be removed with respect to it's utility and to it's perfection. There will then be no fear of a want of good magistrates. The laws will be so precise, so clear, and so well adapted to business, that the tribunals will no longer be accused of ignorance, of want of application, or of dishonesty.

FROM this new order of things an exact police would arise. This method of keeping the citizens in order is easy in Europe. A father does the office of a censor in his own family, he watches over his wife, his children, and his domestics. The proprietor, or the principal tenant, exerts  
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the same authority in his house; the manufacturer or the tradesman in his warehouse, or in his workshop. One neighbour is a kind of inspector over another. Associations of men jealous of their honour, keep a vigilant eye over the conduct and actions of their members; no man of bad character is received among them, and they expel those who have disgraced themselves. A dangerous man is soon found out, and every door is shut against him. There is a tribunal of honour, and another of scandal. Morality exerts a kind of judicature which no one can avoid. Where is the man, who is not more or less restrained by the public opinion? All these species of authority derogate from the functions of government. America, full of insulated individuals, without country, and without relations, who are for ever changing place, and incessantly renewed, and who are urged to the boldest enterprises by their thirst after riches: America requires a more active, a more steady, and a more circumstantial administration.

INSTEAD of this, one officer, under the name of King's Lieutenant, residing in a port, or in a small town, was for a long while solely intrusted with that important office in the French islands. This man was a petty tyrant, who distressed the planters, who extorted money from trade, and who preferred the selling of a pardon to the prevention of misdemeanours. For some years past the commanders of the militia, have in each district been intrusted with the care of maintaining public tranquillity, under the inspection of the chief of  
the





the colony. This new arrangement is not so defective as the former, but it is still too arbitrary. Let us indulge in the pleasing expectation, that the same code by which the fortune of each individual shall be put under the protection of the laws, will also secure his liberty.

At this period trade will be better regulated than it hath yet been. The French merchants do not go themselves to the islands, but they send there cargoes more or less valuable. Those which are not of much value, are commonly distributed by the captains of the ships for ready money. The most important of them, such as those which carry slaves, are mostly delivered upon credit, and agents are fixed in those settlements for the collecting of the money. The payments are seldom made at the appointed time; and this want of punctuality hath always occasioned disputes between the colonies and the mother-country. Administration have for a long time been endeavouring to put an end to these eternal discords. Might there not be a register kept in each jurisdiction, in which every debt should be noted in the same order in which it had been contracted? When intelligent persons should determine, that the debtor's estate was mortgaged for more than half its value, every creditor should be allowed to put it up to sale.

This arrangement, though wise and necessary, would certainly displease the colonists; but they would soon be comforted, respecting what they might at first have considered as an unfortunate circumstance, should that rigour be moderated by



by a better administration of the finances. Government were cruel enough, even at the first origin of the colonies, to exact a tribute from those unfortunate people who went to the New World to seek their subsistence. Stronger contributions were required of them, in proportion as their labours and the fruits of their industry were multiplied; and yet this enormous weight, with which their commodities, their consumptions, and their slaves were overloaded, scarcely excite a feeble remonstrance. The complaints are generally founded upon the tyrannical manner in which the public revenue is collected, and upon the pernicious uses to which it is applied. It is alleged, that the treasury thinks itself exhausted by the expences which are required for the preservation of the islands. They themselves offer to defray all these expences in the most ample manner, provided that the taxes be regulated and disposed of by the national assemblies. The troops will then be more regularly paid, and the fortifications kept in better order, under the inspection of government itself. Disencumbered from that multitude of officers, who under the name of the staff, exhaust them; of those legions of rapacious farmers of the revenue who oppress them incessantly and beyond measure, the colonies will attend to their improvement. Convenient roads will be opened on all sides, the morasses will be dried up, a bed will be digged for the torrents, that of the rivers will be repaired, and bridges will be constructed to secure the communications. The young Creoles will receive upon their own soil a proper education,

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education, which they did not obtain even by crossing the seas. In a word, there will be a body appointed, which shall be authorized to pursue, even to the foot of the throne, that despotic rage which so frequently seizes upon those vain or corrupt men, who are chosen by intrigue or by ignorance to govern these distant regions.

Nothing appears to be more consonant to the ends of sound policy, than to allow these islanders the right of governing themselves, provided it be in subordination to the mother-country; nearly in the same manner as a boat follows all the directions of the ship it is fastened to. It will, perhaps, be objected, that the people in those remote islands being continually renewed by the fluctuation of commerce, this will naturally bring in a number of worthless men; and that it will be long before we can expect to see those manners and that sagacity among them, which will be productive of public spirit, and of that dignity which is requisite to support the weight of affairs, and the interests of a nation. This objection might have some foundation, if we attended merely to the character of those Europeans who are driven to America by their wants or their vices; who, by thus transporting themselves, either by choice or from other motives, are strangers every where; commonly corrupted by the want of laws, ill-supplied by an arbitrary police; by that depraved taste for dominion, which results from the abuse of slavery; and by the dazzling lustre of a great fortune, which makes them forget their former obscurity. But this class of men ought to have no share in the administration,

ministration, which should be wholly committed to proprietors, mostly born in the colonies: for justice is the natural consequence of property; and none are more interested in the good government of a country, than those who are entitled by their birth to the largest possessions in it. These Creoles, who have naturally a great share of penetration, a frankness of character, an elevation of soul, and a certain love of justice that arises from these valuable dispositions, would be so sensible of the marks of esteem and confidence which would be shewn them by the mother-country, in intrusting them with the interior management of their own, that they would grow fond of that fertile soil, take a pride in improving it, and be happy in introducing all the comforts of a civilized society. Instead of that antipathy to France, which is a reflection upon her ministers, and upbraids them with their severity, we should see in the colonies that attachment which paternal kindness always inspires to children. Instead of that secret eagerness which, in time of war, makes them readily submit to a foreign yoke, we should see them uniting their efforts to prevent or repulse an invasion. Fear will restrain men under the immediate eye of a powerful and formidable master; but affection alone can command them at a distance. This is, perhaps, the only spring that acts upon the frontier provinces of an extensive kingdom; while the indolent and rapacious inhabitants of the metropolis are kept in awe by authority. Attachment to the sovereign is a principle which cannot be too much encouraged, or too much extended; but if it be neither merited

nor

nor returned, he will not enjoy it long. No more joy will then appear in public festivals, no transports of exultation, no involuntary acclamations will be hear'd at the sight of the beloved idol. Curiosity will bring a throng wherever there is a public spectacle; but contentment will not appear in any countenance. A sullen discontent will arise, and spread from one province to another; and from the mother-country to the colonies. When the fortunes of all men are injured or threatened at once, the alarm and the commotion becomes general. Exertions of authority, multiplied by the imprudence of those who first venture upon them, occasion a general alarm, and fall successively upon all bodies of men. The avengers of crimes, and supporters of the rights of the colonists, are brought up even from America, and confined like malefactors in the prisons of Europe. The weapons of government, which seemed useless against the enemy, are directed against these valuable subjects of the state. Those people, who could not be defended in time of war, are alarmed in time of peace. The French ministry have never granted to their possessions in the New World, the support requisite to preserve them from ravages or from invasion, and they will never fulfil this obligation, unless they increase in the Old World their arsenals, their manufactures, and their slaves. Philosophers of all countries, friends of mankind, pardon a French writer who endeavours to excite his country to raise a formidable navy. It is in order to secure the tranquillity of the world that he wishes

to



to see that same equilibrium established in all the seas, which constitutes at present the security of the continent.

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If it should be doubted whether France can aspire to that kind of power, we have only to consider it's position. Sufficiently extensive to prevent it from being dependent upon any of the surrounding powers, and yet so fortunately limited as not to be weakened by it's extent, this monarchy is situated in the center of Europe, between the ocean and the Mediterranean. It can transport all it's productions from one sea to another, without passing under the threatening cannon of Gibraltar, or under the insulting flag of the Barbary powers. Most of it's provinces are watered by rivers, or intersected by canals, which secure the communication between it's inland countries and it's ports, and between it's ports and it's inland countries. It's neighbours are, fortunately, not able to furnish their own subsistence, or carry on a trade that is merely passive. The temperature of it's climate procures to it the inestimable advantage of sending out and receiving it's ships at all seasons of the year. The depth of it's harbours enables it to give to it's ships the form the most proper for swiftness and security.

Can France acquire a military navy? Doth it suit her to have one? What measures must be taken for that purpose?

CAN France be in need of objects, and of materials for exportation? It's productions, of the Old and of the New World, are eagerly sought after by all nations: but it is more especially by it's manufactures, and by it's fashions, that it hath subdued Europe, and some parts of the other



other hemisphere. The nations are fascinated, and will ever remain so. The endeavours which have every where been made to get rid of so ruinous a tribute, by imitations of this foreign industry, have no where had the expected success. The fertility of invention will ever be beforehand with the quickness of imitation; and the agility of a people, in whose hands, every thing assumes a youthful appearance, and who have the art of making every thing appear old among their neighbours, will deceive the jealousy and the avidity of those who endeavour to enter into a competition with them by imitation. How extensive might the navigation of an empire be, which furnishes to the other states the objects of their vanity, of their luxury, and of their voluptuousness?

CAN the population of France be deemed inadequate to numerous armaments? It is well known at present, that this power reckons twenty-two millions of inhabitants. The reproach that is made them, that they have more sailors upon each of their ships than their rivals, is alone a sufficient proof that men are not wanted for the naval art, but that they are themselves deficient in it. Yet no people have ever received from nature more of that vivacity of genius, fit to improve the building of ships, or more of that dexterity of body, so well calculated to spare the time and expences of handicraft, by the simplicity and celerity of the means employed.

Is it because France cannot furnish from itself all sorts of naval stores, that it can be thought  
unable

unable to have a maritime force? But are not her rivals likewise obliged to have recourse for these things to the north of Europe, and even more than France herself? Doth their climate, their industry, and their colonies, furnish them with the same facility of completing their exchanges in the Baltic?

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FRANCE hath therefore all the requisites necessary to become a truly naval power: but doth it suit her to entertain this ambitious idea?

FOR a long time, the only method know'n to acquire fortune and glory, was by numerous and well-disciplined armies. The East and the West Indies were discovered; and this unforeseen event occasioned an astonishing revolution in the minds of all men. Perhaps a reasonable ambition would have been contented with obtaining, by the mode of exchange, the riches and the productions of these two extensive parts of the globe. The thirst of dominion, too common among nations, occasioned the ruinous and destructive system of conquests to be generally preferred. These immense regions were mostly subdued. Matters were carried still further. The people who inhabited these new climates were either too weak or too indolent to serve as the instruments of the cupidity of an unjust invader. In several places, they were all either exterminated, or expelled from the countries that had given them birth, and Europeans, or African slaves, were substituted to them, who multiplied the commodities, the germina of which they found there, and who

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established other cultures, which a new, fertile, and varied soil could easily supply.

It was necessary to give some stability to these settlements. The restlessness of the nations which had divided these virgin regions, and the jealousy of those which had not enjoyed that advantage, were equally to be apprehended. A naval force alone could give consistence to the rising colonies, and even to those which were in the greatest forwardness. To preserve them from invasion, fleets were constructed and fitted out. At this remarkable period, the system of politics was entirely altered. The earth was in some measure subjected to the sea, and the great political strokes were stricken on the ocean.

FRANCE, less accustomed to serve as a guide, than to surpass it's masters, beheld without emulation the rise of a new species of power. The navy did not even form any part of the too extensive projects of the ambitious Richlieu. It was reserved to the monarch for whose grandeur he had paved the way, to make his flag respected in the two hemispheres. But this glory was of small duration. Lewis XIV. by his enterprises, irritated the whole continent, and, in order to resist the leagues which were formed there against him, was obliged to maintain innumerable armies. His kingdom soon became nothing more than a camp; and his frontiers were only a string of fortified places. The springs of the state were always kept in too high a degree of tension under this brilliant reign. One

crisis was succeeded by another. At length the finances were in disorder; and in the impossibility of defraying all the expences, the sacrifice of the naval forces was thought, perhaps improperly, to be indispensable.

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SINCE the end of a century, in which the nation sustained it's disgraces, by the remembrance at least of it's successes, and still kept Europe in awe by forty years of glory, cherished a government by which it had been honoured, and bade defiance to rivals whom it had humbled: since that period, France hath lost much of it's pride, notwithstanding the acquisitions with which it's territory hath been extended. A long peace would not have enervated her, if her forces, too long lavished in war, had been turned to the navy: but her naval powers have acquired no consistence. The avarice of one minister, the prodigality of another; the indolence of several; false notions, trifling interests, the intrigues of the court, by which government is guided; a series of vices and of faults; a number of obscure and despicable causes; all these circumstances have prevented the nation from becoming as powerful upon sea as it had been on the continent; at least from acquiring a balance, if not a preponderance of power. Even the losses which France experienced in all parts of the globe, during the hostilities begun in 1756; the humiliations which she was obliged to submit to at the peace of 1763, did not restore a spirit of wisdom to the council that governed the nation, and did

not turn their projects and their efforts towards the system of a formidable navy.

BUT what measures should France pursue, in order to create and maintain a naval force?

THE first step to be taken, without which the others would become either useless or fatal, must be, to encourage the mercantile branch of the navy. It is that alone which can form men, enured to the hardships of climates, to the fatigues of labour, and to the dangers of storms. This truth being once established, those innumerable shackles which have hitherto exclusively insured the exportation of the commodities of the kingdom to foreign nations, and which have even too often given up to them the coasting trade, will be taken off. We will not affirm, that an act of navigation, similar to that which hath occasioned the glory of England, would be suitable to France: but that crown ought at least to establish such regulations as might enable it's subjects to share those benefits, which the Swedes, the Danes, and the Dutch, come and take from them even in their own harbours.

THIS new order of things will never be established, till the naval trade shall emerge from that humiliating state into which it hath hitherto unfortunately been plunged. The laws forbid any navigator from commanding a trading vessel, till he shall have made three voyages upon a king's ship: after this trial, he may still be compelled to remain in the king's service, during a time of war. The abject state in which he is kept



kept in that service, must necessarily excite an aversion for the sea in all men who have received any education, who enjoy some kind of fortunes, or who have some degree of spirit. Either these shameful fetters must be broken, or the French must give up the hopes of seeing the ocean covered with their numerous and rich armaments.

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THE state of oppression in which the sailors are kept, is another obstacle to the multiplication of expeditions. These men, who so essentially contribute to the opulence and to the strength of the kingdom, are inscribed in registers, and are instantly obliged to embark on board of men of war, upon receiving orders from the ministry, for whatever time they shall chuse, and at whatever stipend it may be thought proper to give them; nor are these hard terms in the least alleviated by any consideration either of talents or age. At the time even when they are not employed in the public service, they are not allowed to dispose of their industry, and of their leisure, without the permission of an agent of government. This slavery averts from this necessary profession, most of those whose inclination would otherwise have led them to it, if it were not destructive of all kind of liberty. If these institutions were suppressed, or, at least, the severity of them were diminished, the harbours and the coasts of France would then be filled with sailors.

BUT who shall lead them on to action, and to the defence of their country? Seignelay decided that it should be the nobility, and his opinion hath been adopted ever since. Hath nature then

exclusively granted to a nobleman a natural constitution, which cannot be affected by climate, by hunger, and by fatigue? Hath she exclusively granted to him the boldness that bids defiance to danger, and the coolness that surmounts it? Hath she given to him exclusively that genius which determines and insures victory? It is said, that opinion and prejudice inspire men of this rank with an ardour for glory, and an indifference for wealth, which are not to be found among other classes of men. What! is it in the midst of a corrupt court, is it among the rubbish of a ruined castle, that principles of elevation and of disinterestedness are to be preferably sought for? The son of a navigator, whose fortunate labours have been crowned with wealth, and who can have no other ambition than that of rendering his name illustrious, is no less powerfully excited to memorable actions and to great sacrifices, than that young nobleman who is constantly sheltering himself under the laurels of his ancestors. What period hath ever shew'n, that a title which we are in possession of is a more powerful stimulus than one to which we aspire? What was the first person who deserved nobility before he had obtained it? If some of his illustrious descendants had been in his place, his children and his posterity would have remained in obscurity. True nobility was in the blood and in the destiny of man, before it existed upon parchment. To acquire it, it is necessary to have good fortune and merit: good fortune, which shall present occasions to us, and merit, by which we may improve

prove them. All who have been ennobled in past ages, and all who shall be ennobled in future, have proved, and will hereafter prove, that this great road is open to a few men only; and that it is as easy to find a great mind under a plain dress, as a mean spirit under the decoration of a ribband. Courage, virtue, and genius, belong to all ranks. But in order to ascertain this matter, let the career be laid open indiscriminately to all persons who shall have received a decent education. Let them be embarked on board men of war; let them make a few voyages under experienced commanders; let them be subjected to all the labours, and to all the self-denials, which this difficult profession requires. After these trials, let those who have shew'n the greatest degree of spirit, of skill, of courage, and of emulation, be admitted into the royal navy.

THE excellence of an art, which enables us sometimes to subdue the elements; the advantages of a profession, in which the opportunities of signalizing one's self are more frequent, and in which glory is the personal acquisition of every man, as soon as he hath obtained the command of the smallest vessel; all these reasons will induce them to study, to reflect, and especially to be always manœuvring; for in this profession, the most learned theory must be constantly accompanied with practice. Either in action, or in simple navigation, resolutions must be so quick, that they shall appear rather as the result of feeling than of reflection. The sea officer is more particularly in need of those decisive



thoughts, of those sudden illuminations, as they have been so well described by a sublime orator, in his eulogium of a great captain: and these strokes of instinct and talents, to speak in a less elevated style, must be sooner acquired by practice than by theory.

THIS idea of continual practice the French navy are utterly strangers to. Loose armaments, voyages of a day, in which the time of returning into port is know'n at the time of going out of it: coasts which are visited with as little attention as those countries through which a man travels post: colonies, of which we know as little when we leave them as we did at our arrival: expeditions, in which a speedy return is the only prevailing idea, and where the mind is constantly absorbed in attention to former habits: ships, which are considered as prisons, and which are quitted with transport, without being acquainted either with their defects or perfections. O Frenchmen! O my fellow-citizens! this is exactly a true picture; such hath been hitherto the deplorable employment of the naval forces of our country.

To these successive armaments of a few solitary frigates, the transient expedition of which is of no real utility, let us substitute permanent squadrons, that shall remain three years, or more, in all the latitudes of the Old and of the New World, where we have any settlements, or where we carry on an extensive trade. Let these instructive cruises constantly employ one half of our inferior vessels, and some ships of the line.

Then



Then the officers who remain in the profession merely on account of the facility of fulfilling the duties of it, will retire; and those who persevere in this perilous and honourable employment will then acquire information, experience, and a fondness for that element, upon which they expect to obtain glory and fortune. Subalterns then growing emulous to please superiors destined to command them for a length of time, will learn subordination. The crews, trained up with care to the service, and instructed in the manœuvres by the captains who are to reap the fruits of all their trouble, will then fight with more resolution, and with better skill. Europe hath appeared astonished that the French, who were worthy rivals of the English at the beginning of the last wars, had lost in time that honourable equality. Several causes have occasioned this revolution: the principal of them, and which hath not been attended to, is, that the French have had fresh sailors every campaign, and that their rivals have always kept the same till the termination of hostilities.

THE establishment of stationary squadrons should be followed by other innovations of no less importance. The corps of the navy, at present too numerous, and burthened with useless and idle members, ought to be proportioned to the number of ships and of armaments. Those fatal departments, which excite jealousy without emulation, and which, by hereditary hatred, often occasion the miscarriage of the best contrived projects, must be abolished. Rank, which every  
where,



where, and in all ages, hath stifled genius and talents, will cease to preside over the promotions and the rewards. Among the too great number of ranks it is necessary to pass through, several must be suppressed, in order that it may be possible for a man to acquire a command, before the time prescribed by nature for quitting it. If it be thought necessary to preserve the different classes of officers, the direction of them will be altered, and better regulated. The admirals, whose strength, courage, and activity shall be diminished, either by age, by labour, or by the wounds they may have received, must form a tribunal, which shall direct the choice, the preservation, and the employment of the naval stores. It must be the business of this tribunal to regulate admission into the navy, to determine the promotions, to bestow the command, to settle the cruizes, and direct as much as possible all the operations. Such will hereafter be the council of a minister, who, ignorant of his functions, situated at the distance of a hundred leagues from the sea, devoted either from inclination or necessity to the intrigues of a tempestuous court, hath been constantly, to the present time, the sport of a few obscure, ignorant, and interested adventurers.

In proportion as these plans of reformation which we have been tracing shall be carried into execution, the ships, which were growing rotten in a state of inaction will be repaired, and others will be constructed. France will soon acquire  
numerous

numerous fleets. But where shall the resources be found to put them in action ?

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LET those too magnificent or useless edifices, the maintaining of which becomes ruinous, be demolished : let there be a stop put to the dishonesty which hath but too commonly prevailed in the purchase of naval stores, and to the negligence with which they have been hitherto taken care of : let those useless hands, which protection hath multiplied in our arsenals, be dismissed : let the measures of administration be rendered more simple, by introducing justice and punctuality in our payments : let the crews of the ships, which all disinterested persons acknowledge to be too numerous, be diminished : let all those officers, who are not employed at sea in the service of the state, be reduced to half-pay : let every species of luxury, delicacy, and voluptuousness, which enervates our defenders, and ruins our squadrons, be abolished : let the refitting and repairing of our ships become less frequently necessary. After all these alterations, the funds at present set apart for the navy will be found sufficient to put this essential branch of our power upon a respectable footing. There is even a very simple method of raising it still higher, without any additional expence, which I shall now point out.

FRANCE hath formed colonies in the New World, from which it annually receives to the amount of 130,000,000 of livres \* in commodities. The loss of so considerable a produce would

\* 5,416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

leave

leave an immense vacancy in it's specie, in it's population, in it's industry, and in it's public revenue. The importance of preserving these rich settlements hath been understood, and in order to accomplish it, recourse hath been had to battalions and fortresses. Experience hath proved the insufficiency of these means. The defence of these colonies belongs, and must exclusively belong to the navy. The islands must therefore be put under it's protection, and the expences incurred for the insufficient protection of them must be turned into it's treasury: then will the ordinary funds of the navy of France be found sufficient for the purpose of carrying on it's operations with dignity and advantage.

SUCH are the expectations of Europe. She will not think her liberty secured, till a flag shall be seen displayed upon the ocean that shall not tremble before that of Great Britain. The wishes of the nations are now united in favour of that power, which may be able to defend them against the pretensions of one single people to the universal monarchy of the seas; and at this present period there is none but France that can free them from this anxiety. The system of equilibrium requires, therefore, that the court of Versailles should increase their navy, more especially as they cannot do it without diminishing their land forces. Their influence being then divided between the two elements, will no longer be formidable on either, except to those who should be desirous of disturbing the harmony.

BEFORE

BEFORE I die, may this great revolution, already begun, be completed; together with other reformatations which I have pointed out. Then shall I have obtained the true reward of my vigils. Then shall I exclaim: it is not in vain that I have observed, reflected, and laboured. Then shall I address myself to Heaven, and say: "Dispose of me at present according to thy will, for mine eyes have seen the splendour of my country, and the liberty of the seas restored unto all nations!"

END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

BOOK

## B O O K XIV.

*Settlement of the English in the American Islands.*B O O K  
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A NEW order of things now opens itself to our view. England is, in modern history, the country of great political phœnomena. It is there that we have seen liberty the most violently combating with despotism, sometimes trampled under it's feet, at other times victorious in it's turn. It is there that it's triumph has been completed; which every thing, even the fanaticism of religion, hath concurred in bringing about. There it is, that one king, juridically brought to the scaffold, and another deposed, with his whole race, by the decree of the nation, have given a great lesson to the earth. There it is, that in the midst of civil commotions, and in the intervals of momentary tranquillity, we have seen the exact and deep sciences carried to their greatest perfection we have seen the minds of men, accustom'd to reason, to reflect, and to turn their attention particularly to government. It is there, in a word, that after long and violent struggles, that constitution hath been formed, which, if it be not perfect, and free from all inconveniencies,

is



is at least the most happily suited to the situation of the country; the most favourable to its trade; the best calculated to unfold genius, eloquence, and all the powers of the human mind; the only constitution, perhaps, since man hath lived in a social state, where the laws have secured to him his dignity, his personal liberty, and his freedom of thought; where, in a word, they have made him a citizen, that is to say, a constituent, and integral part of the constitution of the state, and of the nation.

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ENGLAND had not yet displayed to the world this great scene, when her settlements in the Archipelago of America were first begun. Her agriculture was not extended either to flax or hemp. The attempts that had been made to raise mulberry-trees and breed silk-worms, had been unsuccessful. The labours of the husbandman were wholly engaged in the growing of corn, which, notwithstanding the turn of the nation for rural employments, was seldom sufficient for home consumption, and many of their granaries were stored from the fields bordering on the Baltic.

The state of England when she began to form settlements in the American islands.

INDUSTRY was still less advanced than agriculture. It was confined to woollen manufactures. These had been increased since the exportation of unwrought wool had been prohibited; but these islanders, who seemed to work only for themselves, were ignorant of the method of spreading those elegant ornaments upon their stuffs, which taste contrived, to promote the sale and consumption of them. They sent their cloths over to  
Holland,

Holland, where the Dutch gave them their colouring and gloss; from whence they circulated all over Europe, and were even brought back to England.

NAVIGATION scarce employed; at that time, ten thousand sailors. These were in the service of exclusive companies, which had engrossed every branch of trade, not excepting that of woollen cloth, which alone constituted a tenth part of the commercial riches of the nation. These, therefore, were centered in the hands of three or four hundred persons, who agreed, for their own advantage, to fix the price of goods, both at going out and coming into the kingdom. The privileges of these monopolizers were exercised in the capital, where the court sold the provinces. London alone had six times the number of ships that all the other ports of England had.

THE public revenue neither was nor could be very considerable. It was farmed out; a ruinous method, which has preceded the establishment of the finance in all states, but has only been continued under arbitrary governments. The expenses were proportionable to the low state of the treasury. The fleet was small, and the ships so weak, that in times of necessity the merchantmen were turned into men of war. A hundred and sixty thousand militia, which was the whole military strength of the nation, were armed in time of war. There were no standing forces in time of peace, and the king himself had no guards.

WITH

WITH such confined powers at home, the nation should not have ventured to extend itself in settlements abroad. Notwithstanding this, some colonies were established, which laid a solid foundation of prosperity. The origin of these settlements was owing to certain events, the causes of which may be traced very far back.

WHOEVER is acquainted with the history and progress of the English government, knows that the regal authority was for a long time balanced only by a small number of great proprietors of land called Barons. They perpetually oppressed the people, the greater part of whom were degraded by slavery; and they were constantly struggling against the power of the crown, with more or less success, according to the character of the leading men, and the chance of circumstances. These political dissensions occasioned much bloodshed.

Causes  
which hastened the  
population  
of the British  
islands.

THE kingdom was exhausted by intestine wars, which had lasted two hundred years, when Henry VII. assumed the reins of government on the decision of a battle, in which the nation, divided into two camps, had fought to give itself a master. That able prince availed himself of the state of depression into which a series of calamities had sunk his subjects, to extend the regal authority, the limits of which, the anarchy of the feudal government, though continually encroaching upon them, had never been able to fix. He was assisted in this undertaking by the faction which had placed the crown upon his head, and which, being the weakest, could not hope to maintain

itself in the principal employments to which those who were engaged in it had been raised, unless they supported the ambition of their leader. This plan was strengthened by permitting the nobility, for the first time, to alienate their lands. This dangerous indulgence, joined to a taste for luxury, which then began to prevail in Europe, brought on a great revolution in the fortunes of individuals. The immense fiefs of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the estates of the commoners increased.

THE rights belonging to the several estates being divided with the property of them, it became so much the more difficult to unite the will and the power of many against the authority of one. The monarchs took advantage of this period, so favourable to their ambition, to govern without controul. The decayed nobility were in fear of a power which they had reinforced with all their losses. The commons thought themselves sufficiently honoured by the privilege of imposing all the national taxes. The people, in some degree eased of their yoke, by this slight alteration in the constitution, and whose circle of ideas is always confined to business or labour, became tired of seditions, from the desolation and miseries which were the consequence and the punishment of them. So that, while the nation was employed in search of that sovereign authority which had been lost in the confusion of civil wars, its views were fixed upon the monarch alone. The majesty of the throne, the whole lustre of which was centered in him, seemed to be the source of that

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authority,

authority, of which it should only be the visible sign and permanent instrument.

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SUCH was the situation of England, when James I. was called thither from Scotland, as being sole heir to the two kingdoms, which, by his accession, were united under one head. A turbulent nobility, imparting their fury to their barbarous vassals, had kindled the fire of sedition in those northern mountains which divided the island into two distinct states. The monarch had, from his earliest years, been as averse from limited authority, as the people were from despotism and absolute monarchy, which then prevailed all over Europe; and as the new king was equal to other sovereigns, it was natural that he should be ambitious of the same power. His predecessors had enjoyed it, even in England, for a century past. But he was not aware that they owed it to their own political abilities, or to favourable circumstances. This religious prince, who believed he held all from God and nothing from men, fancied that strength of reason, wisdom, and council, was centered in himself, and seemed to arrogate to himself that infallibility of which the pope had been deprived by the reformation, the tenets of which he adopted, though he disliked them. These false principles, which tended to change government into a mystery of religion, the more odious, as it equally influences the opinions, wills, and actions of men, were so rooted in his mind, together with all the other prejudices of a bad education, that he did not even think of





supporting them with any of the human aids of prudence or force.

Nothing could be more repugnant to the general disposition of the people than this system. All was in commotion both at home and abroad. The discovery of America had hastened the advancement of Europe. Navigation extended round the whole globe. The mutual intercourse of nations would soon have removed prejudices, and opened the door to industry and knowledge. The mechanical and liberal arts were extended, and were advancing to perfection by the luxury that prevailed. Literature acquired the ornaments of taste; and the sciences gained that degree of solidity which springs from a spirit of calculation and commerce. The circle of politics was extended. This universal ferment exalted the ideas of men. The several bodies which composed the monstrous colossus of gothic government, roused from that lethargic state of ignorance in which they had been sunk for many ages, soon began to exert themselves on all sides, and to form enterprizes. On the Continent, where mercenary troops had been adopted, under pretence of maintaining discipline, most princes acquired an unlimited authority, oppressing their subjects either by force or intrigue. In England, the love of liberty, so natural to every feeling, or thinking man, excited in the people by the authors of religious innovations, and awakened in the minds of men, enlightened by becoming conversant with the great writers of antiquity, who  
derived

derived from their democratic government that sublimity of reason and sentiment by which they are distinguished; this love of liberty kindled in every generous breast the utmost abhorrence for unlimited authority. The ascendant which Elizabeth found means to acquire and to preserve, by an uninterrupted prosperity of forty years, withheld this impatience, or turned it to enterprizes that were beneficial to the state. But no sooner did another branch ascend the throne, and the scepter devolved to a monarch, who, by the very violence of his pretensions, was not much to be dreaded, than the nation asserted it's rights, and entertained the ambitious thoughts of governing itself.

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It was at this period that warm disputes arose between the court and the parliament. Both powers seemed to be making trial of their strength by continual opposition. The prince pretended, that an entire passive obedience was due to him; and that national assemblies were only the ornaments, not the basis of the constitution. The citizens loudly exclaimed against these principles, always weak when they come to be discussed; and maintained, that the people were an essential part of government, as well as the monarch, and, perhaps, in a higher degree. The one is the matter, the other the form. Now the form may, and must change, for the preservation of the matter. The supreme law is the welfare of the people, not that of the prince; the king may die, the monarchy may be at an end; and society subsist without either monarch or throne.

In this manner the English reasoned at the dawn of liberty. They quarrelled, they opposed, and threatened each other. James died in the midst of these debates, leaving his son to discuss his rights, with the resolution of extending them.

THE experience of all ages has shew'n, that the state of tranquillity which follows the establishment of absolute power, occasions a coolness in the minds of the people, damps their courage, cramps their genius, and throws a whole nation into an universal lethargy. But let us explain the successive progression of this misery; and let the people be acquainted with the profound state of annihilation into which they are sunk, or with which they are menaced.

As soon as the great object, which men only view with fear and trembling, hath been raised up in the midst of the nation, the subjects are divided into two classes. One of them keeps at a distance, from fear; the other approaches this object from ambition; and the latter flatters itself with security from the consciousness of it's meanness. It forms, between the despot and the rest of the nation, an order of subaltern tyrants, not less suspicious, and more cruel, than their master. One hears nothing from them but these words: The king hath said it; it is the king's pleasure; I have seen the king; I have supped with the king; it is the king's intention. These words are always listened to with astonishment; and they are soon considered as the orders of the sovereign. Should there be any energy remaining, it is among the military, whose sense of their  
own

own importance only serves to make them more insolent. What part doth the priest act in this conjuncture? If he be in favour, he completes the slavishness and degeneracy of the people by his example and by his discourses; if he be neglected, he grows out of humour, becomes factious, and seeks out some fanatic, who will sacrifice himself to his views. In all parts where there are no fixt laws, no justice, no unalterable forms, no real property, the influence of the magistrate is little or nothing; he waits only for a signal, to become whatever one may chuse. The great nobleman cringes before the prince, and the people cringe before the great nobleman. The natural dignity of man is eclipsed; and he hath not the least idea of his rights. Around the despot, his agents and his favourites, the subjects are crushed under foot, with the same inadvertence that we crush the insects which swarm among the dust of our fields. The morals are become corrupt. There comes a time when the most inordinate vexations, and the most unheard-of outrages lose their atrocious character, and no longer excite horror. Any one who should pronounce the names of virtue, of patriotism, and of equity, would only be considered as a man of too much warmth; an expression which always implies, an abject indulgence of crimes by which we profit. The body of the nation becomes dissolute and superstitious; for despotism cannot be established without the interference of superstition, nor be maintained without it's support; and fer-  
vitude leads on to debauchery, which affords

some relief to the mind, and is never suppressed. Men of information, if there be any of them remaining, have their views; they pay their court to the great, and profess the religion of policy. Tyranny, leading on in it's train a number of spies and informers, these are consequently to be found in all states, not excepting the most distinguished of them. The least indiscretion, assuming the hue of high-treason, enemies are very dangerous, and friends become suspicious. Men think little, say nothing, and are afraid of reasoning: they are even alarmed at their own ideas. The philosopher keeps his thoughts to himself, as the rich man conceals his treasure. The man who leads the best life, is the most unknow'n. Mistrust and terror form the basis of the general manners. The citizens live separate from each other; and the whole nation becomes melancholy, pusillanimous, stupid, and silent. Such is the series, such, the fatal symptoms, or the scale of misery, by which every nation may learn the degree of it's own wretchedness.

IF, in lieu of the preceding phœnomena, we imagine others that are directly contrary, they will indicate that motion of legislative bodies which tends to liberty. It is disorderly, it is rapid, it is violent. It is a fever, more or less ardent, but always attended with convulsions. Every thing announces sedition and murders. Every thing makes the people tremble, lest a general dissolution should take place; and if they be not destined to experience this last evil, it is in blood that their felicity must revive.



ENGLAND experienced this in the beginning of the reign of Charles I.; who, though not so great a pedant as his father, was equally fond of authority. The division which had begun between the king and the parliament, spread itself throughout the nation. The highest class of the nobility, and the second, which was the richest, afraid of being confounded with the vulgar, engaged on the side of the king, from whom they derived that borrowed lustre, which they returned him by a voluntary and venal bondage. As they still possessed most of the considerable land-estates, they engaged almost all the country people in their party; who naturally love the king, because they think he must love them. London, and all the great towns, inspired by municipal government with the republican spirit, declared for the parliament, and drew along with them the trading part of the nation, who, valuing themselves as much as the merchants in Holland, aspired to the same freedom as that democracy.

THESE divisions brought on the sharpest, the most bloody, and the most obstinate civil war ever recorded in history. Never did the English spirit shew itself in so dreadful a manner. Every day exhibited fresh scenes of violence, which seemed to have been already carried to the highest excess; and these again were outdone by others, still more atrocious. It seemed as if the nation was just upon the brink of destruction, and that every Briton had swor'n to bury himself under the ruins of his country.

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By what  
men the  
British  
islands were  
peopled.

IN this general tumult, the most moderate sought for a peaceable retreat in the American islands, which the English had lately seized upon. The tranquillity they found there, induced others to follow them. While the sedition was spreading in the mother-country, the colonies grew up and were peopled. The patriots who had fled from faction were soon after joined by the royalists, who were oppressed by the republican party, which had at last prevailed.

BOTH these were followed by those restless and spirited men, whose strong passions inspire them with great desires and vast projects; who despise dangers, hazards, and fatigues, and wish to see no other end to them but death or fortune; who know of no medium between affluence and want; equally calculated to overturn or to serve their country, to lay it waste or to enrich it.

THE islands were also the refuge of merchants who had been unfortunate in trade, or were reduced by their creditors to a state of indigence and idleness. Unable as they were to fulfil their engagements, this very misfortune paved the way to their prosperity. After a few years they returned with affluence into their own country, and met with the highest respect in those very places from whence they had been banished with ignominy and contempt.

THIS resource was still more necessary for young people, who in the first transports of youth had been drawn into excesses of debauchery and licentiousness. If they had not quitted their country, shame and disgrace, which never fail to depress  
the

the mind, would have prevented them from recovering either regularity of manners or public esteem. But in another country, where the experience they had of vice might prove a lesson of wisdom, and where they had no occasion to attempt to remove any unfavourable impressions, they found, after their misfortunes, a harbour in which they rested with safety. Their industry made amends for their past follies; and men who had left Europe like vagabonds, and who had disgraced it, returned honest men, and useful members of society.

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ALL these several colonists had at their disposal, for the clearing and tilling of their lands, the most profligate set of men of the three kingdoms, who had deserved death for capital crimes; but who, from motives of humanity and good policy, were suffered to live and to work for the benefit of the state. These malefactors, who were transported for a term of years, which they were to spend in slavery, became industrious, and acquired manners, which placed them once more in the way of fortune. There were some of those, who, when restored to society by the freedom they had gained, became planters, heads of families, and the owners of the best plantations; a proof how much it is for the interest of a civilized society to admit this lenity in the penal laws, so conformable to human nature, which is frail, but capable of sensibility, and of turning from evil to good.

THE mother-country, however, was too much taken up with it's own domestic dissensions, to think

Under what form of government the British islands were established.

think of giving laws to the islands under it's dominion; and the colonists were not sufficiently enlightened to draw up such a system of legislation as was fit for an infant society. While the civil war was rectifying the government in England, the colonies, just emerging from a state of infancy, formed their own constitution upon the model of the mother-country. In each of these separate settlements, a chief represents the king; a council the peers; and the deputies of the several districts, the commons. The general assembly enacts laws, regulates taxes, and judges of the administration. The executive part belongs to the governor; who also occasionally determines upon causes which have not been tried before, but in conjunction with the council, and by the majority of votes. But as the members of this body derive their rank from him, it is seldom that they thwart his designs.

GREAT BRITAIN, to reconcile her own interests with the freedom of her colonies, took care that no laws should be enacted there which were inconsistent with their own. She hath required that her delegates should take an oath that, in the places subject to their authority, they would never allow, upon any pretence whatever, any deviation from the regulations established for the prosperity of her trade. This tie of an oath hath been contrived, because, as the islands themselves regulate and pay the greater part of the salaries of their chiefs, it was to be apprehended that some of these commanders might endeavour to excite liberality by their indulgence. Another

ther check hath been put to corruption. It is necessary that the stipend granted to the governor, should extend to the whole duration of his administration; and that it should be the object of the first bill passed on his arrival. These precautions have however appeared insufficient to some persons of a despotic turn of mind. Accordingly, it hath been their opinion, to proscribe a custom, which in some measure made those who issue orders dependent upon men who were subordinate to them; but the parliament have always refused to make this alteration. Justly dreading that spirit of rapaciousness which induces men to cross the seas, they have always kept up a custom which they think proper to check the spirit of cupidity and tyranny. It is with the same view, that they have decreed against those governors who should violate the laws of the colonies, the same penalties as are inflicted in England on those who trespass upon the national constitution.

THE parliament have likewise impowered the islands, to have in the mother-country deputies appointed to take care of their interests. Their principal duty is to obtain the confirmation of the statutes passed in the colonies. These acts are executed provisionally: but they do not pass into a law, till they have been approved of by the sovereign. This sanction once obtained, they can only be revoked by an assembly of the colony itself, or by the parliament; which exercises supreme authority over the whole empire. The business of the agents of the islands at London,



don, is the same as that of the representatives of the people in the British senate. Unhappy will it be for the state, if ever it should disregard the clamours of the representatives, whoever they may be. The counties in England would rise; the colonies would shake off their allegiance in America; the treasures of both worlds would be lost to the mother-country, and the whole empire would fall into confusion.

THE sources of public felicity have not yet been corrupted by this improper spirit. The settlements formed in the West Indies have been always attached to their own country by the ties of blood, and by those of necessity. Their planters have been constantly looking up to their mother-country, who is ever attentive to their preservation and their improvement. One might say, that as the eagle, who never loses sight of the nest where she fosters her young, London seems to look down upon her colonies, and to see them grow up and prosper under her tender care. Her numberless vessels, covering an extent of two thousand leagues with their proud sails, form, as it were, a bridge over the ocean; by which they keep up an uninterrupted communication between both worlds. With good laws, which maintain what she has once established, she preserves her possessions abroad without a standing army, which is always an oppressive and ruinous burden. Two very small corps, fixed at Antigua and Jamiaca, are sufficient for a nation which thinks, with reason, that maritime forces, well maintained, kept in continual employment,  
and

and always directed towards the public good, are the true fortifications of these useful settlements.

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By these beneficent regulations, dictated by humanity and sound policy, the English islands soon grew happy, though not rich. Their culture was confined to tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo. Some of the enterprising colonists imported sugar canes from Brazil, and they multiplied prodigiously, but to no great purpose. They were ignorant of the art of managing this valuable plant, and drew from it such indifferent sugar, that it was either rejected in Europe, or sold at the lowest price. A series of voyages to Fernambucca taught them how to make use of the treasure they had carried off; and the Portuguese, who till then had engrossed all the sugar trade, found, in 1650, in an ally, whose industry they thought precarious, a rival who was one day to supplant them.

THE mother-country, however, had but a very small share in the prosperity of her colonies. They themselves sent their own commodities directly to all parts of the world, where they thought they would be disposed of to most advantage; and indiscriminately admitted ships of all nations into their ports. This unlimited freedom must of course throw almost all their trade into the hands of that nation which, in consequence of the low interest their money bears, the largeness of their stock, the number of their ships, and the reasonableness of their duties of import and export, could afford to make the best terms, to buy at the dearest, and sell at the cheapest rate. These people

Means employed by the mother-country to secure to itself all the productions of the islands.

people were the Dutch. They united all the advantages of a superior army; which, being ever master of the field, is free in all its operations. They soon seized upon the profits of so many productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered. Ten of their ships were seen in the British islands to one English vessel.

THE nation had paid little attention to this evil during the disturbances of the civil wars; but as soon as these troubles were composed, and the state restored to tranquillity by the very violence of its commotions, it began to turn its views towards its foreign possessions. It perceived that those subjects, who had as it were taken refuge in America, would be lost to the state, if foreign powers, which consumed the fruits of the industry of the colonies, were not excluded. The deliberate and weighty discussion of this point brought on the famous navigation act in 1651, which excluded all foreign ships from entering the harbours of the English islands, and consequently obliged their produce to be exported directly to the countries under the dominion of England. The government, though aware of the inconveniencies of such an exclusion, was not alarmed at it, but considered the empire only as a tree, the sap of which must be turned back to the trunk, when it flows too freely to some of the branches.

HOWEVER, this restraining law was not then enforced in its utmost rigour. Perhaps the ships belonging to the mother-country were not sufficiently numerous to carry off all the productions

of

of the islands; perhaps, apprehensions might prevail, that the colonists might be exasperated by suddenly depriving their coasts of a competition which increased the price of their commodities. Perhaps, the plantations still required some support, in order to bring their cultures to that degree of perfection that was expected. However this may be, it is certain, that the act of navigation was not rigorously put in execution till 1660. At this period, the English sugars had been substituted to those of Portugal, in all the northern parts of Europe. It is to be supposed, that they would equally have supplanted them to the south, had not the obligation imposed upon all the navigators to stop at the British ports before they passed the Straights of Gibraltar, put an insurmountable obstacle to this trade. It is true, that in order to attain this superiority over the only nation that was in possession of this commodity, the English had been obliged greatly to lower the price of it; but their plentiful crops made them ample amends for this necessary sacrifice. If other nations were encouraged by their success to raise plantations, at least for their own consumption, the English opened other markets, which supplied the place of the former. The only misfortune they experienced in a long series of years, was, the seeing many of their cargoes taken by French privateers, and sold at a low price. The planter sustained by this a double inconvenience, that of losing part of his sugars, and being obliged to sell the remainder below their value.



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Diminution  
of the ad-  
vantages  
which Eng-  
land derived  
from it's  
islands.  
Cause of it.

NOTWITHSTANDING these transient piracies, which always ceased in time of peace, the plantations still continued to increase in the English islands. All the productions peculiar to America were more carefully attended to; but the wealthy proprietors attached themselves more particularly to the culture of sugar, the sale of which was constantly increasing throughout all Europe. This prosperity existed for the space of half a century, when attentive men perceived that the exportations decreased. It was then almost generally believed that the colonies were exhausted; even the national senate adopted this idea, not considering that if the soil no longer had that degree of fertility peculiar to lands newly cleared, it still retained that share of fruitfulness which the earth seldom loses, unless it's substance be altered by the calamities or by the irregularities of nature. The truth was soon ascertained, and the English were obliged to acknowledge, that the foreign marts were insensibly shut against Great Britain, and would soon be opened only to France. This kingdom, which, from it's natural advantages, and from the active genius of it's inhabitants, should be foremost in every undertaking, is so restrained by the nature of it's government, that it is the last in becoming acquainted with it's own interests. The French first procured their sugars from the English. They afterwards made some for their own consumption, then for sale, till restraints of every kind obliged them to confine themselves merely to what they wanted. It was not 'till 1716, that their islands began again

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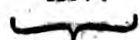


to supply other nations. The superiority of their soil, the advantage of fresh lands, the frugality of their planters, who were yet poor, all conspired to enable them to sell the production at a lower price than their competitors. It was moreover of a better quality; accordingly, as it increased, that which was formerly in so great request, was rejected in all the markets. Towards the year 1740, the sugar of the French plantations became sufficient for general consumption, and at this period the English were reduced to cultivate no more than what they wanted for their own use. The quantity they made was still very trifling at the beginning of the century, but the use of tea, and the habit of other indulgences, soon increased prodigiously the consumption of this article.

BARBADOES was one of the British possessions which furnished most of this commodity. This island, which is situated to windward of all the rest, appeared to have never been inhabited even by savages, when, in 1627, some English families went to settle there, but without any interference of government. It was not till two years after, that a regular colony was established there, at the expence and by the care of the Earl of Carlisle, who, on the tragical death of Charles I. was deprived of a property which had been too imprudently granted him by that weak prince. It was found covered with such large and hard trees, that uncommon resolution and patience were required to fell them and root them up. The ground was soon cleared of this incumbrance, or

The English form a settlement at Barbadoes. Great prosperity of this island.

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stripped of this ornament: for it is doubtful whether nature does not decorate her own work better than man, who alters every thing for himself alone. Some patriots, tired of seeing the blood of their countrymen spilt, went and peopled this foreign land. While the other colonies were rather ravaged than cultivated by those vagabonds who had been driven from their native country by poverty or licentiousness, Barbadoes daily received new inhabitants, who brought along with them not only their stock of money, but a turn for labour, courage, activity, and ambition; those vices and virtues which are the effect of civil wars.

By these means, an island, which is no more than seven leagues in length, from two to five in breadth, and eighteen in circumference, attained, in less than forty years, to a population of more than a hundred thousand souls; and to a trade that employed four hundred ships of 150 tons burthen each. Never had the earth beheld such a number of planters collected in so small a compass, or so many rich productions raised in so short a time. The labours, directed by Europeans, were performed by slaves purchased in Africa, or even stolen in America. This new species of barbarity was but a ruinous kind of prop for a new edifice, and very nearly occasioned the subversion of it.

Conspiracy  
formed by  
the slaves in  
Barbadoes.

SOME Englishmen, who had landed on the coasts of the continent to get slaves, were discovered by the Caribs, who were the objects of their search. These savages fell upon them, and put them

them all to death or to flight. A young man, who had been long pursued, ran into a wood, where an Indian woman meeting him, saved his life, concealed and fed him, and some time after conducted him to the sea-side. His companions were lying at anchor there, waiting for the men they missed, and sent the boat to fetch him. His deliverer insisted on following him on board the ship. They were no sooner landed at Barbadoes, but the monster sold her who had saved his life, and had bestowed her heart as well as her person upon him. To vindicate the honour of the English nation, one of their poets has recorded this shocking instance of avarice and perfidy, to be abhorred by posterity: It has been told in several languages, and held out to the detestation of all foreign nations.

THE Indians, who were not bold enough to undertake to revenge themselves, imparted their resentment to the Negroes, who had stronger motives, if possible, for hating the English. The slaves unanimously vowed the death of their tyrants. This conspiracy was carried on with such secrecy, that, the day before it was to have been carried into execution, the colony had not the least suspicion of it. But, as if generosity was always to be the virtue of the wretched, one of the leaders of the plot informed his master of it. Letters were immediately dispatched to all the plantations, and came in time to prevent the impending destruction. The following night the slaves were seized in their huts; the most guilty

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were

were executed at break of day; and this act of severity reduced the rest to obedience.

THEY have never revolted since, and yet the colony hath declined considerably from it's former prosperity. It still reckons ten thousand white people, and fifty thousand Negroes; but the crops are not answerable to the population. In the most favourable seasons, they do not amount to more than twenty millions weight of sugar, and are very often below ten millions; and yet to obtain this trifling produce, expences are required much more considerable than were necessary for double the produce in the beginning.

THE soil of the colony, which is no more than a rock of calcareous stone, covered with very little earth, is entirely exhausted. It is necessary to make a deep opening in it every year, and to fill up with manure the holes which have been made. The most ordinary of these manures is the Varec, a sea-weed which is periodically throw'n upon the coast by the sea-tide. The sugar-canes are planted in this sea-weed. The natural soil is of little more use in the growth of them, than the chests in which the orange trees are put in Europe.

THE sugar which is produced by these cultures, hath generally so little consistence, that it cannot be exported in it's raw state, but must previously be earthed; a method which is not followed in the other English settlements, although it be not prohibited there, as several writers have advanced. One great proof of it's bad quality is, that it is sooner reduced to melasses than any where else. The droughts, which are so frequent at Barbadoes

Barbadoes since the country hath been entirely laid open, serve to complete the misfortunes of the inhabitants of this island, which was formerly in so flourishing a state.

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ACCORDINGLY, though the taxes do not amount annually to more than 136,291 livres \*, paid by a trifling poll-tax upon the Negroes and by some other imposts, the colonists are reduced to a state of mediocrity which approaches to indigence. This situation prevents them from leaving the care of their plantations to agents, in order to go and inhabit milder climates. It even renders them inhuman towards their slaves, whom they treat with a degree of cruelty unknow'n in the other colonies.

BARBADOES was very lately the only trading possession belonging to the English in the Windward Islands. The ships coming from Africa used generally to put in there. They delivered their whole cargo to one single purchaser, and at a settled price, without distinction of either age or sex in the bargain. These Negroes, thus bought in the wholesale way by the merchants, were sold in retail in the island itself, or in the other English settlements, and the refuse of them was either clandestinely or openly introduced in the colonies of the other nations. This great trade hath considerably decreased. Hence most of the other British islands have chosen to receive their slaves directly from Guinea, and have submitted to the established custom of paying for

\* 5,678l. 15s. 10d.



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them with bills of exchange at ninety days sight. This credit, which was insufficient, hath since been extended to a twelvemonth, and it hath frequently been necessary to prolong it even beyond that term.

BEFORE this revolution, a considerable quantity of specie was in circulation at Barbadoes. The little coin which is at present still found there, is Spanish; it is considered as merchandize, and is only taken by weight. The navy which is appropriated to this settlement consists of a few vessels, which are necessary for it's several correspondences, and of about forty sloops, employed in the fishery of the flying-fish.

BARBADOES is generally even, and every where susceptible of cultivation, except in a very small number of hollow ways. It is only at the center that the territory rises imperceptibly, and forms a kind of mountain, covered up to it's summit with plantations equally convenient and agreeable, because they were all established in times of great opulence. The island is not watered with rivers, but springs of water fit for drinking are rather common in it; and it is intersected from one end to another by very fine roads. These all terminate at Bridge-town; a town badly situated but well built, where the commodities destined for exportation are embarked, although it be only a road open to several winds.

Is Barbadoes  
capable of  
making a  
good de-  
fence?

THE colony, divided into eleven parishes, doth not afford one post where an enemy once landed could be stopped; and the landing, which is not possible in several parts of the coast, is very practicable

licable in others, notwithstanding the redoubts and batteries planted to prevent it. Military men think, that the surest way of succeeding in an attack, would be to make it between the capital and the town of Hole-town.

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THIS enterprize would require more considerable forces than might be imagined, considering that Barbadoes hath no regular troops. It is filled with planters of small stature, brave and active, accustomed to military exercises, and who probably would make scarce less resistance than a mercenary army. The armament destined for this conquest should be dispatched from Europe; if it were formed at Martinico, or at any other settlement situated to leeward, the English squadrons which would be in those latitudes, might block up the port where the expedition was preparing, or might arrive at Barbadoes time enough to disturb the operations of the besiegers.

THIS island is to the windward of all the others, and yet no great advantage can be reaped from its position, considered in a military light. It hath only such harbours as are fit to receive vessels that come to trade there; and though it be less exposed to storms and to hurricanes than the neighbouring latitudes, it doth not offer at any time a secure asylum to men of war, and still less during the last six months of the year, when the sea is more tempestuous. The mother-country hath therefore formed no naval establishment upon it. The national squadrons are never stationed there; and if any of them sometimes appear, it is only for a little while. Thus it was, that, in

1761 and in 1762, during the fine weather, in the months of January and February, the fleets destined for the conquest of Martinico and of the Havannah were assembled there.

Events that have happened at Antigua. Production and expences of that island. The importance of it to Great Britain.

ANTIGUA, which hath a circular form, and is about twenty miles long, was found totally uninhabited by those few Frenchmen who fled thither in 1628, upon being driven from St. Christopher's by the Spaniards. The want of springs, which doubtless was the reason why no savages had settled there, induced these fugitives to return, as soon as they could regain their former habitations. Some Englishmen, more enterprising than either the French or the Caribs, flattered themselves that they should overcome this great obstacle, by collecting the rain-water in cisterns; and they therefore settled there. The year in which this settlement was begun is not exactly know'n; but it appears that in January 1640 there were about thirty families on the island.

THE number was not much increased, when Lord Willoughby, to whom King Charles II. had granted the property of Antigua, sent over a considerable number of inhabitants at his own expence in 1666. It is probable they would never have enriched themselves by the culture of tobacco, indigo, and ginger, the only commodities they dealt in, had not colonel Codrington introduced into the island, which was then restored to the dominion of the state, a source of wealth, in the year 1680, by the culture of sugar. This being at first black, harsh, and coarse, was rejected in England, and could only be disposed of

of in Holland, and in the Hans towns, where it sold at a much lower price than that of the other colonies. By the most assiduous labour, art got the better of nature, and brought this sugar to as great a perfection, and to sell for as high a price as any other.

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EVERY one was then desirous of extending this culture. In 1741, it employed three thousand five hundred and thirty-eight white men, and twenty-seven thousand four hundred and eighteen Negroes. Since that period, the number of free men hath been much diminished, and that of the slaves is considerably increased. Their united labours produce eighteen or twenty millions weight of raw sugar, and a proportionate quantity of rum. This income is considerably less in those seasons, which occur too frequently, when the colony is afflicted with drought; and for this reason it is very much indebted.

ALL the tribunals are established at St. John's, situated to the West of the island. The greatest part of the trade hath been likewise concentrated in that town. Unfortunately, it's port is closed up by a bar, upon which there is no more than twelve feet of water. If the depth of water should still decrease, the navigators will take in their cargoes to the North of the colony, in the road of Parham, which is much preferable to the one they now frequent, but which is infinitely less convenient for the collecting of the commodities.

MOTIVES of great importance should excite England to prevent, by all possible means, the  
decline

decline of so valuable a settlement. It is the only bulwark of the numerous and small islands which that country possesses in these latitudes. They all depend upon Antigua, and upon the English Havre, an excellent port, where the naval forces designed for their protection, anchor, and where the squadrons find collected in arsenals, and in well-stocked magazines, the articles necessary to carry on their operations. The maintenance of the small fortifications which surround the two principal harbours; part of the pay of six hundred men, intrusted with their defence; the costs occasioned by the artillery; all these expences are defrayed by the colony, and absorb two-thirds of the 272,582 livres \* which it is obliged to require annually from its inhabitants.

THIS is too great a burthen. In order to diminish the weight of it, the assembly of the island thought of laying a tax upon those proprietors who should reside in Europe: but the mother-country annulled a regulation which was evidently injurious to the liberty of individuals. The colony then ordered, that the planters should for the future have only one white man, or two white women, to every set of thirty Negroes. This law, which was adopted by several other islands, is not much attended to, because it is less expensive to transgress it, than to maintain free men, whose attendance cannot be compelled. The penalties, therefore, which are regulated for punishing the transgression of this

\* 11,357 l. 11 s. 8 d.



law, are become one of the greatest resources of the public treasury of that settlement.

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Its legislative body hath sometimes displayed a remarkable share of courage. The English islands have no coin which belongs properly to themselves: that which is circulated there, is all foreign. The mother-country thought it necessary to settle the value of it in the beginning of the century. This arrangement was judged to be contrary to the interest of the colony, who themselves settled it upon a higher footing. It was natural to imagine that parliament would annul an act so repugnant to their authority. The lawyers agreed, if that event should take place, never to lend their assistance to any of those who should have refused to accept the coin at the price fixed by the assembly.

ANOTHER occurrence exhibited in a still stronger light the kind of spirit which prevailed at Antigua. The governor, colonel Park, setting equally at defiance the laws of morality and decency, was unrestrained and intemperate in all his proceedings. The colony demanded, and obtained, his recal. As he did not seem disposed to depart, several of the most considerable inhabitants went to expostulate with him, in the strongest terms, upon this kind of disobedience. They were repulsed with brutality by his guards. The people took up arms, and the tyrant was attacked in his own house, and massacred. His body was then throw'n naked into the street, and mutilated by those whose bed he had dishonoured. The mother-country, more

moved by the sacred rights of nature than jealous of her own authority, overlooked an act which her vigilance ought to have prevented, but which she was too equitable to revenge. It is only the part of tyranny to excite a rebellion, and then to quench it in the blood of the oppressed. Machiavelism, which teaches princes the art of being feared and detested, directs them to stifle the victims whose cries grow importunate. Humanity prescribes to kings, justice in legislation, mildness in government, lenity to prevent insurrections, and mercy to pardon them. Religion enjoins obedience to the people; but God, above all things, requires equity in princes. If they violate it, innumerable witnesses will rise up against a single man at the final judgment.

THE council of Antigua doth not extend it's jurisdiction over the neighbouring islands, which have all their particular assemblies: but the governor of Antigua is also governor of the other islands, except Barbadoes, which, on account of it's position and importance, hath deserved particular distinction. This governor-general must pay an annual visit to the places under his authority; and he usually begins his tour by Montserrat.

State of the settlement formed by the English at Montserrat.

THIS island, discovered in 1493 by Columbus, and occupied in 1632 by the English, is only eight or nine leagues in circumference. The savages, who lived peaceably in it, were expelled, according to custom, by the usurpers. This act of injustice was not at first followed with any very fortunate circumstances. The progress of the

new settlement was for a long time so slow, that six and fifty years after it's foundation it scarce contained seven hundred inhabitants. It was not till towards the end of the century, that the population, both in white men and Negroes, became as numerous as it could be in so confined a possession. Sugar canes were then substituted to commodities of little value, which had occasioned their planters to languish in a state of misery. War and the elements overthrew, at several intervals, the best-founded expectations, and obliged the colonists to contract debts which are not yet paid off. At the present period, the activity of a thousand free persons, and the labours of eight thousand slaves, produce five or six millions weight of raw sugar, upon plains of little extent, or in vallies which are fertilized by the waters falling from the mountains. One of the disadvantages of this island, the public expences of which do not exceed annually 49,887 livres\*, is, that it has not one single harbour where the lading and unlading can easily be made. The ships would even be in danger upon these coasts, if the masters did not take care, when they see a storm approaching, to put out to sea, or to take shelter in some neighbouring harbour. Nevis is exposed to the same inconvenience.

THE most generally received opinion is, that the English settled on this island in 1628. It is properly nothing more than a very high mountain, of an easy ascent, and crowned with tall trees.

Ancient  
manners  
and present  
state of the  
island of  
Nevis.

\* 2,078l. 12s. 6d.

The

The plantations lie all round; and, beginning at the sea-side, are continued almost to the top of the mountain; but the higher they stand the less fertile they are, because the soil grows more stony. This island is watered by many streams, which would be so many sources of plenty, if they did not in stormy weather swell into torrents, wash away the lands, and destroy the treasures they have produced.

THE colony of Nevis was a model of virtue, order, and piety. These exemplary manners have been owing to the paternal care of the first governor. This incomparable man inspired all the inhabitants, by his own example, with a love of labour, a reasonable œconomy, and innocent recreations. The person who commanded, and those who obeyed, were all actuated by the same principle of the strictest equity. So rapid was the progress of this singular settlement, that, if we may credit all the accounts of those times, it soon contained 10,000 white people, and 20,000 blacks. Admitting even that such a population, upon a territory of two leagues in length, and one in breadth, should be exaggerated, still it will shew the amazing but infallible effect of virtue, in promoting the prosperity of a well-regulated society.

BUT, even virtue itself will not secure either individuals or societies from the calamities of nature, or from the injuries of fortune. In 1689, a dreadful mortality swept away half this happy colony. It was ravaged in 1706 by a French squadron, which carried off three or four thousand slaves.

slaves. The next year the ruin of this island was completed, by the most violent hurricane ever recorded. Since this series of disasters, it has recovered a little. It contains six hundred free men and five thousand slaves; the taxes upon whom do not exceed 45,000 livres\*, and who send to England three or four millions weight of raw sugar, the whole of which is shipped under the walls of the agreeable city called Charles-town. Perhaps those who repine most at the destruction of the Americans and the slavery of the Africans, would receive some consolation if the Europeans were every where as humane as the English have been in this island of Nevis, and if all the islands in America were as well cultivated in proportion; but nature and society afford few instances of such miraculous prosperity.

SAINT CHRISTOPHER'S was the nursery of all the English and French colonies in America. Both nations arrived there on the same day, in 1625. They shared the island between them; signed a perpetual neutrality; and entered into a mutual engagement to assist each other against their common enemy the Spaniard, who for a century past had invaded or disturbed the two hemispheres. Unfortunately, by an inconsiderate kind of convention, hunting, fishing, the woods, the harbours, and the salt-pits, had all been left in common. This arrangement mixed too many persons together, who could not be agreeable to each other, and jealousy soon divided those whom a

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St. Christopher's, which is at first divided between the English and French, at last belongs entirely to Great Britain.

\* 1,875l.



temporary interest had united. This fatal passion created daily quarrels, skirmishes, and devastations; but these were only domestic animosities, in which the respective governments took no part. Concerns of greater importance having, in 1666, kindled between the two mother-countries a war, which continued almost uninterruptedly during the remainder of the century, their subjects in St. Christopher's fought with a degree of obstinacy that was not to be found elsewhere. Sometimes conquerors, and sometimes conquered, they alternately drove each other from their plantations. This long contest, in which both parties alternately had the advantage, was terminated by the total expulsion of the French in 1702; and the peace of Utrecht cut off all their hopes of ever returning thither.

THIS was no great sacrifice for a people who had never seriously attended to the care of cultivating productions upon their domain. Their population amounted but to 667 white people, of all ages and both sexes; 29 free blacks, and 659 slaves. All their herds consisted only of 265 head of horned cattle, and 157 horses. They cultivated nothing but a little cotton and indigo, and had but one single sugar plantation.

What St. Christopher's became, under the British government.

THOUGH the English had for a long time made a greater advantage of this island, yet they did not immediately reap all the benefit they might have done, from having the sole possession of it. This conquest was for a long time a prey to rapacious governors, who sold the lands for their own profit, or gave them away to their creatures; though they could only warrant the duration of the

the sale, or grant, during the term of their administration. The parliament of England at length remedied this evil, by ordering, that all lands should be put up to auction, and the purchase-money paid into the public coffers. After this prudent regulation, the new plantations were as well cultivated as the old ones.

THE island, which is in general narrow, but very unequally so, may have an extent of thirty-six leagues square. Mountains, thick set and barren, though covered with verdure, and which occupy one third of the territory, intersect it almost throughout it's whole length. From the foot of these mountains issue an infinite number of springs, which, unfortunately, are for the most part dried up in the dry seasons. Scattered over the plain we meet with a number of agreeable, neat, and convenient habitations, which are ornamented with avenues, fountains, and groves. The taste for rural life, which the English have retained more than any other civilized nation in Europe, prevails in the highest degree at St. Christopher's. They never had the least occasion to form themselves into small societies, in order to pass away the time; and if the French had not left there a small town, where their manners are preserved, they would still be unacquainted with that kind of social life, which is productive of more altercations than pleasures; which is kept up by gallantry, and terminates in debauchery; which begins with convivial joys, and ends in the quarrels of gaming. Instead of this image of union, which is in fact only a beginning of dis-



cord, the representatives of the proprietors, who are almost all of them settled in Europe, the number of which amounts to eighteen hundred, live upon the plantations; from whence they gather by the labour of twenty-four or twenty-five thousand slaves, eighteen millions weight of raw sugar, which is the finest in the New World. This produce enables the colony to provide with ease for the public expences, which do not annually exceed 68,145 livres 10 sols\*.

Wretched  
catastrophes  
that have  
happened at  
St. Christo-  
pher's.

IT was at St. Christopher's, that in 1756 was exhibited a scene worthy of being recounted.

A NEGROE had, from his childhood, partook of the amusements of his young master. This familiarity, which is commonly so dangerous, extended the ideas of the slave, without altering his character. Quazy soon deserved to be chosen overseer over the labours, and over the plantations; and he displayed in that important post an uncommon share of understanding, and an indefatigable zeal. His conduct and his talents increased his favour, which appeared to be unalterably fixed, when this director, hitherto so much beloved and so much distinguished, was suspected of having infringed the established laws of the police, and publicly threatened with an humiliating punishment.

A SLAVE who hath for a long time escaped chastisement, inflicted too readily and too frequently upon his equals, is infinitely jealous of that distinction. Quazy, who dreaded shame more than the grave, and who did not flatter

\* 2,839l. 7s. 11d.

himself

himself with being able to avert the sentence pronounced against him by his intreaties, went out in the midst of the night, in order to obtain a powerful mediation. His master unfortunately perceived him, and attempted to stop him. They grappled with each other; and these two dexterous and vigorous champions wrestled for some time with varied success. At length the slave threw down his inflexible master, and kept him in that disagreeable situation; when, putting a dagger to his breast, he addressed him in the following terms:

“ MASTER, I have been brought up with you.  
 “ Your pleasures have been mine. My heart  
 “ hath never know’n any other interests than  
 “ your’s. I am innocent of the trifling offence  
 “ of which I am accused; but had I even been  
 “ guilty of it, you ought to have forgiven me.  
 “ All my senses are roused with indignation at  
 “ the recollection of the affront which you are  
 “ preparing for me; and thus it is that I will  
 “ avoid it.” On saying these words, he cut his own throat, and fell down dead, without cursing the tyrant, whom he covered with his blood.

In the same island, love and friendship have been signalized by a tragic event, which hath never been paralleled either in fable or in history.

Two Negroes, both young, handsome, robust, courageous, and born with a soul of an uncommon cast, had been fond of each other from their infancy. Partners in the same labours, they were united by their sufferings; which, in feeling minds, form a stronger attachment than pleasures. If



they were not happy, they comforted each other at least in their misery. Love, which generally obliterates the remembrance of all misfortunes, served only to make their's complete. A Negro girl, who was likewise a slave, and whose eyes sparkled, no doubt, with greater vivacity and fire from the contrast of her dark complexion, excited an equal flame in the hearts of these two friends. The girl, who was more capable of inspiring than of feeling a strong passion, would readily have accepted either; but neither of them would deprive his friend of her, or yield her up to him. Time served only to increase the torments they suffered, without affecting their friendship or their love. Oftentimes did tears of anguish stream from their eyes, in the midst of the demonstrations of friendship they gave each other, at the sight of the too beloved object that threw them into despair. They sometimes swore that they would love her no more, and that they would rather part with life than forfeit their friendship. The whole plantation was moved at the sight of these conflicts. The love of the two friends for the beautiful Negro girl was the topic of every conversation.

ONE day they followed her into a wood; there, each embraced her, clasped her a thousand times to his heart, swore all the oaths of attachment, and called her every tender name that love could suggest; when, suddenly, without speaking or looking at each other, they both plunged a dagger into her breast. She expired, and they mingled their tears and groans with her last breath. They  
roared



roared aloud, and made the wood resound with their violent outcries. A slave came running to their assistance, and saw them at a distance, stifling the victim of their extraordinary passion with their kisses. He called out to some others, who soon came up, and found these two friends embracing each other upon the body of this unhappy girl, and bathed in her blood; while they themselves were expiring in the streams that flowed from their own wounds.

THESE lovers and these friends were slaves. Is it in so degrading a station, that we see such actions as must astonish the whole world? If there can be a man who is not struck with horror and compassion at the greatness of this ferocious love, nature must have formed him, not for the slavery of the Negroes, but for the tyranny of their masters. Such a man must have lived without commiserating others, and will die without comfort; he must never have shed a tear, and none will ever be shed for him.

BARBUDA, which belongs entirely to the Codrington family, and the circumference of which is six or seven leagues, hath dangerous coasts. This is perhaps the most even of all the American islands. The trees which cover it are weak, and not very high, because there are never more than six or seven inches of earth upon a layer of lime-stone. Nature hath placed great plenty of turtles here; and caprice hath occasioned the sending thither of deer, and several kinds of game; chance hath filled the woods with pintados, and other fowls, escaped from the vessels after some shipwreck.

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Particularities concerning Barbuda.

shipwreck. Upon this soil are fed oxen, horses, and mules, for the labours of the neighbouring settlements. No other culture is know'n there, except that of the kind of corn which is necessary for the feeding of the numerous herds, in those seasons when the pasture fails. It's population is reduced to three hundred and fifty slaves, and to the small number of free men who are appointed to overlook them. This private property pays no tribute to the nation, though it be subject to the tribunals of Antigua. The air here is very pure, and very wholesome. Formerly, the sickly people of the other English islands went to breathe it, in order to stop the progress of their diseases, or to recover their strength. This custom hath ceased, since some of them have indulged themselves in parties of destructive chace.

Must men then be suffered to perish, in order that animals should be preserved! How is it possible that so atrocious a custom, which draws down the imprecation of almost all Europe upon the sovereigns, and upon the lords of our countries, should be suffered, and should even be established beyond the seas? I have asked this question, and I have been answered, that the island belonged to the Codringtons; and that they had a right to dispose of their property at their pleasure. I now ask, whether this right of property, which is undoubtedly sacred, hath not it's limits? Whether this right, in a variety of circumstances, be not sacrificed to public good? Whether the man who is in possession of a fountain, can refuse water to him who is dying with thirst?

thirst? Whether any of the Codrington family would partake of one of those precious pintados, that had cost his countryman or his fellow-creature his life? Whether the man who should be convicted of having suffered a sick person to die at his door, would be sufficiently punished by the general execration? And whether he would not deserve to be dragged before the tribunals of justice as an assassin? Possessor of Barbuda, thou art the assassin of all those whom thou dost deprive of the salubrity of the air, which would have preserved them; and if this circumstance should not drive thee to despair upon thy death-bed, it is because thine heart will bid defiance to the Divine justice! Hasten, therefore, to recall that shameless representative, who, in his concern for a seraglio of Mulattoe women, in whom, it is said, all his delights are centered, rigorously pursues the execution of your barbarous prohibition.

ANGUILLA is seven or eight leagues in length, and is very unequal in it's breadth, which never exceeds two leagues. Neither mountains, nor woods, nor rivers, are found upon it, and it's soil is nothing more than chalk.

SOME wandering Englishmen settled upon this porous and friable rock towards the year 1650. After an obstinate labour, they at length succeeded in obtaining from this kind of turf a little cotton, a small quantity of millet-seed, and some potatoes. Six veins of vegetating earth, which were in process of time discovered, received sugar canes, which, in the best harvest, yield no more than

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The colony of Anguilla is very wretched, and it's fate cannot be changed.

than fifty thousand weight of sugar, and sometimes only five or six thousand. Whatever else comes out of the colony hath been introduced into it clandestinely, from Santa Cruz, where the inhabitants of Anguilla have formed several plantations.

IN seasons of drought, which are but too frequent, the island hath no other resource but in a lake, the salt of which is sold to the people of New England; and in the sale of sheep and goats, which thrive better in this dry climate, and upon these arid plains, than in the rest of America.

ANGUILLA reckons no more than two hundred free inhabitants, and five hundred slaves. Nevertheless, it hath an assembly of its own, and even a chief, who is always chosen by the inhabitants, and confirmed by the governor of Antigua. A foreigner who should be sent to govern this feeble settlement, would infallibly be driven away by men who have preserved something of the independent manners, and of the rather savage character of their ancestors.

THE coast of this island affords but two harbours; and even in these very small vessels only can anchor. They are both defended by four pieces of cannon, which, for half a century past, have been entirely unfit for service.

THE Virgin Islands are a group of about sixty small islands, most of them mountainous, dry, and arid, where the Spaniards of Porto-Rico were for a long time alone employed in catching turtle, which were very plenty there. The Dutch had just begun a small settlement at Tortola,

Tortola is the only one of the Virgin Islands which the English have cultivated. The government censured.

tola, one of the best of these islands, and that which hath the safest harbour, when, in 1666, they were driven from it by the English; who soon after dispersed themselves over the neighbouring small islands and rocks. There they lived, during near a century, like savages, employed solely in the culture of cotton. It was not 'till after the peace of 1748 that their industry was turned towards sugar, of which they have since regularly sent to the mother-country four or five millions weight.

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BEFORE this period, there had not been any regular form of government, nor any public worship at Tortola. Both the one and the other have been very recently established; and what perhaps was more difficult to bring about, the inhabitants have been prevailed upon to pay the treasury four and a half per cent. on the going out of their productions. A prudent administration would have solicited a bill to secure the several properties, all, or almost all, of which have been transmitted in an irregular manner; and if they were juridically attacked, there are few colonists who might not be legally ruined.

HERE then is an instance, at Tortola, of the government being very eager to draw money from the colonists, and caring very little about securing their felicity, although it would have cost them only a little benevolence, without any kind of sacrifice. Is it possible to say to men in a more impudent manner: "You are nothing to us: you have only to continue still to pay us, and when you shall no longer be able to do it, you may



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“ may perish, you may die ; we care very little  
“ about the matter. The concern we take in  
“ your fate is in proportion to the sums you sup-  
“ ply us with ?” Such inhuman sentiments are  
never uttered in any place ; but still this is the  
way in which people think and act in all parts.  
Subjects are every where treated as we do the  
mines, which we cease to attend to when they yield  
no more ore. It is every where forgotten, that,  
with a small share of justice and protection, they  
would become an inexhaustible fund. Empires in  
all parts think themselves eternal, and those who  
govern them conduct themselves as if they had  
not one day to last. The same danger that  
threatens Tortola, does not extend itself to Ja-  
maica.

Description  
of Jamaica.

THIS island, which lies to leeward of the other  
English islands, and which geographers have rank-  
ed among the greater Antilles, may be forty-three  
or forty-four leagues in length, and sixteen or  
seventeen in it's greatest breadth. It is inter-  
sected with several ridges of high, craggy moun-  
tains, where dreadful rocks are heaped one upon  
another. Their barrenness does not prevent their  
being covered all over with a prodigious quantity  
of trees of different kinds, that strike their roots  
through the clefts of the rocks, and attract the  
moisture that is deposited there by storms and  
frequent fogs. This perpetual verdure, kept up  
and embellished by a multitude of plentiful cas-  
cades, makes a constant spring all the year round,  
and exhibits the most enchanting prospect in na-  
ture. But these waters, which fall from the bar-  
ren

ren summits, and fertilize the plains below, are brackish and unwholesome. The climate is still more dangerous. Of all the American islands, Jamaica is the most destructive. Men perish there very rapidly; and although the lands have been cleared for two centuries past, yet there are still some very fruitful districts, even near the capital, where a free man would not pass the night unless in a case of extreme necessity.

COLUMBUS discovered this great island in 1494, but made no settlement there. Eight years after, he was throw'n upon it by a storm. Having lost his ships, and being unable to get away, he implored the humanity of the savages, who gave him all the assistance that natural pity suggests. But these people, who cultivated no more land than what was just sufficient to supply their own wants, soon grew tired of supporting strangers, to the manifest risk of starving themselves, and insensibly withdrew from their neighbourhood. The Spaniards, who had already indisposed the Indians against them by repeated acts of violence, grew outrageous, and proceeded so far as to take up arms against a humane and equitable chief, because he disapproved of their ferocity. Columbus availed himself of one of those natural phenomena, in which a man of genius may sometimes find a resource, which he may be excused for having recourse to in a case of urgent necessity.

The Spaniards discover Jamaica, and settle there some time after.

From the knowlege he had acquired in astronomy, he knew there would soon be an eclipse of the moon. He took advantage of this circumstance, and

and summoned all the Caciques in the neighbourhood to come and hear something that nearly concerned them, and was essential to their preservation. He then pronounced with emphasis, as if he were inspired: *To punish you for the cruelty with which you suffer my companions and me to perish, the God whom I worship is going to strike you with his most terrible judgments. This very evening you will see the moon turn red, then grow dark, and withhold her light from you. This will be only a prelude to your calamities, if you obstinately persist in refusing to give us food.*

THE admiral had scarce done speaking, when his prophecies were fulfilled. The savages were terrified beyond measure; they thought they were all lost; they begged for mercy, and promised to do any thing that should be desired. They were then told, that heaven, moved with their repentance, was appeased, and that nature was going to resume her wonted course. From that moment, provisions were sent in from all quarters; and Columbus was never in want of any during the time he remained there.

IT was Don Diego, the son of this extraordinary man, who fixed the Spaniards at Jamaica. In 1509, he sent thither seventy robbers from St. Domingo, under the command of John d'Esquimel; and others soon followed. It seemed as if they all went over to this peaceable island, for no other purpose than to shed human blood. Those barbarians never sheathed their sword while there was one inhabitant left to preserve the memory of a numerous, mild, plain, and hospitable

table people. It was happy for the earth that these murderers were not to supply their place. They had no inclination to multiply in an island where no gold was to be found. Their cruelty did not answer the purpose of their avarice; and the earth, which they had drenched with blood, seemed to refuse her assistance to second the barbarous efforts they had made to fix there. Every settlement raised upon the ashes of the natives grew unsuccessful, when labour and despair had completed the destruction of a few savages who had escaped the fury of the first conquests. That of St. Jago de la Vega was the only one that supported itself. The inhabitants of that town, plunged in idleness, the usual consequence of tyranny after devastation, were content with living upon the produce of some few plantations, and the overplus they sold to the ships that passed by their coasts. The whole population of the colony centered in the little spot that fed this race of destroyers, consisted of 1500 slaves, commanded by as many tyrants, when the English came and attacked the town, took it, and settled there in 1655.

THE English brought the fatal sources of discord along with them. At first the New colony was only inhabited by three thousand of that fanatical militia, which had fought and conquered under the standards of the republican party. These were soon followed by a multitude of royalists, who were in hopes of finding rest and peace in America, or comfort after their defeat. The divisions which had prevailed for so long a time,

Jamaica is conquered by the English. Events that have happened in the island since they have become masters of it.



time, and with so much violence, between the two parties in Europe, followed them beyond the seas. This was sufficient to have renewed in America, the scenes of horror and bloodshed which had so often been acted in England, had not Pen and Venables, the conquerors of Jamaica, given the command of the island to the most prudent man among them, who happened to be the oldest officer. This was Dudley, who, although he had submitted to the authority of a conquering fellow-citizen, had not yet lost any of his attachment to the Stuarts. Twice did Cromwell, who had discovered his secret sentiments, appoint some of his own party in his stead, and Dudley was as often restored to his office by the death of his opponents.

THE conspiracies that were forming against him were discovered and frustrated. He never suffered the smallest breach of discipline to go unpunished; and always kept the balance even between the faction his heart detested, and the party he was attached to. He excited industry; and encouraged it by his attention, his advice, and his example. His authority was enforced by his disinterested behaviour. He never could be prevailed upon to accept of a salary, being content to live upon the produce of his own plantations. In private life, he was plain and familiar; in office, an intrepid warrior, a steady and strict commander, and a wise politician. His manner of governing was altogether military, because he was obliged to restrain or to regulate an infant colony, wholly composed of soldiers; and to pre-

vent



vent and repulse any invasion from the Spaniards, who might attempt to recover what they had lost.

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BUT when Charles II. was called to the crown, by the nation that had deprived his father of it, a form of civil government was established at Jamaica, modelled, like those of the other islands, upon that of the mother-country. It was not, however, till the year 1682, that the code of laws was draw'n up, which to this day preserves the colony in all it's vigour. Three of these wise statutes merit the attention of our political readers.

THE design of the first is to excite the citizens to the defence of their country, without prejudice to their private fortunes; which might otherwise divert them from attending to it. It enacts, that whatever mischief is done by the enemy, shall be immediately made good by the state; or at the expence of all the subjects, if the money found in the treasury should prove insufficient.

ANOTHER law concerns the means of increasing population. It enacts, that every ship-captain who brings a man into the colony, who is unable to pay for his passage, shall receive a general gratuity of 22 livres 10 sols\*. The particular gratuity is 168 livres 15 sols † for every person brought from England or Scotland; 135 livres ‡ for every person brought from Ireland; 78 livres 15 sols § for every person brought from

\* 18 s. 9 d.

† About 7 l.

‡ 5 l. 11 s. 6 d.

§ About 3 l. 5 s. 7 d.

the continent of America; and 45 livres \* for every person brought from the other islands.

THE third law tends to the encouragement of agriculture. When a proprietor of land is unable to pay either the interest or capital of the money he has borrowed, his plantation is sold at a price fixed by twelve planters. The value of the plantation, whatever it may be, frees the debtor entirely from any further obligation; but if it should exceed his debt, the overplus must be returned to him. This regulation, though it may be thought partial, yet it hath the merit of abating the rigour of the landlord's and merchant's law-suits against the planter. It is to the advantage of the soil, and of mankind in general. The creditor is seldom a sufferer by it, because he is upon his guard; and the debtor is more obliged to be vigilant and honest, if he means to find credit. Confidence then becomes the basis of all agreements; and confidence is only to be gained by the practice of virtue.

TIME hath produced other regulations. It was perceived that the Jews, settled in great numbers in Jamaica, made a jest of deceiving the tribunals of justice. A magistrate imagined that this evil might arise from the circumstance of the bible, which was presented to them, being in English. It was determined that they should take their oath in future upon the Hebrew text; and after this precaution, perjuries became infinitely less frequent.

\* 1l. 17s. 6d.

IN 1761 it was decided, that every man who was not a white man, could not inherit more than 13,629 livres 3 sols 4 deniers\*. This statute was displeasing to several members of the Assembly, who were incensed at the circumstance of depriving affectionate fathers of the satisfaction of leaving a fortune, purchased by long labours, to their beloved posterity, because they were not of the same colour. Disputes arose, and the parliament of England took part in them. One of the most celebrated orators in the House of Commons declared openly against the Negroes. His opinion was, that they were a set of vile beings, of a species different from our's. The testimony of Montesquieu, was the strongest of his arguments, and he read with confidence the ironical chapter of laws upon slavery. None of his hearers suspected the real views of so judicious a writer, and his authority influenced the whole British senate.

THE whole British senate! The whole legislative body, assembled to discuss the interests of the nation, and to determine gravely upon a motion, which, from its injustice and unreasonableness, deserved only to be rejected with contempt! And wherefore should it not have been determined, that the Blacks should be entirely disinherited? If their colour gave a sanction to deprive them of a portion of their fathers' fortunes, why not equally to deprive them of the whole? Opinions so palpably absurd, should have

\* About 567l. 17s. 7½d.

been combated by ridicule, and not by arguments: and if even, contrary to all probability, this had been the sentiment of Montesquieu, of what avail would his authority have been? The English should at least have made themselves certain of the true meaning of the author.

THE Bill was going to be extended to the Indians, when one man, less blinded than the rest, observed, that it would be a horrible piece of injustice to confound the antient proprietors of the island with the Africans; and that, moreover, there were not above five or six families of the former remaining.

THE colony had already acquired some degree of fame before these laws had been made. Some adventurers, as well from hatred and national jealousy, as from a restless disposition and want of fortune, attacked the Spanish ships. These pirates were seconded by Cromwell's soldiers, who, retaining nothing after his death, except that public aversion which their former successes had draw'n upon them, went into America in quest of promotion, which they could never expect in Europe. These were joined by a multitude of Englishmen of both parties, accustomed to blood by the civil wars which had ruined them. These men, eager for rapine and carnage, plundered the seas, and ravaged the coasts of America. Jamaica was the place where the spoils of Mexico and Peru were always brought by the English, and frequently by foreigners. They found in this island more ease, a better reception, protection, and freedom, than any where else, whether for landing, or for  
spending,

spending, as they chose, the spoils arising from their plunder. Here extravagance and debauchery soon plunged them again into indigence. This only incitement to their sanguinary industry, made them hasten to commit fresh depredations. Thus the colony reaped the benefit of their perpetual vicissitudes of fortune, and enriched itself by the vices which were both the source and the ruin of their wealth.

WHEN this destructive race became extinct, by reason of the frequency of the murders they committed, the funds they had left behind, and which, indeed, had been taken from usurpers still more unjust and cruel than themselves, proved a fresh source of opulence, by facilitating the means of opening a clandestine trade with the Spanish settlements. This vein of riches, which had been opened about the year 1672, gradually increased, and with great rapidity, towards the end of the century. Some Portuguese, with a capital of three millions \*, of which the sovereign had advanced two-thirds, engaged, in 1696, to furnish the subjects of the court of Madrid with five thousand Blacks, each of the five years that their treaty was to last. This Company drew a great many of those slaves from Jamaica. From that time the colonists had constant connections with Mexico and Peru, either by means of the Portuguese agents, or by the captains of their own ships employed in this trade. But this intercourse was somewhat slackened by the war, which broke

\* 125,000l.



out on account of the succession to the throne of Spain.

AT the peace, the Assiento treaty alarmed the people of Jamaica. They were afraid that the South-Sea Company, which was appointed to furnish the Spanish colonies with Negroes, would entirely exclude them from all access to the gold mines. All the efforts they made to break this regulation, could not produce any alteration in the measures of the English ministry. They wisely foresaw that the activity of the Assientists would prove a fresh motive of emulation for increasing the contraband trade formerly carried on; and these views were found to be just.

THE illicit trade of Jamaica was carried on in a very simple manner. An English vessel pretended to be in want of water, wood, or provisions; that her mast was broken, or that she had sprung a leak, which could not be discovered or stopped without unloading. The governor permitted the ship to come into the harbour to refit. But, for form sake, and to exculpate himself to his court, he ordered a seal to be affixed to the door of the warehouse where the goods were deposited; while another door was left unsealed, through which the merchandize that was exchanged in this trade was carried in and out by stealth. When the whole transaction was ended, the stranger, who was always in want of money, requested that he might be permitted to sell as much as would pay his charges; and it would have been too cruel to refuse this permission. It was necessary that the governor, or his agents, might

might safely dispose in public of what they had previously bought in secret; as it would always be taken for granted, that what they sold could be no other than the goods that were allowed to be bought. In this manner were the greatest cargoes disposed of.

THE court of Madrid thought to put a stop to these practices, by prohibiting the admission of all foreign ships into the Spanish harbours, on any pretence whatever. But the people of Jamaica calling in force to the assistance of artifice, supported themselves in this trade under the protection of the English men of war, by allowing them five per cent. upon every article, to the fraudulent introduction of which they gave a sanction.

To this open violation of public order, succeeded a more private and less alarming one. The ships dispatched from Jamaica repaired to those ports of the Spanish coast which were least frequented; especially to that of Brew, five miles from Carthagena; and to that of Grout, four miles from Porto-Bello. A man who spoke the language of the country was immediately put ashore, to give notice in the adjacent country of the arrival of the ships. The intelligence was propagated with amazing speed to the most distant parts; the merchants hastened to the place, and the trade began; but with such precautions as experience had taught them. The ship's company was divided into three parties. While the first was entertaining the purchasers, and treating them with great civilities, at the same time keeping a watchful eye to prevent them

from exercising their inclination and dexterity in stealing; the second was employed in receiving the vanilla, indigo, cochineal, gold and silver of the Spaniards, in exchange for slaves, quicksilver, silks, and other commodities. The third division was, in the mean while, under arms upon deck, to provide for the safety of the ship; and to take care not to admit at once a greater number of men than could be kept in order.

WHEN the transactions were finished, the Englishman returned with his stock, which he had commonly doubled; and the Spaniard with his purchase, of which he hoped to make as great a profit, or greater. To prevent a discovery, he avoided the high-roads, and went through by-ways, with the Negroes he had bought, who were loaded with the merchandize, which was divided into parcels of a convenient form and weight for carriage.

THIS manner of trading had been carried on successfully for a long time, to the great emolument of the colonies of both nations; when, as Spain intended, it was greatly obstructed by substituting register-ships to the galleons. It has gradually diminished, and of late years was reduced to a very low ebb. The British ministry, wishing to revive it, judged, in 1766, that the best expedient to repair the losses of Jamaica, was to make it a free port.

IMMEDIATELY the Spanish ships in America flocked thither from all parts, to exchange their gold and silver, and their commodities, for the manufactures of England. This eagerness was attended

attended with this convenience, that the profit, of which it was the source, was acquired without risque, and could not occasion any disputes: but it was to be expected, that the court of Madrid would soon put a stop to an intercourse so prejudicial to their interests. This was the opinion of Great Britain; and in order to preserve the riches of the neighbouring continent, they laid the foundation of a colony upon the Mosquito coasts.

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WHATEVER may one day be the fate of this new settlement, it is certain that the attention of Jamaica was for too long a time, and too much engaged in a smuggling trade, while it's cultures were too much neglected. The first of these which the English devoted themselves to, was that of cocoa, which they found established by the Spaniards. It prospered as long as those plantations lasted; which had been cultivated by a people who made this their principal food, and their only traffic. The trees grew old, and it became necessary to renew them; but, either for want of care, or of skill, they did not succeed. Indigo was substituted to them.

Cultures  
established at  
Jamaica.

THIS production was increasing considerably, when the parliament laid a duty upon it which it was not able to bear, and which occasioned the fall of this culture in Jamaica, as well as in the other English islands. This imprudent tax hath been since suppressed, and even the encouragement of gratifications hath been substituted to it; but this tardy generosity hath only occasioned abuses. In order to obtain the bounty, the Ja-

maica

maica people contracted the habit of procuring this valuable dye from St. Domingo, and of introducing it into Great Britain as the growth of their own plantations.

THE expence the government is at on this account, cannot be looked upon entirely as a loss, since it is of use to the nation. But it keeps up that mistrust, and we may say, that propensity to fraud, which the spirit of finance has given rise to in all our modern forms of legislation, between the state and the citizens. Ever since the magistrate has been incessantly contriving means to appropriate to himself the money of the people, these have been studying artifices to elude the avidity of the magistrates. When there has been on one side no moderation in the expences, no limit to taxations, no equity in the repartition, no lenity in the recovery, there have been no longer any scruples about the violation of pecuniary laws on the other, nor any honesty in the payment of the duties, nor probity in the engagements of the subject with the prince. Oppression hath prevailed on one hand, and plunder on the other; the finance hath extorted from commerce, and commerce hath eluded or defrauded the finance. The treasury hath pillaged the planters, and the planters have imposed upon the treasury by false entries. Such are the manners of both hemispheres.

IN the New one there still existed a few plantations of indigo at Jamaica, when the culture of cotton began to be attended to. This production had a rapid success, which continued, because



cause it was advantageously, and without delay disposed of in England, where it was manufactured with a degree of dexterity which hath been rather imitated than equalled by the rival nations.

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GINGER hath been less useful to the colony. The savages who were found by the Europeans in the American islands, most generally made use of it; but their consumption in this, as in every other article, was so small, that nature afforded them a sufficient quantity without the assistance of cultivation. The usurpers grew passionately fond of this spice; they ate it in the morning to sharpen their appetite; they served it up at table preserved in several different ways; they used it after meals to facilitate digestion, and at sea as an antidote against the scurvy. The Old World adopted the taste of the New, and this lasted till the price of pepper, which had for a long while been extremely high, was reduced. Ginger then fell into a kind of contempt, and its culture was dropped almost every where except at Jamaica.

THIS island produces and sells another spice, improperly called Jamaica pepper. The tree which bears it is a kind of myrtle, which commonly grows upon the mountains, and rises to the height of more than thirty feet. It is very straight, moderately thick, and covered with a greyish, smooth, and shining bark. Its leaves, which have a pleasant smell, resemble in form and disposition those of the laurel, and the branches are terminated by clusters of flowers entirely similar  
to

to those of the common myrtle. The fruit by which they are succeeded is a small berry, somewhat larger than that of the juniper. These berries are gathered green and spread in the sun to dry. They turn brown and acquire a spicy smell, which in England hath given the name of *all-spice* to this pimento. It is very useful to strengthen cold stomachs; but what is this advantage compared with all those that are obtained from sugar?

THE art of managing this culture was unknown in Jamaica till the year 1668. It was brought thither by some inhabitants of Barbadoes. One of them was possessed of every requisite for that kind of produce that depends on man. His name was Thomas Modiford. His capital, together with his skill and activity, enabled him to clear an immense tract of land, and raised him in time to the government of the colony; yet neither could the view of his fortune, nor his urgent solicitations prevail upon men, who were most of them accustomed to the idleness of a military life, to apply to the labours of cultivation. Twelve hundred unfortunate men, who arrived in 1760 from Surinam, which had just been ceded to the Dutch, proved more tractable. Necessity inspired them with resolution, and their example excited emulation, which was kept up by the quantity of money constantly poured into the island by the Free-booters. Great part of it was employed in erecting buildings, purchasing slaves, implements of husbandry, and furniture necessary for the rising plantations. In process of time,

time, Jamaica exported great quantities of sugar, of an inferior kind, indeed, to that which was made in most of the other colonies, but the rum of which was exceedingly superior.

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THE coffee-tree prospered in the Dutch and French settlements in the New World, before the English thought of appropriating it to themselves; and indeed Jamaica was the only British island which thought proper to adopt it, but it never carried the cultivation of it as far as the rival nations.

IT was a generally received opinion in 1756, that Jamaica had attained the greatest degree of prosperity of which it was susceptible. An island, inhabited during a whole century by an active and enlightened people, into which the riches of Mexico and Peru had been conveyed without interruption, by piracy, and by a fraudulent commerce, and in which no circumstance necessary for cultivation had ever been wanting: an island, to which navigators must have been constantly attracted, by the safety of the coasts, and by the excellence of the harbours; and the productions of which had always been in great request throughout all Europe: such a settlement must have appeared, even to the most thinking persons, to have made all the progress of which nature had rendered it susceptible.

THIS illusion, so reasonably adopted, was dissipated by a war, which will for ever render this period memorable. A calamity, which sometimes overturns states, and always exhausts them, became a source of wealth to Jamaica. The  
English

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English merchants, enriched with the spoils of an enemy, conquered and fugitive on all sides, found themselves enabled to advance considerable sums, and to grant a long credit to the planters. The colonists themselves, animated by the discouragement of the French colonists, whose labours had 'till that time been so fortunate, eagerly availed themselves of the means which were put in their hands by these unexpected events. Peace did not check the impulse they had received. This rapid increase of activity hath continued, and the productions of the colony are nearly one third more considerable than they were thirty years ago.

Present state  
of Jamaica,  
considered  
in every  
point of  
view.

THE whole island may contain about three millions eight hundred thousand acres of land, of which, according to the information of a judicious and studious man, who hath for a long time governed the colony, one million seven hundred twenty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty-one acres are taken up by mountains, rocks, lakes, morasses, rivers, and other places, which are unavoidably lost to the purposes of every useful labour. Government hath successively granted one million six hundred and seventy-one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine acres, which are cleared, or capable of being so. There still remain four hundred thousand to be disposed of, which want nothing but men and means to cultivate them.

IN 1658 Jamaica reckoned four thousand five hundred white persons, and fourteen hundred slaves; in 1670, seven thousand five hundred  
white

white men, and eight thousand slaves; in 1734, seven thousand six hundred and forty-four white men, and eighty-six thousand five hundred and forty-six slaves; in 1746, ten thousand white men, and one hundred and twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-eight slaves; in 1768, seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty-seven white men, and one hundred and sixty-six thousand nine hundred and fourteen slaves; in 1775, eighteen thousand five hundred white persons, three thousand seven hundred blacks, or free Mulattoes, and one hundred and ninety thousand nine hundred and fourteen slaves. One hundred and ten thousand of these unfortunate people are placed on six hundred and fourscore sugar plantations; the remainder is employed in less valuable cultures, carried on in fourteen hundred and sixty habitations, in navigation, in domestic services, and in other labours of primary necessity.

THE public expences of the colony amount annually to 817,750 livres\*. These expences are supplied by duties upon houses, upon the several productions of the soil, upon foreign liquors, and by a poll-tax upon the Negroes, which, in extraordinary cases, is doubled. The persons appointed, in the nineteen parishes, to levy these taxes, which are decreed by the general assembly, have obtained two and a half per cent. as a reward for their trouble; and the receiver-general retains five per cent. for himself.

\* 34,073 l. 8 s. 4 d.



THE specie which is commonly circulated in the island doth not exceed 954,041 livres\*. This is more than sufficient, since it is only used in the more minute details of trade. The slaves brought from Africa, the merchandise sent from Europe, all things which are of great value, are paid by bills of exchange payable in London, or in some other British port, where the colonists send their commodities on their own account.

THE profit arising from these productions is not destined entirely for the incessant wants of Jamaica. A great part of it is intended for the discharge of the debts, which an immoderate luxury, and accumulated misfortunes, have obliged the inhabitants successively to contract. These engagements, as far as we can judge of them, amount to two-thirds of the apparent riches of the colony. The greatest number of the creditors are settled in England; the others are merchants temporarily settled in the island, among whom are reckoned a great many Jews. May these people, who were slaves at first, afterwards conquerors, and then disgraced for the space of twenty centuries, one day attain the legal possession of Jamaica, or of some other rich island in the New World! May they collect all their children there, and bring them up in peace to culture and commerce, sheltered from that fanaticism which rendered them odious to the world, and from that persecution which hath punished their errors with too much rigour!

\* 39,751 l. 14 s. 2 d.

May the Jews live free, unmolested, and happy, in some corner of the world; since, by the ties of humanity, they are our brethren, and our fathers in the tenets of religion.

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THE colony, at present, sends annually to the mother-country eight hundred thousand quintals of sugar, which, at the rate of 40 livres \* the quintal, produce 32,000,000 livres †; four million gallons of rum, which, at the rate of 1 livre 10 sols ‡ the gallon, produce 6,000,000 livres §; three hundred thousand gallons of molasses, which, at the rate of 10 sols ¶ the gallon, produce 150,000 livres ¶¶; six thousand quintals of cotton, which, at the rate of 150 livres \*\* the quintal, produce 900,000 livres ††; six thousand quintals of pimento, which, at the rate of 42 livres †† the quintal, produce 252,000 livres †††; eighteen thousand quintals of coffee, which, at the rate of 50 livres §§ the quintal, produce 900,000 livres ¶¶¶; three thousand quintals of ginger, which, at the rate of 70 livres \*\*\* the quintal, produce 210,000 livres †††; and to the amount of 400,000 livres ††† in wood for inlaying. All these sums united, make the produce of Jamaica amount to 40,812,000 livres ††††.

* 1l. 13s. 4d.	† 1,333,333l. 6s. 8d.
‡ 1s. 3d.	‡ 250,000l.
§ 5d.	¶ 6,250l.
** 6l. 5s.	†† 37,500l.
†† 1l. <del>5s. 8d.</del> / 5	‡‡ 10,500l.
§§ 2l. 1s. 8d.	¶¶ 37,500l.
*** 2l. 18s. 4d.	††† 8,750l.
††† 16,666l. 13s. 4d.	†††† 1,700,500l.

THE vessels destined for their exportation are very numerous, but are only of the burthen of one hundred and fifty, or two hundred tons.

A SMALL number of these vessels take up their cargoes at the harbour of Morant Point, which might be considered as a good harbour, were it more easy of access. This road, situated in the southern part of the island, is only defended by an ill-constructed battery, improperly placed. Twelve men, commanded by a serjeant, are continually on guard there. Not far off is a bay of the same name, more convenient, and more frequented by navigators.

THE coast affords no other anchorage, unless for very small boats, 'till the ships arrive at Port Royal, where half of the productions of the colony destined for Europe are embarked.

AT a greater distance is the old harbour, which is commonly well frequented. The neighbouring planters have often resolved to construct some works there, to protect the vessels which may take in their cargoes at this place, against small privateers. This expensive project appears to be entirely laid aside. It hath been at length understood that the difficulty of entrance would always be the best defence.

THE bay of the Black River would require a good battery. It might be erected without much expence, and would insure the safety of a great number of small ships that frequent it.

SAVANNA LA MAR hath never much water, and it's entrance is every where embarrassed with shoals and sunken rocks. It is the worst har-

bour of the colony; and yet it is become the staple of a considerable trade, since the neighbouring territory hath been cleared. Formerly, it's inhabitants were desirous of surrounding themselves with fortifications. These works were forsaken, after more than one thousand crowns\* had been expended upon them. Nothing remains of these labours but a heap of ruins.

THE island hath upon it's western coast, which is very narrow, only one harbour, and that is Port Orange, where seven or eight vessels take in their cargoes annually.

THE first harbour to the North, is that of St. Lucia. It is spacious and safe, and defended by a fort, capable of making some resistance, if it were repaired, and if the artillery were put into a state fit for service. A small garrison is always kept there.

EIGHT or nine leagues further, is the excellent bay of Montego. The fifth part of the productions of the colony is embarked in the small town of Barnet-town, defended by a battery of ten guns.

THE entrance of Port St. Ann is rendered difficult by shoals. It scarce receives annually fifteen or sixteen vessels.

PORT ANTONIO is one of the safest harbours, but not one of the most frequented, of the island. It's fort is guarded by a detachment, commanded by an officer.

\* 12,500 l.

THE eastern coast hath no other harbour than the Manchineel. It's anchorage is good, but in the neighbouring latitudes the sea is always violently agitated by the easterly winds. This is the spot most exposed to invasions, and the battery of ten guns, which hath been constructed there, would not shelter it from danger, if it's riches were more considerable. The whole defence of the colony is properly fixed at Port Royal.

Means which Jamaica hath to preserve herself from invasion.

THE English had no sooner made themselves masters of Jamaica, than they attended to the rendering of this conquest useful, and to the securing of the possession of it. The cultures undertaken by the Spaniards, and the advantages of a safe, immense, and convenient harbour, prudently inclined them to fix their views upon Port Royal. The town they built there, though placed in the midst of sands, upon a very narrow neck of land, though deprived by nature of water fit for drinking, and of all the other supports of life, became a famous city in less than thirty years.

THIS splendour was owen to a constant and quick circulation of trade, formed by the commodities of the island, the captures of the freebooters, and the trade opened with the neighbouring continent. There have been few staples upon the face of the globe, where the thirst of wealth and pleasure had united more opulence and more corruption.

ONE moment destroyed, on the 27th of June 1692, this beautiful appearance. The sky, which

was



was clear and serene, grew obscured and red throughout the whole extent of Jamaica. A rumbling noise was heard under ground, spreading from the mountains to the plain; the rocks were split; hills came close together; infectious lakes appeared on the spots where whole mountains had been swallowed up; immense forests were removed several miles from the place where they stood; the edifices disappeared, being either sunk into the caverns of the earth, or overturned. Thirteen thousand lives were lost by this dreadful earthquake, and three thousand by a contagious distemper that broke out soon after. It is said, that since this catastrophe, the climate is not so fine, the air not so pure, nor the soil so fruitful, as it was before. This terrible phenomenon should have taught the Europeans not to trust to the possession of a world that trembles under their feet, and seems to slip out of their rapacious hands.

In this general overthrow, Port Royal beheld buried in the incensed waves, or throw'n at a distance upon desolate coasts, the numerous ships, the proud flags of which rendered her so vain. The city itself was destroyed and overflow'n. In vain was it attempted to rebuild the town upon it's ruins; these labours were all fruitless. The rising walls were again blow'n down by a hurricane. Port Royal, like Jerusalem, could never be rebuilt. The earth seemed only digged to swallow it up anew. By a singularity which baffles all human efforts and reasonings to account for, the only houses that were left standing, after this

fresh subversion, were situated at the extremity of a point of land extremely narrow, which advances several miles in the sea; as if the inconstant ocean had afforded a solid foundation to edifices which the firm ground seemed to cast off.

THE inhabitants of Port Royal, discouraged by these repeated calamities, retired to Kingston, which is situated in the same bay. By their industry and activity, this town, which till then had been obscure, soon became a pleasant and flourishing city. Trade is even gradually become more animated here, than it ever was at any period in any of the marts to which it hath succeeded; because the colony hath gained more by the increase of it's cultures, than it hath lost by the decrease of it's smuggling trade.

YET Port Royal had never been, and Kingston did not become, the capital of the island. St. Yago de la Vega, which the English have named Spanish town, continued still to enjoy this useful prerogative. This town, built by the Spaniards, at the distance of some leagues from the sea, upon the river Cobra, the most considerable one of the country, though not navigable, was the seat of the legislative body, the residence of the governor-general, the place where the courts of justice were holden, and, consequently, that where the richest planters dwelt.

ADMIRAL Knowles judged that this arrangement was contrary to the public good; and in 1756, he caused it to be decided by the general assembly, that all the affairs, and all the powers of administration, should be united at Kingston.

Personal

Personal hatred against the projector of this plan; the harshness of the measures he employed to carry it into execution; the attachment most people are apt to take for places as well as things; numberless private interests that must necessarily be affected by this alteration: all these causes raised in the minds of several of the colonists, unfurmountable objections to a plan, which was indeed liable to some inconveniences, but which was founded on unanswerable reasons, and offered great advantages. The obstacles with which the opponents embarrassed the new system, did not put a stop to the measures of government. This was even the time they chose for repairing Fort Charles, which serves as a citadel to Port Royal, and for increasing, on the other side of the bay, the very well executed fortifications of Mosquito Point, which command the canal through which the vessels destined for Kingston must pass. If, instead of entering the bay, the enemy should wish to land to the north of the new capital, they would be stopped in their march by Zock, a fort constructed with skill, and maintained with care, in a very narrow defile, at the distance of a league from the city. Among these different works, and in some other less important posts, two regiments are usually distributed. They receive pay from the mother-country: but the colony adds to it a daily gratuity of 12 sols \* for every soldier, and a double gratuity for every officer. If these troops were as well as they are ill disciplined, they would

\* 6d.

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not preserve the island from invasion, and would soon be reduced to capitulate to a naval force superior to that which might be destined to support them.

If Jamaica could even be preserved from the calamities of a foreign invasion, it would no less be exposed to domestic dangers, still more alarming.

When the Spaniards were compelled to cede Jamaica to the English, they left there a number of Negroes and Mulattoes, who, tired of their slavery, took a resolution to retire into the mountains, there to preserve that liberty which they had recovered by the expulsion of their tyrants. Having entered into some agreements necessary to preserve their union; they planted maize and cocoa, in the most inaccessible places of their retreat; but the impossibility of subsisting till harvest, obliged them to come down into the plain to pillage for sustenance. The conquerors bore this plunder the more impatiently, as they had nothing to spare; and declared war against them. Many were massacred; the greater part submitted; and only fifty or sixty fled back to the rocks, there to live or die in freedom.

Policy, which sees every thing, but is never moved by compassion, thought it necessary, utterly to exterminate or reduce this handful of fugitives, who had escaped from slavery or carnage; but the troops, who were either perishing or exhausted with fatigue, were averse from this destructive scheme, which must have occasioned the effusion of more blood. It was therefore dropt, for fear  
of

of a revolt. This condescension was attended with fatal consequences. All the slaves grow'n desperate by the hardships they underwent, or by the dread of punishment, soon sought an asylum in the woods, where they were sure of meeting with companions ready to assist them. The number of fugitives increased daily. In a short time they deserted by troops, after having massacred their masters, and plundered and set fire to the habitations. In vain were active partizans sent out against them; to whom a reward of 900 livres\* was offered for the head of every Negroe they should bring. This severity produced no alteration, and the desertion only became the more general.

THE rebels grew more daring as their numbers increased. Till the year 1690, they had only fled; but, when they thought themselves strong enough to attack, they fell upon the English plantations, in separate bands, and committed horrid ravages. In vain were they driven back to their mountains with loss; in vain were forts erected and garrisoned at proper distances, to prevent their inroads; notwithstanding these precautions, they renewed their depredations from time to time. The resentment which the violation of the rights of nature by barbarous policy excited in these Blacks, inspired them with such fury, that the white people who had bought them, in order, as they said, to cut off the root of the evil, resolved, in 1735, to employ all the forces

\* 37 l. 10s.



of the colony, to destroy a justly implacable enemy.

IMMEDIATELY the military law took place of all civil government. All the colonists formed themselves into regular bodies of troops. They marched towards the rebels by different roads. One party undertook to attack the town of Nauny, which the Blacks themselves had built in the Blue Mountains. With cannon, a town built without regularity, and defended without artillery, was soon destroyed; but the success of the other enterprizes was frequently doubtful, sometimes attended with much loss. The slaves, more elated by one triumph than discouraged by ten defeats, were proud of considering their former tyrants merely as enemies they were to contend with. If they were beaten, they had at least some revenge. Their blood was at least mixed with that of their barbarous masters. They rushed against the sword of the European, to plunge a dagger into his breast. At last, overpowered by numbers, or by the dexterity of their antagonists, the fugitives intrenched themselves in inaccessible places, where they dispersed in small bands, fully determined never to stir out; and well assured that they should never be conquered there. At length, after various contests and excursions, that lasted nine months, the English gave up all thoughts of subduing them.

Thus, sooner or later, will any people, made desperate by tyranny, or the oppression of conquerors, always get the better of numerous, experienced, and even well-disciplined armies; if they have

have but resolution enough to endure hunger rather than the yoke; to die rather than live in bondage; and, if they chuse, rather to see their nation extinct than enslaved. Let them abandon the field to the multitude of troops; to the train of war; to the display of provisions, ammunition, and hospitals: let them retire into the heart of the mountains, without baggage, without covering, without stores; nature will provide for them and defend them. There let them remain for years, till the climate, idleness, and intemperance, have destroyed those swarms of foreign invaders, who have no booty to expect, nor any laurels to gather. Let them pour down upon them at intervals, like the torrents of their own mountains, surprize them in their tents, and ravage their boundaries. Lastly, let them despise the opprobrious names of robbers and murderers, which will be lavished upon them by a great people, base enough to arm themselves against a handful of huntsmen, and weak enough to be unable to conquer them.

SUCH was the conduct of the Blacks with the English. These, weary of excursions and fruitless armaments, fell into universal despondency. The poorest among them would not venture to accept the lands which the government offered them in the vicinity of the mountains. Even the settlements at a greater distance from these rebels, inured to war, were either neglected or forsaken. Many parts of the island, which from their appearance seemed likely to become the most fruitful, were left in their uncultivated state.

IN this situation was the colony, when Trelawney was appointed governor. This prudent and humane commander was sensible, that a set of men, who for near a century past lived upon wild fruits, went naked, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather; who, ever at war with an assailant stronger than themselves and better armed, never ceased fighting for the defence of their liberty; that such a set of men would never be subdued by open force. He, therefore, had recourse to conciliating measures. He offered them not only lands as their own property, but likewise liberty and independence.

THESE overtures were favourably received. The treaty concluded with them in 1739, decided, that the chief, whom they themselves should choose, should receive his commission from the English government; that he should come every year to the capital of the colony, if required; that two white men should constantly reside with him, in order to maintain a harmony advantageous to both nations; and if the colony were ever attacked, he and all his people should take up arms.

WHILE Trelawney was negotiating this accommodation in the name of the crown, the general assembly of the colony proposed their separate plan. In this second agreement, the New people engaged to harbour no more fugitive slaves; and they were promised a stipulated sum for every deserter, whom they should inform against, and a more considerable reward for those whom they should bring back to their plantations.

Since

Since this shameful contract, this small republic hath been constantly declining. It now reckons no more than thirteen hundred individuals, men, women, and children, distributed in five or six villages.

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WHETHER these events inspired them with boldness, or whether they were exasperated at the ill usage they met with from the English, the Negro slaves resolved to be free likewise. While the flames of war, kindled in Europe, were spreading in America, these miserable men agreed, in 1760, to take up arms all in one day, murder their tyrants, and seize upon the government. But their impatience for liberty disconcerted the unanimity of the plot, by preventing the timely execution of it. Some of the conspirators stabbed their masters, and set fire to their houses before the appointed time; but finding themselves unable to resist the whole force of the island, which their premature exploit had collected in a moment, they fled to the mountains. From this impenetrable recess they were incessantly making destructive inroads. The English, in their distress, were reduced to solicit the assistance of the wild Negroes, whose independence they had been obliged to acknowledge by a solemn treaty. They even bribed them, and promised a considerable sum for every slave they should kill with their own hands. Those base Africans, unworthy of the liberty they had recovered, were not ashamed to sell the blood of their brethren: they pursued them, and killed many of them by surprise. At last the conspirators, weakened and betrayed by  
I their

their own nation, remained a long time silent and inactive.

THE conspiracy was thought to be effectually extinguished, when the rebels, reinforced by deserters from the several plantations, appeared again with redoubled fury. The regular troops, the militia, and a large body of sailors, all marched in pursuit of the slaves; they fought and beat them in several skirmishes; many were slain, or taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed into the woods and rocks. All the prisoners were shot, hanged, or burnt. Those who were supposed to be the chief promoters of the conspiracy, were tied alive to gibbets, and there left to perish slowly, exposed to the scorching sun of the torrid zone; a far more painful and more terrible death than that of being burnt alive. Yet their tyrants enjoyed the torments of these miserable wretches, whose only crime was an attempt to recover by revenge, those rights of which avarice and inhumanity had deprived them.

THE measures that were taken to prevent future insurrections were dictated by the same spirit of barbarity. A slave is whipped in the public places, if he plays at any game whatsoever; if he presumes to go a hunting, or to sell any thing but milk or fish. He cannot stir out of his master's plantation, unless attended by a white man, or with an express permission in writing. If he should beat a drum, or make use of any other noisy instrument, his master is condemned to pay a fine of 225 livres\*. Thus do the

\* 9l. 7s. 6d.



English, who are so jealous of their own liberty, sport with that of other men. To this excess of barbarity the Negro trade must necessarily have brought these usurpers. Such is the progress of injustice and violence. To conquer the New World, its inhabitants must doubtless have been slaughtered. To replace them, Negroes must be bought, as they alone are able to endure the climate and the labours of America. To remove these Africans from their native country, who were designed to cultivate the land without having any possessions in it, it was necessary to seize them by force, and to make them slaves. To keep them in subjection, they must be treated with severity. To prevent their revolt, the natural consequence of severity and servitude, these men, whom we have made desperate, must be restrained by capital punishments, by hard usage, and atrocious laws.

But cruelty itself has a period in its own destructive nature. In an instant it may cease. An enemy who should be so fortunate as to land at Jamaica, would soon convey arms to these men, who are full of rancour against their oppressors, and only wait a favourable opportunity to rise against them. The French, not considering that the revolt of the Blacks in one colony would probably occasion it in all the rest, will hasten such a revolution in time of war. The English, finding themselves between two fires, will be dismayed; their strength and courage will fail them; and Jamaica will fall a prey to slaves and conquerors,

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conquerors, who will contend for dominion with fresh enormities. Such is the train of evils that injustice brings along with it! It attaches itself to man so closely, that the connection cannot be dissolved but by the sword. Crimes beget crimes; blood is productive of blood; and the earth becomes a perpetual scene of desolation, tears, misery, and affliction, where successive generations rise to imbrue their hands in blood, to tear out each other's bowels, and to lay each other in the dust.

Advantages  
of Jamaica  
for war.  
It's disad-  
vantages for  
navigation.

THE loss of Jamaica, however, would be a heavy one for England. Nature has placed this island at the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, and made it a kind of key to that rich country. All ships going from Carthagená to the Havannah, are obliged to pass by it's coasts; it is more within reach of the several trading ports on the continent, than any other island; the many excellent roads with which it is surrounded, facilitate the launching of men of war on all sides of the island. These several advantages are balanced by some inconveniences.

IF it be easy to get at Jamaica by the trade-winds, by taking a view of the Less Antilles, it is not so easy to get away from thence, whether we go through the Streights of Bahama, or determine for the Leeward Passage.

THE first of these two ways gives the full advantage of the wind for two hundred leagues; but as soon as Cape St. Anthony is doubled, we meet the same wind against us that before was favourable;

favourable: so that more time is lost than was gained; and there is also a risque of being taken by the guarda-costas of the Havannah. This danger is succeeded by another, which is the shoals on the coast of Florida, towards which the winds and currents drive with great violence. The Elizabeth, an English man of war, would infallibly have been lost there in 1746, had not Captain Edwards ventured into the Havannah. It was during the height of the war, and the port belonged to the enemy. "I come," said the captain to the governor, "to deliver up  
 " my ship, my sailors, my soldiers, and myself,  
 " into your hands; I only ask the lives of my  
 " men." "I will not be guilty of any disho-  
 " nourable action," replied the Spanish com-  
 " mander. "Had we taken you in fight, in open  
 " sea, or upon our coasts, your ship would have  
 " been our's, and you would have been our pri-  
 " soners. But as you are overtaken by a storm,  
 " and are driven into this port from the fear of  
 " being shipwrecked, I do and ought to forget  
 " that my nation is at war with your's. You  
 " are men, and so are we; you are in distress,  
 " and have a right to our pity. You are at  
 " liberty to unload and refit your vessel; and  
 " if you want it, you may trade in this  
 " port to pay your charges; you may then  
 " go away, and you will have a pass to carry  
 " you safe beyond the Bermudas. If after this  
 " you should be taken, you will be a lawful  
 " prize; but, at this moment, I see in English-  
 " men,

“ men, only strangers for whom humanity claims  
“ our assistance.”

SPANIARDS! incomprehensible race of men, tell me, since such are your feelings, and since you can speak thus to an enemy, delivered into your power by the winds, why have ye not know'n how to respect the innocent savage, prostrate at your feet, who adored you? The reason of this I conceive to be, that Captain Edwards's ship was not loaded with that yellow dust, the sight of which changes you into wild beasts. Perhaps I have calumniated you: but I have seen you so frequently below your own species, that I have had good reason for doubting of your virtues; especially when you display them to me with a character of heroism, which affects and astonishes me. I oppose suspicions, perhaps unjust ones, to my admiration and to my tears, which are ready to flow.

THE other way is attended with no less difficulty and danger. It terminates at a small island, that the English call Crooked Island, which lies eighty leagues off Jamaica. Ships that come this way, must commonly strive against the easterly wind through the whole passage, coast along close under St. Domingo, in order to keep clear of the flats of Cuba, and then pass the streights, between the points of these two great islands, where it is very difficult to escape being intercepted by their privateers or their men of war. The navigators coming from the Lucays do not meet with these obstructions.

It is reckoned, that there are about two hundred of these islands, all of them situated to the north of Cuba, and most of which are nothing more than rocks just rising above water. Columbus, who discovered them on his arrival in the New World, and who gave the name of San Salvador to that on which he landed, did not make any settlement there. Neither did the Castilians afterwards fix upon it; but in 1507, they carried off all the inhabitants, who soon perished in the mines, or in the pearl fishery. This small Archipelago was entirely desert, when, in 1672, some Englishmen took possession of Providence island; they were driven from thence seven or eight years afterwards, by the orders of the court of Madrid, but returned in 1690, and were again expelled in 1703, by the Spaniards and French united. The island was peopled again by a particular event.

IN 1714, some ships richly laden were swallowed up by a storm upon the coasts of Florida. The treasures which they contained belonged to the Spaniards, who caused them to be dived for. So rich a prey tempted some of the inhabitants of Jamaica. The Spaniards refused to share with them, and Jennings, the boldest among them, had recourse to arms to support what he called a natural and undeniable right. The dread of being severely punished, for having disturbed the peace which Europe had for so long a time been anxious to obtain, obliged him to turn pirate. His companions were soon numerous enough to make it necessary to multiply

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Revolutions  
which have  
happened in  
the Lucaya  
islands.  
State of  
these islands.



his armaments. The Lucays became their place of retreat. It was from thence that these robbers sallied forth to attack all vessels without distinction, English as well as others. The nations were apprehensive of seeing renewed, in the New World, those scenes of horror which had been displayed there by the antient freebooters, when George I. roused by the clamours of his people, and by the wishes of his parliament, sent out, in 1719, a sufficient force to subdue these pirates. The most determined of them refused the amnesty which was offered them, and went to infest the coasts of Asia and Africa with their robberies. The rest increased the colony which Woods Rogers brought with him from Europe.

THIS colony may at this day consist of three or four thousand persons, half of whom are settled at Providence, where Fort Nassau hath been constructed, and which hath a harbour sufficient for small vessels; the rest are distributed in the other islands. They send annually to England to the value of forty or fifty thousand crowns\* of cotton, wood for dying, and live turtle; and with their salt they pay for the provisions which North America supplies them with.

ALTHOUGH the soil of the Lucays cannot be compared to that of several of the other colonies, yet it would be sufficient to afford plenty of subsistence, by labour, to a population much more considerable than that which is at present found there, in free people or in slaves. The great

\* From 5,000l. to 6,250l.

neglect of its cultures must be attributed to the first manners, and present propensities, of the inhabitants. These islands, which on one side are separated from Florida by the channel of Bahama, form on the other a long chain, which terminates at the point of Cuba. It is there that begin the islands called Turk's Islands, or Caicos, which continue the chain as far as towards the middle of the northern coast of St. Domingo. So favourable a position for piracy hath turned the views of the inhabitants towards a cruising life. They are ever eager to engage in hostilities, which may put the Spanish and French productions into their hands. The Bermudas exhibit a more tranquil scene.

THIS small Archipelago, about three hundred leagues distant from that of the Antilles, was discovered in 1527, by the Spaniard John Bermudas, who gave his name to it, but did not land there. Ferdinand Camelo, a Portugueze, obtained in 1572, of Philip II. a grant of it, which did not take effect. The French navigator Barbotiere was shipwrecked there in 1593, but thought no more of it after he had quitted it. The ship of George Sommers was broken to pieces there in 1609. With the wrecks of this ship a small vessel was constructed, which had the good fortune to arrive safe in England.

THREE years after, a company was formed in London to people the Bermudas, which were entirely uninhabited. Sixty men were sent there, and they were soon followed by many more. They occupied at first St. George, the one of these

islands which had the best harbour; and in process of time they took possession of all those which were susceptible of culture. The land was exactly measured, and distributed among the inhabitants, in proportion as their families were more or less numerous.

THE accounts that were propagated, of the salubrity and mildness of the climate, attracted colonists from all parts of the British empire. Inhabitants resorted thither from the Antilles, for the recovery of their health; and from the northern colonies, to enjoy their fortune in peace. Many royalists retired there, in expectation of the death of their oppressor Cromwell. Waller, among the rest, that charming poet, who was an enemy to that tyrannical deliverer, crossed the seas, and celebrated those fortunate islands, inspired by the influence of the air, and the beauty of the country, which are always favourable to the poet. He imparted his enthusiasm to the fair sex. The English ladies never thought themselves handsome or well dressed, unless they had small Bermuda hats made with palm leaves.

BUT at last the charm was broken, and these islands fell into that contempt which their insignificance deserved. They are very numerous, and their whole compass is but six or seven leagues. The soil is very indifferent, and there is not a single spring to water it. There is no water to drink but what is taken from wells and reservoirs. Maize, vegetables, and excellent fruits, afford plenty of wholesome food; but there are no superfluous commodities for exportation; yet chance has collected under this pure and temperate sky,

four

four or five thousand inhabitants; poor, but happy in being unobserved. Their connections with England do not annually exceed 120,000 livres\*, and those which they have formed with the American continent are scarcely more extensive.

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IN order to render the circumstances of this weak colony more easy, it hath been successively proposed to cultivate silk, vines, and cochineal there; but none of these projects have been carried into execution. Industry hath been confined to the manufacturing of sail-cloth, an occupation which is naturally connected with the construction of those small vessels made of cedar or acajou wood, which have never been equalled upon the globe, either for their sailing or for their duration.

THE principal inhabitants of the Bermuda islands formed a society in 1765, the statutes of which are, perhaps, the most respectable monument that ever dignified humanity. These virtuous citizens engaged themselves to form a library of all books of husbandry, in whatever language they had been written; to procure to all capable persons of both sexes, an employment suitable to their disposition; to bestow a reward on every man who had introduced into the colony any new art, or contributed to the improvement of any one already know'n; to give a pension to every daily workman, who, after having assiduously continued his labour, and maintained a good character for forty years, should not have been able to lay

\* 5,000 l.

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by a stock sufficient to allow him to pass his latter days in quiet; and lastly, to indemnify every individual who should have been oppressed either by the minister or the magistrate.

MAY these advantages ever be preserved to these industrious, though indigent people; happy in their labour and in their poverty, which keeps their morals untainted! They enjoy in a state of innocence the benefits of a pure and serene sky, and preserve tranquillity of mind with health. The poison of luxury has never infected them. They are not themselves addicted to envy, nor do they excite it in others. The rage of ambition and war is extinguished upon their coasts, as the storms of the ocean that surround them are broken. The virtuous man would willingly cross the seas to enjoy the sight of their frugality. May the winds never convey to them the account of the events of the world in which we live! They then learn——but, alas!——my imagination wanders, the pen drops from my hand, and they shall receive no information from me.

SUCH were the possessions of the English in the American Archipelago, when the successes of the war which ended in 1763, gave to the domains of that power, a considerable increase of extent, of which Granada was the richest part.

THIS island hath twenty-one leagues in circumference, six in its greatest breadth, which is from north to south, and four from east to west. Its territory, though very uneven, is in general fertile, and susceptible of some kind of culture, according to its quality, and to its exposure, which

Granada was first occupied by the French. What the first colonists did there.



which is not sufficiently attended to. The soil, however, becomes less productive, in proportion to its distance from the coasts. The cause of this perhaps may be, that the rains, which are too frequent at the foot of the mountains, even in those seasons when the rest of the island is afflicted by droughts, keep the neighbouring grounds, which are almost all clayey, in a state of freshness and moisture, which destroys their richness, and consequently their fertility.

THE western part of the island is watered by ten rivers, the northern part by three, the eastern part by eight, and the southern part by five. Beside these springs, which are all considerable enough to work sugar-mills, there are several others less considerable, but very useful to the coffee plantations.

THE neighbouring continent shelters Granada from those fatal hurricanes, which carry desolation in so many other islands; and nature hath multiplied the creeks, the bays, and the harbours, which are favourable for the exportation of provisions. Its principal port is called Basse-Terre, or St. George, which would furnish a safe retreat to sixty men of war.

THOUGH the French, acquainted with the fertility of Granada, had formed, as early as the year 1638, the project of settling there, yet they never carried it into execution till the year 1651. At their arrival, they gave a few hatchets, some knives, and a barrel of brandy, to the chief of the savages they found there; and imagining they had purchased the island with these trifles, assumed the sovereignty,



sovereignty, and soon acted as tyrants. The Caribs, unable to contend with them by open force, took the method which weakness always inspires to repel oppression; they murdered all whom they found alone and defenceless. The troops that were sent to support the infant colony, found no safer or more expeditious way than to destroy all the natives. The remainder of these miserable savages took refuge upon a steep rock, preferring rather to throw themselves down alive from the top of it, than to fall into the hands of an implacable enemy. The French inconsiderately called this rock *le morne des sauteurs*, the hill of the leapers; and it still retains that name.

How was it possible that these frivolous people could lose, in distant countries, that vein of pleasantry which they preserve in their own, even in the midst of the greatest calamities! They are not a cruel people; but the natural cheerfulness which accompanies the Frenchman in tents, in the midst of camps, upon the field of battle, upon a mattrafs in an hospital, where he may have been laid, covered with wounds, and of which he is expiring, will suggest to him some ridiculous expression, which will produce a smile in the companions of his misfortunes: and this contrast of character with situation will manifest itself in the same manner among all Frenchmen, and among some persons of a singular turn in all the countries in the world.

THEY were justly punished for all these cruelties, by a rapacious, violent, and inflexible governor. Most of the colonists, no longer able to endure

dure his tyranny, retired to Martinico, and those who remained on the island condemned him to death. In the whole court of justice that formally tried this miscreant, there was only one man who could write, and his name was Archangeli. A farrier was the person that impeached, who, instead of the signature, sealed with a horseshoe, and Archangeli, who performed the office of clerk, wrote gravely round it, *Marque de Monsieur de la Brie, conseiller rapporteur*: MARK OF MR. DE LA BRIE, COUNSEL FOR THE COURT.

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IT was apprehended that the court of France would not ratify this extraordinary sentence, passed with such unusual formalities, though dictated by common sense. Most of the judges of the crime, and witnesses of the execution, disappeared from Granada. None remained, except those whose obscurity screened them from the pursuit of the laws. The estimate taken in 1700 shews, that there were on the island no more than 251 white people, 53 free savages or mulattoes, and 525 slaves. The useful animals were reduced to 64 horses, and 569 head of horned cattle. The whole culture consisted of three plantations of sugar, and fifty-two of indigo.

THE face of things was totally changed towards the year 1714; and this alteration was effected by Martinico. That island was then laying the foundation of a splendour that was to astonish all nations. It sent immense productions to France, and received valuable commodities in return, which were most of them sent to the Spanish coasts. It's ships touched at Granada in  
 their

their way, to take in refreshments. The trading privateers, who undertook this navigation, taught the people of that island the value of their soil, which only required cultivation. The execution of every project is facilitated by commerce. Some traders furnished the inhabitants with slaves and utensils to erect sugar plantations. An open account was established between the two colonies. Granada was clearing its debts gradually by its rich produce, and the balance was on the point of being closed, when the war in 1744 interrupted the communication between the two islands, and at the same time stopped the progress of the most important culture of the New World. At that time cotton, cacao, and particularly coffee trees, were planted, and during the continuance of hostilities, they acquired a sufficient growth to yield plentifully. These useful trees were not abandoned after the peace of 1748; but the culture of the sugar canes was then pushed with an eagerness proportioned to their importance. A series of misfortunes, too much merited, soon deprived the mother-country of the great advantages it flattered itself with from this colony.

THE passionate desire of premature and unbounded enjoyment, that malady which hath tainted the government of a nation which yet deserves the affection of her masters; that prodigality, which reaps when it should sow; which destroys the past with one hand, and the future with the other; which exhausts and consumes the stock, by anticipating the income; that confusion  
which

which results from the distresses any state must necessarily be reduced to, that has neither principles nor experience, that has power without views, and means without conduct; that anarchy that prevails at the helm; that precipitation, that caballing among inferiors; the impropriety, or total want of projects; on one hand the audacity of doing any thing with impunity; on the other, the fear of speaking even for the public good: this concurrence of long succeeding evils has throw'n Granada into the hands of Great Britain, which is confirmed in the possession of this conquest by the treaty of 1763.

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THE English did not make a fortunate beginning. A great number of them resolved to have plantations upon an island, of which the highest opinion had previously been formed; and in their enthusiasm they purchased them for much more than their real value. This passion, which expelled the antient colonists, who were inured to the climate, drew thirty-five or thirty-six millions of livres \* out of the mother-country. This imprudence was followed by another. The new proprietors, misled no doubt by national pride, have substituted new methods to those of their predecessors. They attempted to alter the mode of living among their slaves. The Negroes, who from their ignorance are more attached to their old customs than other men, revolted. It was found necessary to send out troops, and to shed blood. The whole colony was filled with suspicions.

Events  
which have  
happened at  
Granada  
since it is  
fallen under  
the British  
govern-  
ment.

\* From 1,458,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. to 1,500,000 l.

Masters,



Masters, who had been under the necessity of using violent methods, were afraid of being burnt or massacred in their own habitations. The labours declined, and were even totally suspended. Tranquillity was at length restored, but it was soon succeeded by a new storm.

THROUGHOUT the whole extent of the British empire, the Roman Catholics are rigorously deprived of the least influence in public affairs. When the ministry established the English government at Granada, they thought proper to deviate from these generally received principles; and they permitted all the antient inhabitants, of whatever religion they might be, to give their vote in the assemblies of the colony. This innovation met with the most obstinate resistance; but at last parliament, which had got rid of some of it's prejudices, declared in favour of the administration, and Catholics, as well as others, were allowed to attend to the common interests of the colony.

THE predilection which George III. had shew'n for the French, who were become his subjects, made him imagine that his commands would meet with no opposition in a settlement of which they still formed the greatest number. In this persuasion, he ordered that the duty of four and a half per cent. upon productions on their exportation, which, in an excess of zeal, all the British islands, except Jamaica, had very antiently granted, should be levied at Granada. The power of doing this was disputed with him.

The cause was formally tried, and the decision was not favourable to the monarch.

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THIS triumph elated the minds of the colonists. In order to accelerate the cultures, they had borrowed large sums from the monied people of the mother-country. These debts, which amounted to 50,000,000 of livres\*, were not paid at the appointed time. The creditors had recourse to the rigour of the law, which authorized them to seize the plantations that had been mortgaged to them, to put them up to public sale, and to exact the full value of them eight months after. This severity spread universal consternation. The legislative body of the island in their despair, passed a bill on the 6th of June 1774, which divided the value of the acquisition into five payments, and which protracted the last payment to the term of thirty-two months. The secret motive of this singular act, was undoubtedly to put it in the power of the debtors to bid for their own estates, and by this contrivance to procure them delays, which they would in vain have expected from the commiseration of their creditors.

A MEASURE so bold excited a tumult throughout England. It was generally thought an injurious thing, that a very small part of the empire should arrogate to itself a right of annihilating engagements contracted under the sanction of a law universally established, in the good faith of trade. This indignation was communicated even to the islands of America, which understood clearly, that no further credit could be expected,

\* 2,083,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

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if confidence were not settled upon a firm basis. The Britons of the Old and of the New World united in urging the Supreme Power, to repair without delay this great breach made in the important and imprescriptible right of property.

Cultures of  
Granada,  
and of the  
Granadines.

THE parliament, whatever might be the distress of this valuable acquisition, thought in the same manner as the people.

IN 1771 and 1775, St. George was reduced to ashes by dreadful fires. The colony experienced other calamities; and notwithstanding this, its productions have increased threefold since it came out of the hands of the French. It is become, under the other hemisphere, the second of the English islands. Its new mother-country receives from it annually eighteen millions weight of sugar, which, at 40 livres\* the quintal, produce in Europe 7,200,000 livres †; one million one hundred thousand gallons of rum, which, at one livre ten sols ‡ the gallon, produce 1,650,000 livres §; thirty thousand quintals of coffee, which, at 50 livres § the quintal, produce 1,500,000 livres ¶; three thousand quintals of cocoa, which, at 50 livres\*\* the quintal, produce 150,000 livres ††; three hundred quintals of indigo, which, at 800 livres ‡‡ the quintal, produce 240,000 livres §§; thirteen thousand quintals of cotton,

* 1 l. 13 s. 4 d.	† 300,000 l.
‡ 1 s. 3 d.	§ 68,750 l.
§ 2 l. 1 s. 8 d.	¶ 62,500 l.
** 2 l. 1 s. 8 d.	†† 6,250 l.
‡‡ 33 l. 6 s. 8 d.	§§ 10,000 l.

which

which at 150 livres \* the quintal, produce 1,950,000 livres †; this makes in all 12,690,000 livres ‡; but in this revenue is included that which the Granadines produce.

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THESE are a dozen of small islands, from three to eight leagues in circumference. They do not afford a single river, and yet the climate is very wholesome. The ground covered only with thin bushes, has not been screened from the sun for many centuries, and it may be cultivated without it's exhaling at any time those noxious vapours which generally attack the planters perpetually elsewhere.

CARIACOU, the only one of these islands which the French have occupied, was at first frequented by turtle fishermen, who, in the intervals of leisure afforded them by their occupation, attempted some kinds of culture. Their small number was soon increased by several of the inhabitants of Guadalupe, who had been driven from their habitations by mischievous insects. These good people, assisted by eight or nine hundred slaves, employed themselves with success in the culture of cotton. This shrub was conveyed by the English to the other Granadine islands, and they even formed a sugar plantation at Bequia, and two at Cariacou.

TABAGO, which was acquired by Great Britain at the same period and by the same treaty, is separated from the Spanish island of Trinidad only

The island of Tabago, which was the cause of great dif-

\* 6l. 5s. † 81,250l. ‡ 528,750l.

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putes between the Dutch and the French, becomes a British possession.

by a channel of nine leagues over. This possession hath ten leagues in length and four in it's greatest breadth. It hath a harbour upon it's eastern coast, in which there are twenty-five or thirty feet of water, and another on it's northern coast, which hath no more than twenty or twenty-five. They are both sheltered from most of the winds, an advantage which that on the south side doth not enjoy. Among the small mountains which occupy the center of the island, there is one more elevated, the black and reddish colour of which seems to indicate the ruins of an antient volcano. It is not exposed to those dreadful hurricanes that are so destructive in other parts. Possibly, it owes this inestimable advantage to the vicinity of the continent.

TABAGO has formerly been exceedingly populous, if we may credit some traditional accounts. The inhabitants long withstood the fierce and frequent attacks of the savages from the continent, who were stubborn and irreconcilable enemies. At length, wearied out with these inroads, which were incessantly renewed, they dispersed into the adjacent islands.

THAT which they had forsaken lay open to invasion from Europe, when two hundred natives of Flessingen landed there in 1632, to lay the foundation of a Dutch colony. The neighbouring Indians joined with the Spaniards of the island of Trinidad, to oppose an establishment that gave umbrage to both. Whoever attempted to stop their fury, was murdered or taken prisoner; and the  
few



few who escaped into the woods soon deserted the island.

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FOR twenty years the Dutch forgot a settlement which was only noted for the disasters of its origin. In 1654, a fresh colony was sent there, which was driven away in 1666. The English were soon deprived of this conquest by the French; but Lewis XIV. satisfied with having conquered it, restored it to his ally the republic of Holland. This settlement succeeded no better than the other colonies of that commercial nation that were engaged in agriculture. The motives that determine so many persons from other countries to go to America, ought never to have influenced the Dutch. Their own country affords every possible advantage for trade, and they have no need to go abroad to make their fortune. A happy toleration, purchased like their liberty, with rivers of blood, hath at length left the consciences of all men free; so that no religious scruples can induce timorous minds to banish themselves from their native country. The government makes such ample provision for the relief and employment of the poor, that none are driven by despair to go and clear a foreign land which usually destroys the first cultivators. Tabago, therefore, never had more than 1200 men, employed in the culture of a little tobacco, cotton and indigo, and of six sugar plantations.

THE colony was confined to this scanty exertion of industry, when it was attacked by the very same nation that had restored it to its former rights of possession and property. In the month of February

1677, a French fleet, destined to seize upon Tobago, fell in with the Dutch fleet that was sent out to oppose this expedition. They engaged in one of the roads of the island, which became famous for this memorable action in an age abounding with great events. The obstinacy and valour on both sides was such, that the fight still continued, when every ship was dismasted, and unrigged, and no sailors left to work them. The engagement did not cease till twelve vessels were burnt, and a great number were sunk. The assailers lost the fewest men, and the defendants kept possession of the island.

BUT d'Estrées, who was determined to take it, landed there the same year in the month of December. There was then no fleet to obstruct or retard his progress. A bomb throw'n from his camp, blew up their powder magazine. This proved, as it generally does, a decisive stroke; and the enemy, unable to resist, surrendered at discretion. The conquerors availed themselves to the utmost of the right of war: not content with razing the fortifications, they burnt the plantations, seized upon all the ships in the harbour, and transported the inhabitants from the island. The conquest of this place was secured to France by the peace that soon followed an action, in which defeat was attended with no marks of disgrace, and victory with no advantage.]

THE court of Versailles neglected this important island to such a degree, as not to send a single man thither. Perhaps, in the intoxication of false grandeur, they beheld with indifference whatever

was

was merely useful. They even entertained an unfavourable opinion of Tabago, and imagined it was only a barren rock. This error gained ground from the behaviour of the French, who, finding themselves too numerous at Martinico, went over to the islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica. These were precarious possessions, and the soil of which was of an indifferent quality. Could they possibly have been preferred to an island where the land was better, and the property incontestable? Such was the reasoning of a government, which was not then sufficiently enlightened concerning the trade and plantations of the colonies, to discern the true motives of this dislike the subjects had to Tabago.

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AN infant colony, especially when it is founded with slender means, cannot subsist without immediate assistance. It cannot make any progress but in proportion as it finds consumption for its first productions. These are generally of a common sort, are not worth the expences of exportation to any distance, and, therefore, will scarce sell but in the neighbourhood, and ought insensibly, and by moderate profits, to lead to the undertaking of those great cultures which are the object of commerce between Europe and the Leeward Islands. But Tabago was too remote from the French settlements, to attract inhabitants by such a gradation of success. Less fruitful islands, that were nearer to their resources, were preferred.

THE low condition into which it was fallen, did not prevent it from attracting the attention of England. That proud island, which thinks her-

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self the queen of all others, because she is the most flourishing, pretended to have an undoubted right to that of Tabago, because it had once been in her possession for six months. Her forces have confirmed her pretensions; and the peace of 1763, has justified the success of her arms, by ceding to her a possession, which she will turn to better account than the French ever did.

Plan for  
clearing the  
American  
islands.

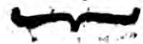
ALMOST all the settlements in the Antilles have proved fatal to the first colonists, who acting by chance in times of little experience, without the concurrence of the mother-country, committed perpetual blunders. Their avidity would not suffer them to follow the method of the natives, who, to abate the influence of a constant scorching sun, used to separate the small parcels of land which they were forced to clear, with large spaces covered with trees and shady thickets. These savages, instructed by experience, fixed their dwellings in the middle of the woods, to preserve themselves from the quick and dangerous exhalations of a ground newly turned up.

THE destroyers of this prudent people, being too eager after their profits, neglected this method as too slow; and being impatient to cultivate all, precipitately cut down whole forests. Thick vapours immediately arose from the ground, which was heated, for the first time, by the rays of the sun. These increased as the earth was stirred up for sowing and planting. Their malignant particles insinuated themselves into every pore, and every organ of the husbandman; who, by hard labour,

labour, was constantly kept in a profuse perspiration. The circulation of the fluids was stopped, all the viscera were dilated, the body swelled, the stomach could no longer perform it's functions, and death ensued. Those who escaped these pestilential influences by day, lost their lives by sleeping in huts hastily run up upon a fresh soil, where vegetation was too active, and so unwholesome, that it consumed the men before it could nourish the plants.

FROM these observations it appears, that the following would be the best plan which could be pursued in the establishing of a new colony. At our first arrival, it should be observed what winds are most prevalent in the Archipelago of America, and it will be found that they blow regularly from the south-east and north-east. If we were at liberty to chuse, and met with no obstacle from the nature of the ground, we should take care not to fix on the leeward side, lest the wind should be continually bringing to us the vapours of the new-tilled grounds, and infect, from the exhalations of the new plantations, a piece of land that might have been purified in time. Our colony should, therefore, be founded on the windward side of whatever country we mean to cultivate. First, all the habitations should be built in the woods, and not a tree be suffered to be felled about them. The woods are wholesome; the refreshing shade they afford, and the cool air we breathe in them, even in the heat of the day, are a preservative against that excessive perspiration, which is the destruction of most Europeans, by the dryness and





acrimony of an inflammable blood, deprived of it's fluid parts. Fires should be kept in the huts all night, to dispel any noxious air that might have entered. This custom, which is constantly practised in some parts of Africa, would be as successful in America, considering the analogy between the two climates.

AFTER having taken these precautions, we might begin to cut down the woods; but it should be at least at fifty toises distance from the huts. When the ground is laid bare, the slaves should not be sent out to their work till ten o'clock in the morning, when the sun has had time to divide the vapours, and the wind to drive them away. The four hours lost after sun-rise, would be fully compensated by sparing the strength of the labourers, and by the preservation of the human race. This attention should be continued as long as any lands are clearing or sowing, till the ground was thoroughly purged and settled; when the colonists might be allowed to fix upon it, and be employed without the least apprehensions at all hours in the day. Experience has already justified the necessity of all these measures.

Misfortunes which the English have suffered at Tabago, for having deviated from the maxims which we have just laid down.

THE English and their slaves not having followed the plan we have been tracing, perished in great numbers at Tabago, though most of them came there together from the neighbouring colonies. Enlightened by this disaster, they settled to windward of the island, and death ceased it's ravages. The custom which the British government have of selling the soil of the islands, and

and the formalities inseparable from such a system, retarded the formation of a settlement, which by pursuing other maxims, perhaps less prudent, might have been begun immediately after the peace. It was not till 1766, that fourteen thousand acres of ground were allotted and divided into shares of five hundred acres each. New allotments were afterwards made, but no planter was ever allowed to purchase more than one share.

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THE island, the soil of which hath been found too sandy, is yet inhabited only by four hundred white people and eight thousand Negroes. They were stopped in the beginning of their career by ants, who have devoured the greatest part of the sugar canes which have been already planted. The forty thousand quintals of sugar which were gathered from thirty plantations have been reduced to one half. This void hath been filled up by cotton, the crop of which is eight hundred thousand pounds weight, and by indigo, which yields twelve thousand pounds. St. Vincent hath not experienced a similar calamity.

WHEN the English and French, who for some years had been ravaging the Windward Islands, began to give some consistence to their settlements, in the year 1660, they agreed that Dominica and St. Vincent should be left to the Caribs as their property. Some of these savages, who till then had been dispersed, retired into the former, and the greater part into the latter. There these mild and moderate men, lovers of peace and silence, lived in the woods, in scattered families, under the guidance

History of  
the savages  
of St. Vin-  
cent.

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guidance of an old man, whom his age alone had advanced to the dignity of ruler. The dominion passed successively into every family, where the oldest always became king, that is to say, the guide and father of the nation. These ignorant savages were still unacquainted with the sublime art of subduing and governing men by force of arms; of massacring the inhabitants of a country to get possession of their lands; of granting to the conquerors the property, and to the conquered the labours of the conquered country; and in process of time, of depriving both of the rights and the fruit of their toil by arbitrary taxes.

THE population of these children of nature was suddenly augmented by a race of Africans, whose origin was never positively ascertained. It is said, that a ship carrying Negroes for sale, foundered on the coast of St. Vincent; and the slaves who escaped the wreck, were received as brethren by the savages. Others pretend that these Negroes were deserters, who ran away from the plantations of the neighbouring colonies. A third tradition says, that this foreign race comes from the Blacks whom the Caribs took from the Spaniards in the first wars between those Europeans and the Indians. If we may credit Du Tertre, the most antient historian, who has written an account of the Antilles, those terrible savages, who were so inveterate against their masters, spared the captive slaves, brought them home, and restored them to liberty that they might enjoy life, that is, the common blessings of nature, which no man has  
a right

a right to withhold from any of his fellow-creatures.

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THEIR kindness did not stop here: for by whatever chance these strangers were brought into the island, the proprietors of it gave them their daughters in marriage; and the race that sprang from this mixture, were called black Caribs. They have preserved more of the primitive colour of their fathers, than of the lighter hue of their mothers. The red Caribs are of a low stature; the black Caribs tall and stout; and this doubly savage race speak with a vehemence that seems to resemble anger.

IN process of time, however, some differences arose between the two nations. The people of Martinico perceiving this, resolved to take advantage of their divisions, and raise themselves on the ruins of both parties. Their pretence was, that the black Caribs gave shelter to the slaves who deserted from the French islands. Imposture is always productive of injustice. Those who were falsely accused, were afterwards attacked without reason. But the smallness of the numbers sent out against them; the jealousy of those who were appointed to command the expedition; the defection of the red Caribs, who refused to supply such dangerous allies with any of the succours they had promised them to act against their rivals; the difficulty of procuring subsistence; the impossibility of coming up with enemies who kept themselves concealed in woods and mountains: all these circumstances conspired to disconcert this rash and violent enterprise. It was obliged to be given up, after

The arrival of the French at St. Vincent raises disputes between the red and the black Caribs.

after the loss of many valuable lives; but the triumph the savages obtained, did not prevent them from suing for peace as suppliants. They even invited the French to come and live with them, swearing sincere friendship and inviolable concord. The proposal was agreed to; and the next year, 1719, many of the inhabitants of Martinico removed to St. Vincent.

THE first who came thither settled peaceably, not only with the consent, but by the assistance of the red Caribs. This success induced others to follow their example; but these, whether from jealousy, or some other motive, taught the savages a fatal secret. That people, who knew of no property but the fruits of the earth, because they are the reward of labour, learnt with astonishment, that they could sell the earth itself, which they had always looked upon as belonging to mankind in general. This knowledge induced them to measure and fix boundaries; and from that instant peace and happiness were banished from their island. The partition of lands occasioned divisions amongst men. The following were the causes of the revolution produced by the system of usurpation.

WHEN the French came to St. Vincent, they brought slaves along with them, to clear and till the ground. The black Caribs, shocked at the thoughts of resembling men who were degraded by slavery, and fearing that some time or other their colour, which betrayed their origin, might be made a pretence for enslaving them, took refuge in the thickest parts of the forest. In this situation,



situation, in order to imprint an indelible mark of distinction upon their tribe, that might be a perpetual token of their independence, they flattened the foreheads of all their children as soon as they were born. The men and women, whose heads could not bend to this strange shape, dared no longer appear in public without this visible sign of freedom. The next generation appeared as a new race. The flat-headed Caribs, who were nearly of the same age, tall proper men, hardy and fierce, came and erected huts by the sea-side.

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THEY no sooner knew the price which the Europeans set upon the lands they inhabited, than they claimed a share with the other islanders. This rising spirit of covetousness was at first appeased by some presents of brandy, and a few sabres. But not content with these, they soon demanded fire-arms, as the red Caribs had; and at last they were desirous of having their share in all future sales of land, and likewise in the produce of past sales. Provoked at being denied a part in this brotherly repartition, they formed into a separate tribe, swore never more to associate with the red Caribs, chose a chief of their own, and declared war.

THE numbers of the combatants might be equal, but their strength was not so. The black Caribs had every advantage over the red, that industry, valour, and boldness, must soon acquire over a weak habit and a timorous disposition. But that spirit of equity, which is seldom deficient in savages, made the conqueror consent to share

4

with

with the vanquished all the territory lying to the leeward. It was the only one which both parties were desirous of possessing, because there they were sure of receiving presents from the French.

THE black Caribs gained nothing by the agreement which they themselves had draw'n up. The new planters who came to the island, always landed and settled near the red Caribs, where the coast was most accessible. This preference roused that enmity which was but ill-extinguished. The war broke out again. The red Caribs, who were always beaten, retired to windward of the island. Many took to their canoes, and went over to the continent, or to Tabago; and the few that remained, lived separate from the Blacks.

THE black Caribs, conquerors and masters of all the leeward coast, required of the Europeans that they should again buy the lands they had already purchased. A Frenchman attempted to shew the deed of his purchase of some land which he had bought of a red Carib; *I know not*, says a black Carib, *what thy paper says, but read what is written on my arrow. There you may see, in characters which do not lie, that if you do not give me what I demand, I will go and burn your house to-night.* In this manner did a people who had not learnt to read, argue with those who derived such consequence from knowing how to write. They made use of the right of force, with as much assurance, and as little remorse, as if they had been acquainted with divine, political, and civil right.

TIME, which brings on a change of measures with a change of interests, put an end to these disturbances. The French became, in their turn, the strongest. They no longer spent their time in breeding poultry, and cultivating vegetables, cassava, maize, and tobacco, in order to sell them at Martinico. In less than twenty years, more important cultures employed eight hundred white men, and three thousand Blacks. Such was the situation of St. Vincent when it fell into the hands of the English; and was secured to them by the treaty of 1763.

THIS island, which may have forty leagues in circumference, is mountainous, but intersected by excellent vallies, and watered by a few rivers. It was in the western part of it that the French had begun the culture of cacao and of cotton, and had made considerable advances in that of coffee. The conquerors formed there some sugar plantations. The impossibility of multiplying them upon an uneven soil, which is full of ravines, made them desirous of occupying the plains towards the East. The savages, who had taken refuge there, refused to quit them; and recourse was had to arms to compel them to it. The resistance which they opposed to the thunders of European tyranny, was not, and could not possibly be maintained without great difficulty.

AN officer was measuring out the ground which had just been taken possession of, when the detachment that accompanied him was unexpectedly attacked, and almost totally destroyed,

St. Vincent falls into the hands of the English. State of the island under their dominion.

on the 25th of March 1775. It was generally believed that the unfortunate persons who had just been deprived of their possessions, were the authors of this violence; and the troops put themselves in motion to destroy them.

FORTUNATELY, it was determined in time, that the Caribs were innocent; that they had taken or massacred several fugitive slaves who had been guilty of such cruelties; and that they had swor'n not to stop till they had purged the island of those vagabonds, whose enormities were often imputed to them. In order to confirm the savages in this resolution, by the allurements of rewards, the legislative body passed a bill to insure a gratuity of five moides, or 120 livres \*, to any one who should bring the head of a Negro, who should have deserted within three months.

GREAT BRITAIN hath not hitherto gained any great advantage from these barbarities. St. Vincent still reckons no more than five hundred white men, and seven or eight thousand Negroes. Their labours yield no more than twelve hundred quintals of cotton, six millions weight of very fine sugar, and three hundred and sixty thousand gallons of rum. These productions grow upon a very light kind of soil, and which for that reason, it is thought, will be soon exhausted. This is an opinion generally received in America; and it will be proper to examine whether it be well founded.

\* 51.

UNDoubtedly, the rains which fall in torrents upon a broken country, must more readily carry away a sandy soil than a clayey one, the particles of which shall adhere more strongly to each other. But is it understood in what manner a soil can be exhausted? Can it be by the loss of those earthy particles, into which the plants it produces are at length reduced, and of which it seems to be deprived, when the plants do not rot upon the spot where they have been cultivated? In answer to this, it is proved from the experiments of Van Helmont, that plants do not take away any sensible weight from the soil; and that it is the moisture with which the earth is watered, that is the only cause of vegetation. If this exhausting of the soil be supposed to arise from the loss of the salts which it furnishes for the successive growth of the plants, it is equally proved, by the numerous experiments of M. Tillet, and of several other natural philosophers, that the ground is nothing more than a matrix, in which the germina of plants receive their growth, which they seem only to derive from heat and moisture. All these experiments collected, seem also to prove, that the water alone, whether conveyed by natural or artificial means, contains all the salts, and all the principles that are to concur in producing this growth.

LET us therefore content ourselves with saying, that such or such a species of earth may be more or less easily put into a state fit to receive and to preserve the quantity of water necessary for completing vegetation. The most trifling la-



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labour stirs up a light soil: it is then easily penetrated by the slightest rain: but a hard rain presses it together, and the sun easily raising the moisture, which in this state of compression it could only imbibe to a very little depth, deprives it of the only species of nourishment which it furnished to the plant, and without which the plant could not subsist. Nevertheless, the season is not called in question; and much less the ignorance of him who knows not how to moderate its effects. Prejudice determines the soil to be exhausted and ruined. In future, it is worked only with regret, and consequently very ill. It is abandoned, while nothing more was wanting, than a proper species of culture to enrich the proprietor who neglects it.

A SOMEWHAT less degree of friability constitutes what is called a strong soil, which requires more tillage, and of a more laborious nature: but when once it is prepared, manured, and watered, the stiff soil preserves for a much longer time its moisture, which is a necessary vehicle of the salts, whether they be continually conveyed, and successively renewed by the rains, or by artificial watering.

OF what use then, it will be said, is dung? It serves to raise up more easily, and more generally, the soil, by the fermentation which it excites in it, and to keep it for a longer time raised and supplied, either by its active particles, which can only unfold themselves gradually in the compact soils, such as those of the second species, which are divided by heating them, or by its

oily particles, which fattening the soil of the first species, retain in it, for a longer time; the moisture which it's too great laxity, and the incoherence of it's particles would soon allow to escape.

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DUNG, therefore, properly applied, and according to it's quality, partly supplies the place of tillage: but can tillage supply the place of dung? We are inclined to think it would not for light soils; which; fortunately, require but little dunging; but we believe it would in strong soils, and these require a great deal of dung. But nothing can supply the place of rain; which, in America, when it is plentiful, renders all the soils nearly equal. Some fruits brought forward by the season, rot in the most excellent soils: but almost all of them arrive at perfection in the most ordinary soils. In America there is no rainy season which is not fruitful; while, in a dry season, the income diminishes sometimes by one half.

THE only object that deserves the attention of the inhabitants of St. Vincent's, as well as of all persons who are in possession of a light soil, in whatever zone it may be situated, must therefore be to fix their plantations upon their lowest mountains, to prefer the culture of such plants as will cover the soil soonest, and will leave it less exposed to the immediate shock of heavy rains, which compress it more and more when it is not tilled; and which drag it away when it is prepared; to chuse especially, that plan of cultivation, which, while it shall not counteract the efforts of the plant too much, shall supply it with a degree of growth necessary to

defend the soil, at the time when it stands most in need of it, in that season when it would be in danger of being stripped, in process of time, down to the sand. While the soil shall remain covered with any kind of earth, we need not fear it's being barren. The soil which hath once been sufficient for the nutrition of any plant, when brought into it's primitive state by the care of the cultivator, will for ever be sufficient for the same purposes.

Great. Bri-  
tain takes  
possession of  
Dominica.

DOMINICA was inhabited by it's own children. In 1732 nine hundred and thirty-eight Caribs were found there, distributed in thirty-two car-bets; and three hundred and forty-nine Frenchmen occupied a part of the coast, which the savages had left to them. These Europeans had no other assistance, or rather companions of their labours, except twenty-three free Mulattoes, and three hundred and thirty-eight slaves. They were all employed in breeding poultry, in raising provisions for the consumption of Martinico, and in cultivating seventy-two thousand two hundred cotton shrubs. These trifling productions were afterwards increased by the addition of coffee. At length the island, at the peace of 1763, when it became an English possession, reckoned six hundred white people, and two thousand Negroes.

SINCE the end of the last century, Great Britain, which was advancing towards the dominion of the seas, while she accused France of aspiring to the monarchy of the continent, had shewed as much eagerness for Dominica, as she had in the late

late negotiations, when victory gave her a right to choose. Nine parishes have successively been established upon this island, where, on the 1st of January 1778, the population consisted of fifteen hundred and seventy-four white people, men, women, and children; five hundred and seventy-four Mulattoes, or free Negroes, and fourteen thousand three hundred and eight slaves.

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THE cattle of the island did not exceed two hundred and eighty-eight horses, seven hundred and seven mules, thirty-four asses, eighteen hundred and thirty head of horned cattle, nine hundred and ninety-nine hogs, and two thousand two hundred and twenty-nine sheep, or goats.

It's cultures consisted of sixty-five sugar plantations, which occupied five thousand two hundred and fifty-seven acres of ground. Three thousand three hundred and sixty-nine acres planted with coffee, at the proportion of one thousand feet per acre. Two hundred and seventy-seven acres planted with cacao, at the proportion of five hundred feet per acre. Fourscore and nine acres, planted with cotton, at the proportion of one thousand feet per acre. Sixty-nine acres of indigo, and sixty trees of black cassia.

It's provisions consisted of twelve hundred and two acres of banana trees, sixteen hundred and forty-seven acres of yams or potatoes, and two thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine trenches of manioc.

NINETEEN thousand four hundred and seventy-eight acres were taken up by the woods; four thousand two hundred and ninety-six by pastu-



rages and savannas; three thousand six hundred and fifty-five acres were reserved for the crown, and three thousand four hundred and thirty-four were entirely barren.

THIS was all that fifteen years of labour had been able to effect upon a soil which was exceedingly hilly, and not very fertile.

Disturbances  
between the  
English of  
Dominica,  
and the  
French of  
the neigh-  
bouring  
islands.

THIS settlement was exposed in it's infancy to a most flagrant act of dishonesty. Several of the planters had obtained considerable advances from trade. To avoid paying their debts, they took refuge, with their slaves, in the French islands, where an open protection was granted them. In vain were they claimed; in vain was it required that they should be compelled to satisfy their creditors: every solicitation was useless. The legislative body then made a law, which secured to all French emigrants the advantage of enjoying, without molestation, all the riches they should bring into Dominica.

LET us examine without partiality the conduct of the two nations, and we shall find it faulty on both sides.

AND first, with respect to the French, let me ask them, if these refugees were not at the same time thieves? Why therefore did they grant them an asylum? Why did they refuse to give them up, when they were claimed? Let us even suppose that the requisition had been made in an imperious manner; the business was to examine the justice of the claim, not the manner in which it was made. This was not an occasion in which it was proper to give a petulant answer to a haughty



haughty demand. An action which we are urged to by justice, can never be humiliating. Let the French, for a moment, put themselves in the place of the creditors, and tell me, whether they would not have sent to the court of London the same representations, and the same complaints? and whether they would not have been equally exasperated by it's silence, or by it's refusal? There cannot be two systems of justice.

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On the other hand, when by way of reprisal the English offered an asylum to the French emigrants, did they not double the same fault? Did they not excite to robbery and to desertion those fraudulent debtors who were inclined to escape from the legal pursuit of their creditors? If the nations, who divided the New World among themselves, had adopted, in imitation of them, the same measures, who would have advanced to their colonists the sums they might have wanted? What would have become of America, if this pernicious system had manifested itself at the origin of the conquests? What would still become of it, if it were universally adopted? Let us reflect a moment, and we shall be convinced, that a general suspension of justice would become one of the most dreadful calamities that could possibly afflict mankind. We shall perceive, that so fatal an agreement among nations, would bring the world back to that state of plundering and barbarism of which we have not even an idea. What advantage will the English find, in infesting themselves with our villains, and in sending their's to us? What concern can we have,

or what confidence can we repose, in men who are destitute of faith towards their fellow-citizens? Do the English expect more honesty from our's? If they receive them, why should a third nation expell them? Is it intended that perfidy should wander, with impunity, from one country to another, and spread itself over the whole surface of the globe? I may perhaps exaggerate the consequences of this proceeding: but in order to judge properly of an action, we must consider the utmost extent of it's effects. This is a certain way of impressing the mind more forcibly with them.

BUT I may be asked, in what manner should the English have acted? In the first instance, they were right in making the demand. Afterwards, they should have gone down sword in hand into the asylums of their deserters, and should have laid them waste. Thus it is that they would have shew'n themselves brave and upright men. The blood that would have been spilt would not have been imputed to them; and they would have been applauded by all the people of Europe, interested in the same cause.

WE need not however be surpris'd that both the English and French should reciprocally grant a retreat to their malefactors, when we daily see them arrogating to themselves the right of sending them to each other, by banishing them from their own country: a law, which is as contrary to the common right, as that which should authorise a citizen, whose dog should run mad, to let him loose in the house of his neighbour, would be contrary to the right of individuals.

BUT

BUT a man who has two hands, is always a species of valuable property.—He ought therefore not to be concealed.—It may also be urged, that we have some reason to expect, since there are a few instances of it, that a wicked man may amend.—It is true, there may be one instance in a hundred of such an amendment.—But the question is, whether for the chance of having one bad man who may forsake his evil ways, it be prudent to keep a hundred incorrigible villains.

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THERE was however another distant object, exclusive of the care of settling plantations, which entered into the extensive views of the English. They wished to attract the productions of the French colonies to Dominica, in order that they might secure the trade of them to themselves. It was to carry this great project into execution, that, in 1766, all the ports of the island were made free. A number of active and enterprising men immediately came from Europe, and from North America. Immense stores of corn, salt fish, and slaves, were formed at Roseau. This town supplied the wants of Martinico, of Guadalupe, and of St. Lucia; and received in payment, commodities of greater or less value. These exchanges would have been even more considerable, if by an ill-judged avidity of the treasury, Great Britain had not herself put a restraint upon these fraudulent connections.

In what  
consists the  
importance  
of Domi-  
nica?

THE events which have detached the American continent from England, and the efforts which the French are making to extend their connections

in Africa, must soon reduce the staple of Dominica to nothing, or to a trifle; but it can never be deprived of the advantage of it's position. Situated between Guadalupe and Martinico, at only seven leagues distance from each, it threatens them equally. At both it's extremities, to the North and to the South, are two excellent harbours, from whence the privateers and the fleets may intercept the navigation between the mother-country and it's colonies, and even the communication between the two settlements. What would be the consequence if the northern port, know'n by the name of Prince Rupert, were changed, as it might easily be, into a harbour, and surrounded with fortifications? This plan, it is said, hath been determined upon in the council of George III. Every circumstance induces us to believe that it will never be carried into execution; the nation hath too much confidence in it's naval forces, ever to incur such an expence.

Laws peculiar to Dominica.

DOMINICA, in these latter times, hath draw'n the attention of all America, by an event, the causes of which may almost be traced as far back as the discovery of the New World.

SCARCE had the Europeans marked the foil of the other hemisphere with their sanguinary steps, than it became necessary to procure slaves from Africa, in order to clear it. Women were found among this degraded race, whom the scarcity of females rendered agreeable to the first colonists. From this alliance, which seemed to be repro- bated by nature, there arose a mixt generation, whose

whose chains were often broken by paternal tenderness. A sentiment of goodness, innate in man, gave liberty, on some occasions, to other slaves; and a still greater number of captives purchased their freedom. In vain did a suspicious and provident system of policy exclaim, with vehemence, against this custom, applauded by humanity: the bestowing of freedom upon slaves was still continued; and even became more frequent.

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THE freed men, however, were not put upon an entire equality with their former masters. The laws generally imprinted a mark of inferiority on this class of men. They were still more degraded by prejudice, in the frequent occurrences of civil life. Their situation was never any thing more than an intermediate state between slavery and original liberty.

DISTINCTIONS so humiliating filled the minds of these freed-men with rage. The slave is commonly in so abject a state, that he doth not dare to defy his tyrant; he can do nothing more than hate him. But the heart of a man whose chains have been shaken off, hath a greater degree of energy; he both hates, and bids defiance to the white men.

THE dangerous effects of these sinister dispositions should have been prevented. In the societies of Europe, where all the members are equals, where the interest of each individual is the interest of the whole community; we are not allowed to suppose that a citizen would intentionally do any thing injurious to the general good, unless



unless there are strong proofs of it. But in America, where an enormous and singular body of men, divided in opinions, is composed of three different classes, it is thought right to sacrifice the two last to the security of the former. The slaves are kept in a perpetual state of oppression, and the freedmen are throw'n into prison upon the slightest suspicion. Their aversion for the white people is considered as a delinquency of a very serious nature, and justifies, in the eyes of authority, all the precautions that are taken against them. It is to this strange severity that most of the nations have wished to attribute the kind of tranquillity which they have enjoyed in their settlements in the New World.

IN the English colonies alone the free Negro is upon the same footing as the white man. The strongest presumptions are not sufficient to authorize an attack upon the liberty of the one, any more than of the other. Hence it happens that the law, which is very cautious, for fear of a mistake, in fixing upon the criminal, sometimes remains inactive for a longer time than is consistent with the public advantage. The freedmen have sometimes abused these indulgences in the British islands; and their seditious commotions have obliged Dominica to alter it's system.

It was determined, by a bill passed in the month of September 1774, that no colonist should, for the future, be allowed to grant liberty to any slave, before he had paid 100 pistoles \* into the

\* 41l. 13s. 4d.

public treasury: But if the freedman could afterwards prove that he could not gain a subsistence by his labour, he was to receive 80 livres \* every six months, till he should be enabled, by more favourable circumstances, to do without this assistance.

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EVERY freedman, convicted by the deposition of two witnesses, either free or slaves, before two justices of the peace, of being guilty of any offence that is not capital, is to be whipped, or to pay a fine, or to be imprisoned, according as the magistrates shall determine. The same punishments are to be inflicted upon him for having disturbed the public peace, or for having insulted, threatened, or beaten a white man.

A FREEDMAN who shall have assisted a slave to desert, who shall have granted an asylum to him, or accepted of his services, shall be condemned to a fine of 2000 livres †, to be applied to public use. If the culprit should be unable to pay the sum, he shall undergo three months imprisonment, or be whipped, according to the decision of the justices of the peace.

No free Negro, Mulatto, or Mestee, shall be allowed to vote at the election of a representative of his parish, in the general assembly of the colony. Neither protection nor fortune can ever efface this mark of reprobation.

AFTER having given a separate account of each of the three neutral islands which England acquired by the treaty of 1763, it is incumbent

Plan conceived by the British ministry to render flourishing the three islands

\* 3l. 6s. 8d.

† 83l. 6s. 8d.

upon

upon us to state the means which that power hath thought proper to employ, in order to derive solid advantages from their prosperity.

At first, government thought proper to sell the different portions of the extensive soil which the success of the war had given to them. Had they been gratuitously bestowed, they would have been obtained by favour and intrigue; and they would not have been useful for a long time. But the nation was well convinced, that every citizen who should have employed part of his capital in the acquisition of an estate, would not fail to lay out upon it what was necessary for him to make the most of his property.

It might, however, be improper to exact the immediate payment of the ceded lands, because the new plantations require such great expences in buildings, in cattle, and in slaves. On this account, it was settled, that the purchaser should not be obliged to pay more than twenty per cent. in the first instance, ten per cent. the two following years, and afterwards twenty per cent. every year after, till the payment was completed. He was to be divested of all his privileges, if he did not fulfil his engagements at the stated periods.

In order to soften what might appear too severe in this law, the planter was allowed to change this debt into a perpetual annuity; and even the first payment was not to begin till a twelvemonth after the clearing of the land.

As the vast extent of the estates had visibly diminished the mass of the productions in the islands,  
which

which England had possessed for a long time, it was thought proper to take measures to avoid this inconvenience in the new acquisitions. It was decreed, that no person should be allowed to purchase more than one plantation; and that the largest of them should not exceed five hundred acres. It was even limited to three hundred for Dominica, the position and destination of which required a greater number of Europeans. Government also decreed, that five of every hundred acres should be annually cleared, till half the plantation should be cultivated; and that those who should not have fulfilled this obligation should pay a fine of 112 livres ten sols\* annually, for every acre of ground which should not have been cultivated in the limited time. Every colonist was obliged also to put one white man, or two white women, upon every hundred acres of his territory, under the penalty of paying every year to the treasury 900 livres † for every man, and half of that sum for every woman, that should be wanting to make up the number he ought to have.

THIS last precaution might give some confidence to the new settlements; but it was thought they would one day stand in need of further assistance. In order to procure it for them in time, gratuitous concessions of land, from ten to thirty acres, have been granted in favour of the poor who chuse to settle in those islands. This was a sufficient portion of land to enable them to

\* 4l. 13s. 9d.

† 37l. 10s.

live by their labour, in those easy circumstances which they would never have experienced in the Old Hemisphere. From an apprehension that they might lend their name to some rapacious man, or might afterwards sell their property to him, it was ordained, that they should themselves take possession of the land three months after it had been granted to them; that they should dwell upon it for twelve months consecutively; and that they should keep it for seven whole years. After this time, they were to pay a fine of 12 sols\* for every acre which should be cultivated, and one of 12 livres 5 sols † for those which should remain uncultivated.

THE English islands had for a long while complained of the want of rain, because all their forests had been levelled. In order to prevent this inconvenience in the new possessions, the commissaries were ordered to preserve for the crown a sufficient quantity of the woods to attract the clouds, and to keep up that degree of moisture which is more or less necessary for all the plants peculiar to America.

Lastly, None of the sums acquired by the sale of the lands were to belong to government. They were all to be consecrated to the harbours, to the fortifications, and to other objects of use in those islands.

THE fate of the French, residing in great numbers at Dominica and at St. Vincent, remained still to be settled. These planters were under

\* 6d.

† 11s. 8d.



no kind of apprehension for their property. They had obtained or purchased it from the Indians, and had been confirmed in their possession by the government of Martinico, who required of them a slight duty in return. The first of these titles could be of no weight in the eyes of a conquering power; and the second was manifestly contrary to the conventions between the courts of London and of Versailles, who had engaged themselves not to allow their respective subjects to settle in the neutral islands.

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THE expectations, therefore, of those active men, who would have accelerated the progress of the two colonies which they themselves had founded, were entirely frustrated. Whether the British ministry were apprehensive of disgusting the English, in obliging them to pay for a territory, which their antient rivals continued to possess gratuitously, or whether a wish prevailed of getting rid of those foreigners, who, by their religion and their habits, might be too strongly attached to their former country, it was regulated, that the French should, for the future, enjoy their plantations only upon perpetual leases.

THIS hard restraint, so contrary to the maxims of sound policy, dispersed them. The emigration was not, however, universal. After the first effects of dissatisfaction, the wisest of them became sensible that they should still gain more by repurchasing the lands which they already enjoyed, than if they were to settle upon a fresh spot that would cost them nothing.

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Obstacles  
which have  
prevented  
the prosper-  
ity of the  
neutral  
islands.

GREAT BRITAIN entertained great expectations from the measures which she had taken for the prosperity of her conquests. The success hath not been answerable; and the causes of this singular disappointment are well known.

THE three neutral islands were scarce secured to England by the treaties, than it became a general passion to form settlements upon them. This epidemical madness made the lands which were sold by government rise to an extravagant price. As a bold spirit of enterprize was the only fortune most of the purchasers had, credit became their only resource. They found it in London, and in some other trading places, the merchants of which, misled by the same illusion, borrowed considerable sums at a low interest, in order to lend them to these enterprising speculators at an advanced interest.

THE new proprietors, most of whom had purchased a soil, without taking the trouble of examining it, proceeded with the same levity in the formation of their plantations. The coasts, and the interior parts of the islands, were soon covered with masters and slaves, equally inexperienced in the laborious and difficult art of clearing the lands. This occasioned numberless faults and misfortunes. The evil became extreme, and soon broke out.

THE colonists had borrowed at eight per cent. in 1766, or about that period, and the loan was to be paid five years after. The impossibility they found of fulfilling these engagements alarmed  
their

their European creditors. Disappointed of the remittances they expected, these rapacious lenders were at length undeceived; and the greater their credulity had been, the more active did their anxiety become. Having recourse to the authority of the law, they expelled from their plantations the unhappy men who had been unfortunately seduced by rash expectations. Thus ended the delusive prospect of the new English colonies.

BUT this great commotion must be attended with favourable consequences. The manures undertaken by men without powers, and who are reduced to their original poverty, will procure to the nation the same advantages that usually result from an irregular and disorderly ferment in the state. A soil which languished in the hands of the first possessors, will be cultivated with better means, with more intelligence and œconomy. While we are expecting the effects of this new effort of industry and activity, let us resume the account of the English possessions in the American Archipelago. To ascertain the value of the colonies of a maritime and commercial power, is to make an estimate of it's strength.

THE British islands in the West Indies are in general more extensive than they are fertile. Mountains, which cannot be cultivated, occupy a great space in some of them, and others are entirely, or partly, formed of a chalky soil, which produces but very little. The best have been cleared for a long time, and require the assistance of manures, which are imperfect and scarce in

Present state  
of the Eng-  
lish islands.

this part of the New World. Most of them have been stripped of the forests, by which they were originally sheltered, and are exposed to droughts, which often ruin the labours undertaken with the strictest attention, and carried on at a great expence.

ACCORDINGLY, the increase of provisions hath not been proportioned to the number of hands employed in obtaining them. There are at this time in those colonies four hundred thousand slaves, who by their labours scarce produce two thirds of the income that is collected from a richer soil with the same means.

THE number of white people hath generally diminished in proportion to the increase of the Negroes. Not but that there were as many idle or indigent men in England to replace those who perished, or who disappeared with the fortunes they had acquired, as at the time of the first emigration; but the spirit of adventure, which the novelty of the object, and the concurrence of circumstances had excited, was either checked or annihilated. On one hand, the space which was occupied by the smaller cultures hath been successively filled with sugar plantations, which require an immense extent of territory; and on the other, the proprietors of these great plantations have reduced, as much as possible, the number of their agents, whose salaries were become a heavy burthen.

SINCE this revolution, the British islands have still greater reason than ever to be apprehensive of plunder and of invasion. Their colonists, who  
are

are all enlisted, were formerly strong enough at least to repel a weak and ill-armed enemy. Most of them might at present be taken by surprize, should the navy of the mother country cease one moment to protect them. It is a great point, if in the present state the militia are able to contain the Negroes, who are more unfortunate under the English dominion than under any other. For it should seem, that the hardships of slavery were so much the greater among free nations, in proportion as it is more unjust, and more foreign to the constitution. Such is the progress of man towards independence, that after having shaken off the yoke, he wishes to impose it upon others; and that those who are the most impatient of servitude become the fondest of dominion!

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THE West Indies were never subjected to any impost by Great Britain. But in 1663, Barbadoes, and the other islands, except Jamaica, voluntarily engaged to pay a perpetual tax of four per cent. upon all their productions which should be exported. So great an act of generosity hath since appeared burdensome, and the weight of it was alleviated as much as possible. As this obligation is paid in commodities, there are scarce any delivered to government except such as are in some respect faulty, and the colonists are not more scrupulous with regard to their weight than to their quality. Thus it is that the treasury receives only two thirds of the gift which was formerly granted to them

THIS is still too much for settlements that are obliged to defray their internal expences them-



elves. These were very considerable when those colonies regulated all their own affairs, or erected the fortifications judged necessary for their security. The taxes were multiplied at this period; and every disagreeable event brought on fresh ones, because it was thought more prudent to require contributions of the citizens, than to have recourse to public engagements. Time hath diminished the wants, and it has been found necessary to provide for those which remained, with more œconomy, because the planters have not the same resources. The taxes are at present inconsiderable, and they might still be reduced, if those who fill the posts of administration, in manifest contradiction to the republican spirit, which is that of disinterestedness, did not require large salaries.

BUT this is an unavoidable inconvenience attending a commercial nation. Whether free or not, they ultimately love or value nothing but wealth. The thirst of gold being more the work of imagination than of necessity, we are not fatiated with riches, as we are with the objects that gratify our other passions. The latter are distinct and transient; they either counteract or succeed each other; whereas the thirst of gold feeds and satisfies all the other passions, at least it supplies their place, in proportion as it exhausts them, by the means it contributes towards the gratification of them. There is no habit which is more confirmed by custom than that of amassing riches. It seems equally to be excited by the enjoyments of vanity, and by the self-denial of  
avarice.

avarice. The rich man always wants to fill or to increase his treasure. This is a constant observation, which extends from individuals to nations.

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SINCE large fortunes have been raised in England by trade, the desire of wealth is become the universal and ruling passion. Such citizens as have not been able, or did not chuse to follow this lucrative profession, have still turned their views to that gain which the manners and opinion of the times have made necessary. Even in aspiring to honours, they hunt after riches. In following the career of those laws and virtues, which ought ever mutually to assist each other, even in obtaining the honour of a seat in parliament, they have found out the way of aggrandizing their fortune. In order to be chosen members of this powerful body, they have bribed the votes of the people; and have not been more ashamed of selling these very people to the court, than they were of having bought them. Every vote in the senate of the empire is become venal. A celebrated minister had a book of rates of the probity of each member, and openly boasted of it, to the disgrace of the English. It was the duty of his office, he said, to buy off the representatives of the nation, in order that they should vote, not against, but according to their conscience. But what can conscience avail against the allurements of gain? If the mercantile spirit hath been able to diffuse in the mother-country the contagion of personal interest, how is it possible that it should not have infected the colonies of which it is the principal and the support?

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Is it then true, that in proud Albion, a man who should be generous enough to serve his country for the mere love of glory, would be considered as a man of another world, and of the last age? Vain-glorious island, may thine enemies renounce this sordid spirit of interest, and thou wilt one day restore to them all they have lost!

NEVERTHELESS, opulence seems to prevail in the English settlements in the West Indies. This is because the proceedings of arbitrary authority, which afflict so many other countries, are unknow'n here: because there are none of those vile instruments of the treasury, who destroy the basis of property, in order to establish the forms of it: because the culture of sugar hath been substituted there, to that of productions of little value: because the plantations belong in general to rich men, or to powerful associations, which never suffer them to want the necessary means for their improvement: because if some unfortunate casualty should reduce the colonist to the necessity of borrowing, he obtains the loan easily, and at a cheap rate; for his possessions are mortgaged to his creditor, and the payment is secured at the stated times: because these islands are less exposed to devastation and invasion, than the possessions of other powers, that are rich in productions, and poor in ships: because the events of the most obstinate and most destructive wars never prevent, and seldom retard, the exportation of their commodities: in a word, it is because the British ports always open to their principal crops a more advantageous mart than their rivals can expect

expect any where else. Accordingly, the lands constantly bear a very high price in the English islands, both the Europeans and the Americans being equally eager to purchase them.

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THESE lands would still have been in greater request, if the access to the West Indies had been less rigidly prohibited to foreign navigators; if they had been at liberty to chuse their own purchasers throughout the globe. But a set of laws, the regulations of which it hath never been possible to elude, have concentrated their connections within the limits of their own empire, with the national provinces of both hemispheres.

THESE colonies do not find upon their own territory, either provision for their own subsistence, or beasts of burthen for their labours, or woods for their buildings. They were supplied with these objects of primary necessity by North America, which received in payment rum and other productions, to the amount of three or four millions of livres \* every year. The troubles which have divided Old and New England have interrupted this communication, to the great detriment of the islands. Till necessities of an urgent nature shall cause it to be opened again, or till other connections shall be formed, to be substituted to it, the West Indies will have no other vent for their productions than that which Great Britain will furnish them.

At the present period, England receives annually from the islands she occupies in the West

\* From 125,000l. to 166,666l. 13s. 4d.

Indies, to the amount of about ninety-three millions of livres \* in commodities, including sixteen or seventeen millions † which they pay to government, and the rum which Ireland receives directly in payment for the salt provisions which it furnishes to the colonies.

ALMOST all the sugar, which forms three-fourths of the produce of the islands, is consumed in the kingdom itself, or is carried to Ireland. It is seldom that any of it is sent to Hamburgh or to other markets.

THE exports which Great Britain makes of the production of the islands, do not annually exceed seven or eight millions of livres ‡. If we add to this sum what she must gain upon her cottons, which she manufactures with so much success, and which are diffused throughout a great part of the globe, we shall have a tolerably exact idea of the advantages which this empire derives from the West Indies.

THE islands receive in payment their furniture and cloathing, the utensils necessary for their manufactures, a great deal of hard ware, and slaves for the working of their lands. But the things that are sent to them are infinitely inferior in value to those which are received from them. We must deduct the expences of navigation and of insurance, the commission, or the profit of the merchant. We must deduct the interest of sixteen millions sterling, which these colonies owe

\* 3,875,000 l.

† From 666,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 708,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

‡ From 291,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.



to the mother-country. We must deduct what the proprietors of the rich plantations spend in England, where they habitually reside. If we except the possessions acquired or secured by the treaties of 1763, the infant plantations of which are still in want of advances, the other possessions of the West Indies, scarce receive in their harbours the fourth part of the value which they send out from them.

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IT was the capital of the empire, which formerly sent out almost all the exports, and received almost all the returns. Men of enlightened understanding were very properly incensed at this evil. But London is at least the finest port in England. It is there that ships are built, and manufactures are carried on. London furnishes seamen for navigation, and hands for commerce. It stands in a temperate, fruitful, and central country. Every thing has a free passage in and out of it. It may be truly said to be the heart of the body politic from it's local position. That city is not filled with proud and idle men, who only encumber and oppress a laborious people. It is the seat of the national assembly. There the king's palace is neither vast nor empty. He reigns in it by his presence, which animates every thing. There the senate dictates the laws, agreeable to the sense of the people it represents. It neither fears the eye of the monarch, nor the frowns of the ministry. London has not arrived to it's present greatness by the influence of government, which strains and over-rules all natural causes; but by the ordinary impulse of men  
and

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and things, and by a kind of attraction of commerce. It is the sea, it is England, it is the whole world that makes London rich and populous.

NEVERTHELESS this immense staple hath lost, in process of time, something of that species of monopoly which it exercised over the colonies and over the provinces. Bristol, Liverpool, Lancaster, and Glasgow, have taken a considerable share in this great circulation. A more general competition would even have been established, if a new system of manners, a dislike for a retired life, the desire of approaching the throne, and an effeminacy and corruption which have exceeded all bounds, had not collected at London, or within it's district, a third part of the population of the whole kingdom, and especially the great consumers.

Summary of  
the riches  
that Europe  
draws from  
the American  
islands.

THE history of the great American Archipelago cannot be better concluded, than by a recapitulation of the advantages it procures to those powers which have successively invaded it. It is only by the impulse which the immense productions of this Archipelago have given to trade, that it must ever hold a distinguished place in the annals of nations; since, in fact, riches are the spring of all the great revolutions that disturb the globe. The colonies of Asia Minor occasioned both the splendour of that quarter of the earth and the downfall of Greece. Rome, which was at first desirous of subduing nations only to govern them, was stopped in the progress of her greatness, when she acquired the possession of the treasures of the east.

east. War seemed to slumber for a while in Europe, in order to invade a New World: and has since been so often renewed there, merely to divide the spoils. Poverty, which will always be the lot of the greater part of mankind, and the choice of a few wise men, makes no disturbance in the world. History, therefore, can only treat of massacres or riches.

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THE islands of the other hemisphere yield annually fifteen millions of livres \* to Spain; eight millions † to Denmark; thirty millions ‡ to Holland; eighty-two millions § to England; and one hundred and twenty-six millions ¶ to France. The productions therefore gathered in fields that were totally uncultivated within these three centuries, are sold in our continent for about two hundred and sixty-one millions of livres ¶.

THIS is not a gift that the New World makes to the Old. The people who receive this important fruit of the labour of their subjects settled in America, give in exchange, though with evident advantage to themselves, the produce of their soil and of their manufactures. Some consume the whole of what they draw from these distant possessions; others, make the overplus the basis of a prosperous trade with their neighbours. Thus every nation that is possessed of property in the New World, if it be truly industrious, gains still less by the number of men it maintains abroad

\* 625,000 l.

† 333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

‡ 1,250,000 l.

§ 3,416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

§ 5,250,000 l.

¶ 10,875,000 l.

without

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without any expence, than by the population which those procure it at home. To subsist a colony in America, it is necessary to cultivate a province in Europe; and this additional labour increases the inward strength and real wealth of the nation. The whole globe is sensible of this impulse.

THE labours of the people settled in those islands, are the sole basis of the African trade: they extend the fisheries and the cultures of North America, afford a good market for the manufactures of Asia, and double, perhaps treble, the activity of all Europe. They may be considered as the principal cause of the rapid motion which now agitates the universe. This ferment must increase, in proportion as cultures, that are so capable of being extended, shall approach nearer to their highest degree of perfection.

The best mode to be adopted for increasing the productions of the American Archipelago.

NOTHING would be more likely to hasten this happy period, than to give up the exclusive trade, which every nation has reserved to itself in its own colonies. An unlimited freedom to trade with all the islands, would be productive of the greatest efforts, by exciting a general competition. Men who are inspired with the love of humanity, and are enlightened by that sacred fire, have ever wished to see every obstacle removed that intercepts a direct communication of all the ports of America, with all those of Europe. The several governments, which being almost all corrupt in their origin, cannot be influenced by this principle of universal benevolence, have imagined that associations, mostly founded on the separate interest of each nation, or of one single individual,

dual, ought to be formed in order to confine all the connections of every colony to its respective mother-country. The opinion is, that these restraining laws secure to each commercial nation in Europe the sale of its own territorial productions, the means of procuring such foreign commodities as it may stand in need of, and an advantageous balance with all the other trading nations.

THIS system, which was long thought to be the best, has been vigorously opposed, when the theory of commerce had once shaken off the fetters of prejudice. It has been alleged, that no nation can supply all the real or imaginary wants of its colonies out of its own property. There is not one that is not obliged to get some articles from abroad, in order to complete the cargoes destined for America. From this necessity arises at least an indirect communication of all nations with those distant possessions. Would it not be more eligible to convey each article to its destination in a direct line, than by this indirect way of exchange? This plan would be attended with less expence; would promote both culture and consumption, and bring an increase of revenue to the public treasury: an infinite number of advantages would accrue to the mother-countries, which would make them full amends for the exclusive right they all claim, to their reciprocal injury.

THESE maxims are true, solid, and useful, but they will not be adopted. The reason is this. A great revolution is preparing in the trade of Europe,



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rope, and is already too far advanced not to be completed. Every government is endeavouring to do without the assistance of foreign industry. Most of them have succeeded, and the rest will not be long before they free themselves from this dependence. Already the English and the French, who are the great manufacturers of Europe, see their master-pieces of workmanship refused on all sides. Will these two nations, which are at the same time the greatest planters in the islands, open their ports to those who force them, as it were, to shut up their manufactures at home? The more they lose in the foreign markets, the less they will consent to a competition in the only market they have left. They will rather strive to extend it, that they may have a greater demand for their commodities, and a greater supply of American productions. It is by these returns that they will preserve their advantage in the balance of trade, without being apprehensive that the plenty of these productions will lower their value. The progress of industry in our continent must increase population and wealth, and of course the consumption and value of the productions of the Antilles.

What will  
be the fate  
of the Ame-  
rican islands  
hereafter?

BUT what will become of this part of the New World? Will the settlements that render it so flourishing, always remain in the hands of their original possessors; or will the masters of them be changed? If a revolution should take place in them, by what means will it be brought about, and what people will reap the advantage of it? These are questions that afford much room for conjecture,

conjecture, which may be assisted by the following reflections.

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THE islands depend totally upon Europe for a supply of all their wants. Those which only respect wearing apparel and implements of husbandry will admit of delay; but the least disappointment, with regard to provisions, spreads a general alarm, and causes universal desolation, which rather tempts the people to wish for, than to fear the approach of an enemy. And, indeed, it is a common saying in the colonies, that they will never fail to capitulate with a squadron stored with barrels of flour instead of gunpowder. If we pretend to obviate this inconvenience, by obliging the inhabitants to cultivate for their own subsistence, we defeat the very end of these settlements, without any real advantage. The mother-country would deprive herself of a great part of the rich produce of her colonies, and would not preserve them from invasion.

IN vain should we hope to repulse an invasion by the help of Negroes, born in a climate where effeminacy stifles the seeds of courage, and who are still more enervated by slavery, and, consequently, but little concerned in the choice of their tyrants. In such hands, the best weapons must be useless. It might even be apprehended that they would turn them against their merciless oppressors.

THE white people appear to be better defenders of the colonies. Beside the courage which liberty naturally inspires, they must also be animated with that which exclusively belongs to

great proprietors. They are not men debased by coarse labours, by obscure occupations, or by indigence. The absolute sway which they exercise in their plantations, must have inspired them with pride and greatness of soul. But, dispersed as they are among vast possessions, what can their small number avail? And would they even prevent an invasion, were they able to do it.

ALL the colonists hold it as a maxim, that their islands are to be considered as those great cities in Europe, which, lying open to the first-comer, change their dominion without an attack, without a siege, and almost without being sensible of the war. The strongest is their master. The inhabitants exclaim, *God save the conqueror!* in imitation of the Italians, who have passed and repassed from one yoke to another in the course of a campaign. Whether the city should return, at the time of peace, under its former government, or should remain in the hands of the victor, it has lost nothing of its splendour; while towns, that are defended by ramparts and difficult to be taken, are always depopulated and reduced to a heap of ruins. Accordingly, there is scarce, perhaps, one inhabitant in the American islands, who does not consider it to be a fatal prejudice to expose his fortune for the sake of his country. Of what importance is it to this rapacious calculator whose laws he obeys, if his crops are left standing? It is to enrich himself that he has crossed the seas. If he preserves his treasure, his purpose is answered. Can the mother-country  
that

that forsakes him, and frequently after having tyrannized over him; that is ready to give him up, or, perhaps, to sell him, at the conclusion of a peace, have any claim to the sacrifice of his life? It is no doubt a glorious thing to die for one's country. But a state, where the prosperity of the nation is sacrificed to forms of government; where the art of imposing upon men is the art of training up subjects; where slaves are wanted instead of citizens; where war is declared, and peace concluded, without consulting the opinion or the wishes of the people; where evil designs are always countenanced by the intrigues of debauchery, or the practices of monopoly; and where useful plans are only adopted with such restrictions as prevent their being carried into execution: is this the country for which our blood should be sacrificed?

THE fortifications, erected for the defence of the colonies, will secure them no better than the efforts of the inhabitants. Even if they were stronger, and better guarded and stored than they have ever been, they must always surrender unless they are succoured. Should the resistance hold out above six months, that circumstance would not discourage the besiegers, who, being within reach of a constant supply of refreshments, both by land and by sea, could better endure the severity of the climate, than a garrison could resist the duration of a siege.

THERE is no other way to preserve the colonies but by a formidable navy. It is on the docks and in the harbours of Europe, that the bastions

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and ramparts of the American colonies must be raised. While the mother-country shelters them, as it were, under the wings of her ships; so long as she shall fill up with her fleets the vast interval that separates her from these islands, the offspring of her industry and power, her parental attention to their prosperity will secure their attachment to her. In future, therefore, the maritime forces will be the great object that will attract the attention of all proprietors of land in America. European policy generally secures the frontiers of states by fortified towns; but for maritime powers, there ought, perhaps, to be citadels in the center, and ships on the circumference. A commercial island, indeed, wants no fortified towns. Her rampart is the sea, which constitutes her safety, her subsistence, her wealth; the winds are at her command, and all the elements conspire to promote her glory.

IN this respect, Great Britain might lately have undertaken any thing, with the greatest hopes of success. Her islands were secure, while those of her rivals were open to invasion. The opinion which the English had conceived of their own valour; the terror which their arms had inspired; the fruits of a fortunate experience acquired by their admirals; the number and the excellence of their fleets; all these several modes of aggrandisement must have been annihilated during the calm of a long peace. The pride of past success; the very restlessness inseparable from prosperity; even the burthen of conquests, which seems to be the punishment of victory; all these circumstances were



so many incitements to war. The projects formed by their active ambition, have been annihilated by the revolution which hath detached North America from their empire: but is the possession of the islands, which are become very wealthy, and have been placed by nature in the vicinity of that great continent, which is still in a state of poverty, better secured to the nations that have cultivated them? It is in the position, in the interests, in the spirit of the new republics, that we must endeavour to explore the secret of our future destiny.

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END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

## B O O K XV.

*Settlements of the French in North America.  
Upon what Basis was founded the Hopes of  
their Prosperity. Consequence of these Settle-  
ments.*

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**H**ITHERTO we have visited those regions where the rays of the sun are perpendicular. We shall now pass on to those where they are oblique. It is no longer gold which our rapacious and cruel Europeans are going in search of at so great a distance from their country. If they again cross the seas, it will be for a less extravagant motive, it will be to withdraw themselves from the calamities of their own regions; it will be to find rest and liberty; to clear uncultivated lands; to cast their nets on shores abounding with fish; to go in search of animals upon the tops of mountains, and in the midst of forests, in order to strip them of their valuable furs.

THE savage possessors of the regions we are going to pervade, are not a race of degenerate men, without strength of body, or elevation of soul; but we shall find them huntsmen, warriors, inured to labour, brave, eloquent, jealous of their independency; men, in a word, who alternately

nately display instances of the most unheard of ferociousness, of the most heroic magnanimity, and of the most absurd superstition.

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SUPERSTITION, that fatal plant, is then indigenous in all climates; it grows equally in the the plains, and upon the rocks; under the ardour of the line, under the snows of the pole, and in the temperate interval which divides them. Doth the generality of this phænomenon point out in all parts a tendency of the ignorant and timid man towards the author of his existence, and the disposer of good and evil? Doth it indicate the anxiety of a child seeking his father in the dark?

SPAIN was mistress of the rich empires of Mexico and Peru; of the gold of the New World, and of almost all South America. The Portuguese, after a long series of victories, defeats, enterprizes, mistakes, conquests, and losses, had kept the most valuable settlements in Africa, in India, and in the Brazils. The French government had not even conceived it possible to establish colonies, or imagined that any advantage could be derived from having possessions in those distant regions.

Reasons which prevented the French, for a long time, from pursuing the plan of forming settlements in the New World.

THEIR ambitious views were turned entirely towards Italy. Some ancient claims on the Milanese and the two Sicilies had involved them in expensive wars, in which they had been engaged for a long time. Their internal commotions diverted them still more from the great object of establishing a distant and extensive commerce, and from the idea of increasing their dominions by acquisitions in the East and West Indies,

THE authority of kings, though not openly contested, was opposed and eluded. Some remains of the feudal government were still subsisting: and many of it's abuses had not yet been abolished. The prince was continually employed in restraining the restless spirit of a powerful nobility. Most of the provinces that composed the monarchy were governed by distinct laws and forms of their own. Every society, every order in the state, enjoyed peculiar privileges, which were either perpetually contested, or carried to excess. The government was a complicated machine, which could only be regulated by the management of a variety of delicate springs. The court was frequently under a necessity of having recourse to the shameful resources of intrigue and corruption, or to the odious means of oppression and tyranny; and the nation was continually negotiating with the prince. Regal authority was unlimited, without having received the sanction of the laws; and the people, though frequently too independent, had yet no security for their liberty. Hence arose continual jealousies, apprehensions, and struggles. The whole attention of the government was not directed to the welfare of the nation, but to the means of enslaving it. The people were sensible of their wants, but ignorant of their powers and resources. They found their rights alternately invaded or trampled upon by their nobles or their sovereigns.

Errors and  
misfortunes  
which rendered  
memorable the

FRANCE, therefore, suffered the Spaniards and Portugueze to discover new worlds, and to give laws to unknow'n nations. Their attention was at length

length excited by admiral Coligny, a man of the most extensive, steady, and active genius, that ever flourished in that powerful empire. This great politician, attentive to the interests of his country, even amidst the horrors of a civil war, sent John Ribaud to Florida, in 1562. This vast tract of North America then extended from Mexico to the country which the English have since cultivated under the name of Carolina. The Spaniards had passed over it in 1512, but without settling there. The motives that engaged them to make this discovery, and those which induced them to relinquish it, are equally unaccountable.

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first expedi-  
tions of  
the French  
in the  
New He-  
misphere.

ALL the Indians of the Caribbee islands believed, upon the credit of an antient tradition, that nature had concealed a spring, or fountain, somewhere on the continent, the waters of which had the property of restoring youth to all old men who were so fortunate as to taste of them. The notion of immortality was always the passion of mankind, and the comfort of old age. This idea delighted the romantic imagination of the Spaniards. The loss of many, who were the victims of their credulity, did not discourage the rest. Far from suspecting that the first had perished in an attempt, of which death would prove the most certain consequence, they concluded that they did not return, because they had found the art of enjoying perpetual youth, and had discovered a spot so delightful, that they did not chuse to leave it.

PONCE



PONCE DE LEON was the most famous of the navigators who were infatuated with this chimerical idea. Fully persuaded of the existence of a third world, the conquest of which was reserved to advance his fame; but thinking that the remainder of his life was too short for the immense career that was opening before him, he resolved to endeavour to renew it, and recover that youthful vigour so necessary to his designs. He immediately bent his course towards those climates where fable had placed the Fountain of youth, and discovered Florida; from whence he returned to Porto-Rico, visibly more advanced in years than when he set out. Thus chance immortalized the name of an adventurer, who made a real discovery, merely by being in pursuit of an imaginary one. His fate was the same as that of the alchymist, who, while he is searching for gold which he does not find, discovers some valuable thing which he was not seeking after.

THERE is scarce any useful and important discovery made by the human mind, that has not been rather the effect of a restless imagination, than of industry excited by reflection. Chance, which is the imperceptible course of nature, is never at rest, and assists all men without distinction. Genius grows weary, and is soon discouraged; it falls to the lot only of a few, and exerts itself merely at intervals. It's utmost efforts frequently serve only to throw it in the way of chance, and invite it's assistance. The only difference between a man of genius and one of common capacity is, that the former

mer anticipates and explores what the latter accidentally hits upon. But even the man of genius himself more frequently employs the advantages which chance presents to him. It is the lapidary who gives the value to the diamond, which the peasant has dugged up without knowing it's worth.

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THE Spaniards had neglected Florida, because they did not discover there, either the fountain that was to make them all grow young, or gold, which hastens the period of old age. The French found there a more real and valuable treasure; a clear sky, a fruitful soil, a temperate climate, and savages who were lovers of peace and hospitality; but they themselves were not sensible of the worth of these advantages. Had they followed the directions of Coligny; had they tilled the ground, which only wanted the assistance of man to call forth it's treasures; had a due subordination been maintained among the Europeans; had not the rights of the natives of the country been violated; a colony might have been founded, which in time would have become flourishing and permanent. But such prudent measures were not to be expected from the levity of the French. The provisions were lavished; the fields were not sow'n; the authority of the chiefs was disregarded by untractable subalterns; the passion for hunting and war engrossed all their attention; in a word, every duty was neglected.

To complete their misfortune, the civil disturbances in France diverted the subjects from an  
under-

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undertaking which had never engaged the attention of government. Theological disputes alienated the minds and divided the hearts of all ranks of people. Government had violated that sacred law of nature, which enjoins all men to tolerate the opinions of their fellow-creatures; and the rules of policy, which are inconsistent with an unseasonable exertion of tyranny. The reformed religion had made great progress in France, when it was persecuted; a considerable part of the nation was involved in the proscription, and took up arms.

SPAIN, though not less intolerant, had prevented religious disturbances, by suffering the clergy to assume that authority which has been continually increasing, but which, for the future, will be constantly on the decline. The inquisition, always ready to oppose the least appearance of innovation, found means to prevent the Protestant religion from making its way into the kingdom, and by this means spared itself the trouble of extirpating it. Philip II. wholly taken up with America, and accustomed to consider himself as the sole proprietor of it, being informed of the attempts, made by some Frenchmen to settle there, and of their being neglected by their own government, fitted out a fleet from Cadiz to destroy them. Menendez, who was the commander of it, landed in Florida, where he found the enemies he went in search of settled at Carolina fort. He attacked all their intrenchments, carried them sword in hand, and made a dreadful

dreadful massacre. Those who escaped the rage of the sword were hanged on a tree, with this inscription: *Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*

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FAR from seeking to revenge this insult, the ministry of Charles IX. secretly rejoiced at the miscarriage of a project, which, though they had approved it, was not countenanced by them; because it had been contrived by the head of the Huguenots, and might reflect honour on their party. The indignation of the public only confirmed them in their resolution of shewing no resentment. It was reserved for a private man to execute what the state ought to have done.

DOMINIC DE GOURGUES, born at mount Marfan in Gascony, a skilful and intrepid seaman, an enemy to the Spaniards, from whom he had received personal injuries; passionately fond of his country, of hazardous expeditions, and of glory; sold his estate, built some ships, and with a select band of his own stamp, embarked to attack the murderers in Florida. He drove them from all their posts with incredible valour and activity, defeated them in every rencounter, and, by way of retaliation for the contemptuous insult they had shew'n, hung them up on trees; with this inscription: *Not as Spaniards, but as assassins.*

HAD the Spaniards been content with massacring the French, the latter would never have had recourse to such cruel reprisals; but they were offended at the inscription, and were guilty of an atrocious act, in revenge for the derision to which they had been exposed. This is not the  
 † only

only instance in history which may lead one to imagine, that it is not the thing that has made the word, but the word that has made the thing.

THE expedition of the brave de Gourgues was attended with no further consequences. He blew up the forts he had taken, and returned home, either for want of provisions sufficient to enable him to remain in Florida, or because he foresaw that no succours were to be expected from France; or thought that friendship with the natives would last no longer than the means of purchasing it, or that he would be attacked by the Spaniards. He was received by all true patriots with the applause due to his merit; but neglected by the court, which was too despotic and superstitious not to stand in awe of virtue.

FROM the year 1567, when this intrepid Gascon evacuated Florida, the French neglected America. Bewildered in a chaos of unintelligible doctrines, they lost their reason and their humanity. The mildest and most sociable people upon earth became the most barbarous and sanguinary. Scaffolds and stakes were insufficient; as they all appeared criminal in each other's eyes, they were all mutually victims and executioners. After having condemned one another to eternal destruction, they assassinated each other at the instigation of their priests, who breathed nothing but the spirit of revenge and bloodshed. At length, the generous Henry softened the minds of his subjects; his compassion and tenderness made them feel their own calamities; he revived  
their



their fondness for the sweets of social life; he prevailed upon them to lay down their arms, and they consented to live happy under his parental laws.

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In this state of tranquillity and freedom, under a king who possessed the confidence of his people, they began to turn their thoughts to some useful projects, and undertook the establishment of colonies abroad. Florida was the first country that naturally occurred to them. Except Fort St. Augustine, formerly built by the Spaniards, at the distance of ten or twelve leagues from the French colony, the Europeans had not a single settlement in all that vast and beautiful country. The inhabitants were not a formidable set of men; and the soil had every promising appearance of fertility. It was likewise reported to be rich in gold and silver mines, both those metals having been found there; whereas, in fact, they came from some ships that had been cast away upon the coasts. The remembrance of the great actions performed by some Frenchmen could not yet be erased. Probably the French themselves were rather afraid of irritating Spain; which was not yet disposed to suffer the least settlement to be made on the Gulph of Mexico, or even near it. The danger of provoking a nation, so formidable in those parts, determined them to keep at a distance as much as possible, and therefore they gave the preference to the more northern parts of America: that road was already chalked out.

FRANCIS I. had sent out Verazani, a Florentine, in 1523, who only took a view of the island

of

The French  
turn their  
views to-  
wards Ca-  
nada.

of Newfoundland, and some coasts of the continent; but made no stay there.

ELEVEN years after, James Cartier, a skilful navigator of St. Malo, resumed the projects of Verazani. The two nations, which had first landed in America, exclaimed against the injustice of treading in their footsteps. *What!* said Francis I. pleasantly, *shall the kings of Spain and Portugal quietly divide all America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article of Adam's will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them.*

CARTIER proceeded further than his predecessor. He went up the river St. Lawrence; but after having bartered some European commodities with the savages for some of their furs, he re-embarked for France; where an undertaking, which seemed to have been entered upon merely from imitation, was neglected from levity.

It happened fortunately that the Normans, the Britons, and the Biscayans, continued to carry on the cod-fishery on the great sand-bank along the coasts of Newfoundland, and in all the adjacent latitudes. These intrepid and experienced men served as pilots to the adventurers who, since the year 1598, have attempted to settle colonies in those desert regions. None of those first settlements prospered, because they were all under the direction of exclusive companies, which had neither abilities to chuse the best situations, nor a sufficient capital to wait for their returns. One monopoly followed another in a rapid succession without any advantage; they were pursued with greediness,

greediness, without a plan, or any means to carry them into execution. All these different companies successively ruined themselves; and the state was no gainer by their loss. These numerous expeditions had cost France more men, more money, and more ships, than other states would have expended in the foundation of great empires. At last Samuel de Champlain went a considerable way up the river St. Lawrence; and, in 1608, upon the borders of that river laid the foundation of Quebec, which became the origin, center, and capital, of New France, or Canada.

THE unbounded track, that opened itself to the view of this colony, discovered only dark, thick, and deep forests, the height of which alone was a proof of their antiquity. Numberless large rivers came down from a considerable distance to water these immense regions. The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four of these, measured from two to five hundred leagues in circumference. These sort of inland seas communicated with each other; and their waters, after forming the great river St. Lawrence, considerably increased the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part of the New World appeared grand and sublime. Nature here displayed such luxuriance and majesty as commanded veneration; and a multitude of wild graces, far superior to the artificial beauties of our climates. Here the imagination of a painter or a poet would have been raised, animated, and filled with those ideas which leave a lasting impression on the mind. All these coun-

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tries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This temperature, which, from the position of the climate, must have been extremely pleasant, lost nothing of it's wholesomeness by the severity of a long and intense winter. Those who impute this merely to the woods, springs, and mountains, with which this country abounds, have not taken every thing into consideration. Others add to these causes of the cold, the elevation of the land, a pure aerial atmosphere, seldom loaded with vapours; and the direction of the winds, which blow from North to South over seas always frozen.

Government, customs, virtues, vices, and wars, of the savages that inhabited Canada.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the inhabitants of this sharp and bleak climate were but thinly clad. Before their intercourse with us, a cloak of buffalo or beaver skin, bound with a leathern girdle, and stockings made of a roe-buck's skin, was the whole of their dress. The additions they have since made, give great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

FEW of these savages knew any thing of husbandry; they only cultivated maize, and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. Their bitterest imprecation against an enemy, was the same as the curse pronounced by God against the first man, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condescend to go a fishing; but their chief delight, and the employment of all their life, was hunting. For this purpose the whole nation went out as they did



did to war; every family marched in search of sustenance. They prepared for the expedition by severe fasting, and never stirred out till they had implored the assistance of their gods; they did not pray for strength to kill the beasts, but that they might be so fortunate as to meet with them. None staid behind except infirm and old men; all the rest sallied forth, the men to kill the game, and the women to dry and bring it home. The winter was with them the finest season of the year: the bear, the roe-buck, the stag, and the elk, could not then run with any degree of swiftness, through snow that was four or five feet deep. The savages, who were stopped neither by the bushes, the torrents, the ponds, nor the rivers, and who could out-run most of the swifter animals, were seldom unsuccessful in the chace. When they were without game, they lived upon acorns; and, for want of these, fed upon the sap or inner skin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aspen-tree, and the birch.

IN the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the snow, and the canoes for crossing the lakes and rivers. These travelling implements, and a few earthen pots, were the only specimens of art among these wandering nations. Those, who were collected in towns, added to these the labours requisite for their sedentary way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and securing them from being attacked. The savages, at that period, gave themselves up to total inaction, in the most profound security. The people,



content with their lot, and satisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that restlessness which arises from a sense of our own weakness, that loathing of ourselves and every thing about us, that necessity of flying from solitude, and easing ourselves of the burthen of life by throwing it upon others.

THEIR stature in general was beautifully proportioned, but they had more agility than strength, and were more fit to bear the fatigues of the chase than hard labour. Their features were regular, and there was a kind of fierceness in their aspect, which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was of a copper-colour; and they derived it from nature, by which all men who are constantly exposed to the open air are tanned. This complexion was rendered still more disagreeable by the absurd custom that prevails among savages, of painting their bodies and faces, either to distinguish each other at a distance, to render themselves more agreeable to their mistresses, or more formidable in war. Beside this varnish, they rubbed themselves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fish, a custom common and necessary among them, in order to prevent the intolerable stings of gnats and insects, that swarm in uncultivated countries. These ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices, supposed to be a deadly poison to the moschetos. To these several methods of anointing themselves, which penetrate and discolour the skin, may be added, the fumigations they made in their huts against those insects, and the  
smoke

smoke of the fires they kept all the winter to warm themselves, and to dry their meat. This was sufficient to make them appear frightful to our people, though beautiful, without doubt, or at least not disagreeable to themselves. Their sight, smell, and hearing, and all their senses, were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. These were few, but their diseases were still fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occasioned by too violent exercise, or eating too much after long abstinence.

THEY were not a very numerous people; and possibly this might be an advantage to them. Polished nations must wish for an increase of population, because, as they are governed by ambitious rulers, who are the more inclined to war from not being personally engaged in it, they are under a necessity of fighting, either to invade or repulse their neighbours; and because they never have a sufficient extent of territory to satisfy their enterprising and expensive way of life. But unconnected nations, who are always wandering, and guarded by the deserts which divide them; who can fly when they are attacked, and whose poverty preserves them from committing or suffering any injustice; such savage nations do not feel the want of numbers. Perhaps nothing more is required, than to be able to resist the wild beasts; occasionally to drive away an insignificant enemy, and mutually to assist each other. Had they been more populous, they would the sooner have exhausted the country they inhabited,

and have been forced to remove in search of another; the only, or, at least, the greatest misfortune attending their precarious way of life.

INDEPENDENT of these reflections, which possibly did not occur so strongly to the savages of Canada, the nature of things was alone sufficient to check their increase. Though they lived in a country abounding in game and fish, yet in some seasons, and sometimes for whole years, this resource failed them: and famine then occasioned a great destruction among people who were at too great a distance to assist each other. Their wars, or transient hostilities, the result of former animosities, were very destructive. Men constantly accustomed to hunt for their subsistence, to tear in pieces the animal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death, and see the shedding of blood, must have been still more cruel in war, if possible, than our own people, who live partly on vegetables. In a word, notwithstanding all that has been said in favour of inuring children to hardships, which misled Peter the Great to such a degree, that he ordered that none of his sailors children should drink any thing but sea-water (an experiment which proved fatal to all who tried it); it is certain, that a great many young savages perished through hunger, thirst, cold, and fatigue. Even those whose constitution was strong enough to bear the usual exercises of those climates, to swim over the broadest rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without sleep, to subsist a considerable time without any food; such men must have been exhausted, and  
totally

totally unfit for the purposes of generation. Few were so long-lived as our people, whose manner of living is more uniform and tranquil.

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THE austerity of a Spartan education; the custom of inuring children to hard labour and coarse food has been productive of dangerous mistakes. Philosophers, desirous of alleviating the miseries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of hardships, by persuading them that it was the most wholesome and the best. The rich have eagerly adopted a system, which served to render them insensible to the sufferings of the poor, and to dispense them from the duties of humanity and compassion. But it is an error to imagine, that men who are employed in the more laborious arts of society, live as long as those who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour strengthens the human frame; excessive labour impairs it. A peasant is an old man at sixty; while the inhabitants of towns, who live in affluence, and with some degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourscore and upward. Even men of letters, whose employments are by no means favourable to health, afford many instances of longevity. Let not then our modern writings propagate this false and cruel error, to seduce the rich to disregard the groans of the poor, and to transfer all their tenderness from their vassals to their dogs and horses.

THREE original languages were spoken in Canada, the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were considered as primitive languages, be-

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cause each of them contained many of those imitative words, which convey an idea of things by sound. The dialects derived from them, were nearly as numerous as their towns. No abstract terms were found in these languages, because the infant mind of the savages seldom extends it's view beyond the present object and the present time; and, as they have but few ideas, they seldom want to represent several, under one and the same sign. Besides, the language of these people, almost always animated by a quick, simple, and strong sensation, excited by the great scenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical cast from their strong and active imagination. The astonishment and admiration which proceeded from their ignorance, gave them a strong propensity to exaggeration. They expressed what they saw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in strong colouring; and their discourses were quite picturesque. For want of terms agreed upon to denote certain compound or complex ideas, they made use of figurative expressions. What was still wanting in speech, they supplied by their gestures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldest metaphors were more familiar to them in common conversation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their speeches in public assemblies, particularly, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever spoke, perhaps, with more strength and sublimity than one of their chiefs. It was thought necessary to persuade them to remove at a distance from their native soil. *We were born, said he, on this*



*this spot, our fathers lie buried in it. Shall we say to the bones of our fathers, Arise, and come with us into a foreign land?*

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It may easily be imagined, that such nations could not be so gentle nor so weak as those of South America. They shewed that they had that degree of activity and strength which the people of the northern nations always possess, unless they are, like the Laplanders, of a very different species from our's. They had but just attained to that degree of knowledge and civilization, to which instinct alone may lead men in the space of a few years; and it is among such people that a philosopher may study man in a state of nature.

THEY were divided into several small nations, whose form of government was nearly similar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others elected them; the greater part were only directed by their old men. They were mere associations, formed by chance, and always free; and though united, they were bound by no tie. The will of individuals was not even overruled by the general one. All decisions were considered only as matter of advice, which was not binding, or enforced by any penalty. If, in one of these singular republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war against a common enemy, than an act of justice exercised against a subject or a fellow-citizen. Instead of coercive power, good manners, example, education, a respect for old men, a parental affection, maintained peace in these societies, where there was neither law nor property.

property: Reason, which had not been misled by prejudice, or corrupted by passion, as it is with us, served them instead of moral precepts and regulations of police. Harmony and security were maintained without the interposition of government. Authority never incroached upon that powerful instinct of nature, the love of independence; which, enlightened by reason, produces in us the love of equality.

HENCE arises that regard which the savages have for each other. They lavish their expressions of esteem, and expect the same in return. They are obliging, but reserved; they weigh their words, and listen with great attention. Their gravity, which appears like a kind of melancholy, is particularly observable in their national assemblies. Every one speaks in his turn, according to his age, experience, and services. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections, or ill-timed applause. Their public affairs are managed with such disinterestedness as is unknow'n in our governments, where the welfare of the state is hardly ever promoted but from selfish views or party spirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of these savage orators, when his speech has met with universal applause, telling those who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deserving of their confidence.

THIS mutual respect among the inhabitants of the same place, prevails between the several nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendship that is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance,

alliance. Wandering nations, who have not the least notion of increasing their territory, never negotiate for conquest, or for any interests relative to dominion. Even those who have fixed settlements, never contend with others for coming to live in their district, provided they do not molest them. The earth, say they, is made for all men; no one must possess the share of two. All the politics, therefore, of the savages, consist in forming leagues against an enemy who is too numerous or too strong, and in suspending hostilities that become too destructive. When they have agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt, or string of beads, which are a kind of snail-shells. The white ones are very common; but the purple ones, which are rare, and the black, which are still more so, are much esteemed. They work them into a cylindrical form, bore them, and then make them up into necklaces. The branches are about a foot long, and the beads are strung upon them one after another in a straight line. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little slips of leather. The size, weight, and colour of these shells, are adapted to the importance of the business. They serve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations and individuals. They are the sacred and inviolable pledge which is a confirmation of words, promises, and treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of these records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and  
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by means of these signs, they transmit the history of the country to the succeeding generation.

As the savages possess no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A striking instance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows, and infirm people. They liberally share their scanty provision with those whose crops have failed; or who have been unsuccessful in hunting or fishing. Their tables and their huts are open night and day to strangers and travellers. This generous hospitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public blessing, is chiefly conspicuous in their entertainments. A savage claims respect, not so much from what he possesses, as from what he gives away. The whole stock of provisions collected during a chase that has lasted six months, is frequently expended in one day; and he who gives the entertainment enjoys more pleasure than his guests.

NONE of the writers who have described the manners of the savages have reckoned benevolence among their virtues. But this may be owing to prejudice, which has made them confound the antipathy arising from resentment, with natural temper. These people neither love nor esteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality of conditions, which we think so necessary for the well-being of society, is, in their opinion, the greatest folly. They are shocked to see, that among us, one man has more property than several others collectively, and that this first injustice is productive of a second, which is, that  
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the man who has most riches is on that account the most respected. But what appears to them a meanness below the brute creation is, that men who are equal by nature should degrade themselves so far as to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The respect we shew to titles, dignities, and especially to hereditary nobility, they call an insult, an outrage to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods, with no other guide than the wind and sun, or any provision but a bow and arrows; he acts the part of a man, and what more can be expected of him? That restless disposition, which prompts us to cross so many seas in quest of fugitive advantages, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of industry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all those customs which inspire us with a greater degree of vanity, in proportion as they remove us further from the state of nature. Their frankness and honesty is roused to indignation by the tricks and cunning which have been practised in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, some founded on prejudice, but frequently on reason, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have made reprisals, and are become harsh and cruel in their intercourse with us. The aversion and contempt they have conceived for our manners, has always made them avoid our society. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to our indulgent manner of living; whereas we have seen some  
Europeans



Europeans forego all the conveniencies of civil life, retire into the forests, and take up the bow and the club of the savage.

AN innate spirit of benevolence, however, sometimes brings the savages back to us. At the beginning of the winter a French vessel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticosti. The sailors who had escaped the rigour of the season and the dangers of famine in this desert and savage island, built a bark out of the remains of their ship, which, in the following spring, conveyed them to the continent. They were observed in a languid and expiring state, by a hut filled with savages. *Brethren*, said the chief of this lonely family, addressing himself affectionately to them, *the wretched are entitled to our pity and our assistance. We are men, and the misfortunes incident to any of the human race affect us in the same manner as if they were our own.* These humane expressions were accompanied with every token of friendship these generous savages had it in their power to shew.

EUROPEANS, who are so proud of your government, of your laws, of your institutions, of your monuments, of every thing that you call your wisdom, suffer me to engage your attention for a moment. I have just described, in a plain and artless way, the life and manners of the savages. I have not concealed from you their vices, nor have I exaggerated their virtues. I intreat you to preserve the sensations which my narrative hath raised in you, till the man of the first genius, and of the greatest eloquence among you, shall have prepared himself to describe to you, with all the

strength and with all the magic of his colouring, the good and the evil of your civilized countries. His picture will undoubtedly transport you with admiration; but do you imagine that it will leave in your minds that delicious emotion which you experience at present? Will the writer inspire you with those sentiments of esteem, love, and veneration, which you have just granted the savages? You would only be miserable savages if you were to live in the forests, and the lowest of the savages would be a respectable man in your cities.

ONE thing only was wanting to complete the felicity of the Americans, and that was the happiness of being fond of their wives. Nature hath in vain bestowed on their women a good shape, beautiful eyes, pleasing features, and long black hair. All these accomplishments are no longer regarded than while they remain in a state of independence. They no sooner submit to the matrimonial yoke, but even their husband, who is the only man they love, grows insensible to those charms they were so liberal of before marriage. The state of life, indeed, to which this condition subjects them, is by no means favourable to beauty. Their features alter, and they lose at once the desire and the power of pleasing. They are laborious, indefatigable, and active. They dig the ground, sow, and reap; while their husbands, who disdain to stoop to the drudgeries of husbandry, amuse themselves with hunting, fishing, shooting with the bow, and asserting the dominion of man over the earth.

MANY



MANY of these nations allow a plurality of wives; and even those that do not practise polygamy, have still reserved to themselves the liberty of a divorce. The very idea of an indissoluble tie never once entered the thoughts of a people who are free till death. When those who are married disagree, they part by consent, and divide their children between them. Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reason, than the contrary system which prevails among Christians. The Great Spirit, say they, hath created us all to be happy; and we should offend him, were we to live in a perpetual state of constraint and uneasiness. This system agrees with what one of the Miamis said to one of the missionaries, *My wife and I were continually at variance. My neighbour disagree'd equally with his. We have exchanged wives, and are both satisfied.*

A CELEBRATED writer, whom we cannot but admire, even when we differ from him in opinion, has observed, that love among the Americans is never productive of industry, genius, and character, as it is among the Europeans; because the former, says he, have a sixth sense, weaker than it is among the latter. The savages, it is said, are neither acquainted with the torments nor the delights of this most violent of all passions. The air and the climate, the moisture of which contributes so powerfully to vegetation, does not bestow upon them any great warmth of constitution. The same sap which covers the countries with forests, and the trees with leaves, occasions among men, as among women, the growth of  
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long, smooth, thick, strong, and sturdy hair. Men who have little more beard than eunuchs have, cannot abound in generating principles. The blood of these people is watery and cold; the males have sometimes milk in their breasts. Hence arises their tardy inclination to the sex; their aversion for them at certain periods, and in times of pregnancy; and that feeble and transient ardour, which is excited only at certain seasons of the year. Hence arises that quickness of imagination, which renders them superstitious, fearful as children in the dark, and as much prone to revenge as women; which makes them poets, and figurative in their discourse; men of feeling, in a word, but not of strong passions. Hence, in short, hath proceeded that want of population which hath always been observed in them. They have few children, because they are not sufficiently fond of women. And this is a national defect, with which the old men were incessantly reproaching the young people.

BUT may it not be said, that the passion of the savages for women is less languid from the nature of their constitution, than from their moral character? The pleasures of love are too easily indulged among them, to excite any strong desires. Accordingly, among ourselves, it is not in those ages, where luxury encourages incontinence, that we see the men most attached to the women, and the women bear the most children. In what country hath love ever been a source of heroism and virtue, when the women have not encouraged their lovers to these pursuits by chaste

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refusals, and by the shame they had affixed to the weakness of their sex? It is at Sparta, at Rome, and even in France, in the ages of chivalry, that love hath given rise to great undertakings, and hath occasioned the enduring of great hardships. There it is, that uniting itself to public spirit, it assisted patriotism, or supplied the place of it. As it was a more difficult thing always to please one woman, than to seduce several, the sway of moral love prolonged the power of natural love, by suppressing it, by directing it to proper objects, by deceiving it even with hopes which kept up desires, and maintained the passion in all its strength. But this love, though stinted in enjoyments, was productive of great effects. To love was not then an art, but a passion, which being engendered in innocence itself, was kept alive by sacrifices, instead of being extinguished in voluptuousness.

WITH respect to the savages, if they should not be so fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps, for want of powers or inclination to population. But the first wants of nature may, perhaps, restrain in them the claims of the second. Their strength is almost all exhausted in procuring their subsistence. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leisure of attending to the increase of their species. No wandering nation can ever be numerous. What must become of women obliged to follow their husbands a hundred leagues, with children at their breast or in their arms? What would become of the children themselves,

if



if deprived of the milk that must necessarily fail during the fatigues of the journey? Hunting prevents, and war destroys, the increase of mankind. A savage warrior resists the seducing arts of young women, who strive to allure him. When nature compels this tender sex to make the first advances, and to pursue the men that avoid them, those who are less inflamed with military ardour, than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation. But the true warriors, who have been early taught that an intercourse with women enervates strength and courage, do not surrender. It is not, therefore, owing to natural defects that Canada is unpeopled, but to the track of life pursued by its inhabitants. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their strength is employed for their own preservation. Hunger does not permit them to attend to the passion of love. If the people of the south sacrifice every thing to this latter desire, it is because the former is easily satisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man consumes but little, all the strength he has to spare is entirely turned to population; which is likewise assisted by the warmth of the climate. In a climate where men consume more than nature affords them without pains, the time and the faculties of the human species are exhausted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

BUT a further proof, that the savages are not less inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much fonder of their children. Their mothers suckle them till they are four or five years old, and

sometimes till six or seven. From their earliest infancy, their parents pay a regard to their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, lest they should check that free and martial spirit, which is one day to constitute their principal character. They even forbear to make use of strong arguments to persuade them, because this would be in some measure a restraint upon their will. As they are only taught what they want to know, they are the happiest children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret; and will sometimes go six months after, to weep over the grave of their child; and the mother will sprinkle it with her own milk.

THE ties of friendship among the savages are more lasting than those of nature. Friendship is not absolutely a duty, since it cannot be commanded: but it is a more agreeable, a more tender, and even a stronger union, than those which are formed by nature, or by social institutions. All persons who are connected by that delightful sentiment, agree in giving mutual advice to each other in difficult conjunctures; in administering comfort in misfortunes; in granting assistance in undertakings, and succours in adversity. Imagination, far from seeking to diminish the obligations incumbent upon this virtue, delights in exaggerating them. It is thought that it cannot subsist without an entire neglect of one's self, a total renunciation of all personal interests in favour of the friend truly beloved.

It is not given to all men to enjoy the sweets of friendship. Several can neither feel it themselves,  
nor

nor inspire it to others, on account of the coldness and stiffness of their character. How is it possible that it should enter into the heart of the rich? They have no other concern but their present opulence, the desire of increasing it, and the dread of losing it. The powerful man requires none but flatterers, who scarce can venture to raise their timid looks up to him; and mean souls, who fervilely implore his protection. What pleasure could he find in an intimate friendly connection, which the lowest class of citizens might enjoy as well, or better than he? The dissipated man is equally incapable of strong or lasting affection; he is wholly absorbed in shew, and in a variety of pleasures. His enjoyments are external, and his heart totally unconnected with his attachments.

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FRIENDSHIP among savages is never broken by that variety of clashing interests, which in our societies weaken even the tenderest and the most sacred connections. When a man hath once made his choice, he deposits in the breast of his associate, his inmost thoughts, his sentiments, his projects, his sorrows, and his joys. The two friends share every thing in common; their union is for life; they fight side by side; and if one should fall, the other certainly expires upon the body of his friend. Even then, they cherish the flattering persuasion, that their separation will be only momentary, and that they shall rejoin each other in another world, where they shall never part, and where they shall perpetually render each other the most important services. An

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Iroquois, who was a Christian, but who did not live according to the maxims of the gospel, was threatened with eternal punishments. He asked whether his friend, who had been buried a few days, was in hell? I have strong reasons to believe, replied the missionary, that he hath not been sent to that place of torment. If that be the case, replied the savage, I will not go there either. He immediately promised to alter his manners, and after this, always led a very exemplary life.

THE savages shew a degree of penetration and sagacity, which astonishes every man who has not observed how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds dull and inactive: because we are seldom under a necessity of thinking, and have only the trouble to learn. If however they have never improved any thing, any more than those animals, in which we observe the greatest share of sagacity, it is, probably, because, as they have no ideas but such as relate to their present wants, the equality that subsists between them, lays every individual under a necessity of thinking for himself, and of spending his whole life in acquiring this common stock of knowledge; hence it may be reasonably inferred, that the sum total of ideas in a society of savages is no more than the sum of ideas in each individual.

INSTEAD of abstruse meditations, the savages delight in songs. They are said to have no variety in their singing; but it is uncertain whether those who have hear'd them had an ear properly adapted

adapted to their music. When we first hear a foreign language spoken, the whole seems one continued sound, and appears to be pronounced with the same tone of voice, without any modulation or profody. It is only by continued habit that we learn to distinguish the words and syllables, and to perceive that the sound of some is dull, and that of others sharp, and that it is more or less lengthened out. Would it not require at least as much time to enable us to determine any thing certain with regard to the music of any nation, which must always be subordinate to their language?

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THEIR dances are generally an emblem of war, and they usually dance with their weapons in their hands. There is something so regular, rapid, and terrible, in these dances, that an European, when first he sees them, cannot help shuddering. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and scattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the spectators will survive. It is somewhat remarkable, that in the first ages of the world, and among savage nations, dancing should be an imitative art, and that it should have lost that characteristic in civilized countries, where it seems to be reduced to a set of uniform steps without meaning. But it is with dances as with languages, they grow abstracted like the ideas they are intended to represent. The signs of them are more allegorical, as the minds of the people become more refined. In the same manner as a single word, in a learned language, expresses several



ideas; so, in an allegorical dance, a single step, a single attitude, is sufficient to excite a variety of sensations. It is owing to want of imagination, either in the dancers, or the spectators, if a figured dance be not, or do not appear to be, expressive. Besides, the savages can exhibit none but strong passions and ferocious manners, and these must be represented by more significant images in their dances, which are the language of gesture, the first and simplest of all languages. Nations living in a state of civil society, and in peace, have only the gentler passions to represent which are best expressed by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It might not, however, be improper sometimes to bring back dancing to its first origin, to exhibit the old simplicity of manners, to revive the first sensations of nature by motions which represent them, to depart from the antiquated and scientific mode of the Greeks and Romans, and to adopt the lively and significant images of the rude Canadians.

THESE savages, always totally devoted to the pursuit of the present passion, are extravagantly fond of gaming, as is usual with all idle people, and especially of games of chance. The same men, who are commonly so sedate, moderate, and disinterested, and have such a command of themselves, are outrageous, greedy and turbulent at play; they lose their peace, their senses, and all they are possessed of. Destitute of almost every thing, coveting all they see, and when they like it, eager to have and enjoy it, their attention is entirely turned to the most speedy and readiest way

way of acquiring it. This is a consequence of their manners, as well as of their character. The prospect of present happiness always prevents them from discerning the evils that may ensue. Their forecast does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately silly children, and violent men. Every thing depends with them on the present moment.

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GAMING alone would lead them to superstition, even if they were not naturally subject to that scourge of the human race. But as they have few physicians or empirics of this kind to have recourse to, they suffer less from this distemper of the mind than more polished nations, and are better disposed to attend to the suggestions of reason which abate the violence of it. The Iroquois have a confused notion of a first Being who governs the world at pleasure. They never repine at the evil which this being permits. When some mischance befalls them they say; *the man above will have it so*; and there is, perhaps, more philosophy in this submission, than in all the reasonings and declamations of our philosophers. Most other savage nations worship those two first principles of good and evil, which occur to the human mind as soon as it has acquired any conception of invisible substances. Sometimes they worship a river, a forest, the sun or the moon; in short, any beings in which they have observed a certain power and motion; because wherever they see motion, which they cannot account for, they suppose there is a soul.

THEY

THEY seem to have some notion of a future state; but, having no principles of morality, they do not think the next life is a state of reward for virtue, and punishment for vice. They believed that the indefatigable huntsman, the fearless and merciless warrior, who has slain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death pass into a country, where he will be supplied with plenty of all kinds of animals to satisfy his hunger; whereas those who are grown old in indolence and without glory, will be forever banished into a barren land, where they will be eternally exposed to famine and sickness. Their tenets are suited to their manners and their wants. They believe in such pleasures and such sufferings as they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy, even in their delusions. They are, however, often tormented with dreams.

IGNORANCE is naturally prone to connect something mysterious with dreams, and to ascribe them to the agency of some powerful being, who takes the opportunity, when our faculties are suspended and lulled asleep, of watching over us in the absence of our senses. It is, as it were, a soul, distinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet see it; though futurity be always present to that Being who created all things.

IN the bleak and rough climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be painfully affected by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abstinence.

nence. Then these savages have melancholy and troublesome dreams; they imagine they are surrounded with enemies; they see their town surpris'd, and deluged in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends are carried off. When they awake, they take these visions for a warning from the gods; and that fear which first inspir'd them with this idea, adds to their natural ferocity, by the melancholy cast it gives to their thoughts, and their gloomy complexions. The old women, who are useless in the world, dream for the safety of the commonwealth. Some weak old men also, like them too, dream on public affairs, in which they have no share or influence. Young men who are unfit for war, or laborious exercises, will dream too, that they may bear some part in the administration of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted, during two centuries, to remove illusions so deeply rooted. The savages have constantly replied, *You Christians laugh at the faith we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things infinitely more improbable.* Thus we see in these untutored nations the seeds of priestcraft, with all it's train of evils.

WERE it not for these melancholy fits and dreams, there would scarce ever be any contentions among them. Europeans, who have lived long in those countries, assure us they never saw an Indian in a passion. Without superstition, there would be as few national as private quarrels.

PRIVATE differences are most commonly adjusted by the majority of the people. The respect shew'n by the nation to the aggrieved party, sooths his self-love, and disposes him to peace. It is  
more

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more difficult to prevent quarrels, or to put an end to hostilities between two nations.

WAR often takes its rise from hunting. When two companies, which were separated by a forest a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's sport, they soon quarrel, and turn those weapons against one another which were intended for the destruction of bears. This slight skirmish is a source of eternal discord. The vanquished party vows implacable vengeance against the conquerors, a national hatred which will be maintained by their posterity, and be rekindled from their ashes. The mutual wounds which both parties suffer in skirmishes of this kind, sometimes put a stop to these contentions; when on each side they happen to be occasioned by some impetuous young men, who in the heat of youth may have been tempted to remove to a considerable distance, in order to make a trial of their military skill. But the contentions between whole nations are not easily excited.

THE declaration of war, when it appears necessary, is not left to the judgment and decision of one man. The nation meets, and the chief speaks. He states the nature of the injury and causes of complaint. The matter is considered; the dangers and the consequences of a rupture are weighed. The orators speak directly to the point, without hesitation, without digression, or without mistaking the case. The arguments are discussed with a strength of reasoning and eloquence that arises from the evidence and simplicity of the matter in dispute;



dispute; and even with an impartiality which is less affected by their strong passions, than it is among us by a combination of ideas. If war be unanimously determined by their giving a general shout, the allies are invited to join in it, which they seldom refuse, as they always have some injury to revenge, or some slain to replace by prisoners.

THE savages next proceed to the election of a chief. When a certain number of men assemble to execute an enterprise, in which common interest is concerned, one person among them must be appointed to guide the motions of the multitude, of whom he must be the common soul; a soul which must command them all as imperiously, as its orders are issued to the members of the body which it inhabits, and which must be obeyed with as much dispatch and punctuality. Whenever this identity ceases disorder is introduced. It is no longer an army which hath the same object in view; it is a set of distinct officers and soldiers who have each of them their particular designs. That subordination which connects one hundred thousand men with all their powers to one commander, is the chief circumstance of distinction between modern and ancient warriors. Among the latter, every man used to single out his enemy, and bid him defiance in the midst of the throng. An engagement was nothing more than a great number of duels fought at the same time, upon a field of battle. It is not so at present: our armies consist of deep, large, and close bodies of men, placed upon a line, pressed together,  
and



and moving in all directions as one single body. Formerly an engagement was a duel between man and man, at present, it is a duel of one body of men against another. The least want of subordination would bring on confusion, and confusion would occasion a horrid massacre and a humiliating defeat.

THE dislike which the savages of Canada have for whatever may restrain their independence, hath not prevented them from perceiving the necessity of having a military chief. They have always been led to action by commanders, and physiognomy hath been always attended to in the choice they have made of them. This might be a very fallacious, and even ridiculous, way of forming a judgment of men, where they have been trained up from their infancy to disguise their real sentiments, and where, by a constant practice of dissimulation and artificial passions, the countenance is no longer expressive of the mind. But a savage, who is solely guided by nature, and is acquainted with it's workings, seldom mistakes in the judgment he forms at first sight. The chief requisite, next to a warlike aspect, is a strong voice; because, in armies that march without drums or clarions, in order more effectually to surprise the enemy, nothing is so proper to sound an alarm, or to give the signal for the onset, as the terrible voice of a chief, who shouts and strikes at the same time. But the best recommendations for a general are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boast of his victories, in order that he may be the first to expose himself

to march foremost to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to shew what he will do; and the savages think self-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can shew his scars.

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HE who is chosen to be chief, and to lead on the rest in the path of glory, never fails to harangue them. "Comrades," says he, "the bones of our brethren are still uncovered. They cry out against us; we must satisfy them. Young men, to arms; fill your quivers; paint yourselves with gloomy colours that may strike terror. Let the woods ring with our war-songs. Let us sooth the dead with the shouts of vengeance. Let us go and bathe in the blood of our enemies, take prisoners, and fight as long as water shall flow in the rivers, and as long as the sun and moon shall remain fixed in the firmament."

AT these words those brave men, who are eager for war, go to the chief, and say, *We will share the danger with thee. So you shall,* replies the chief; *we will share it together.* But as no persuasions are made use of to induce any one to join the army, lest a false point of honour should compel men of no courage to take the field, a man must undergo many trials before he can be admitted as a soldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy, should betray the least impatience, when, after long abstinence, he is exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, the intense frosts of the night, or the stings of insects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are the soldiers of our militias and armies formed in this manner?

manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is our's! Men who have not been able to escape being pressed into the service, or could not procure an exemption by purchase, or by virtue of some privilege, march heavily along, with downcast looks, and pale dejected faces, before a magistrate, whose office is odious to the people, and whose honesty is doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents seem to be following their son to the grave. A black scroll, issuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A distracted mother in vain presses her son to her bosom, and strives to detain him; he is tor'n from her arms, and she bids him an eternal farewell, cursing the day of her marriage, and that of her delivery. It is not certainly by such sacrifices that good soldiers are to be acquired. It is not with such scenes of distress and consternation that the savages go to meet victory. They march out in the midst of festivity, singing and dancing. The young married women follow their husbands for a day or two, without shewing any signs of grief or sorrow. These women, who do not even utter a groan in the pangs of child-birth, would scorn to soften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by the tears even of tenderness and compassion.

THE weapons of these savage nations are a kind of spear, armed with sharp bones, and a small club of very hard wood, of a round figure, and with one cutting edge. Instead of these last, since their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make use  
of

of a hatchet, which they manage with amazing dexterity. Most of them have no instrument of defence: but if they attack the palisades that surround a town, they cover their body with a thin plank. Some of them used to wear a kind of cuirass, made with plaited reeds; but they left it off, on finding it was not proof against fire-arms.

THE army is followed by dreamers, who assume the name of jugglers, and are too often suffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors, who are almost naked, that they may be the more alert in battle, rub their bodies with coal, to appear more terrible, or with mould, that they may not be so easily seen at a distance, and by that means may be better able to surprise the enemy. Notwithstanding their natural intrepidity and aversion for all disguise, their wars are carried on with artifice. These stratagems, common to all nations, whether savage or civilized, are become necessary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally destroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to consist in bringing home all their companions, rather than in shedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is prepared. These people, whose senses have never been impaired, are extremely quick in their smell, and can discover the places where men have trod. By the keenness of that and of their sight, it is said they can trace footsteps that are made upon the shortest grass, upon the dry ground, and even



upon stone; and from the nature of the footsteps can discover to what nation the adventurers belong. Perhaps, they may do this by the leaves from the forests which always cover the ground.

WHEN they are so fortunate as to surprize the enemy, they discharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon them with their clubs or hatchets. If they are upon their guard, or well intrenched, they retreat if they can; if not, they fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party dispatch the wounded whom they cannot carry off, scalp the dead, and take some prisoners.

THE conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previously engraven upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family, and especially his own picture; that is to say, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all these ensigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the stump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with several colours. To this they add the history, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign, in hieroglyphic characters. Next to the picture of the general, the number of his soldiers is marked by so many lines; that of the prisoners by so many little images, and that of the dead by so many human figures without heads. Such are the expressive and technical signs which, in all original societies, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and embarrass the minds of the learned.

THE history of an Indian war is but a short one; they make haste to describe it, for fear the enemy should rally and fall upon them. The conqueror glories in a precipitate retreat, and never stops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmest transports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauses of his countrymen. A debate then ensues, how the prisoners, who are the only advantage of their victory, shall be disposed of.

THE most fortunate of the captives are those who are chosen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action, or in former battles. This adoption has been wisely contrived, to perpetuate nations, which would soon be destroyed by frequent wars. The prisoners being once incorporated into a family, become cousins, uncles, fathers, brothers, husbands; in short, they succeed to any degree of consanguinity, in which the deceased stood, whose place they supply; and these affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the same time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from being averse for attaching themselves with all proper affection to the family that has adopted them, they will not refuse even to take up arms against their own countrymen. Yet this is surely a strange inversion of the ties of nature. They must be very weak men, thus to shift the object of their regard with the vicissitudes of fortune. The truth is, that war seems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himself alone. Hence arises that union between friends among the sa-

vages, which is observed to be stronger than that which subsists between relations. Those who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached, than those who are born together, or under the same roof. When war or death has dissolved that consanguinity which is cemented by nature, or has been formed by choice, the same fate which loads the savage with chains, gives him new relations and friends. Custom and common consent have authorised this singular law, which undoubtedly sprang from necessity.

BUT it sometimes happens that a prisoner refuses this adoption; sometimes that he is excluded from it. A tall handsome prisoner had lost several of his fingers in battle. This circumstance was not noticed at first. *Friend*, said the widow to whom he was allotted, *we had chosen you to live with us; but in the condition you appear, unable to fight and to defend us, of what use is life to you! Death is certainly preferable. I am of the same opinion*, answered the savage. *Well then*, replied the woman, *this evening you shall be tied to the stake. For your own glory, and for the honour of your family who have adopted you, remember to behave like a man of courage.* He promised he would, and kept his word. For three days he endured the most cruel torments, with a constancy and cheerfulness that set them all at defiance. His new family never forsook him, but encouraged him by their applause, and supplied him with drink and tobacco in the midst of his sufferings. What a mixture of virtue and ferociousness! Every thing is great in these people who are not enslaved.

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This is the sublime of nature, in all its horrors and its beauties.

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THE captives whom none chuse to adopt, are soon condemned to death. The victims are prepared for it by every thing that may tend to inspire them with a fondness for life. The best fare, the kindest usage, the most endearing names, are lavished upon them. They are even sometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their sentence. Is this compassion, or is it a refinement of barbarity? At last a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. *Brother, says he, be patient, you are going to be burnt. Very well brother, says the prisoner, I thank you.*

THESE words are received with general applause; but the women are the most violent in their expressions of the common joy. She to whom the prisoner is delivered up, instantly invokes the shade of a father, a husband, a son, the dearest friend, whose death is still unrevenged. *Draw near, she cries, I am preparing a feast for thee. Come and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. They will apply hot hatchets all over his body: They will scalp him. They will drink out of his scull; Thou shalt be avenged and satisfied.*

THIS furious woman then rushes upon her victim, who is tied to a post near the fiery pile, and by striking or maiming him, she gives the signal for the intended cruelties. There is not a woman, or child, in the clan whom this sight has brought together, who does not take a part in

torturing and slaying the miserable captive. Some pierce his flesh with firebrands; others cut it in slices; some tear off his nails; while others cut off his fingers, roast them, and devour them before his face. Nothing stops his executioners but the fear of hastening his end: they study to prolong his sufferings for whole days, and sometimes they make him linger for a week.

IN the midst of these torments, the hero sings, in a barbarous but heroic manner, the glory of his former victories: he sings the pleasure he formerly took in slaying his enemies. His expiring voice is raised, to express the hope he entertains of being revenged; and to tell his persecutors that they know not how to avenge their ancestors, whom he hath massacred. He chuses to bid defiance to his executioners, the moment when their rage appears rather slackened; and he endeavours to excite it anew, in order that the excess of his sufferings may display the excess of his courage. It is a conflict between the victim and his tormentors; a dreadful challenge between constancy in suffering, and obstinacy in torturing. But the sense of glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of enthusiasm suspends, or wholly benumbs, all sense of pain; or whether custom and education alone produce these prodigies of heroism, certain it is, that the sufferer dies without ever shedding a tear or heaving a sigh. Let fanatics of all false religions no longer boast the constancy of their martyrs: the savage of nature goes beyond all their miraculous accounts.

How



How shall we account for this insensibility? Is it owen to the climate, or to the manner of life? Colder blood, thicker humours, a constitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampness of the air and the ground, may doubtless blunt the irritability of the nervous system in Canada. Men who are constantly exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunting, and the perils of war, contract such a rigidity of fibres, such a habit of suffering, as makes them insensible to pain. It is said the savages are scarce ever convulsed in the agonies of death, whether they die of sickness or of a wound. As they have no apprehensions, either of the approaches or the consequences of death, their imagination does not suggest that artificial sensibility against which nature has guarded them. Their whole life, whether considered in a natural or moral view, is calculated to inspire them with a contempt for death, which we so much dread; and to enable them to overcome the sense of pain, which is increased by our indulgences.

BUT a circumstance still more astonishing in the character of the Indians than their resolution in supporting tortures, is the rancour that appears in their revenge. It is dreadful to think that man may become the most cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not prosecuted with cruelty either among nations, or between individuals who are governed by good laws; which, at the same time that they protect the subject, restrain him from committing injuries. Vengeance is not a very lively principle in wars that are carried on

between great nations, because they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in those petty nations, where a considerable share of the power of the state belongs to each individual, where the loss of one man endangers the whole community, war is nothing else than a spirit of revenge that actuates the whole body. Among independent men, who entertain a degree of esteem for themselves, which can never be felt by men who are under subjection; among savages whose affections are very lively, and confined to a few objects, injuries must necessarily be resented to the greatest degree, because they affect the person in the most sensible manner: the assassination of a friend, of a son, of a brother, or of a fellow-citizen, must be avenged by the death of the assassin. These beloved shades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the forests, amidst the mournful accents of the birds of night; they appear in the phosphorus and in the lightning; and superstition pleads for them in the afflicted or incensed hearts of their friends.

WHEN we consider the hatred which the hordes of these savages bear to each other; the hardships they undergo; the scarcity they are often exposed to; the frequency of their wars; the small number of inhabitants; the numberless snares we lay for them; we cannot but foresee that, in less than three centuries, the whole race will be extinct. What judgment will posterity form of this species of men, who will exist only in the descriptions of travellers? Will not the accounts given  
of

of the savages appear to them in the same light as the fables of antiquity do to us? It will speak of them, as the Centaurs and Lapithæ are spoken of by us. How many contradictions will not posterity discover in their customs and manners! Will not such of our writings as may then have escaped the destructive hand of time, pass for romantic inventions, like those which Plato has left us concerning the antient Atlantica?

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THE character of the North-Americans, as we have described it, had singularly displayed itself in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. These two nations, the most numerous in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies, who in return shared with them the fruits of their chase. Connected by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the season when all the labours of agriculture were interrupted by the snow on the ground, they lived together. The Algonquins went a hunting: and the Iroquois staid at home, to skin the beasts, cure the flesh, and dress the hides.

The French imprudently take a part in the wars of the savages.

It happened one year that a party of Algonquins, who were not very dextrous, or much used to the chase, proved unsuccessful. The Iroquois, who attended them, desired leave to try whether they should succeed better. This request, which had sometimes been complied with, was not granted. Irritated at this unseasonable refusal, they went out privately in the night, and brought home a great number of animals. The Algonquins

quins greatly mortified, to blot out the very remembrance of their disgrace, waited till the Iroquois huntsmen were asleep, and put them all to death. This massacre occasioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded justice, which was haughtily refused; and they were given to understand that they must not expect the smallest satisfaction.

THE Iroquois, enraged at this contemptuous treatment, vowed that they would either be revenged, or that they would perish in the attempt. But not being powerful enough to venture to attack their haughty adversaries, they removed to a greater distance in order to try their strength, and improve their military skill, by making war against some less formidable nations. As soon as they had learnt to approach like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they express themselves, they were no longer afraid to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried on a war against them with a degree of ferociousness proportionable to their resentment.

It was just at the time when these animosities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their first appearance in that country. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St. Lawrence; the Algonquins, who were settled upon its banks, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were dispersed about the lake that bears that name; and some less considerable nations, who wandered about in the intermediate spaces; were all inclined to favour the settlement of the strangers: these several nations combined  
against

against the Iroquois, and, unable to withstand them, imagined that they might find in their new guest an unexpected resource, which would insure them success. From the opinion they entertained of the French, which seemed as if it were formed upon a thorough knowledge of their character, they flattered themselves they might engage them in their quarrel, and were not disappointed, Champlain, who ought to have availed himself of the superior knowledge of the Europeans to effect a reconciliation between the Americans, did not even attempt it. He warmly espoused the interests of his neighbours, and accompanied them in pursuit of their enemy.

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THE country of the Iroquois was near eighty leagues in length, and more than forty in breadth. It was bounded by the lake Erie, the lake Ontario, the river St. Lawrence, and the celebrated countries since known by the names of New-York and Pennsylvania. The space between these vast limits was watered by several fine rivers, and was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thousand warriors into the field; though they are now reduced to less than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or association, not unlike that of the Swiss or the Dutch. Their deputies met once a year, to hold their feast of union, and to deliberate on the interests of the commonwealth.

THOUGH the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies who had so often been conquered, they were not unprepared. The engagement was begun with equal confidence on both sides; one relying on their usual superiority; the other



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other on the assistance of their new ally, whose fire-arms could not fail of insuring the victory. And, indeed, no sooner had Champlain, and the two Frenchmen who attended him, fired a shot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmost amazement and consternation.

THIS alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of changing their mode of defence. In the next campaign, they judged it necessary to intrench themselves, to elude the force of weapons they were unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffectual. Notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, their intrenchments were forced by the Indians, supported by a brisker fire from a greater number of Frenchmen, than appeared in the first expedition. The Iroquois were almost all killed or taken. Those who had escaped from the engagement were precipitated into a river, and drowned.

THIS nation would probably have been destroyed, or compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in 1610 founded the colony of New Belgia in their neighbourhood, furnished them with arms and ammunition. Possibly too they might secretly foment their divisions, the furs taken from the enemy during the continuance of hostilities being a greater object than those they could procure from their own chace. However this may be, this connection restored the balance between both parties. Various hostilities and injuries were committed by each nation, which weakened the strength of both. This perpetual  
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ebb and flow of success, which, in governments, actuated by motives of interest rather than of revenge, would infallibly have restored tranquility, served but to increase animosities, and to exasperate a number of little clans, bent upon each other's destruction. The consequence was, that the weakest of these petty nations were soon destroyed; and the rest were gradually reduced to nothing.

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THESE destructive events did not however contribute to advance the power of the French. In 1627, they had only three wretched settlements, surrounded with pales. The largest of these contained but fifty inhabitants, including men, women, and children. The climate had not proved destructive to the people sent there: though severe, it was wholesome, and the Europeans strengthened their constitutions without endangering their lives. The little progress they made was entirely owing to an exclusive company, whose chief designs were not so much intended to create a national power in Canada, as to enrich themselves by the fur trade. This evil might have been immediately removed, by abolishing this monopoly, and allowing a free trade; but it was not then time to adopt so simple a theory. The government, however, chose only to employ a more numerous association, composed of men of greater property and credit.

The French  
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makes no  
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of this.

THEY gave them the disposal of the settlements that were or should be formed in Canada, together with a power of fortifying and governing them as they thought proper, and of making war or peace,

as

as should best promote their interest. The whole trade by sea and land was allowed them for a term of fifteen years, except the cod and whale fisheries, which were left open to all. The beaver and all the fur trade was granted to the company for ever.

To all these were added further encouragements. The king made a present of two large ships to the company, which consisted of seven hundred proprietors. Twelve of the principal were raised to the rank of nobility. Gentlemen, and even the clergy, already too rich, were invited to share in this trade. The company were allowed the liberty of sending and exporting all kinds of commodities and merchandise, free of any duty whatsoever. A person, who exercised any trade in the colony for the space of six years, was entitled to the freedom of the same trade in France. The last favour granted them was the free entry of all goods manufactured in those distant regions. This singular privilege, the motives of which it is not easy to discover, gave the manufacturers of New France an infinite advantage over those of the mother-country, who were encumbered with a variety of duties, letters of mastership, charges for stamps, and with all the impediments which ignorance and avarice had multiplied without end.

In return for so many marks of partiality, the company, which had a capital of a hundred thousand crowns \*, engaged to bring into the colony,

\* 12,500 l.

in the year 1628, which was the first year they enjoyed their charter, two or three hundred artificers of such trades as were fittest for their purpose; and sixteen thousand men before the year 1643. They were to provide them with lodging and board, to maintain them for three years, and afterwards to give them as much cleared land as would be necessary for their subsistence, with a sufficient quantity of grain to sow it the first year.

FORTUNE did not second the endeavours of government in favour of the new company. The first ships they fitted out were taken by the English, who were lately at variance with France, on account of the siege of Rochelle. Richelieu and Buckingham, who were enemies from jealousy, from personal character, from state interest, and from every motive that can excite an irreconcilable enmity between two ambitious ministers, took this opportunity to spirit up the two kings they governed, and the two nations they were endeavouring to oppress. The English, who fought for their interests, gained the advantage over the French; and the latter lost Canada in 1629. The council of Lewis XIII. were so little acquainted with the value of this settlement, that they were inclined not to demand the restitution of it; but the pride of the leading man, who, being at the head of the company, considered the incroachments of the English as a personal insult, prevailed with them to alter their opinion. They met with less difficulty than they expected; and  
Canada

Canada was restored to the French, with peace, in 1631, by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye.

THE French were not taught by adversity. The same ignorance, the same negligence, prevailed after the recovery of Canada as before. The monopolizing company fulfilled none of their engagements. This breach of faith, far from being punished, was, in a manner, rewarded by a prolongation of their charter. The clamours of all Canada were disregarded at such a distance; and the deputies, sent to represent it's wretched situation, were denied access to the throne, where timid truth is never suffered to approach, but is awed into silence by threats and punishments. This behaviour, equally repugnant to humanity, private interest and good policy, was attended with such consequences as might naturally be expected from it.

THE French had formed their settlement improperly. In order to have the appearance of reigning over an immense track of country, and to draw nearer to the furs, they had placed their habitations at such a distance from each other, that they had scarce any communication, and were unable to afford each other any assistance. The misfortunes which were the result of this imprudence had not produced any alteration in their conduct. The interest of the moment made them always forget the past, and prevented them from foreseeing the future. They were not properly in a social state, since the magistrates could not superintend



perintend their morals, nor government provide for the safety of their persons and property.

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THE audacious and ardent Iroquois soon perceived the defect of this constitution, and pursued measures to avail themselves of it. The weak bands of savages which had been sheltered from their fury, deprived of that support which constituted their security, soon fled before them. This first success inspired the Iroquois with the hopes of compelling their protectors to cross the sea again, and even of being able to deprive these foreigners of their children, that with them they might fill the place of those warriors they had lost in the preceding wars. To avoid these calamities and humiliations, the French were obliged to erect, in each of the districts which they occupied, a kind of fort, where they took refuge, and where they sheltered their provisions and their cattle, at the approach of these irreconcilable foes. These palisadoes, commonly supported by some indifferent guns, were never forced, and perhaps even never blocked up; but whatever was found on the outside of the intrenchments, was either destroyed, or carried off by these barbarians. Such was the misery and deplorable state of the colony, that it was reduced to subsist upon the charitable contributions which the missionaries received from Europe.

THE French ministry, at length awakened from their lethargy by that general commotion which at that time agitated every nation, sent a body of four hundred well-disciplined troops to Canada in 1662. This corps was reinforced two years after.

The French are roused from their inactivity. Means by which this change was effected.

The French gradually recovered an absolute superiority over the Iroquois. Three of their nations, alarmed at their losses, made proposals for an accommodation; and the other two were so much weakened, that they were induced to accede to it in 1668. At this time the colony first enjoyed a profound peace, which paved the way for its prosperity; and a freedom of trade contributed to secure it. The beaver trade alone continued to be monopolized.

THIS revolution in affairs excited industry. The former colonists, whose weakness had till then confined them within their settlements, now ventured to extend their plantations, and cultivated them with greater confidence and success. All the soldiers, who consented to settle in the New World, obtained their discharge, together with a grant of some property. The officers had lands given them in proportion to their rank. The former settlements were improved; and new ones established, wherever the interest or safety of the colony required it. This spirit and activity occasioned an increase of traffic with the Indians, and revived the intercourse between both continents. This prosperity seemed likely to receive additional advantages from the care taken by the superintendants of the colony, not only to preserve friendship with the neighbouring nations, but likewise to establish peace and harmony among themselves. Not a single act of hostility was committed throughout an extent of four or five hundred leagues; a circumstance, perhaps, unheard-of before in North America. It should

seem that the French had kindled the war at their arrival, only to extinguish it the more effectually.

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BUT this concord could not continue among people who were always armed for the chace, unless the power that had effected it should preserve it by the superiority of it's forces. The Iroquois, finding this precaution was neglected, resumed that restless disposition arising from their love of revenge and dominion. They were, however, careful to continue on good terms with all who were either allies or neighbours to the French. Notwithstanding this moderation, they were told that they must immediately lay down their arms, and restore all the prisoners they had taken, or expect to see their country destroyed, and their habitations burnt down. This haughty summons incensed their pride. They answered, that they should never suffer the least incroachment on their independence; and that they should make the French sensible, that they were friends not to be neglected, and enemies not to be despised. But, as they were staggered with the air of authority that had been assumed, they complied in part with the terms required of them; and the affair was thus compromised.

BUT this kind of humiliation rather increased the resentment of a people more accustomed to commit than to suffer injuries. The English, who in 1664 had dispossessed the Dutch of New Belgia, and remained masters of the territory they had acquired, which they had called New York, availed themselves of the dispositions of the Iroquois.

They not only excited the spirit of discord, but added presents to induce them to break with the French. The same artifices were used to seduce the rest of their allies. Those who adhered to their allegiance were attacked. All were invited, and some compelled to bring their beaver and other furs to New York, where they sold at a higher price than in the French colony.

DENONVILLE, who had lately been sent to Canada to enforce obedience to the authority of the proudest of monarchs, was impatient of all these insults. Though he was in a condition not only to defend his own frontiers, but even to incroach upon those of the Iroquois; yet, sensible that this nation must not be attacked without being destroyed, it was agreed that the French should remain in a state of seeming inaction, till they had received from Europe the necessary reinforcements for executing so desperate a resolution. These succours arrived in 1687; and the colony had then 11,249 persons, of whom about one-third were able to bear arms.

NOTWITHSTANDING this superiority of forces, Denonville had recourse to stratagem; and dishonoured the French name among the savages by an infamous perfidy. Under pretence of terminating their differences by negotiation, he basely abused the confidence which the Iroquois reposed in the Jesuit Lamberville, to allure their chiefs to a conference. As soon as they arrived, they were put in irons, embarked at Quebec, and sent to the galleys.

ON the first report of this treachery, the old men sent for their missionary, and addressed him in the following manner: “ We are authorized by every motive to treat you as an enemy, but we cannot resolve to do it. Your heart has had no share in the insult that has been put upon us; and it would be unjust to punish you for a crime you detest still more than ourselves. But you must leave us. Our rash young men might consider you in the light of a traitor, who has delivered up the chiefs of our nation to shameful slavery.” After this speech, these savages, whom the Europeans have always called barbarians, gave the missionary some guides, who conducted him to a place of safety; and then both parties took up arms.

THE French presently spread terror among the Iroquois bordering upon the great lakes; but Denonville had neither the activity nor the expedition necessary to improve these first successes. While he was taken up in deliberating, instead of acting, the campaign was closed without the acquisition of any permanent advantage. This increased the boldness of the Iroquois who lived near the French settlements, where they repeatedly committed the most dreadful ravages. The planters, finding their labours destroyed by these depredations, which deprived them of the means of repairing the damages they had sustained, ardently wished for peace. Denonville’s temper coincided with their wishes; but it was no easy matter to pacify an enemy rendered implacable by ill usage. Lamber-



over them, made overtures of peace, which were listened to.

WHILE these negotiations were carrying on, a Machiavel, born in the forests, know'n by the name of Le Rat, the bravest, the most resolute, the most intelligent savage ever found in the wilds of North America, arrived at Fort Frontenac with a chosen band of Hurons, fully determined upon exploits worthy of the reputation he had acquired. He was told that a treaty was actually on foot; that the deputies of the Iroquois were upon the road to conclude it at Montreal; and that it would be an insult upon the French governor, if hostilities should be carried on against a nation with which they were negotiating a peace.

LE RAT, piqued that the French should thus enter into negotiations without consulting their allies, resolved to punish them for their presumption. He lay in wait for the deputies, some of whom were killed, and the rest taken prisoners. When the latter told him the purport of their voyage, he feigned the greater surprise, as Denonville, he said, had sent him to intercept them. In order to carry on the deceit more successfully, he immediately released them all, except one, whom he pretended to keep, to replace one of his Hurons who had been killed in the fray. He then hastened to Michillimakinac, where he presented his prisoner to the French commandant, who, not knowing that Denonville was treating with the Iroquois, caused the unhappy savage to be put to death. Immediately after this, Le Rat sent for an old Iroquois, who had long been a prisoner

prisoner among the Hurons, and gave him his liberty to go and acquaint his nation, that, while the French were amusing their enemies with negotiations, they continued to take prisoners and murder them. This artifice, worthy of the most infamous European policy, succeeded as the savage Le Rat desired. The war was renewed with greater fury than ever, and lasted the longer, as the English, who about that period were engaged in a contest with France, on account of the deposition of James II. thought it their interest to make an alliance with the Iroquois.

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AN English fleet, which sailed from Europe in 1690, appeared before Quebec in October, to lay siege to the place. They had reason to expect but a faint resistance, as the savages were to make a powerful diversion, to draw off the principal land-forces of the colony. But they were compelled shamefully to relinquish the enterprise, after having sustained great losses. The causes of this disappointment merit some discussion.

WHEN the British ministry projected the reduction of Canada, they determined that the land and sea forces should arrive there at the same time. This wise plan was executed with the utmost exactness. As the ships were sailing up the river St. Lawrence, the troops marched by land, in order to reach the scene of action at the same instant as the fleet. They were nearly arrived, when the Iroquois, who conducted and supported them, recollected the hazard they ran in leading their allies to the conquest of Quebec. Situated

as we are between two European nations, said they in a council which they held, each powerful enough to destroy us, both interested in our destruction, when they no longer stand in need of our assistance; what better measure can we take, than to prevent the one from being victorious over the other? Then will each of them be compelled to court our alliance, or to bribe us to a neutrality. This system, which seemed to be dictated by the same kind of deep policy as that which directs the balance of Europe, determined the Iroquois to return to their respective homes under various pretences. Their defection obliged the English to retreat; and the French, now in security on their lands, united all their forces with as much unanimity as success for the defence of their capital.

THE Iroquois, from motives of policy, stifled their resentment against the French, and were attached rather to the name than to the interests of England. These two European powers, therefore, irreconcilable rivals to each other, but separated by the territory of a savage nation, equally apprehensive of the superiority of either, were prevented from doing each other so much injury as they could have wished. The war was carried on merely by a few depredations, fatal to the colonists, but of little consequence to the several nations concerned in them. During the scene of cruelties exercised by the several parties of English and Iroquois, French and Hurons, whose ravages extended one hundred leagues from home, some actions were performed, which seemed

seemed to render human nature superior to such enormities.

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SOME French and Indians having joined in an expedition that required a long march, their provisions began to fail. The Hurons caught plenty of game, and always offered some to the French, who were not such skilful huntsmen. The latter would have declined accepting this generous offer; *You share with us the fatigues of war, said the savages; it is but reasonable that we should share with you the necessaries of life; we should not be men if we acted otherwise with men.* If similar instances of magnanimity may have sometimes occurred among Europeans, the following is peculiar to savages.

A PARTY of Iroquois being informed that a party of the French and their allies were advancing with superior forces, they fled with precipitation. They were headed by Onontague, who was a hundred years old. He scorned to fly with the rest, and chose rather to fall into the hands of the enemy; though he had nothing to expect but exquisite torments. What a spectacle to see four hundred barbarians eager in tormenting an old man; who, far from complaining, treated the French with the utmost contempt, and upbraided the Hurons with having stooped to be the slaves of those vile Europeans! One of his tormentors, provoked at his invectives, stabbed him in three places, to put an end to his repeated insults. *Thou dost wrong,* said Onontague calmly to him, *to shorten my life; thou wouldst have had more time to learn to die like a man.* And are these the men  
whom

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whom the French and English have been conspiring to extirpate for a century past? But, perhaps, they would be ashamed to live among such models of heroism and magnanimity.

THE peace of Ryswick put a sudden end to the calamities of Europe and the hostilities in America. The Hurons and the Iroquois, as well as the French and English, were sensible that they required a long continuance of peace, to repair the losses they had sustained in war. The Indians began to recover themselves; the Europeans resumed their labours; and the fur trade, the first that could be entered into with a nation of hunters, was more firmly established.

The furs are the foundation of the connections between the French and the Indians.

BEFORE the discovery of Canada, the forests with which it was over-run were little more than the extensive haunt of wild beasts, which had multiplied prodigiously; because the few men who lived in those deserts having no flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for such as were wandering and free like themselves. If the nature of the climate did not afford an infinite variety, each species produced, at least, a multitude of individuals. But they at last paid tribute to the sovereignty of man, that cruel power which hath always been exercised in a manner so fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts nor husbandry to employ them, the savages fed and clothed themselves entirely with the wild beasts they destroyed. As soon as luxury had led us to make use of their skins, the natives waged a perpetual war against them; which was the more active, as it procured them plenty, and



and a variety of gratifications which they were unaccustomed to; and the more destructive, as they had adopted the use of our fire-arms. This fatal industry exercised in the woods of Canada, occasioned a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs to be brought into the ports of France; some of which were consumed in the kingdom, and the rest disposed of in the neighbouring countries. Most of these furs were already know'n in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our hemisphere, but in too small quantities to supply a general demand. Caprice and novelty have made them more or less in fashion, since it has been found to be for the interest of the American colonies that they should be valued in the mother-countries. It may not be improper to give some account of those that are still in request.

THE otter is a voracious animal, which runs or swims along the banks or the lakes of rivers, commonly lives upon fish, and when that fails, will feed upon grass, or the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner and place of living he has been ranked amongst amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, since the otter, like all other land animals, cannot live without respiration. He is found in all those countries which abound in water, and are temperate, but is more common and much larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is no where so black or so fine; a circumstance the more fatal to him, as it exposes him more to the pursuits of man,

THE pole-cat is in equal estimation among the Canadian huntsmen. There are three species of this animal; the first is the common pole-cat; the second is called the mink; and the third, the stinking pole-cat, because his urine, which he voids in his fright when he is pursued, is so offensive, that it infects the air at a great distance. Their hair is darker, more glossy, and more silky than in Europe.

EVEN the rat in North-America is valuable for his skin. There are two sorts especially whose skin is an article of trade. The one, which is called the Opossum, is twice as large as an European rat. His hair is commonly of a silver grey; sometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which she can open and shut at pleasure. When she is pursued, she puts her young ones into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, which is called the musk-rat, because his testicles contain musk, has all the characteristic qualities of the beaver, of which he seems to be a diminutive, and his skin is employed for the same purposes.

THE ermine, which is about the size of a squirrel, but not quite so long, has the same lively eyes, keen look, and his motions are so quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and bushy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is yellow as gold in summer, turns as white as snow in winter. This lively and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada; but, though smaller than the Sable, is not so common.

THE martin is only to be met with in cold countries, in the center of the forests, far from all habitations, is a beast of prey, and lives upon birds. Though it is but a foot and a half long, it leaves prints on the snow, that appear to be the footsteps of a very large animal; because it always jumps along, and leaves the marks of both feet together. It's fur is much esteemed, though far inferior to that species which is distinguished by the name of the Sable. This is of a shining black. The finest among them are those whose skin is the most brown, and reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The martins seldom quit the inmost recesses of their impenetrable woods more than once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter; that is, a great quantity of snow, and consequently good sport.

THE animal which the ancients called Lynx, know'n in Siberia by the name of the Ounce, is only called the wild-cat in Canada, where it is smaller than in our hemisphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if he were not endowed with the faculty of seeing, hearing, and smelling at a distance, lives upon what game he can catch, which he pursues to the very tops of the tallest trees. His flesh is know'n to be very white and well flavoured; but he is hunted chiefly for the sake of his skin; the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey, but less esteemed than that of the fox.

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THIS carnivorous and mischievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature affording few vegetables, seems to compel all animals to eat one another. In warmer climates he has lost much of his original beauty, and his fur is not so fine. In the north, it has remained long, soft, and full, sometimes white, sometimes brown, and often red or sandy. The finest of any is that which is black; but this is more scarce in Canada than in Muscovy, which lies further north, and is not so damp.

BESIDE these smaller furs, North-America supplies us with skins of the stag, the deer, and the roe-buck; of the mooze-deer, called there Caribou; and of the elk, which is called Orignal. These two last kinds, which in our hemisphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this side, and the mooze-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more southern latitudes. This may be owen to the cold being more intense in America, from singular causes which make an exception to the general law of nature; or it may possibly arise from these fresh lands being less frequented by destructive man. Their strong, soft, and warm skins make excellent garments, which are very light. All these animals are hunted by the Europeans; but the savages have reserved the chace of the bear to themselves, it being their favourite sport, and best adapted to their warlike manners, their strength and their bravery, and especially to their wants.

In a cold and severe climate, the bear is most commonly black. As he is rather shy than fierce,  
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instead of a cavern, he chuses for his lurking-place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he fixes himself in winter, as high as he can climb. As he is very fat at the end of autumn, very much covered with hair, takes no exercise, and is almost always asleep, he must lose but little by perspiration, and consequently must seldom want to go abroad in quest of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by it's being set fire to; and as soon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a shower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his flesh, rub themselves with his grease, and clothe themselves with his skin. Such was the design of their pursuit after the bear, when a new interest directed them towards the beaver.

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THIS animal possesses all the friendly dispositions fit for society, without being subject, as we are, to the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for social life, he is endowed with an instinct adapted to the preservation and propagation of his species. This animal, whose tender plaintive accents, and whose striking example, draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philosopher, who contemplates his life and manners; this harmless animal, who never hurts any living creature, neither carnivorous nor sanguinary, is become the object of man's most earnest pursuit, and the one which the savages hunt after with the greatest eagerness and cruelty: a circumstance owen to the unmerciful rapaciousness of the most polished nations of Europe.

Figure of  
the beavers.  
Their dispo-  
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THE beaver is about three or four feet long, but his weight amounts to forty or sixty pounds; which is the consequence of the largeness of his muscles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat, and his back raised in an arch above it like that of a mouse. Lucretius has observed, not that man has hands given him to make use of them, but that he had hands given him, and has made use of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he swims with them. The toes of his fore-feet are separate, and answer the purpose of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with scales, he uses to carry loads and to work with; he has four sharp incisors or cutting teeth, which serve him instead of carpenter's tools. All these instruments, which are in a manner useless while he lives alone, and do not then distinguish him from other animals, are of infinite service when he lives in society, and enable him to display a degree of ingenuity superior to all instinct.

WITHOUT passions, without a desire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in society, he scarcely ventures to defend himself. He never bites unless he be caught. But in the social state, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to secure himself without fighting, and to live without committing or suffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheless independent; he is a slave to none, because all his wants are supplied by himself: he enters into society, but will not serve,

rior does he pretend to command: and all his labours are directed by a silent instinct.

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It is the common want of subsistence and propagation that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in summer to build their towns against winter. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and assemble, to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water-side, because these republicans are to live on the water, to secure themselves from invasion. Sometimes they give the preference to still lakes, in unfrequented districts, because there the waters are always at an equal height. When they find no pools of standing water, they make one in the midst of rivers or streams, by means of a causeway or dam. The very plan of this contrivance implies such a complication of ideas, as our short-sighted reason would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The first thing to be erected is a pile a hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the basis, which shelves away to two or three feet in a slope answerable to the depth of the waters. To save work, or to facilitate their labour, they chuse the shallowest part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-side, they fell it, so that it falls across the stream. If it should be larger in circumference than a man's body, they saw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four sharp teeth. The branches are soon lopped off by these industrious workmen, who want to fashion it into a beam. A number of smaller trees are felled and prepared for the intended pile.

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Some drag these trees to the river-side, others swim over with them to the place where the causeway is to be raised. But the question is, how these animals are to sink them in the water with the assistance only of their teeth, tail, and feet: their contrivance is this. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they rest the large end of the stake against the bank of the river, or against the great beam that lies across. With their feet they raise the stake and sink it with the sharp end downwards into the hole, where it stands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the stakes, which are bound together with twisted boughs; and thus the pile is constructed. The slope of the dam is opposite to the current, to break more effectually the force of the water by a gradual resistance, and the stakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The stakes are planted perpendicularly on the side where the water is to fall; and, in order to open a drain which may lessen the effect of the slope and weight of the causeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

WHEN this work is finished by the whole body of the republic, every member considers of a lodging for himself. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. These huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round spot. Some are two or three stories high, according

according to the number of families or households. Each hut contains at least two or three, and some ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and solid both within and without. They are varnished with a kind of stucco, impenetrable by the water and by the external air. Every apartment has two openings, one on the land side, to enable the beavers to go out and fetch provisions; the other on the side next the stream, to facilitate their escape, at the approach of the enemy; that is, of man, the destroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the house opens to the water. There they take the fresh air in the day-time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it serves to fence them against the ice, which collects to the thickness of two or three feet. The shelf, intended to prevent the ice from stopping up this window, rests upon two stakes that slope so as to carry off the water from the house, and leave an outlet to escape, or to go and swim under the ice. The inside of the house has no other furniture than a flooring of grass, covered with the boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever seen in these apartments.

THE materials for these buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. These are alders, poplars, and other trees, delighting in watery places, as these republicans do who build their apartments of them. These citizens have the satisfaction, at the same time that they fashion the wood, to nourish themselves with it. Like

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certain savages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The savages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded, and properly dressed; whereas the beavers chew it, and suck it when it is quite green.

PROVISIONS of bark and tender twigs are laid up in separate store-houses, for every hut, proportionable to the number of it's inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own store-house, and not one of them steals from that of his neighbour. Each party live in their own habitation, and are contented with it, though jealous of the property they have acquired in it by their labour. The provisions of the community are collected and expended without any contest. They are satisfied with that simple food which their labour prepares for them. The only passion they have, is that of conjugal affection, the basis and end of which is the increase of their species.

Two of these animals, matched together and united by inclination and reciprocal choice, after being acquainted with each other by being mutually employed in the public labours during the summer months, agree to pass the winter together. They prepare for this by the stock of provisions they lay up in September. The happy couple retire into their hut in the autumnal season, which is not less favourable to love than the spring. If the season of flowers invite the birds of the sky to propagate in the woods, the season of fruits, perhaps, excites the inhabitants of the earth as powerfully to the reproduction of their species. The winter at least gives leisure  
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for amorous pursuits, and in this circumstance compensates the advantages of other seasons. The couple then never quit each other. Their whole time is consecrated to love; from which neither labour nor any other object can divert them. The females conceive, and bear the endearing pledges of this universal passion of nature. If some sunshiny day should chance to enliven this melancholy season, the happy couple go out of their hut, to walk on the borders of the lake or the river, there to eat some fresh bark, and to breathe the salutary exhalations of the earth. Towards the end of winter, however, the mothers bring forth their young ones, which have been conceived in autumn; and while the father ranges all the woods, allured by the sweets of the spring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the mother suckles and nurses them, to the number of two or three; then she takes them out along with her in her excursions, in search of cray and other fish, and green bark, to recruit her own strength, and to feed them, till the season of labour returns.

Thus doth this republic live in societies, which might distantly be compared to a large Carthusian convent. But they have only the appearance of it; and if happiness may be said to dwell in these two sorts of communities, it must be acknowledged that it is by very opposite means; since in the former, happiness consists in following nature; while in the latter, it consists in thwarting and destroying her. But man, in his folly, thinks he has found out the path of wisdom,

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dom. A number of persons live together in a kind of society, which precludes for ever all intercourse between the two sexes. The men and the women are placed in distinct cells, where, to make them happy, nothing more would be required, than that they should live together. There they consume their best days, in stifling, or in execrating the propensity that attracts them to each other, even through the prisons and grates of iron, which have been raised to prevent them from indulging every tender and innocent emotion of the heart. Can any thing be more injurious, as well as inhuman, than these gloomy and ferocious institutions, which deprive man of his nature, and render him stupid and silly, under pretence of making him similar to angels? God of Nature! It is at thy tribunal that we must appeal, against all those laws, which injure the most beautiful among thy works, by condemning them to a state of sterility, contrary to thine own institutions! For art thou not a truly plastic and fruitful Being; thou who hath created man from nothing, and taken him out of chaos; thou, who doth continually cause life to be renewed even from death itself? Who is it that best sings forth thy praises, the solitary being who disturbs the silence of the night to celebrate thee among the tombs, or the happy people, who glorify thee, in perpetuating the wonders of thy works?

SUCH is the system of the republican, industrious, intelligent beaver, skilled in architecture, provident and systematical in it's plans of police and society, whose gentle and instructive manners

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we have been describing. Happy, if his coat did not tempt merciless and savage man to destroy his buildings and his race. It has frequently happened, when the Americans have demolished the settlements of the beavers, that those indefatigable animals have had the resolution to rebuild them in the very same situation for several summers successively. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience then warns them of their danger. At the approach of the huntsmen, one of them strikes a hard stroke with his tail upon the water; this signal spreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to save himself under the ice. But it is very difficult to escape all the snares that are laid for this harmless tribe.

SOMETIMES the huntsmen lie in wait for them; but as these animals see and hear at a great distance, it seldom happens that they are shot by the water-side, and they never venture so far upon land as to be caught by surprise. If the beaver be wounded before he takes to the water, he has always time enough to plunge in; and, if he dies afterwards, he is lost, because he sinks, and never rises again.

A MORE certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat the tender bark of young trees. These traps are baited with fresh slips of wood, and as soon as the beavers touch them, a great weight falls and crushes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, hastens to it, seizes the animal, and having killed it, carries it off.

THERE are other methods more commonly and successfully practised. The huts are sometimes attacked, in order to drive out the inhabitants, who are watched at the edges of the holes that have been bored in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in fresh air. The instant they appear, they are killed. At other times, the animal, driven out of his retreat, is entangled in the nets, spread for some toises round his hut, the ice being broken for that purpose. If the whole colony is to be taken at once, instead of breaking down the sluices to drown the inhabitants, a scheme that might, perhaps, be tried with effect in Holland, the causeway is opened, in order to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceless, and unable to escape, they may be caught at pleasure, and destroyed at any time; but care is always taken to leave a sufficient number of males and females to preserve the breed; an act of generosity, which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foresight of man only spares a few, in order to have the more to destroy. The beaver, whose plaintive cry seems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the savage, rendered cruel by the Europeans, only an implacable enemy, whose enterprises are undertaken, not so much to supply his own wants, as to furnish superfluities to another world.

If we compare the manners, the police, and the industry of the beavers, with the wandering life of the savages of Canada; we shall be inclined to admit, making allowance for the superiority of  
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man's faculties above those of animals, that the beaver was much further advanced in the arts of social life, than his pursuer, when the Europeans first brought their talents and improvements to North-America.

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THE beaver, an older inhabitant of that world than man, and the quiet possessor of regions so well adapted to his species, had employed that tranquillity he had enjoyed for many ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemisphere, man has seized upon the most wholesome and fertile regions, and has driven out or subdued all other animals. If the bee and the ant have preserved their laws and government from the jealous and destructive dominion of tyrant man, it has been owing to the smallness of their size. It is thus we see some republics in Europe, without splendour or strength, maintain themselves by their very weakness, in the midst of vast monarchies, which must sooner or later swallow them up. But the social quadrupeds, banished into uninhabited climates, unfit for their increase, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural sagacity; while man, who has reduced them to that precarious state, exults in their degradation, and sets a high value on that superior nature and those rational powers, which constitute a perpetual distinction between his species and all others.

BRUTES, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and do not imply any principle similar

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to that which actuates man. Without examining in what perfection consists; whether the most civilized being be in reality the most perfect; whether he does not lose in the property of his person what he acquires in the property of things; or, whether what is added to his enjoyments is not so much subtracted from his duration: it must be acknowledged, that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, solitary, timorous and stupid animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domestic government; knew how to distinguish the proper seasons for labour and rest, was acquainted with some rules of architecture, and with the curious and learned art of constructing dikes; yet he had attained to this degree of improvement with feeble and imperfect tools. He can hardly see the work he performs with his tail. His teeth, which answer the purposes of a variety of tools, are circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the contrary, with hands fit for every purpose, hath in this single organ of the touch all the combined powers of strength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage of organization that he owes the superiority of his species above all others? It is not because his eyes are turned toward heaven, as those of all birds are, that he is the lord of the creation; it is because he is provided with hands, capable of every exertion, and of adapting themselves to every species of industry: hands, ever ready to strike terror into his enemies, to defend or to assist him. His hand is his sceptre, that arm which he lifts up to heaven, to find out, as it were,

were, his origin; he, at the same time, marks his dominion with it over the earth, by destroying and ravaging the face of the globe. The surest sign of the population of mankind is the depopulation of other species. That of the beavers gradually decreases and disappears in Canada, since the Europeans have been in quest of their skins.

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THEIR skins vary with the climate, both in colour and quality. In the same district, however, where the colonies of civilized beavers are found, there are some that are wild and solitary. These animals, who are said to be expelled the society for their ill behaviour, live in a subterraneous retreat, and have neither lodging nor storehouse. They are called earth beavers. Their coat is dirty, and the hair on their backs is worn off by rubbing against the cave which they dig for their habitation. The hole they make, and which commonly opens into some pond or ditch full of water, sometimes extends above a hundred feet in length, and rises gradually in a slope, to facilitate their escape from inundations when the waters swell. Some of these beavers are so wild as to disclaim all communication with their natural element, and live entirely on land. In this they resemble our otters in Europe. These wild beavers have not such sleek hair as those that live in societies; their furs are answerable to their manners.

BEAVERS are found in America from the thirtieth to the sixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the south; but they increase



increase in number, and grow darker, as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and straw-coloured; higher up in the country, they are of a light chestnut; to the north of Canada, of a dark chestnut; and some are found that are quite black, and these are reckoned the finest. Yet, in this climate, the coldest that is inhabited by this species, some among the black tribes are quite white; others white, speckled with grey, and sometimes with sandy spots on the rump; so much does nature delight in shewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences, not only on the figure, but on the very covering of animals. The value that is set upon them, depends upon the colour of their skins. Some of them are so little in esteem, that it is not thought worth while to kill them; but these are not commonly found.

In what places, and in what manner, the fur trade was carried on.

THE fur trade was the first which the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was begun by the French colony at Tadoussac, a port situated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivieres, at the distance of twenty-five leagues above the capital, became a second mart. In process of time all the fur trade centered in Montreal. The skins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees, in the month of June. The number of Indians who resorted to that place increased, as the fame of the French spread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the sight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, all contributed

tributed to increase this traffic. Whenever they returned with a fresh supply of furs, they always brought a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the several tribes of that vast continent resorted.

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THE English grew jealous of this branch of wealth; and the colony they had founded at New York, soon found means to divert the stream of this great circulation. As soon as they had secured a subsistence, by bestowing their first attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur trade, which was at first confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations of that name would not suffer their lands to be traversed, in order to give an opportunity of treating with other savage nations, who were at constant enmity with them; nor would they allow those nations to come upon their territories, to share in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguished, or rather suspended, the national hostilities between the Indians, the English spread themselves over the country, and the savages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages to give them the preference to their rivals the French. Their voyages were carried on with greater facility, and consequently they could afford to undersell them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarse cloths that were most suitable to the savages. The beaver trade was free among them; whereas, among the French, it was, and ever has been, subject to the tyranny of monopoly. It was by

this freedom, and these privileges, that they engrossed most of the trade that rendered Montreal so famous.

AT this time the French in Canada indulged themselves more freely in a custom, which at first had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the first colonists, had been wisely restrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permission was, however, granted every year to twenty-five persons to go beyond these limits, in order to trade with the Indians. The superiority which New-York was acquiring, was the cause of increasing the number of these permissions. They were a kind of patents, which the patentees might make use of either in person or by proxy, and continued a year or more. The produce of the sale of these patents was assigned, by the governor of the colony, to the officers, or their widows and children, to hospitals and missionaries, to such as had distinguished themselves by some great action, or some useful undertaking; and sometimes even to the creatures of the governor, who sold the patents himself. The money he did not give away, or did not chuse to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was not accountable to any one for the management of it.

THIS custom was attended with fatal consequences. Many of these traders settled among the Indians, to defraud their partners, whose goods they had disposed of. A greater number settled among the English, where the profits were greater.



The immense lakes, frequently agitated with violent storms; the cascades, which render navigation so dangerous up the broadest rivers in the whole world; the weight of the canoes, the provisions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their shoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or shallowness of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and pursue their journey by land, proved the destruction of several persons. Some perished in the snow and on the ice, by hunger, or by the sword of the enemy. Those who returned to the colony with a profit of six or seven hundred per cent. were not always on that account more useful members, as they gave themselves up to the greatest excesses, and by their example produced in others a dislike to attention and industry. Their fortunes were dissipated as suddenly as they were amassed; like those moving mountains which a whirlwind raises and destroys at once, on the sandy plains of Africa. Most of these travelling traders, exhausted with the excessive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiousness of a wandering and dissolute life, dragged on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took cognizance of these irregularities, and changed the manner of carrying on the fur trade.

THE French had for a long time been incessantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought necessary for the preservation and aggrandizement of their settlements in North America. Those built on the west and south of  
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the river St. Lawrence were large and strong, and were intended to restrain the ambition of the English. Those which were constructed on the several lakes, in the most important positions, formed a chain which extended northward to the distance of a thousand leagues from Quebec; but they were only miserable pallisades, intended to keep the Indians in awe, to secure their alliance, and the produce of their chase. There was a garrison in each, more or less numerous, according to the importance of the post, and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intrust the commandant of each of these forts with the exclusive right of buying and selling in the whole district under his dominion. This privilege was purchased; but as it was always advantageous, and sometimes was the means of acquiring a considerable fortune, it was only granted to officers that were most in favour. If any of these had not a stock sufficient for the undertaking, he could easily prevail with some monied men to join with him. It was pretended that this system, far from being detrimental to the service, was a means of promoting it, as it obliged the military men to keep up more constant connections with the natives, to watch their motions, and to neglect nothing that could secure their friendship. It was not foreseen, or at least pretended not to be so by any, that such an arrangement must necessarily prevail over every principle, except that of interest, and would be a source of perpetual oppression.

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THIS tyranny, which soon became universal, was severely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of those three forts, making an ill use of their exclusive privilege, set so low a value upon the merchandize that was brought them, and rated their own so high, that by degrees the Indians, instead of stopping there, resorted in great numbers to Chouaguen, on the lake Ontario, where the English traded with them upon more advantageous terms. The French court, alarmed at the account of these new connections, found means to weaken them, by taking the trade of these three posts into their own hands, and treating the Indians still better than they were treated by their rivals the English.

IN consequence of this step, the refuse of all those furs that were not saleable became the sole property of the king; and all the skins of those beasts that were killed in summer and autumn were readily given him; in a word, all the most ordinary furs, the thinnest, and most easily spoiled, were reserved for the king. All these damaged furs, bought without examination, were carelessly deposited in warehouses, and eaten up by the moths. At the proper season for sending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the discretion of soldiers, passengers, and watermen, who, having had no concern in those commodities, did not take the least care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were sold for one half of the small value they had. Thus the re-

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turns were rather less than the sums advanced by the government in support of this losing trade.

BUT though this trade was of no consequence to the king, it is still a matter of doubt if it were advantageous to the Indians, though gold and silver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs, saws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fish-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, and coarse woollen stuffs; all which may be considered as the means or pledges of intercourse with them. But articles were likewise sold them that would have proved prejudicial to them, even as a gift or a present; such as guns, powder and shot, tobacco, and especially brandy.

THIS liquor, the most fatal present the Old World ever made to the New, was no sooner know'n to the savages, than they grew passionately fond of it. It was equally impossible for them to abstain from it, or to use it with moderation. It was soon observed that it disturbed their domestic peace, deprived them of their judgment, and made them furious; and that it occasioned husbands, wives, children, brothers, and sisters, to abuse and quarrel with one another. In vain did some worthy Frenchmen expostulate with them, and endeavour to make them ashamed of these excesses. It is you, answered they, who have taught us to drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without it. If you refuse to give it us, we will apply to the English. You have done the mischief, and it admits not of a remedy.

THE court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with respect to the disorders occasioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authorized it, according to the light in which it was represented to the ministry. Notwithstanding all these various alterations, the interest of the merchants was nearly the same. The sale of brandy was seldom decreased. It was, however, considered by judicious people, as the principal cause of the diminution of the human race, and consequently that of the skins of beasts; a diminution which became every day more evident.

THIS decline of the fur trade was not yet so remarkable as it has been since, when the promotion of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Charles V. spread an alarm over all Europe, and plunged it once more into the horrors of a general war. The conflagration extended beyond the seas, and was advancing even to Canada, had not the Iroquois put a stop to it. The English and French had long been contending to secure an alliance with that nation. These marks of esteem or fear had so far increased their natural pride, that they considered themselves as the umpires of the two rival nations, and pretended that the conduct of both was to be regulated by their interest. As they were inclined to peace at that time, they haughtily declared that they would take up arms against either of the two nations, which should commence hostilities against the other. This resolution was favourable to the situation of the French colony, which was ill prepared for a war, and expected no assistance from



the mother-country. The people of New-York, on the contrary, whose forces were already considerable, and received daily reinforcements, wished to prevail upon the Iroquois to join with them. Their insinuations, presents, and negotiations were, however, ineffectual till 1709; at which period they succeeded in seducing four of the five nations; and their troops, which till then had remained inactive, marched out, supported by a great number of Indian warriors.

THE army was confidently advancing towards the center of Canada with the greatest probability of success, when one of the chiefs of the Iroquois, who had never approved of their proceedings, plainly said to his people, "What will become of us, if we should succeed in driving away the French?" These few words, uttered with a mysterious and anxious look, immediately recalled to the minds of all the people their former system, which was to keep the balance even between the two foreign nations, in order to secure their own independence. They instantly resolved to relinquish a design they had been too precipitately engaged in, contrary to the public interest; but as they thought it would be shameful openly to desert their associates, they imagined that secret treachery might serve the purpose of open defection. The lawless savages, the virtuous Spartans, the religious Hebrews, the wise and warlike Greeks and Romans; all people, whether civilized or not, have always made what is called the right of nations consist either in craft or violence.

THE army had halted on the banks of a little river to wait for the artillery and ammunition. The Iroquois, who spent their leisure hours in hunting, flayed all the beasts they caught, and threw their skins into the river, a little above the camp. The waters were soon infected. The English, who had not any suspicion of such an instance of treachery, continued unfortunately to drink of the waters that were thus rendered poisonous; in consequence of which, such considerable numbers of them immediately died, that it became necessary to suspend the military operations.

A STILL more imminent danger threatened the French colony. A numerous fleet, destined against Quebec, and which had five or six thousand troops on board, entered the river St. Lawrence the following year, and would probably have succeeded, had it reached the place of its destination. But the rashness of the admiral, joined to the violence of the elements, was the cause of its being lost in the passage. Thus was Canada at once delivered from its fears both by sea and land, and had the glory of maintaining itself without succours and without loss, against the strength and policy of the English.

FRANCE, in the mean time, which for forty years had singly withstood the combined efforts of all Europe, vanquished or repulsed all the nations united against her, gained that point under Lewis XIV. which Charles V. had not been able to do with the innumerable troops of his several kingdoms; France, which had at that period produced

France is compelled to cede part of the provinces that were united to Canada.

produced as many great men as would have rendered immortal a series of twenty reigns, and under one in particular had signalised herself by as many great actions as might have raised the glory of twenty different nations, was then upon the point of crowning all her glorious successes by placing a branch of the house of Bourbon on the throne of Spain. She had then fewer enemies, and a greater number of allies, than she ever had in the most brilliant periods of her prosperity. Every thing concurred to promise her an easy success, a speedy and decisive superiority.

It was not fortune, but nature itself, that changed her destiny. Proud and flourishing under a king endowed with the graces and vigour of youth, after having risen with him through the several degrees of glory and grandeur, she sank with him through all the periods of decay incident to human nature. The spirit of bigotry, which had been introduced into the court by an ambitious woman, determined the choice of ministers, generals, and governors; and this choice was always blind and unfortunate. Kings, who, like other men, have recourse to heaven when they are ready to quit the earth, seem in their old age to seek for a new set of flatterers, who sooth them with hopes, at the time when all realities are disappearing. It is at this time that hypocrisy, always ready to avail itself of the first and second childhood of life, awakens in the mind of princes the ideas that had been early implanted in it; and, under pretence of guiding him to the only happiness that remains for him, assumes an  
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absolute empire over his will. But as this last age, as well as the first, is a state of weakness, a continual fluctuation must, therefore, prevail in the government. Cabals grow more violent and more powerful than ever; the expectations of intriguing men are raised, and merit is less rewarded; men of superior talents are afraid to make themselves know'n; solicitations of every kind are multiplied; places are casually bestowed upon men all equally unfit to fill them, and yet presumptuous enough to think they deserve them; men who rate the estimation of themselves by the contempt they entertain for others. The nation then loses it's strength, with it's confidence, and every thing is carried on with the same spirit it was undertaken; that is, without design, vigour, or prudence.

To raise a country from a state of barbarism, to maintain it in the height of it's glory, and to check the rapidity of it's decline, are three objects very difficult to accomplish; but the last is certainly the most arduous task of them all. A nation rises out of barbarism by sudden efforts exerted at intervals; it supports itself at the summit of it's prosperity by the powers it has acquired; it declines in consequence of an universal languor, which has been brought on by almost imperceptible gradations. Barbarous nations require a long-continued reign; but short reigns are best calculated to maintain a state in it's prosperity. But the long dotage of a declining monarch lays the foundation of evils for his successor, which it is almost impossible to remedy.

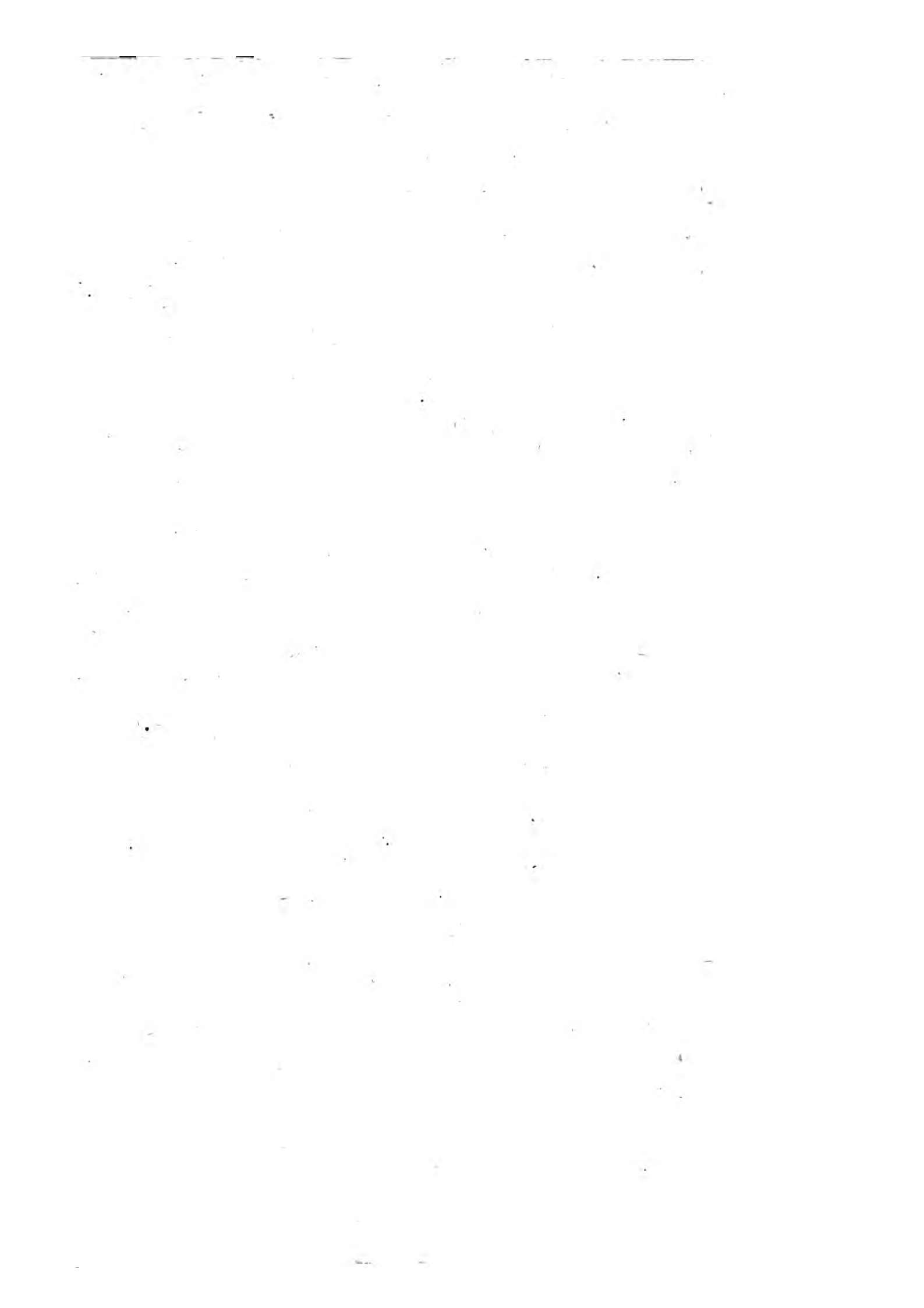
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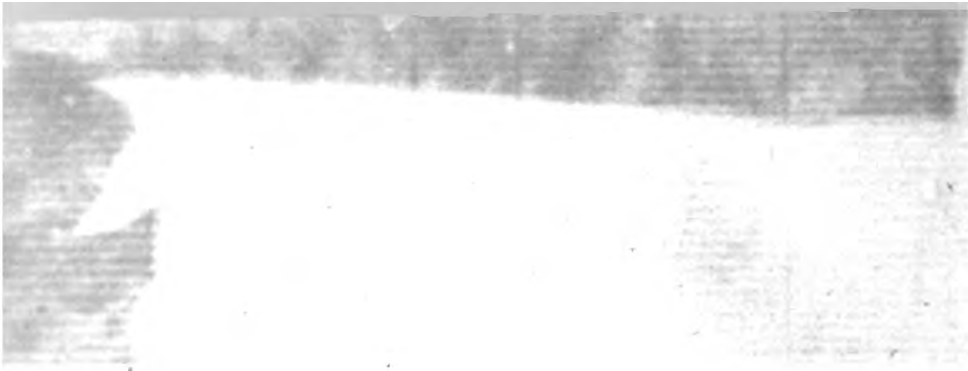
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SUCH was the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV. After a series of defeats and mortifications, he was still happy that he could purchase peace by sacrifices which made his humiliation evident. But he seemed to wish to conceal these sacrifices from his people, by making them chiefly beyond sea. It is easy to judge how much his pride must have suffered, in giving up to the English Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, three possessions, which, together with Canada, formed that immense tract of country know'n by the glorious name of New France. We shall see in the next book by what means this power, accustomed to conquest, endeavoured to repair it's losses.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.







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