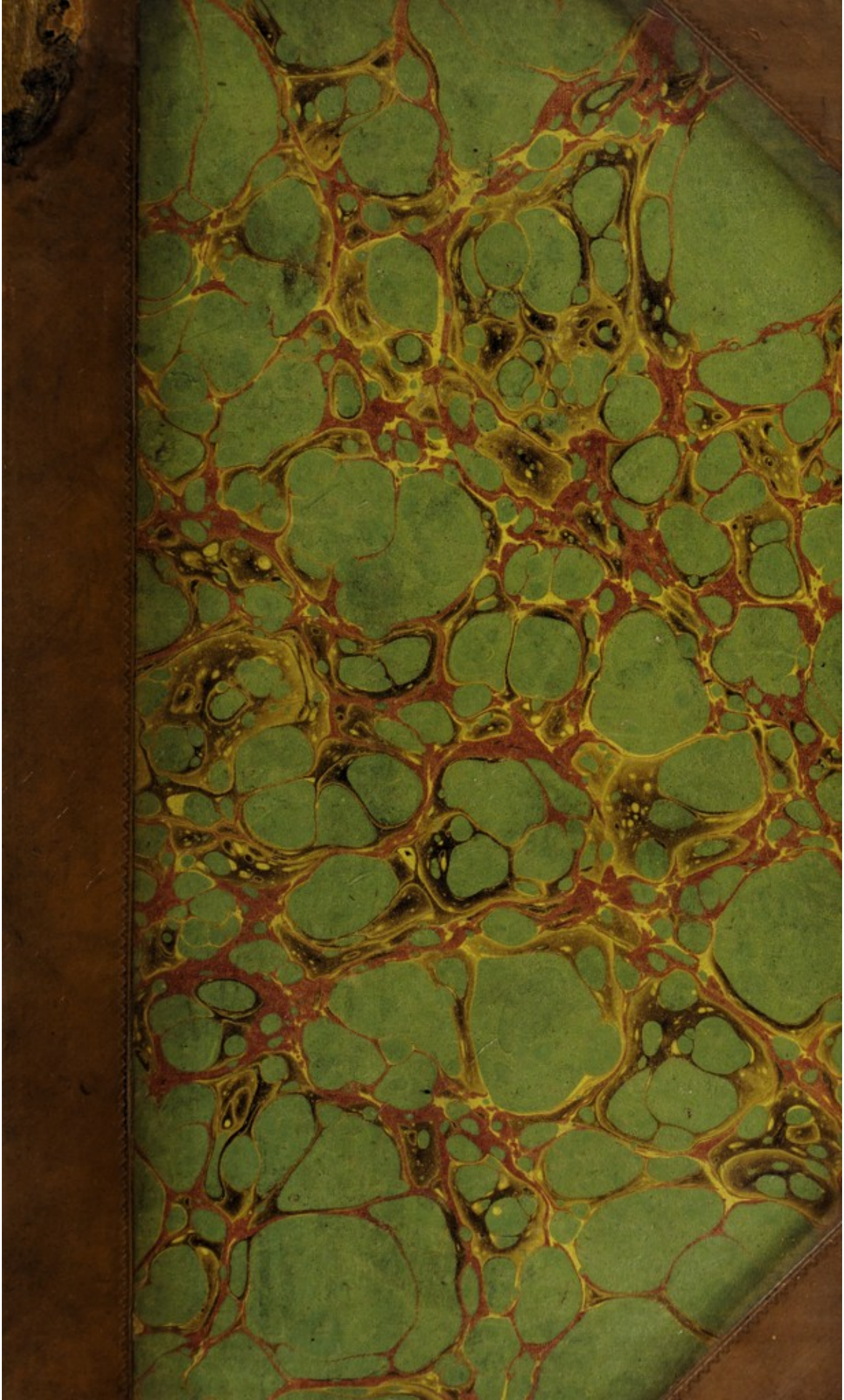


Melville.

THE

COFFEE PLANTER

OF

SAINT DOMINGO;

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

Containing a View of the Conſtitution, Government, Laws, *and* State of that Colony, *previous to the Year* 1789.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

SOME HINTS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ISLAND, UNDER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

By *P. J. LABORIE*, LL. D.

PLANTER IN THE NORTH OF ST. DOMINGO, AND MEMBER OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL.

Ignari diſcant, ament meminiſſe periti. HOR.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

M.DCC.XCVIII.

TO THE

READER.

I HAVE had my ſhare in all thoſe benefits which his Britannic Majeſty, and the nation over which he rules, have poured upon the unhappy planters of St. Domingo. Bound by great obligations, it hath been my ardent deſire to render a ſerviceable and public proof of my gratitude; but, circumſtanced as I am, I found it difficult to accompliſh the object of my wiſhes. I am too old to enter upon a military life, and my profeſſional acquirements, ſuch as they are, do not find place on the preſent occaſion.

In this perplexity, I learned that the cultivation of the coffee-tree, which, at a former period, was highly extended and improved in my native country, hath not yet (for what reaſon I know not) been much attended to in the iſland of Jamaica. The hint gave me ſome hopes, that by commu-

nicating my experience on this ſubject, I ſhould be enabled to acquit myſelf of a ſmall part of my obligations; for, after a life ſpent at the bar, I had choſen my abode of repoſe on an eſtate of that kind, which I had the good fortune to improve to a conſiderable degree of perfection.

Such is the motive of the preſent attempt. I have exerted myſelf to the utmoſt of my power to make it complete in deſign, and uſeful in practice. I thus take the liberty to dedicate it to the Britiſh planters, and to beg for it their patronage and ſupport.

That I ſhould have ventured to write the following pages in a language to which I am in a great meaſure a ſtranger may ſeem extraordinary; and, indeed, I am ſenſible that I can ſcarcely eſcape the charge of preſumption and raſhneſs. The following is my only apology. The work is intended for Engliſh planters, the majority of whom, perhaps, do not underſtand my native tongue; and though the preſent form may be awkward, I muſt beg indulgence for it, as I know of no body ready to undertake the irkſome taſk of a tranſlation.

Nothing but ſuch neceſſity could have induced me to encounter ſuch an arduous undertaking, an undertaking to which I am ſenſible I am very unequal,

unequal, eſpecially as I muſt frequently enter into deſcriptions abounding with technical terms, where there is danger of error and miſtake, and where great correctneſs is not only neceſſary, but where ſome portion of elegance ought to be found to relieve the dryneſs of the ſubject.

It is, however, preſumed, that readers, who conſult my work on account of its information, will not be too faſtidious at the homelineſs or awkwardneſs of its dreſs. I have ſpared no pains, though I may ſometimes have failed to make my meaning intelligible. I know I can not have eſcaped the idioms of my native tongue, which appear flat and ridiculous in the ears of an Engliſhman. But if, notwithſtanding theſe defects, which may ſometimes occaſion wearineſs and diſguſt, the planter will fortify himſelf with patience, to follow out the ſeries of my obſervations, the reſult of experience and much reflection, detailed in the following ſheets, he may, perhaps, at laſt find ſome information worthy of his attention. If ſuch ſhould be the caſe, the author will have the reward of his labour.

I have only to obſerve, that I had no thoughts of writing for my countrymen, the planters of St. Domingo; theſe know as much of the matter as I do; and therefore have no occaſion for my inſtructions, nay, I expect many will blame me for

laboriouſly committing to writing what they ſuppoſe all the world to know. But in anſwer to this, I ſhall beg leave to oppoſe my motto; and without pretending that any thing will here be found capable of better informing them, only hope, that *if the wiſe diſlike to remember, the ignorant may ſtill be glad to learn.*

Port-au-Prince,
St. Domingo,
March 1ſt, 1797.

CONTENTS

OF THE

COFFEE PLANTER.

CHAPTER I.

19. Process

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER III.

32. Pruning

CHAPTER IV.

6. Cares

THE

COFFEE PLANTER OF ST. DOMINGO:

OR,

A SHORT EXPLANATION OF THE

CULTIVATION OF THE COFFEE TREE,

AND OF THE

PREPARATION OF THE COFFEE;

As theſe were lately practiſed in the ISLAND of

ST. DOMINGO,

and particularly in the Pariſh of BORGNE *in the North.*

THE cultivation of the Coffee Tree, and the mode of preparing the coffee, which were introduced into St. Domingo ſo early as ſixty years ago, had, in the courſe of time, improved to ſuch a height of increaſe and perfection, that the annual produce exceeded ſeventy millions of pounds; and the quality, though inferior to that of Mocha, where the tree ſeems to be indigenous, was not leſs perfect than that of Martinico; vying even with the coffee of the Iſland of Mauritius or Bourbon. Introduction.

If then, the cultivation of this rich article of commerce happens to be ſtill in its infancy in any of the neighbouring colonies, it might probably be doing ſuch colonies an acceptable ſervice, to expoſe to their view, in a plain, perſpicuous, and methodical manner, thoſe proceſſes of culture which have beſt ſucceeded in St. Domingo; and eſpecially in that part of St. Domingo, which had the

Introduction.

earlieſt claims to the improvement of this valuable plant and commodity.

Such is the ſcope of this ſmall treatiſe, which (without regard to narrow ideas of national rivalſhip, illiberal at all times, and which ought to find place no longer in the breaſts of French royaliſts) I was induced to undertake, from my preſent ſituation and my late engagements; and perhaps ſuch may be my fate, that I ſhall make the trial of practiſing, amongſt my new fellow citizens, and in my newly adopted country, what I here make public for their information.

It muſt not be imagined that I value myſelf on the merits of this performance. It is not doing much to bring together and to arrange, in natural and obvious order, the common methods and practices of planters. If, by chance, any thing has ariſen from my own experience and reflection, I am conſcious it muſt have been of eaſy and obvious remark. But, that I may trace this intereſting ſubject through its various ſteps, without (as far as I am able) leaving any point unexplained, I ſhall take up the planter, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, in the cradle of his ſettlement, conduct him in his progreſs, till his labours have arrived at maturity, or the higheſt pitch of improvement, nay till his materials, exhauſted and ſpent, begin to ſink into decay, a period which demands the moſt careful attention, as it is capable of being retarded by ſkill, ingenuity, and vigilance.

Diviſion of the Work.

For the ſake of methodical arrangement, I ſhall divide the work into four chapters.

The

The firſt chapter comprehends the choice of the ground, and whatever relates to the grubbing of it, the firſt plantations, and more particularly all the acceſſory articles. Introduction.

The ſecond takes in the various eſtabliſhments; namely, the conſtructions, workhouſes, buildings, and engines; dwelling and outhouſes, negro-huts and ſtables. The firſt of theſe neceſſarily leads me to a previous explanation of the mode of dreſſing or preparing the coffee.

In the third, I enter into a full detail of the cultivation of the coffee-tree, tracing it through the ſeveral ſtages of its growth and duration.

The fourth preſents a ſhort view of the management, diſcipline, and care of the negroes and cattle.

The whole concludes with an appendix, exhibiting a general idea of the form of that conſtitution and government, which encouraged and cheriſhed this, as well as all the other branches of our colonial culture and trade; ſuch an enquiry, not unworthy of notice at any time, is at preſent particularly intereſting to the Engliſh nation, and on that account I hope will not be conſidered by any one as foreign to my ſubject.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE CHOICE OF THE GROUND, AND OF WHATEVER RELATES TO THE GRUBBING OF IT; THE FIRST PLANTATIONS, AND MORE PARTICULARLY THE ACCESSORY ARTICLES.

CHAP. I.
1. Lands.

WHEN I wish to describe a period of success, improvement, plenty, and prosperity, I must go back to the year 1788. A veil must be drawn over the following times.

The whole property in land, in St. Domingo, is derived originally from the king, not through a feodal fiction, but in the truest and strictest sense of the word. It was parcelled out into lots, and bestowed by charter, which his majesty's representatives were impowered to grant. The lots were usually 64—100—or 225 squares, in, or equivalent to, regular square figures *.

After so long a period of encouragement and of exertion, as were conspicuous in this island, few lands remained, in 1789, to be granted, except perhaps in the very inaccessible heights of mountains;

* For the better understanding of this, and of several other articles, the *square* is really a square of land, 350 feet in length and breadth, or of a hundred *paces*; the pace being three feet and a half in square.

The French foot, or *pied de roi*, is longer than the English one, by 8 lines and the tenth of a line. It has 12 inches, and the inch 12 lines.

According to calculation, three English acres are equal to a square and $\frac{4}{25}$ths; so that 300 acres will amount to 116 squares and about a third.

when

when lands therefore were wanted, they were usually purchased from their owners. From the extraordinary demands, the prices rose progressively to an uncommon height.

But, in whatever manner lands may be obtained, an entry is made originally, by the assistance of a proper officer, who opens the lines in the woods, and places stamped buts in the angles. It is an object of attention to re-visit the lines occasionally, to clear away the bushes from around the buts; and even to place marks, at certain distances in the lines, of exotic strong plants, as bamboos, to prevent any involuntary trespass on the part of the neighbours.

2. Choice.

Very few of those individuals who undertake the cultivation of coffee, are sufficiently attentive to make a proper choice of the most suitable grounds for this purpose. As the coffee lands are more or less removed to the fastnesses of mountains, and rendered difficult of access, by the intricate woods which cover the declivities; chance, occasion, and accidental conveniences more frequently determine the choice, than theoretical investigation of properties, and actual local knowledge of the ground, and of its expositions. Such are the common omissions in the beginning; and, such being the case, it becomes the business of the purchaser to be satisfied, and to endeavour to turn to the best account, by industry and attention, that portion which has fallen to his lot.

But though purchases are often made at random, no such hardship is inseparably connected with the

CHAP. I.

thing itſelf. Judicious enquiry or choice will find ſeveral foundations, more or leſs ſafe, from which the ſettler may gain information.

3. General Means.

The firſt and moſt general, as alſo the eaſieſt of all, is the knowledge of the diſtrict, and the ſtate of the plantations around the ſettlement in view. It is well known that in the ſame pariſh, and even on the ſame eſtate, the lands are of great variety, both in point of the intrinſic quality of ſoil, and as affected by ſituation. However, when the adjoining eſtates exhibit plantations luxuriant, productive, and laſting, it is an encouraging prognoſtic for the planter who fixes in the neighbourhood.

In the next place, information may be gathered from general experience; for inſtance, it is a fact beyond contradiction that the low mountains, and thoſe near to the champaign country are, by far, leſs proper for the production of coffee, than thoſe in high and interior ſituations. The former are hot, often dry, and ſometimes, which is ſtill worſe, liable to the parching deſtructive air of the ſea; and it is known that coffee-trees delight in a cool climate, in an open or permeable virgin ſoil, frequently watered by rains, the defect of which no other watering (though ever ſo practicable and carefully executed) can properly ſupply. On the firſt or lower mountains, the ſoil is in general light and ſhallow; the tree of courſe is ſhort-lived, both becauſe its perpendicular root ſoon meets with the gravel-ſtone, and becauſe the vegetative ſurface is waſhed away in a ſhort time, by the combined effect of weeding, of rain, and declivity of deſcent. The

crops, in ſuch caſes, muſt be kept up by making new plantations every year; and in this manner, the whole land will be worn out in a ſhort time, if of moderate extent: the crops alſo are rapid; and, in ſuch ſituations, more hands and more platforms are required for the harveſt.

On the contrary, the climate is cooler on the high mountains: the ſoil is always deeper and more firm; rain is more frequent; in general the declivity is leſs; the time of crop is longer, and more convenient; the trees, in ſhort, are more laſting: all this is ſeen on the firſt appearance. A fuller and more luxuriant vegetation, majeſtic trees, great intricacy of underwood, and myriads of tropical creeping plants, proclaim it at once. You ſee that the powers of greater coolneſs have accumulated for ages, with unbounded profuſion, the ſpoils of nature, of which the genial mould is formed, being leſs rapidly diſſipated by the effects of the ſun on the higher mountains, than on the ſcorched hills below.

I do not pretend to ſay that lands of the firſt kind are deſtitute of advantages, ſpecious at firſt ſight, and too apt to inſnare the unexperienced people of the towns. Firſt there is an eaſier acceſs and eaſier means of carriage; beſides this convenience, on the lower mountains, the trees are planted nearer, becauſe they do not arrive to ſize. Thus, inſtead of 2,500 in a ſquare, perhaps there may be 8,000; and thus the ſame extent, by its greater number of trees, will yield as much as in a better ſoil; but if the ſeaſon be dry, the grain will be blaſted or

CHAP. I.

empty, mildewed or ſcorched; and, in the latter caſe, the ends of the branches will wither. Laſtly, the trees will be of ſhort duration; great extent of land will be neceſſary to ſupply the plantations every year, and work will be gradually more diſtant and inconvenient.

Upon the whole, perſonal convenience muſt be ſacrificed; the higheſt and the remoteſt lands are preferable, notwithſtanding the trouble and fatigue of climbing mountains on horſeback, and the expence of having a great number of mules for carriage.

4. Grounds.

The ſoil on the mountains conſiſts generally of a bed of mould, more or leſs deep; but which ought not to be leſs than four or five feet. It lies upon quick rock, or upon a kind of ſoft ſtone (tuf) which ſeems to be formed from clay.

The ſofteſt, that is the moſt friable earth, is certainly the beſt of all, becauſe it is the moſt permeable both to water and to the roots of plants; if (what is ſeldom the caſe) the declivity be gentle, ſo that it be in no danger of being waſhed away. But in general, in ſteep grounds, a firm but not clayey earth, friable by hard preſſure, mixed with a proportion of ſand, gravel, or ſmall ſtones, through which water may find an eaſy way, is the moſt deſirable.

The native plants and native trees, furniſh a ſure indication. Where vegetation is profuſe, the trees, large, high, thick, numerous; the underwood and creeping plants luxuriant, the ground cannot fail to be rich. This, however, admits of exception.

Mahogany,

Mahogany, all the very hard or rozin trees, and even the great palm tree, *(a)* when in abundance, are an evidence of dry and ſometimes of barren ground. But the ſeveral kinds of cedar, the other trees of a ſoft contexture, and of white wood, as alſo a kind of leſſer palm tree (called here *chapelet)* are an evidence of freſh and good ſoil. But ſome depth is always required.

Some grounds are, in a great meaſure, covered with white limeſtone, ſo as to have, from a diſtance, the appearance of a wilderneſs of ſnow; but the ſtone is intermixed with a very vegetative mould. Planting is more difficult in ſuch places, ſymmetry leſs regular. But the ſtones prevent the mould from being waſhed away; and, if the climate is rainy, the trees grow remarkably fine, productive, and laſting.

The colour of the ground is of no great conſequence; though it muſt be owned that ſuch as is ſomewhat reddiſh, has oftener than others the principal deſirable qualities.

5. Expoſition.

The climate of the mountains, though very rainy, is healthy; the greater part of the diſtempers, which the negroes are liable to, originating from cold and wet weather. Of courſe the African negroes ſuffer particularly, from the change of climate, in the act of aſſimilation.

The temperature is variable, and in proportion to the elevation and aſpect. On my eſtate, I have ſeen Reaumur's thermometer ſo low as ten degrees,

(a) Otherwiſe cabbage trees.

during

CHAP. I. during the rains of winter, in an open room; and I never ſaw it, in ſummer, higher than one-and-twenty degrees, while at the Cape it riſes above 34. In July and Auguſt, after a ſhower of rain, warm clothes, a blanket, and even fire, are by no means unacceptable. There are other mountains ſtill cooler than this, and yet planted with coffee. It is pretended that ſomething like ice has been obſerved in the higheſt peaks; but I cannot warrant it. Whatever it may be, inſtances are found of places ſo cool and wet, that though the coffee trees grow large in ſize, they yield very little fruit for ſeveral years, or indeed until large tracts are cleared on every ſide. But then they ſeldom fail of making amends for their ſluggiſhneſs, when the ground is not defective.

In regard to aſpect, north and weſt are the beſt, in low and hot places, becauſe they are cooler. On the contrary, the eaſt and ſouth on the higheſt mountains; for on the north and on the weſt aſpects of the high mountains, the trees, from want of ſufficient heat, grow rapidly into a vaſt luxuriance of wood, and then yield very little fruit; and frequently (though this happens alſo ſometimes from external cauſes) loſe their leaves; the tops of their branches wither; all the main inferior boughs die and fall of; the trunk, chiefly near the root, becomes overrun with moſs and paraſitical weeds, which ſuffocate the tree. The only remedy, and happily a very efficacious one, is a ſevere pruning; but it is not a ſhort nor a trifling labour.

It muſt however be obſerved, that even on the higheſt

highest mountains, the soil, in the warmer aspects, is lighter and softer, and of course less durable, being triturated, as it were, by the continual piercing influence of the sun. The expositions to the east are likewise more liable to the usual breeze, the strength of which is in proportion to the elevation. In general, it is remarked that strong and lasting winds, from any quarter, are hurtful to the coffee-trees; and, such being the case, if the declivities to the north and west are easy and exposed, so as to admit freely the genial influence of the sun, such aspect may be preferable, even though pruning should become necessary; an operation, however, which, as we shall see in the third chapter, may be in a great measure evaded by proper management and culture.

It appears then, from what has been said, that the highest or the lowest situations are not the best; but rather those considerably above the middle of the mountains.

6. Accessory Conveniences.

In order to effect an establishment with facility, some accessory conveniences are required.

1st. That the open or great road be not at too great a distance.

2dly. The vicinity of other plantations, from whence a supply of ground provisions, and especially of plants, may be gotten; as also for the sake of intercourse with rational creatures.

3dly. Running water.

4thly. Timber, and such trees or plants as afford thatch.

5thly. Limestone, and stone for other purposes.

6thly.

CHAP. I.

6thly. Some eaſy ſpot, where the ſettlement may be effected.

It is certain that many, or the moſt, of thoſe things, however neceſſary, are ſometimes wanting, and ſupplied by the induſtry of the planter; but always at great expence and toil, chiefly in the firſt period.

7. Precautions.

It reſults then, from what I have ſaid, that the man who has in view the ſettlement of a coffee plantation, after maturely weighing the general obſervations pointed out, will act more prudently, if, before he cloſes the bargain, he himſelf viſits the premiſes; carrying with him two or three negroes, with proviſions and tools, to enable him to explore, in the beſt manner he can, the qualities of the ſoil and the circumſtances of his intended eſtate. On doing this, he muſt examine the *general* expoſition (for every circle of hills has two ſides of oppoſite aſpects) he muſt inform himſelf if there is water, ſtone for building, limeſtone, timber, thatch; and he muſt aſcertain the ſituations in which all theſe are to be found. He muſt cauſe the ground to be dug in different places, as deep as poſſible; that he may, as far as he is able, ſatisfy himſelf of its general and particular qualities. In this manner alſo, he will obſerve the ſtate of the natural productions, and he will form an idea of difficulty or eaſe of acceſs, and of the circumſtances of neighbourhood.

8. Place for the ſettlement.

It is highly eſſential, that on the firſt examination, the planter ſhould determine, as near as poſſible, the place of his chief ſettlement.

Firſt,

First, if a public road passes through his estate, he ought to fix his dwelling at some distance from it; lest he be disturbed by passengers, either individually, or in the interior order and discipline of his negroes. From such a road there are few advantages, and a great number of inconveniences.

2dly. To fix upon the centre of the tenement is a very material precaution, chiefly if the estate is extensive, and the lands not of durable quality. But, though the settlement should be fixed in the centre, yet the spot may be there too steep; and, besides, regard must be had to the vicinity of water, timber, and stone.

However, where every necessary thing does not lie contiguous, I would prefer to give up those accessory conveniences, rather than abandon the centre, especially if water can be conducted thereto through a pipe. The establishment is permanent, and its situation determines for life the convenience and easiness of every future service; and the fatigue of ordinary labour is much increased, when daily performed at a great distance. This is, in a great measure, guarded against by fixing the settlement in the centre of the tenement. Therefore, in looking forward to this advantage, it appears more eligible that building be more laborious, either from the carriage of materials, or from the trenchings necessary to level the spot, than to fix in a place from which the future plantations will be greatly distant.

This has seldom been considered; seldom have the previous inquiries hinted at been attended to.

The

CHAP. I.

The purchaſe is frequently made without proper, indeed without any examination. As ſoon as, after a journey always deemed tedious, one has ſet foot upon the firſt ſpot of his land, he thinks himſelf happy, in not being obliged to go farther; and, thus plans his eſtabliſhment on the moſt promiſing ſpot within the reach of his eye. To this ſpot he is confined by ſluggiſhneſs, not regarding the immenſe extent which lies before him; and which, perhaps affords better ſituations at a convenient diſtance. In conſequence of this inattention or ſloth, after a period of fifteen or twenty years, a number of planters are forced to divide or to change their ſettlement, both of which are exceedingly expenſive and toilſome. But the preſent diſtance from the plantations is ſtill more waſteful and fatiguing.

I ſhall ſuppoſe then, that the ſettler has attended duly to all the points above mentioned, and that he is ready to begin his operations.

9. Firſt Means.

There are, even in the moſt rainy diſtricts, certain periods, during Lent or in October, where there are intervals of dry weather. Theſe ſhould be laid hold of for commencing the ſettlement, particularly the firſt.

Whatever the circumſtances of the planter may be, in point of fortune *, I would by no means

* Many tradeſmen and artificers, who would not fail to make fortunes honeſtly, in their own line, are often ambitious of forming ſettlements too ſoon, and with ſcanty funds. They either neglect or give up entirely their original buſineſs for a new one, which, by want of proper ſtock, affords leſs benefit.

I would not adviſe any man to undertake a ſettlement, who has not the command of 3 or 4,000 pounds ſterling, independant of the land purchaſed.

adviſe

adviſe him to ſet out with a great number of negroes, particularly if he is under the neceſſity of carrying proviſions and other things from a great diſtance; and if he cannot command a plentiful ſupply of victuals from ſome plantation in the neighbourhood. If he has not that ſupply, ſix, or at moſt twelve male negroes, with one or two women, will be found ſufficient to make the firſt eſſay. It is even neceſſary that he provide for the feeding of theſe, with certainty and abundance, for which purpoſe he ſhould endeavour to place proviſions in ſtore, at ſome one or other of the adjoining eſtates. In entering upon this undertaking, each negroe muſt be provided with a hoe, a ſcraper, an axe, and a bill (plate 1. fig. 1, 3, 5, 6.) two ſuits of clothes, a jacket, a hat, and a proportion of proviſions.

Beſides, the maſter muſt have a ſpare axe for each negro, as well as the moſt neceſſary carpenter's tools; ſuch as a ſaw, a wimble, a level, a hammer, a hatchet, two borers, an adz, a gouge, a handled grinding-ſtone, and a proviſion of nails of different ſizes. As to his own victuals and conveniencies, it is ſuppoſed he will not forget them; only I ſhall recommend that he do not overburthen himſelf.

I have in this buſineſs uſed the word *maſter*, though *overſeer* more properly perhaps, might be ſubſtituted in its place, as it ſeldom happens that the *landlord* ſubmits *himſelf* to the hardſhips of a firſt ſettlement. However, if the planter really values his undertaking, he muſt be ſenſible that every thing is of conſequence in the election of the

ſcite,

CHAP. I. ſcite, and in the planning the early foundations upon which future comfort and convenience do entirely depend. This is the period too where compaſſionate and induſtrious attention is neceſſary for the encouragement of his negroes. If he feels in himſelf the pleaſure ariſing from planting and creating, he will not begrudge perſonal fatigues, labour, and (I will not conceal it) ſelf-denial; and I may add, that if he once enters fairly into the buſineſs, he will find, perhaps, in his lonely employments, a heartfelt reliſh of pleaſing and innocent enjoyments and comforts. But, however this may be, I would earneſtly adviſe him to viſit frequently his own eſtate, and to take upon himſelf every material direction.

On the firſt day, aſſiſtance (if it can be gotten) of a few hands from a neighbour, will be highly neceſſary, ſo that ſhelter be procured for the approaching night. This ſhould be finiſhed before the evening rain.

10. Huts. Upon arriving at the place of ſettlement, not a moment is to be loſt, in raiſing temporary lodgings or huts, one for the maſter and one for the negroes.

Two forked ſtakes, twelve or fifteen feet high, ſunk three feet into the ground, ſupport a ridge beam. On each ſide, at a proper diſtance, two other parallel beams are raiſed, upon ſmall forks of a foot high. Rafters are placed upon theſe beams, on either ſide, faſtened together, by means of wooden pins, at the ridge, and bound to the beams below with creeping plants or *lianas*. Upon the rafters, long ſticks are tranſverſely tied, at a foot diſtance from each other, with the ſame plants.

The

The roof is then covered with the firſt thatch that can be found, and tied in double and progreſſive rows, upon the ſticks, with ſmall *lianas* or creeping weeds; beginning below and proceeding upwards to the ridge, where a thick covering or layer of the ſame thatch is laid and ſecured by means of two rafters tied together and preſſing upon either ſide of the bed or layer of thatch. The caps, under the roof, are ſhut up with hurdles of ſticks and thatch; doors are alſo made to be occaſionally ſhut, with flying hurdles of the ſame ſort. A furrow dug around turns off the torrent of rain, and conveys it to a diſtance. Fire ought never to be made in theſe huts.

Thus, it is poſſible, in one day to finiſh lodgings, which (with proper care and repair) may hold out till permanent houſes can be built; and for this reaſon the huts ought not to be exactly upon the place deſigned for the eſtabliſhments, as they would be an encumbrance and embarraſſment at the time of building *(a)*.

Every negro muſt make a couch or hurdlebed for himſelf, upon four ſmall forks, as it is improper to lie upon the ground.

The huts will be placed more properly within the border of the wood, to windward of the firſt ground intended to be cleared; with a view to prevent the effect of offenſive exhalations which uſually ariſe, at firſt, from the ſurface of newly opened lands.

(a) For the different kinds of thatch, See Chap. II. No. 56.

11. Plantations.

After every perſon is properly accommodated in the huts, felling down a tract of wood is the next operation, in order to form a plantation.

12. Clearing.

The firſt part of this buſineſs is to clear the underwood; that is, to cut all the weeds, ſhrubs, creeping plants, and ſuch trees as can be made to fall by the hedging bill. The whole of theſe muſt be cut as low as poſſible.

13. Felling.

Next, the larger trees require to be felled down with the axe. It is proper to begin this work in the loweſt grounds, and to proceed upwards, ſo that the trees may fall ſucceſſively upon each other, as the declivity directs. The negroes muſt be ordered to cut as low as they conveniently can, but not to tear up the roots, as theſe will preſerve the ground, during the firſt period of culture. In the proſecution of this work, proper attention is neceſſary, to prevent the accidents which may happen from the falling of the trees. The negroes are to be ſeparated into parties of two or three, and placed at diſtances, without reach of the fall of the trees of another party. It is proper to cut the tree on the lower ſide chiefly, to determine the fall towards the declivity. The fall requires to be ſtrictly watched, the negroes being taught to ſecure themſelves in proper time. Sometimes the boughs and branches of ſeveral trees are ſo much entangled together by creeping plants (lianas) that twelve or more are entirely cut before they actually fall; then attention is more neceſſary, as danger increaſes; and, before the general craſh, the negroes muſt have retired to a diſtance.

When

When a ſufficient extent of land is felled down, the next work is to lop; that is, to cut off the leſſer branches and ſpread them about, to facilitate the communication of the fire; it will however be proper to remove them from the trunks of good timber, to prevent thoſe from being burnt. The boughs of greater ſize, ſuch particularly as are beyond the reach of fire, muſt alſo be cut to the ground *(a)*. Then this is left to dry for a few days; another tract of land being, in the mean time, cleared, felled down, and lopped in the above manner; and ſo on, until the intended plantations are fully completed. 14. Cutting.

The ſtate of the weather will determine the time of burning; but a perſon muſt not wait till the leaves are decayed and fallen, for theſe are the firſt fuel. A moderate breeze facilitates this buſineſs, and the proper time to begin, is, after the ſun has exhaled the dew, and warmed the wood, there being, at the ſame time, no appearance of rain. Under theſe circumſtances, fire is lighted up to windward, in ſeveral places at once. But if the breeze is very ſtrong, the flames will paſs too rapidly for the burning of the larger boughs; in which caſe, fire muſt be put firſt to the leeward, then windward, at ſmall diſtances from the firſt fire, and ſo on, that the flames may join. Regard ought alſo to be had to the declivity; if the breeze is moderate, fire muſt be lighted below; if ſtrong, above. The huts muſt be guarded from the flames, and the 15. Burning.

(a) Now is the time to make the lime kilns or pits. See Chap. II. No. 25, and the following.

CHAP. I. borders of the ſtanding woodland cautiouſly cleaned, leſt the fire ſhould communicate.

16. Fires. After the fire is entirely extinguiſhed, a quantity of ſmall wood ſometimes remains unconſumed; this muſt be gathered into heaps and burned again.

But this muſt be avoided, as much as poſſible, by proper precautions in the firſt burnings; becauſe the ground is often burned into brick by theſe great fires.

Nay, in general, though aſhes are a kind of manure, on account of the alkaline ſalt which they contain, it is to be wiſhed that burning could be diſpenſed with, becauſe it deſtroys more of the ſalts contained in the mould than the aſhes ſupply; and beſides, the mouldering of the raw wood affords a manure, which is hereby annihilated. But, if this is attempted, the quantity of wood, ſometimes very great, ſhould be arranged into ſtraight and parallel rows, between which the coffee trees may be planted. Where theſe muſt be at ſmall diſtances from each other, this would become difficult. Beſides, nothing could be ſown in thoſe thick covered trenches. On the other hand, this would be attended with the additional advantage of furniſhing, in proceſs of time, a good manure; of ſheltering the young trees from the wind; and dividing the ſtreams of rain-water, which are equally hurtful. This, I know, has been practiſed with ſucceſs, in plantations where there was a great number of hands, and where the trees were planted at very large diſtances. But I would not venture to try it in the firſt ſettlement, where a few negroes are employed,

employed, and where every ſpot muſt be converted into uſe, for a ſpeedy and ample ſupply of ground-proviſions and vegetables of all ſorts.

17. Roads;

I now ſuppoſe that the ground is entirely cleared. As it is my deſign to put together, in the third chapter, all that relates to the cultivation of the coffee-tree, I ſhall here enter into a detail of all the acceſſory works and plantations; and firſt, of the Roads to and from the fields; an article neceſſary chiefly where the land is ſteep. In general the forming of roads is poſtponed for ſome time after the early ſettlement, though not properly.

18. and Alleys.

If the lands have only a ſmall declivity, Alleys ought to be marked out with a line and pickets. It then would be proper that a general diviſion of the eſtate be drawn upon a chart, and that it be accurately followed *(a)*. But the nature of the ground ſeldom permits to adopt that regular method.

When the declivity exceeds fifteen degrees, roads or paths muſt be traced and opened, by means of the level and hoe.

Levels.

The Levels employed here, are of two different frames (Plate 2.)

The firſt (fig. 1.) conſiſts of two laths of wood A. joined together in angular form, with a tenon and mortiſe, ſo that the two ends are ſix feet diſtant from each other. At the angle B. a plummet C. is fixed, and falls upon a tranſverſe lath D. one foot diſtant from the top, upon which the different

(a) See Plate 3.

CHAP. I. degrees of declivity are marked, by inches or half inches, for a fathom or ſix feet.

The other, which is leſs variable, as intended for the uſe of the negroes, conſiſts of a lath A. (fig. 2.) with two parallel feet B. C. at ſix feet diſtance. The one B. is fixed, and the other C. by means of a very long tenon D. goes up and down in the mortiſe E. This tenon is pierced with little holes, correſponding to the degrees of inclination, by inches and half inches; and, as the mortiſe E. is alſo pierced, the tenon being placed at the degree intended for the inclination of the road (ſuppoſe ſix inches for a fathom) is faſtened with a pin, through the holes of both the mortiſe and tenon. Thus the level is liable to no alteration, and the negroe may go on without miſtake, as the plummet F. hanging at the top of the triangle G. muſt always fall perpendicular to a mark H. ſet upon the lath A. It is alſo obvious that, as the lath is always horizontal, if the lengthened foot goes forwards, the road will deſcend; if backwards, it will aſcend; if both feet are left equal it will be at the level.

19. And Proceſs. Roads are horizontal, aſcending or deſcending, according to the nature of the ground. But I muſt obſerve, that in the firſt inſtance, they ought ſtill to be almoſt inſenſibly inclined, ſo that the ſtreams of rain-water may be conveyed to the adjacent beds of torrents and rivulets (generally termed *ravines)* and that, in the latter, the declivity muſt not exceed ſix or eight inches for ſix feet or a fathom, except in caſes of neceſſity; otherwiſe

it will be ſteep and fatiguing. I muſt alſo remark that, whatever be the direction of the road, as the *ravines* are approached, the road muſt be a ſlope to either ſide, and have a deſcending direction towards them. By this means, the waters of the ravines will be prevented from taking their courſe through the roads, and conſequently from ſpoiling them. For this purpoſe, where the general direction of the road is aſcending towards the ravine, the level muſt be turned for three or four fathoms.

One negroe rears the level, and fixing it at the opening of the road, another, provided with a mallet and a proviſion of flat cleft pickets, fifteen inches in length, plants one of them exactly under both the feet of the level; which then goes forward, the hind foot being planted upon the fore-picket, while the plummet points the proper place where the fore foot muſt reſt. When it is fixed, the ſecond negroe plants another picket, exactly under it, always with the flat ſide turned upwards; and ſo on.

20. Windings.

It ſometimes happens that the road muſt of neceſſity turn and wind (fig. 3. pl. 2.) yet theſe turnings ſhould be avoided, as much as poſſible, for this reaſon, that they occaſion the ground to break and fall down; at leaſt, where indiſpenſable (ſuppoſe from ſome obſtacle, as a rock, or to join with ſome higher or lower road) they ought to be made upon a ſpot of the moſt eaſy deſcent.

21. Openings.

When the road is marked out, it muſt be cut and opened with the hoe and mattock (Pl. 1. fig. 8.) from three to ſix feet wide; which in a great meaſure depends upon the declivity of the ground, for

CHAP. I.

the more ſteep it is, the higher the cut is and more liable to break and fall down. In order to prevent this, the cut muſt be ſloping, and if the breadth of the road admits of it, a gutter ſhould be dug at the foot of the cut, to carry the waters into the ravines, and to keep the ſtreams of rain-water from running through and damaging the coffee trees. If, in this work, ſome ſtones or ſtumps of trees interfere, they muſt be levelled with the road; and this is often the caſe.

22. Public Roads.

I ſhall ſpeak occaſionally of Public Roads, though the new ſettlers were free from burthens on that ſcore, as well as from all other direct public charges and taxes, for three years.

All the roads in the mountains are opened in the above manner, of greater or leſs breadth, and with more or leſs difficulty. Sometimes the twibill, the *creek*, and even mining and gunpowder are employed, to break or blow up the rocks.

Formerly the public roads were opened and repaired by a proportional contribution of joint negroe labour (in French *corvée)* towards which the government alſo aſſiſted, and though it could not be yet diſpenſed with in 1788, for opening new roads, yet the later regulations had aſſigned to each planter a ſhare in the public roads, and this in proportion to the number of his negroes, and to the quality of the road allotted to him. This allotment was as contiguous to his eſtate as poſſible, and he was bound to keep it in repair. The pariſh ſurveyor of highways lodged information (if there were neglects) to the commanding officer,

ficer, who, on his part, inforced the law by ſtated penalties.

The beſt means of preventing this work from becoming heavy, is to make frequent ſmall repairs, and not to wait till the road is much broken up by the gutters, which the ſtreams of water are apt to excavate. The main point is to multiply the outlets for thoſe ſtreams, by means of little tranſverſe oblique cauſeys or gutters, and to pave the wet places with ſtones.

But to return to my ſubject; it is very material to form the roads before the coffee trees are planted; firſt, to avoid the vexation of cutting thoſe trees down; ſecondly, becauſe the trenches of greater or leſs depth throughout a piece of ground, will, in ſome meaſure, indicate the quality of the ſoil; and give a hint of the proper diſtance to be obſerved between the trees.

23. Edges.

Let the lower Edges of the roads be bordered with thoſe thick-rooted plants which are beſt qualified to bind the ſoil together, as millet, guinea-graſs, and ſugar canes; but not with ground proviſions, as yams or others, which muſt be dug out for conſumption. The plantain tree is the beſt of all; and here let it be planted at a diſtance of eight feet, the intermediate ſpace being planted with other things.

24. Fruit Trees.

Here alſo let the native and foreign Fruit Trees be planted, the ſooner the better. It is very true the maſter will hardly reap the advantage of the fruit, which will commonly be purloined by the negroes, even before it is ripe. But the mere ſight

of

CHAP. I.

of them is worth the trouble; beſides, what ſerves for the ſervants is not entirely loſt for the maſter, while, if at another time, he ſhould wiſh to form an incloſed orchard, he will here find trees full grown and ready to be tranſplanted. The beſt aſpect for fruit trees of all ſorts is the ſouth, and more particularly if the place is ſheltered from the wind. In a few places, the peach, almond, and apricot trees do pretty well; in moſt, apple and fig trees ſucceed. As to the fruit trees of the country, the planter ſhould take care to ſearch for ſeeds and plants of the beſt kinds; neither ought he to forget the medicinal trees, as tamarind, caſſia, and calabaſh, which laſt alſo affords a material fit to make veſſels for the negroes. Laſtly, trees do no harm to c ffee trees; and plantain trees may ſtill be planted between them in the edges of the roads. In general, it is a proper attention that either fruit trees or plantain trees ſhould not be too near a coffee tree, but ſhould rather occupy the place of one of them in the rows.

Let the upper edge of the road be bordered with kitchen plants, as cabbages, parſley, ſorrel, and the like; but not with turnips, carrots, or red beets, as theſe muſt be dug out. Strawberries do amazingly well in the cooleſt places, but they muſt be prevented from extending too far, and growing too thick, the old ſtocks muſt he plucked up every year, and the young ones only left. Here (as alſo in the lower edge, where the ground is leſs ſteep) flowers of every ſort, even European, may be planted. If roſe trees are lopped very ſhort, every

ſecond

ſecond month in the moon's wane, they bloſſom plentifully ſix times a year. It is obvious that roads planted in the manner preſcribed muſt be very delightful.

The artichokes ſucceed and bear well, only in the higheſt cliffs lying to the north. But they require good ground.

All theſe yield as long as the mould retains its virgin vigour, and till the coffee trees begin to ſpread a cloſe ſhade.

25. Coffee Trees.

It is needleſs to ſay that Coffee Trees muſt be planted as ſoon as the roads are opened. It is the main buſineſs to employ the ground for purpoſes of benefit; for half of what I have mentioned in the former article, is a matter of mere amuſement, or at moſt comfort. But, on this ſubject, I refer the reader to the third chapter, where every point of this principal cultivation is explained fully. I proceed now to mention the other acceſſories, intereſting at all times, but ſtill more in the beginning, where the great object is to prepare the moſt ſpeedy and ample ſupply of vegetable proviſions.

26. Beans.

Beans, either white or red, afford the moſt ready aſſiſtance to the planter. Both yield in forty or fifty days, but the laſt are preferable.

27. Maiz.

Next I ſhall mention the maiz or Indian corn, which may be gathered in a little more than four months. Rice may alſo be planted, but I am not by any means fond of it in the fields of coffee.

It is, however, remarkable that none of theſe do

well

CHAP. I.

well in the winter ſeaſon, eſpecially in the high mountains.

All this is ſowed (rather than planted) but covered about half an inch deep; uſually a pretty thick row of corn is planted in the middle rows of coffee trees, with a row of beans at its right and left; but at preſent a greater quantity is allowable, though not exceſſive.

28. Offenſive Plants.

The planter, in general, muſt remove from his coffee plantations almoſt every other plant, eſpecially the tobacco, which the negroes are very fond of rearing, but which multiplies to a vaſt extent, and exhauſts the ground; as alſo all the ground proviſions, which when dug up, looſen and ſpoil it; Laſtly, all the creeping plants, as melons and yams of every kind, potatoes, gourds, citruls, with that vaſt multitude of peaſe of which the country is ſo fertile. All theſe twine around, embrace, bind down and ſtrangle the coffee trees and their boughs. They are alſo, though to a much leſs degree, hurtful to the plantain tree, and ſhould, if poſſible, be removed to a particular piece of ground ſet apart. All theſe are propagated, either from ſeed, as the melons, peaſe, citruls, and French cucumber; or from plants, as Guinea cucumbers, yams, and other roots. Among the former, the Guinea or Angola peaſe deſerves to be honourably mentioned. It is a pretty little tree or buſh, with yellow flowers, which laſts three years, and bears almoſt continually.

29. Spinages.

The ground, as ſoon almoſt as it is perfectly cleared,

cleared, yields ſpontaneouſly a very abundant and precious food. I mean three or four kinds of wild ſpinages, which are here known under the general name of *calaloos*. The two beſt of them have ſomething of bitterneſs; and one, which is exactly like the European morel (ſolanum hortorum) is ſo wholeſome, that it cures the moſt inveterate ulcers, and even ſtops the gangrene. Muſtard may alſo be ſowed, without any inconvenience, and it proves an excellent ſort of ſpinage, as alſo do the leaves of radiſhes and turnips.

30. Garden Plants.

All ſorts of garden plants, pot-herbs, and roots, do admirably well among the coffee trees, eſpecially where the ground is ſoft and crumbling, and the climate cool. No greater pains need be taken than to mix together all the ſeeds with dry ſand, in a large wooden porringer, and to throw them about by handfuls. The negroes muſt only beware not to pick them out in weeding; it may be neceſſary to tranſplant ſome of them, as red beets, turnips, carrots, leeks, and the like.

31. Plantain Trees.

In general the Plantain Tree (which bears the precious manna of the Weſt Indies, by far more valuable than the celebrated bread-fruit of the eaſt, and at the ſight of which a man feels himſelf impelled by gratitude to proſtrate in adoration before the eternal Fountain of Good) delights and ſucceeds beſt in the places moſt cool and moſt ſheltered from the wind.

In the loweſt parts of valleys, and along the ſtreams of water, ſeveral rows of them muſt be planted, at twelve feet diſtance from each other.

They

CHAP. I.

They are of two kinds, one of which bears only a ſmall cluſter of very large plantains, and the other of ſmall ones, but more palateable, and in very large cluſters; the latter ſort is highly preferable.

32. Banana Trees.

A few plants of Banana Trees (which yield a dainty rather than a ſubſtantial food) may be intermixed; theſe are eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the wide black ſpots which cover the trunk. The plant of both conſiſts of ſuckers, or of roots already ſhooting into buds; the largeſt are the moſt forward. As the tree muſt be cut to reap the cluſter, it muſt be cut exactly near the ground, that the ſuckers may grow better *(a)*.

Having obſerved that the trees felled down, in the deep, narrow, ſteep valleys, fell from both ſides in ſuch heaps as to make the bottom, even by the help of fire, inacceſſible to the planting of plantain trees; I attempted to plant theſe, immediately after clearing away the bruſhwood, and before felling down the large trees. Thus I had the advance of upwards of a month. My plantation was full and regular. The young plantain trees never failed to make their way through the unburned wood. Their ſhade aſſiſted towards the rotting of the wood; and the plant being exceedingly watery, was not hurt by the fire, if it was only tolerably covered with earth, when the wood was burned.

33. Root Proviſions.

Let the plantain tree be ever ſo valuable, it does not yield all round the year, and it is liable to

(a) It is known that each tree bears but once, but the ſtock is very durable.

fail;

fail; for, if ſtrong gales happen at the time it is loaded with its heavy cluſter, it is thrown down, and the fruit is loſt. Roots are a more certain reſource, being ſheltered under ground; and of courſe an ample ſupply of proviſion of this ſort muſt be ſecured. I have mentioned the Yams, two ſorts of which are equally uſeful; viz. the Creole and Guinea yams; they are planted, at three feet diſtant from each other, from roots ſplit in ſmall pieces. Some yams are twenty or even thirty pounds weight. When a root of any kind is taken out, the ground muſt be dug very deep; but to prevent the ſoil from being waſhed away, it is put back again into the hole, and preſſed down ſtrongly. The ſofteſt and moſt crumbling ground is the beſt for all kinds of roots.

34. Yams.

The Manioco is another root of very ſerviceable uſe; but it ſeldom ſucceeds in the rainy diſtricts. Beſides, it does not proſper under ſhade, and of courſe muſt not be planted amongſt the plantain trees, but in a particular ſpot ſet apart. The preparation of this root is a matter of ſome nicety, as its juice is noxious even to death. Sweet manioco is free from this dangerous inconvenience, and may be eaten boiled or roaſted, as the yams and other roots.

35. Manioco.

The yams (as alſo the Guinea cucumbers, which are very productive, and indeed beans, peaſe of all kinds, and Indian corn) may be planted among the plantain trees, chiefly before they ſpread a cloſe ſhade. But ſome of theſe are offenſive in

ſome

CHAP. I. ſome little degree, by creeping up and twining about the trees.

36 Potatoes. Sweet Potatoes (a very precious and palatable root) are generally known; and as they creep much leſs, do very well among the plantain trees. The European potatoes have alſo been cultivated, and not without ſucceſs.

37. Tayaux. There are two ſorts of a certain kind of root, here called in ſome places *Tayaux*, in others *malangas (a)*; one ſort, with green ſtalks and leaves; the other with purple ſtalks and leaves mixed with fibres of the ſame colour. The leaves of both take riſe from a ſtock a little above the ground, are triangular, much in the form of an arrow, ſometimes two feet long and broad, and ſupported by a ſtalk almoſt of the ſame length. The leaves of both are good food for cattle, and particularly for the hogs and cows. The youngeſt of the green kind is a ſpinage; the roots are not larger than a middle ſized ſweet potatoe, but a plant ordinarily yields a large baſket full. This has, above all other tropical roots, the advantage of remaining under ground ripe for twelve months; and when the firſt roots rot, others take their place. This plant is much to be preferred to all others of the kind, amongſt the plantain trees; but it ſucceeds only in cool places. It is propagated from the roots, or from the ſtocks where they bear leaves, cut into ſmall pieces.

Plantains, bananas, and tayaux yield in twelve

(a) It was impoſſible for me to find out the Engliſh name.

months,

months, in the moſt favourable circumſtances; yams, manioco and ſweet potatoes in four or five; Guinea cucumbers and others, in a much ſhorter period.

38. Steep Grounds.

Where the ground is ſoft, and at the ſame time exceedingly ſteep, it is not worth while to plant it with coffee trees. If the expoſition be cool, let it be planted with plantains more thick than uſual; otherwiſe, with Guinea graſs or bamboos, that the ſoil be kept together by the huge intricacy of roots. An intelligent planter will leave no ſpot unemployed; and I know nothing, except mere clay, which is very ſeldom of great extent, where ſomething uſeful may not be planted. Dogs graſs itſelf is good for forage, as alſo bamboo leaves. The bamboo, beſides, is a beautiful production, affords a deep cover, rafters, ſtakes, and poles for pens and incloſures; but its ſhade is hurtful to the other plants *(a)*.

39. Apt to fall.

The grounds I have juſt now mentioned are liable to break off and to fall down. Drenched with the rain, the whole ſurface ſlides away and leaves the rock under it expoſed to view. By ſome of theſe falls, five or ſix thouſand coffee trees have at once been known to be carried away. Sometimes, more conſiſtent and compact grounds, though equally ſteep, happen to ſlide off from another cauſe; namely, from rain water, which after penetrating upwards, creeps in, dilutes, and diſſolves the ſoil under ground; the whole bed muſt then ſlide down,

(a) Guinea graſs is noxious to almoſt any other plant, if too near and in great quantity.

CHAP. I.

on account of the great declivity. I know no means of preventing this.

Falls of ground may alſo be occaſioned by roads multiplied above one another, becauſe the whole bed, which ſupported itſelf from the bottom upwards, is now cut; and the contiguity of the mutual ſupport is broken. If land has the appearance of being liable to ſuch accidents, roads muſt be made ſparingly; and if poſſible, with no windings, the borders being ſoon planted with plantain trees and graſs, to aſſiſt in the ſupport.

40. Proportion of the Plantations.

The ſettler muſt calculate carefully, and only extend his plantations in proportion to the hands he is able to ſupply. It often happens that he is miſled, through inconſiderate activity, into planting too much. But whatever his ambition may be, if it is well directed, he will be ſenſible that a ſmall plantation well managed and kept clean, muſt be more profitable, in all reſpects, than a larger one ill attended to and ill worked. At all times, he muſt conſider the proſpect of the crop ſeaſon, where the work is much heavier than at other times. But at all events, in the early beginnings, he ought not to forget the indiſpenſable ſettlements, which demand attendance, and occupy conſiderable time, while the care of the fields ſhould not be abandoned. But neither the deſire of increaſing the crops, nor the attendance which they require, nor the acceſſory labours of ſettlement muſt compel him to neglect the weeding and cleaning of his plantations; he muſt alſo be provident, in ſecuring plenty of ground proviſions for his negroes, however numerous.

I now

I now ſuppoſe, that during the firſt twenty months, the planter has recruited his gang, and that the plantations, of every kind, are in proper proportion with his hands.

41. General Plan.

It is neceſſary, before actually commencing work, that the planter previouſly arrange the general diſtribution of his land, and allot the employment of it to its ſeveral plantations, always reſerving a great proportion of woodland to ſupply the decay of his firſt coffee fields.

If he has made a miſtake, in not chooſing the moſt favourable ſituation to place his buildings, it is ſtill time to redreſs it; but after this period, it would be too late; then he ought to make two intelligent negroes explore the woods, in order to diſcover a convenient ſituation. He ought to go himſelf to verify their reports, and to determine whether or not he ſhould alter his deſign. If he does, there is very little harm, becauſe he will afterwards have it in his power to make new plantations, which may meet with the former.

It is only in lands of very ſmall declivity that a ſymmetrical regular arrangement of the building place, ſavannas or paſtures, proviſion grounds for the maſter and the negroes, graſs grounds, and fields of coffee trees can be attained. This ſingular bleſſing is very rare. I ſubjoin here two plans of one of the moſt regular plantations in St. Domingo, which may give an idea of what can be done under this head. (Plate 3, and 4.)

In others, the forage and proviſion grounds of the maſter are diſperſed up and down, according to

CHAP. I. local convenience, in order to turn to the beſt account the deep valleys and indifferent ſpots of ground. But the ſavannas or paſtures, and the negroe grounds ſhould ſtill be under the maſter's eye. As to the houſes, they are placed upon the moſt acceſſible ſituations, and uſually upon the ſummit of ſome hill (in French *crêtes*) the moſt extended and broad, and the leaſt ſteep, where water may be conveyed. There the ſeveral ſettlements are arranged, as much as poſſible, within ſight and reach of the manſion houſe, and it is the part of induſtry to turn the ſituation to the beſt advantage.

Where it is impoſſible to ſettle in the center of the eſtate, that ſituation muſt be preferred, where the greateſt part of the tenement lies above, ſo that the negroes may deſcend, when loaded with coffee, ſtones, or other things. In ſuch caſe, the land lying lower than the ſettlement is deſtined for the ſavannas and negroe grounds.

A tract of ſtanding woodland, which will be uſeful in the moſt advanced periods, muſt always be left within reach; and where the ſituation is happily in the centre, when a certain extent is cleared all round for the ſavannas and graſs or ground proviſions, all the coffee plantations ſhould be carried on one ſide, the woodland being left at the other, that it may be found, at a like diſtance, when the firſt plantations ſhall be exhauſted (ſee Plate 3.) for want of that attention, the work becomes more diſtant and fatiguing.

I may occaſionally take further notice of ſome of thoſe points.

When

When the place is finally fixed upon, it is highly material to throw upon paper a general plan of diſtribution, according to the ideas above hinted at, and ſomewhat like the Plate 3.

42. Plan of the Settlement.

But a Plan of the Settlements, properly ſo called, viz. the buildings, platforms, and houſes, is ſtill more neceſſary, for, if they are made at random, one after another, as often is the caſe, the firſt built may happen to be where it will be afterwards found another ought to have been; and ſymmetry, that coſts but little, and without which the beſt things are aukward, and loſe much of their merit, will not be attained. The plan, Plate 4th, affords a very ſtriking inſtance of ſymmetrical convenience.

Firſt, the outlines of the place muſt be meaſured out, and exactly drawn upon paper. The declivities, then, muſt be levelled and noted upon the plan. It ſeldom happens that a place is not found where induſtry may exert itſelf to great advantage. The ſteep places are, with more or leſs labour, cut into platforms riſing one above the other, as amphitheatres. Upon theſe, the ſettlements are diſtributed. This manner ſaves a great deal of work, and it has very often been improved into very convenient and graceful ſymmetry. I ſubjoin here an outline of a ſettlement in platforms, or in amphitheatre. (Plate 5.)

It is alſo true, that in ſome few inſtances, nature is ſo very ungrateful and rebellious, that even with incredible toil and expence, nothing tolerable can be effected. To have fallen into this vexatious ſituation would perhaps have been prevented, by the

CHAP. I. previous examination of the land, which I have insisted upon in N° 7. of this chapter, for the purchase might have been declined.

When all the measures and levels are completed, the settlements must be calculated, according to ths planter's project and circumstances, and, after several trials and sufficient deliberation, a plan must be adopted and drawn upon paper. Little skill in drawing is necessary. Any man of common ingenuity may do it, with a rule, a compass, and a square.

This being done, the angles of every intended house, platform, garden, pen, and yards must be marked upon the spot, with good pickets. The distances are measured (as also the levels) with rules of twelve and six feet (Plate 2. fig. 5.) and with a carpenter's level; and the squares are taken with a wooden ball (ibid. fig. 4.) as big as an orange, which is half cut upwards by two little chinks at right angles; it is supported with a stick having an iron point, which is stuck into the ground, at an angle. Then a man looking through the chinks, causes stakes to be placed in the right lines at both sides; and, in these lines, the angles are marked with pickets. This very simple machine will serve for every kind of straight square distributions.

43. Negroe Grounds. The settler ought not to have delayed so long setting apart parcels of Ground for his first Negroes. Property of this sort is what most attaches them to the estate, and enables them to reap comfort from their own industry. But, however the case may be,

the preſent is the moment to appoint a place for all ſuch grounds as are now, or ſhall be neceſſary in proceſs of time; for it is fit that they all ſhould be together, and not diſperſed up and down. Every lot ought to be twenty-five paces ſquare, allowing ſixteen negroes to the ſquare of land. Theſe ought to be ſeparated by rows of Guinea peaſe; one half ſtocked with plantains and ground proviſions, the other half left to the negroe's choice. They uſually prefer to plant the whole with rice, beans, and Indian corn, and to ſell them; but the maſter muſt here interfere, and compel them to ſecure a maintenance. It is needleſs to ſay that regularity and ſymmetry, as much as the place will permit of, are pleaſing and convenient, in this as in every thing elſe, and ought therefore not to be overlooked.

44. Savannas.

It is only in proceſs of time, in general, that good Savannas can be obtained. New cleared ground is ſo long overrun with wild luxuriant weeds, which it bears ſpontaneouſly in unbounded profuſion, that the paſture graſſes are ſmothered and prevented from germinating. The beſt way, then, is to plant a quantity of corn, peaſe, and other proviſions, in the ground deſigned for the above purpoſe; and, when the wild weeds are deſtroyed by weeding ſeveral times, to ſuffer the paſture ſeeds to grow and extend, even to ſow them in ſome places. In this manner, the ſavannas will ſooner grow into full and good paſture.

In general two ſmall ſavannas are much more profitable and convenient than one large, as they may be paſtured alternately. A few native trees

CHAP. I.

ſhould be left in them, as ſhelter from the ſun, or a few elms, the large ſeeds of which are a very good food for the cattle, may be planted early. A little ſtream of water through the paſtures would alſo be convenient.

45. Pens.

Cattle or beaſts are neceſſary, in the firſt beginning, for the carriage of proviſions. A couple of milch cows are very much ſo, both on account of ſick negroes and children, as for the convenience and comfort of the maſter. A Pen or Pound therefore, formed of good ſtakes and poles, with a hut for ſhelter, ſhould be made as ſoon as poſſible. A field of graſs muſt alſo be planted in one of the places which I have mentioned. Guinea graſs is the beſt for mules and horſes; millet, and the leaves of *tayaux*, or of ſweet potatoes, better for cows, as furniſhing greater abundance of milk. The weeds picked up in the plantations are alſo, in general, good graſs.

46. Hedges.

In all caſes, that period muſt be choſen where the ſoil has ſtill its original ſtrength, to incloſe and divide the ground deſigned for paſture, with Hedges; even though that ground is ſtocked with coffee-trees or other plantations; for in general the firſt field of coffee ſurrounding the houſes is deſigned for the purpoſe of paſture. But as long as it bears well it is given up with reluctance. It is indeed a pity to cut off fine and productive trees. Thus I have ſeen an eſtate of twenty years ſtanding where there was no ſavanna, though the hedges ſtill ſubſiſted from the beginning throughout the firſt coffee fields.

The

The hedges are planted from ſeeds, and more properly from ſapplings, either of logwood which grows faſter, or of lemon-tree which is more durable, and does much better in cool climates. Nurſeries ought to be made, in order to get better plants; two rows of logwood are neceſſary, one of lemon may be ſufficient. Young hedges muſt be well weeded, and the decayed ſapplings replaced with new ones. When the ſhoots are five or ſix feet high, they muſt be cut alternately, one eight or twelve inches, and the other two feet from the ground. Thus the hedge will grow up cloſe and thick. It muſt afterwards be occaſionally lopped, facing outwards on either ſide; and the lateral boughs muſt be directed to twiſt together. The neceſſity of keeping the incloſures of paſtures in good order, to prevent the treſpaſſes of the cattle in one's own grounds, and to avoid the diſputes ſo frequent and ſo diſagreeable with one's neighbours, does not require to be mentioned. For want of hedges the paſtures are frequently incloſed with ſtakes and poles; but then there is no end of treſpaſſes, of complaints, and of toil to repair them.

47. Perſonal Comforts.

I ſuppoſe that before this period the huſbandman has taken ſome ſteps to improve his Perſonal Comfort and Conveniencies; for inſtance, that he has reſigned his original hut to the negroes with whom he may have been re-inforced; and that he has built himſelf a proviſional houſe (deſigned for ſome future particular purpoſe, in his general plan) more capacious and comfortable; as alſo, that he has made arrangements for procuring better living, and above all, the means of baking bread.

An

CHAP. I.

48. Temporary Oven.

An Oven may be made, at no expence, and with little difficulty, by digging a ſoil of clay, or of ſolid earth or gravel, exactly in the inward form of a common oven; beating the floor with a ſmall rammer after it has been well levelled and moderately wetted; and ſhutting it with a common oven door. When perfectly dry it muſt be warmed by ſlow degrees before baking. This, with proper care, may laſt for twelve months, and is capable of making tolerable bread.

It is now incumbent upon me to proceed to an explanation of the buſineſs of ſettling or building, in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SETTLEMENTS; *viz.* CONSTRUCTIONS, BUILDINGS, WORKHOUSES, ENGINES, PLATFORMS, DWELLING AND OUT-HOUSES, NEGROE HOUSES, AND STABLES; AND FIRST OF THE PREPARATION OF COFFEE FOR THE MARKET.

CHAP. II.

ABOUT twenty months after the first planting (as I have hinted in the end of the preceding chapter) the husbandman must enter into the business of his permanent settlements; but that the nature and design of such as belong to the manufacture of Coffee may be better understood, a clear idea must first be given of the mode of preparing that article for market.

1. Coffee Grain.

The fruit of the Coffee, when perfectly ripe, appears like a small oval cherry. Under a red and shining skin a whitish clammy luscious pulp presents itself, which generally incloses two seeds. These seeds have one side flat, the other hemispherical. The first is marked with a longitudinal fissure, and the flat sides are applied to each other. If the seeds are opened they are found covered with a white, ligneous, brittle membrane, denominated *parchment*, on the inside of which is another silver-coloured membrane, exceedingly thin, and seeming to originate from the fissure of the seeds. Here the seeds, properly so called, lie, and seem to consist of a sprout and of two original leaves.

Sometimes

CHAP. II.

Sometimes the cherry has only only one ſeed or grain, which then is in the form of a ſmall egg; but the chink, parchment, and membrane are preſerved. This is peculiar to old decayed trees, or to the extremities of ſome ſmall branches.

2. Quality for Sale.

The buſineſs of preparation conſiſts in taking the ſeed from its coverings, in drying it one way or other, and in cleaning it, ſo as to have every advantage at market.

It is generally known that the merchants have fixed a mark of preference upon coffee of a certain appearance. It is thus particularly required that it be perfectly dry, have a fine deep green colour, termed *horn-green*, a ſtrong pleaſing ſmell, and ſome brightneſs. Some remains of the ſilver-coloured membrane are alſo ſought for in the fiſſure. Laſtly, ſmall coffee is preferred.

Is this the beſt coffee for uſe? Such is not in reality the caſe. It is matter of fact, that the oldeſt coffee, if well kept, is the moſt palatable. It is however dull, and has a colour between red and yellow. But the reaſon of the preference given to the coffee of the firſt deſcription is, probably, that in this ſtate it is better able to reſiſt the great alteration which it ſuffers in the paſſage home. I remember to have ſeen, at a merchant's in the town of Nantz, upwards of an hundred ſamples of coffee, among which he pretended that many were of the firſt quality; though certainly, at the market of Cape François or Port-au-Prince, the very beſt of them would not have been allowed rank in the third.

The

The coffee of the firſt quality always bears a penny *(ſol)* more in price than the ſecond; and when coffee is ſold at twenty ſols per pound, this amounts to five per cent. Hence it becomes an object to cure it in the beſt manner.

3. Different Preparations.

I ſhall take notice of the different modes of Preparation. The laſt and moſt accurate is the moſt proper for attaining the fineſt market quality; becauſe, as the deſiccation is quick, it better diſengages all fermentable matters; and it is a chymical rule generally known, that deſiccation ſhould be quick, and cryſtallization ſlow. The reputation of the Borgne coffee belongs to this method of preparation, of which the firſt trials were early made in that diſtrict; for neither its land nor its climate are ſuperior to others. The ſmall ſize of the grain was only remarkable when the plantations were in the lower grounds; but this certainly affords no proof of a good ſoil. However cuſtom, that ſecond queen of the world, keeps up that character, though the plantations on the high mountains bear at preſent as large coffee as any where elſe; and though in every other part of the iſland, thoſe planters who have adopted the method of Borgne, make as fine coffee as the inhabitants of that diſtrict.

4. In Cherries.

It was the original method of preparing, to dry the coffee, as they term it, *in Cherries*; viz. as it is taken from the tree; and indeed this is ſtill followed by great numbers, either from want of water, and miſapplied œconomy in ſaving the expence of ſupplying it, or from the mere force of habit, and perhaps from the idea of diſpenſing with ſome labour

CHAP. II. labour of the negroes, and themſelves with the expence of mills and baſons. But the following explanations will evince their miſtake.

It is obvious that the grain of coffee, being incloſed in its ſkin and pulp, the drying will be greatly more tedious, eſpecially in rainy countries. In ſome few plantations the drying is performed upon the bare ground, which is ſtill more intolerable; but even upon good platforms, as are now generally in uſe, it will remain much longer in its clammy moiſture. It will ferment, and acquire a brown yellow hue; and ſometimes even become mouldy. Beſides, both the greater bulk, and the greater ſlowneſs in drying, require a greater proportion of expenſive platforms, and more trouble and care in management.

However, for the ſake of truth, I muſt mention two obſervations.

It is alledged that coffee dried in this manner is more heavy than when dried in parchment. I made the trial, under the circumſtances moſt favourable to this opinion; and I really found that it weighed three per cent. more.

In the next place, an early crop, of about a thouſand weight, having once taken me unawares, I was obliged, my baſon being out of repair, to dry it in cherries. It proved to be of the firſt quality, and I ſold it at thirty ſols, which was then the higheſt price. But the weather happened to be perfectly dry, and I had a great proportion of platforms, ſo that this inſtance warrants no inference. I muſt alſo ſay, that however favourable the circumſtances

cumſtances were, the coffee, though ſpread very thin upon platforms, where thrice as much might have been laid, was not dry before twenty-one days; while it is in general perfectly ſo in ſix or ſeven days in parchment, even in much thicker beds.

From this inſtance it is obvious, that many more platforms are neceſſary to dry in cherries than in parchment. Add to this, that the platforms go rapidly into decay, from the fermentative acid gum diſſolving the lime; and, even on the ſuppoſition that a gain of three per cent. weight were to be obtained generally, which I by no means am certain of, yet this mode of preparation will be found to be more expenſive, toilſome, and inconvenient than the other. Laſtly, it muſt be added, that the grinding and fanning are alſo more difficult.

Some pretend that the coffee dried in cherries is more palatable. That it may be ſomewhat improved by the pulp, in taſte as it is in weight, I will not deny. But as no trial has given me demonſtration of the fact, I believe that no one can judge of it except the niceſt connoiſſeur; while the main object for a planter is the market quality, and the œconomy of time and toil.

Yet if a planter wants to have coffee of the moſt perfect quality, either for himſelf or for his friends, he muſt ſet apart a number of his oldeſt trees, and not gather the fruit till it is ripened into dryneſs (which indeed is very hurtful to the trees). I believe that the Arabians in Yemen make in that manner their little harveſts. The coffee, thus nouriſhed

upon

CHAP. II. upon the tree to the laſt moment, muſt certainly acquire every perfection it is capable of.

5. Cow-dung. The ſecond method is variouſly modified, and in all its forms, is a remote and aukward imitation of the laſt. The cherries are either bruiſed and ſoaked in water to rottenneſs, or bruiſed without being ſoaked, or ſoaked without being bruiſed; and in thoſe different ſtates, are brought to dry upon the platforms.

Here there is the ſame waſte of time, almoſt the ſame degree of fermentation, notwithſtanding, in the firſt and laſt inſtances, the water may have diſſolved ſome of the gum. It is obvious how unpleaſant it muſt be to have, for ſix months in the year, an immenſe quantity of putrid nauſeous ſtuff, conſtantly under the eye; a kind of ſtuff very properly ſtigmatized with the homely appellation of *cow-dung*, which it in reality reſembles. The platforms, in this manner, are worn out ſpeedily. The coffee acquires generally more yellow brown, than when dried by the former method; and it is more likely to take an indelible ſcent of muſtineſs. The only advantage is that the grinding will not be ſo hard, as when dried in cherries.

I have only deſcribed the two former proceedings, for the purpoſe of forewarning the planter againſt them.

6. In parchment. I now will explain the laſt, and by far the beſt method, namely that of drying in parchment, as practiſed in the Borgne.

It is the firſt operation to ſtrip the ſeed of its outer ſkin, leaving it clad with the parchment; and this

this muſt not be poſtponed, becauſe the cherries, when heaped together, are diſpoſed to run ſpeedily into fermentation; in conſequence of which the pulp may, in twenty-four hours, impart a yellow brown tinge to the ſeed. CHAP. II.

This is called *to grate* (*Grayer*, in the Creole French idiom) becauſe it is performed by a *grater-mill*, of which I ſhall try to give, as far as I can, a clear and full deſcription. See Plate the ſixth, containing the whole machine (fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, exhibiting its four aſpects) and its ſeveral diſtinct parts (in the other figures). 7. Grater-mill.

Firſt the cherry coffee is laid upon a floor, above the mill, from which it falls, by little and little, into a hopper A. This being either ſufficiently inclined, or put in motion by the mill, drops the coffee into the grater B. The ſtructure of the mill is as follows.

It is ſupported by a ſtrong wooden frame G, three feet high, ſix in length, and about two in breadth. The principal pieces are a roller and grater B, two moveable pieces or chops C. D, a wire grate E, and a leaping frame F.

The roller B. is ſupported, at the fall of the hopper A, by an iron axletree, 1, running through its centre, which turns rapidly by means of two handles, upon two copper ſoles, H. fixed upon the ſides of the great frame 2. The wooden roller B. is commonly fourteen inches in diameter, and about eighteen in length. If it is longer, as in water mills, the diameter is leſs.

The middle ſixteen inches of the roller B. are

CHAP. II. carefully covered with a ſtrong plate of copper, pierced, as a grater, with a ſtrong bodkin, ſo that every hole has, on the outſide, three or four ſharp points or aſperities; the grater being accurately nailed upon the roller, all the aſperities are turned outwards.

Moreover, five ſtrong wooden pegs, 3. are fixed at equal diſtances, at each end of the roller, round the axletree 1.

The moveable pieces or chops are two pieces of wood, two feet and two inches long, five inches broad, and three inches high. One is ſuperior C. the other inferior D. Theſe are fixed in the great frame or ſupport, by their ends 4, which are ſquare; and, by means of wedges 5, they (the chops) may be placed ſomewhat nearer to, or farther from the roller B. The middle part of the chops, oppoſite to the grater, is cut in a ſloping direction, C 6, D 6. And their edges, near the roller, are armed with a band of ſteel about a line thick, and nine or ten broad, between the points O.

Now the ſloping ſurface 6. of the ſuperior chop C. falls towards the roller B.; that of the inferior D. falls, on the contrary, backwards, and upon the wire grate E. placed under it. The edge of the ſuperior ſlope C 6. is placed at ſuch exact diſtance from the roller B. that the cherries are bruiſed, without injury to the parchment, the ſeeds being ſuffered to paſs, and finding their way through the interſtices between the points of the grater, the ſkins and ſeeds then meet with the edge of the inferior ſlope o o, D. which is ſo cloſe with the

grater

grater that the ſeeds cannot paſs. They muſt of courſe fall back through the ſloping declivity 6. upon the wire grate or ſieve E. but the ſkins, which have been flattened, and are beſides entangled by the aſperities of the grater B. paſs between it and the inferior chop D.; and fall into a gutter I. behind the mill *(a)*.

All the pieces before mentioned muſt be of mahogany, or other wood of the beſt ſort.

The wire ſieve E. is ſtretched upon a ſquare long frame, and the holes are of ſuch dimenſions as to let the naked ſeeds paſs. It is much inclined, and hangs, by the crooks 9, at the great frame G. and by the rods 7, at another ſimilar frame H. namely the *leaping frame* F. which hangs alſo, by its middle, from the ſtirrup 8, and from the great frame of the mill G. By means of the two arms P. of the leaping frame, which are ſtretched out on both ſides of the roller B. the wire grate ſieve E. is put into briſk motion, by the pegs 3, fixed to the roller; by which means the arms alternately ſink and riſe. Thus the ſeeds fall through the holes of the ſieve E. into a gutter under the mill, the ſlope of which cauſes them to glide into the adjoining baſon, where they will ſoak and be waſhed. The cherries which happen not to have been bruiſed, being too big to paſs through the ſieve, are toſſed about till they fall down, at the back end K. of the mill, into a box, from which they are taken and put again into the hopper A.

(a) Theſe ſkins kept and rotten are the beſt poſſible manure.

N. is a key to turn the iron nuts of the handles and axletree, 1.

The grater-mill is liable to inconveniencies. If ſome of the points of the grater are ſharper than the others, they bruiſe the parchment and the ſeed, which will leave a black mark. If any thing hard, as a ſmall ſtone, happens to cruſh down any of the points, the cherries that meet them will not be bruiſed, or if they have been bruiſed, they will paſs out, with the ſkins, behind, and conſequently be loſt. This muſt be prevented, by great watchfulneſs on the part of the negroes; and, when it does happen, the grater muſt be inſtantly mended or changed.

It is alſo evident that the chops muſt be exactly placed at the proper point. If the upper one is too near the grater, the ſeeds will be injured; if too far, the cherries will paſs out unpeeled. If the next is too far, the ſeeds will paſs out; but this can hardly be too near, provided it does not injure the points of the grater.

It is further neceſſary that a thread of water trickle conſtantly upon the grater, to aſſiſt the coffee in paſſing more readily. The figures L. M. are for that purpoſe; the former a gutter, the latter its ſupport.

Eleven negroes are required for the ſervice of a mill; eight to turn, four and four alternately; one to be upon the floor to feed the hopper, one to carry away the ſkins, and another to carry back the unpeeled cherries into the hopper. This hard work is performed in the evening, when the negroes

groes return from the field; but they like it, because it is rewarded wirh a ſmall glaſs of rum. CHAP. II.

A good hand mill, ſuch as that above deſcribed, may paſs thirty-three barrels of cherries in an hour. But I ſhall ſpeak afterwards of the mule or water machines, which have been very uſefully and ingeniouſly employed in this manufacture.

The ſecond operation, is to waſh out the gum from the ſeeds. 8. Waſhing.

The coffee ſoaks for twenty-four hours in the baſon, being frequently, during this time, turned and toſſed with a rake (Plate 1ſt. fig. 2d.) the more water paſſes through the baſon, and the more frequently it is toſſed or turned, the more perfectly will it be waſhed; a point very material in the preparation. The ſkins which may have paſſed with it, when diſentangled, riſe to the ſurface, as alſo the empty and parched ſeeds. Theſe are thrown (or, if the water runs, it carries them) into a ſmaller contiguous baſon. Theſe are known by the name of *ſcums*; being dried and cleaned apart, they paſs as coffee of inferior quality.

Though ſoaking is hurtful to the naked ſeed, it is obſervable that covered with its parchment, it may be ſoaked any length of time, without being worſe for it; as alſo the cherries; theſe however ſhould be kept from fermenting, by the frequent addition of freſh running water.

Draining is the next work. In general, the coffee is carried by negroes, or by the water itſelf, to a draining platform, where it is ſpread out and expoſed for twenty-four hours. There is alſo a 9. Draining.

CHAP. II. ſeparate platform, of this ſort, for the ſcums. Yet, when there is abundance of running water, the former may be ſpared.

10. Drying. From thence the coffee, (free from gum, and as white as ivory, if it has been well waſhed) is carried to the drying platform, where it is ſpread out, as ſoon as the dew of the night is evaporated. If rain has fallen during the night, the platforms muſt be ſwept, as alſo if they are dirty. Here it muſt be turned ſeveral times in the day with rakes.

As ſoon as the coffee has felt the ſun, it muſt be carefully preſerved from the ſmalleſt moiſture; then it muſt be puſhed, by means of rakes, ſhovels, and brooms, in the evening, or when rain threatens, into a round, formed with little walls or edges of maſonry, placed in the middle of every platform, called here *baſſicots*; where it muſt be well covered. Every morning it is ſpread out again; and when it is perfectly dry, friable upon chewing, and horn-green, it ought to be carried, while warm, into a cloſe dry ſtore. That the round or *baſſicot* may be warmer during night, very little coffee is left in it during the day *(a)*.

11. Covering. For want of ſomething better, the coffee is ſometimes covered, in the forms or *baſſicots*, with plantain leaves.

12. Huts. Beſides this, round conical huts, made with rafters, and thatched, are uſed for this purpoſe; but they are ſo very heavy, that ſix ſtout negroes are

(a) The *baſſicots* may as well be ſquare as circular, provided they are in the middle of the platform, framed ſo as to be perfectly drained by the outlets, the interior angles being a little rounded.

equired to move them; and the ends of the rafters, moreover, injure the platforms. CHAP. II.

Others make ſtill more expenſive Umbrellas of the ſame form, but framed of joiner's work, and covered with tarred ſail cloth. Theſe are certainly very light, but not free, in general, from the inconvenience of ſpoiling the plaſter of the platforms; while their bulk gives ſo much hold to guſts of wind, that the forms are ſometimes found unroofed in the morning, and the coffee ſoaked with rain. Beſides this, they occupy a great ſpace in the day, upon the platforms, if, as is often the caſe, there is no level ground near. 13. Umbrellas.

It is a ſtill better way to cover the *baſſicots* with Tarpawlings, ſuch as are uſed on ſhipboard. Theſe are kept down by eight heavy ſtones, at the angles and upon the folds, the coffee being heaped into a point underneath. The plaſter does not ſuffer from them; the wind having no hold, they are not even ſo much as ruffled. It will be neceſſary, every year or ſecond year, to give them a thin coat of tar. Some put a ſmall round hamper underneath, to prevent them from touching the coffee; but the coffee, formed into a pyramid, will give ſufficient deſcent to the tarpawling. Without ever uſing that precaution, I can aſſert that my coffee always preſerved, till morning, a conſiderable degree of warmth under the tarpawlings. 14. Tarpawlings.

The ſize of theſe ought to exceed the diameter of the *baſſicots* by four feet. They are made of good ſail cloth, well ſewed, broad-hemmed, and with handles of rope at the angles. It muſt, how-

CHAP. II. ever, be foreſeen, that tarring will ſhorten them near a twelfth. Thoſe of the greateſt ſize, made in and brought from France, coſt me nine or ten dollars, and I tarred them myſelf in the following manner.

Firſt they were well ſoaked with ſea-water. When quite dry I beſmeared them with tallow moderately warm, and I left them two hours in the ſunſhine. Then I covered thinly both ſides with hot tar, with a very ſmall quantity of ſpirit of turpentine. Next I put them for two or three days in the ſun; and laſtly I dried them in the ſhade, which is a little tedious. Prepared in this manner they never break, and a ſmall degree of heat makes them ſoft as woollen cloth.

It muſt however be remembered, that the tarpawlings muſt never be folded, but carried away and houſed, rolled upon ſtraight bamboo poles. Near the platforms alſo there ought to be four forks, ſeven feet high, with two beams, upon which the bamboos are placed during the day, ſo that the beams may bear thirty tarpawlings, more or leſs. Thus they are no ways cumberſome; and in ſummer, when the crop is at an end, they are ſafely lodged, and require no great room; whereas the bulky huts and umbrellas muſt remain without doors all the year round, expoſed to the injuries of weather.

15. Grinding. The remaining part of the preparation is much the ſame in every diſtrict, and on every plantation; the buſineſs being to prepare the dry coffee for ſale.

This can ſeldom be done in crop time, as all the negroes are buſy; even the intervals afford full employment

employment for all hands in weeding. However, if it can be accomplished at the time, some benefit will perhaps be found at market. But yet, if the storehouse is dry, the parchment coffee will keep above twelve months without any alteration; that dried in cherries will keep for a great number of years.

Now suppose that coffee must be peeled for market; a certain quantity taken from the store is laid for two or three hours upon a warm platform, and spread very thin. Eight or ten bagfulls are peeled at once, according to the capacity of the mill. Ten bags produce five of clean coffee, or five hundred weight.

16. Peeling-mill.

This engine is less complicated than the former. It is used in several manufactures in Europe; for instance, in grinding apples for cyder.

In a circular trough A, (Plate 7.) about ten or twelve inches deep, and of the same breadth, and ten or twelve feet in diameter, made either of hard wood or of mason's work, and then paved with large flat stones, is placed a massy vertical grinder, or wheel, B, of the heaviest wood, about six feet high, twelve or fourteen inches thick in the centre, and about four in the circumference. An axletree, or tail C, passes through it; one end is fixed in the centre of the trough, so as to be capable of turning; the mules are tied to the other, and turn the wheel forwards upon the axletree. Thus the coffee is ground round the trough or orbit.

First, a proportion must be observed in the reciprocal distance from the centre to the wheel, and

from

CHAP. II. from this to the other end of the axletree; becauſe the lever of reſiſtance is in the former, and the lever of action is in the latter. Accordingly, that the draught be not too hard, the latter diſtance muſt be more than double the former. Driving at a briſk trot, a thouſand weight of net coffee may be ground in one hour and a half at moſt.

Next, it is commonly ſuppoſed that the trough muſt be wider upwards than at the bottom, that the coffee may the better fall under the wheel. (Beſides, there is a fork D, faſtened behind, which puſhes it to the middle as the wheel goes on.) I have experienced the contrary. I myſelf cauſed to be made a trough of mahogany, with parallel ſides, where the fork brought the coffee to the middle ſo perfectly, that before the coffee was half ground, nothing but duſt was to be found in the angles.

Here the hydraulic engine is alſo applied.

A few planters, for want of a mill, grind with peſtles in a long trough, which is tedious and laborious.

The mill breaks the parchment only, never the ſeed.

If bad weather comes on after the grinding, the coffee ought to be left in the chaff. This abſorbs the dampneſs, and keeps the coffee, for a few days, without alteration.

17. Fanning. Next the coffee is winnowed, ſometimes in wind, with wooden porringers or ſhovels; but more properly by a Fan-mill, ſuch as thoſe uſed in Europe for winnowing corn, and which induſtrious artificers

ficers have considerably improved for the use of this manufacture.

18. Winnowing-mill.

The Winnowing-mill consists of a fan, made with four plates of tin, or thin planks, mounted upon an axletree A, (Plate 7.) at the end of which is a tooth-wheel E. Another wheel D. makes it turn with increased velocity, when worked by a negroe, by means of a handle P. The whole engine is inclosed in a chest, opened only at the end N, and in g. The coffee and chaff fall together from the hopper G, through a hole o, upon a sieve B, which, together with the other sieve C, is set in motion by the string L, by means of an oval pulley E, and of the wooden spring M. The rubbish and unbruised seeds are tossed into the gutter N, and from thence into a barrel. But the good coffee falls through the sieve B, upon the thicker sieve C, where it slides along into a box F, as the chaff, meanwhile, is entirely blown away through the open end N *(a)*.

19. Picking.

When the coffee is winnowed, it is passed through hand-sieves (Plate 1. fig. 11.) for the purpose of separating the small round cherries which remain still unbruised. Then it is picked upon large tables, where all the black or broken seeds, as well as gravel, are picked out. The cherries are peeled again, and the broken or spotted seeds make coffee of a base quality, which is sold under the name of *picking*. It is observable that merchants are more

(a) The chaff must not be kept as the skins. It is of a very dry nature. It makes but an overwarm burning manure, and that after a great number of years.

nice

CHAP. II. nice about the cleanneſs of coffee, when the demand at the market is leſs.

20. Tables. The Tables will be more convenient if edged with a lath about an inch high, and if there is a bottomleſs box A, (Plate 1. fig. 12.) in the middle, ſupported upon ſmall triangles, with feet two inches high. The coffee is put into the box, and the pickers lay hold of it as it ſlides underneath in B. Before each of them is a hole C, under which a bag is hung, and kept open by crooked nails; as they pick it they throw it into the bags, which are the ſame in which it is carried to the market.

There muſt be ſeparate places in the magazine for the *ſcums* and the *picking*. It is almoſt needleſs to ſay that the *ſcums* are ground, winnowed, and picked for ſale in the ſame manner, but after the ſale of the finer coffee.

When the coffee is perfectly dreſſed, ſome planters put it again under the peeling-wheel for half a dozen of turns; which makes its appearance brighter, eſpecially if the trough is very ſmooth and poliſhed.

After this, as ſoon as poſſible, the bags are weighed, tied up, and ſealed, ready to be ſent to town. Great care muſt be taken that they be not wet in the way.

21. Coffee-man. A careful intelligent negroe muſt be trained up, ſo as to have perfect knowledge of the manufacture, in all its parts. It is particularly in his province to watch the mills, platforms, baſons, picking *(a)*,

(a) Each negroe is required to pick a hundred pounds of coffee per day.

and

and to obſerve the appearance of threatening rain when the coffee is ſpread out.

All this work of preparation is performed by the houſe ſervants, the young people who do not go to the field, the women with child, or the nurſes. Laſtly, the ſervant maids and hoſpital attendants aſſiſt to ſweep the coffee in or out of the *baſſicots*.

All theſe premiſes being well underſtood, one perceives the buildings neceſſary for the manufacture: a grater-mill houſe with its baſons; the draining and drying platforms; perhaps a ciſtern to ſupply the want of water. A grinding-mill houſe, where the fan may find a place. This is ſomewhat expenſive, as it ſhould be ſix-and-thirty feet diameter, or in ſquare. Sometimes the grinding-mill is uncovered, but this is inconvenient in damp weather. Laſtly, a coffee-houſe or ſtore, with rooms for the different purpoſes of the manufacture.

22. Buildings.

But before theſe Works are undertaken (and ſtill more the dwelling houſes) the materials muſt be provided, and artificers procured; a ſufficient number of plantations (not exceſſive) muſt have been previouſly made, refraining from attempting any more while building is going on.

As it is my object to plan a ſolid and comfortable ſettlement, I ſuppoſe the planter is in eaſy circumſtances, has already forty or fifty negroes, and is able to increaſe even that number; in ſhort, that he has in view an eſtate of a hundred or a hundred

and

CHAP. II. and fifty thouſand pounds of coffee a year. I ſhall proceed upon this ſuppoſition, taking care that thoſe who cannot accompliſh ſo much, may yet find information in what they wiſh to perform.

A man of worth and character, owner of land of good quality, will not fail to find advances for his purpoſes; and I ſhall always adviſe a man of that deſcription (and indeed no other) to make the beſt of his credit. His engagements may ſerve to bind him faſter to œconomy, while the advantage of his credit may conduct him to fortune. Upon the whole, nothing muſt be ſpared in expenſe contributing to ſolidity, duration, and convenience of eſtabliſhments; but every appearance of luxury and ſuperfluity muſt be removed from the works of the ſober huſbandman. It is only when all things neceſſary are done, when all debts are paid off, when the family is not numerous, and when the planter is reſolved to live and die upon his eſtate, that he may be allowed to indulge expenſive taſtes, and to beautify his own retreat.

The provident huſbandman will not fail to foreſee and prepare himſelf for this period from the earlieſt times. His chief ſkill muſt be exerted to make the beſt of time, without diſtreſſing his negroes; and to prevent, as much as he can, all thoſe extraordinary toils which attend building, and particularly the work of maſons.

23. Stone. Thus, from the very firſt outſet, he ought to take care to accumulate Stone upon the place of ſettlement. For that purpoſe it is enough that every negroe, returning from the field, bring with him one

one or two large ſtones, or a baſket of ſmall ones. It is only for want of this precaution, or where this precaution has been inſufficient, that the whole gang comes to be employed, for two days or more occaſionally, to ſupply the maſons. It is then very material to uſe wheelbarrows. By help of them triple work is performed. If the ground admits of it, a tumbrel ought even to be provided and employed, as two mules and two negroes would then do as much as twenty men.

The ſtones muſt be ſelected, not taken at random. Free-ſtone, granite, and hard lime-ſtone, if in abundance, ought to be preferred. There is a ſpecies of gravel-ſtone, which has apparently a degree of hardneſs when firſt dug up, but which moulders away in the open air: This ſhould never be employed, except in works under ground. Round ſmooth ſtones alſo are leſs proper than thoſe that are rough, ſharp, and angular. If neceſſary, ſome quarry muſt be looked for, and a couple of ſtout negroes, with proper tools, employed to work it. But if mining with gunpowder be neceſſary, the attendance of ſome perſon of truſt and experience muſt be procured, to guard againſt accidents. In general, however, ſtones of very good quality are found above ground, or, at leaſt, in the deep valleys, or beds of torrents. The largeſt are the moſt profitable, as they ſave mortar.

24. Sand.

The beſt Sand is found in the beds of rivers; and, in greater abundance, after floods. When gathered, it muſt be paſſed through a hurdle, and laid in heaps beyond the reach of water. The gravel

ſeparated

CHAP. II. ſeparated from it may be employed in making the platforms. In defect of river ſand, veins are occaſionally found in almoſt all deſcriptions of land. Theſe are improperly called *puzzolana*. When the grain is coarſe, rough, and dry between the fingers, it is quite as good as river ſand. Laſtly, in defect of all theſe, brick-cement-kilns muſt be made in the ſame manner as lime-kilns, of which I am going to ſpeak.

25. Lime. Lime alſo muſt be prepared early. The great lime-kilns are generally known, and I ſhall only give a ſhort ſketch of them. Theſe are round towers A, (Plate 8. fig. 1.) dug on the ſide of a hill, furniſhed with an aſh-pot B, and a mouth or opening C. to throw the wood through. They ought to be regularly built around with ſtone walls, though ſometimes the fore part only is built. Some of theſe are large enough to burn at once four thouſand barrels of lime, at the expence of ſixty or ſeventy cords of wood. They can, however, only be undertaken where there is a great number of hands, and under the management of a ſkilful man, chiefly where one is obliged to burn a certain ſort of lime-ſtone of a grey colour, ſtreaked with white veins, very heavy and hard, and apt to crack with ſtrong heat. It ſometimes even breaks the vault D, and cauſes all the ſtone above to fall into the aſh-pot, ſo that every thing is loſt. For this reaſon, experience and ſkill are required to manage the gradual action of the fire.

26. Lime-ſtone. I ſhall explain methods more eaſy and leſs expenſive than the above; but firſt mention the different ſpecies of Lime-ſtone.

1. That

1°. That which I have juſt now deſcribed, though it is burned with difficulty, makes excellent lime.

2°. That which is called in this country *caſeade*, a ſort of white porous tartar, like pumice-ſtone. It is formed in ravines, ſeeming to originate from the dregs of waters of a certain quality *(a)*.

3°. Another kind, ſnow-white, very light and ſoft, is found at the ſurface of certain grounds, upon harder beds. This and the former burn very eaſily.

4°. The beſt of all is white, heavy, hard, brittle, and is called here *ravetſtone*, on account of the great ruggedneſs of its ſurfaces.

Lime-ſtones are eaſily known by the application of a ſtrong acid liquor, which cauſes them to diſſolve, and boil into a froth. Spirit of vitriol is the ſureſt criterion. Lemon-juice will alſo generally anſwer the purpoſe.

There are two ſpeedy and eaſy methods of making lime, in both of which the ſtone muſt be broken into minute pieces, if the ſtones of the fourth, and particularly of the firſt quality, are employed. This muſt be done on new-cleared ground, before the wood is burned, that it may ſerve for the purpoſe. A flat place alſo muſt be choſen upon the ſpot.

27. Caraib. kiln.

Firſt, in the *Caraib* way. A ditch D (Plate 8. fig. 2.) is dug about eighteen inches in depth and width, and longer by two feet at each end than the intended length of the kiln. Suppoſe twenty-two feet. It is filled with dry ſmall wood, ſtraw, and

(a) It is obvious this water is none of the beſt to drink.

CHAP. II.

other combuſtible matters. Over this is laid a thick layer of large wood, A, eighteen inches high, and eighteen feet ſquare; and over this again a layer of ſtones, B, one foot high. Alternately follow a layer of wood, A, and a layer of ſtones, B, of the ſame depth, gradually contracting in circumference to the height of eight or nine feet. The layers of ſtones muſt be confined all round by rows of large trunks or billets. The largeſt pieces of wood muſt be in the interior layers, and all muſt be intermixed with ſmall ſplinters of dry wood. Laſtly, the largeſt ſtones muſt be towards the middle.

In calm weather both ends of the ditch D. are lighted up. The fire ſpreads, and continues to burn till the materials are conſumed.

28. Engliſh-kilns.

Next in the *Engliſh way*, as they call it.

A hole A. (Plate 8. fig. 3.) is dug in a circular form, of a diameter not exceeding thirty feet, but always three feet deep. A ſtrong pole, B, fifteen feet high, is ſet up in the centre, ſurrounded with ſtraw, branches, and ſplinters of dry wood, tied round, from the ground to the top, in the manner of faggots, about eighteen inches thick. Then billets of green wood, C, ſix feet long, and the thickeſt that can be managed, are arranged vertically round the hole at the circumference, making a circle three feet broad, the place from which to the pole is filled with other billets, not ſo large, three feet long, and alſo erect. As the work goes on, all the empty intervals are filled with ſplinters of dry wood, vertically diſpoſed. It is obvious that, the outward billets being longer by three feet, the furnace now preſents the appearance of a large pot, twenty-four

feet

feet broad. Next, the earth which has been dug out muſt be heaped around, E, as high as the billets, both to keep them up and to ſhut out the air. Then the furnace is filled with ſtones (the largeſt below and in the center) in a pyramidal form, to the height almoſt of the pole. If tar can be got, a ſmall portion of it ſhould be poured upon the faggot. Fire is ſet to it. It will ſpread from above below, and next to the circumference, and the furnace will burn of itſelf.

In this manner a thouſand barrels of lime may be burned at once; and, in the former, five or ſix hundred. When it is cold it ſhould be carried under a well-covered hut (taking care to pick out the coals and unburned ſtones) becauſe lime is ſpoiled by rain. If this is not done, it is put into a great pit, moiſtened into a ſoft paſte, and covered with ſix inches of ſand. In this manner it is perhaps better kept than in any other way.

If lime can be purchaſed in the neighbourhood it is a very lucky circumſtance; and indeed the purchaſing is indiſpenſable where (as it ſometimes happens) there is no lime-ſtone upon the land; but the opportunity of tranſporting it muſt be watched, rain being carefully avoided, for fear of burning the mules. It is even neceſſary to put large mats under the bags; otherwiſe theſe would touch the hair, and, when the mules ſweat, injury would happen.

29. Cement.

As Cement makes a more laſting and better mortar for the baſons, ſome of it ought to be prepared in every lime-kiln: for that purpoſe cakes of clay, mingled with a little ſand, are kneaded as bricks,

CHAP. II.

and, when dried under the ſhade, are arranged upon the ſurface of the furnace (C, fig. 2. F, fig. 3. Plate 8.) before it is lighted up. When cement is wanted, theſe are powdered and ſifted.

Where a furnace has been made, the ground muſt be levelled again, and coffee trees planted upon the ſpot with ſome more care than elſewhere; a furnace ſhould be made at every plantation, except the firſt, where no time can be ſpared from the neceſſity of ſecuring vegetable proviſions.

30. Artificers.

If the planter has not Artificers of his own, and it is probable he has not, it being ſeldom that ſlaves are ſkilful enough for works of difficulty; or if he cannot, by his own induſtry, do without them; artificers may eaſily be found, and bargains muſt be previouſly made with them: *viz.* with the maſons, at ſo much per fathom of work; with the carpenters, who are in general alſo tilers, at a ſtated price by the month or year, or by job; laſtly, with the ſhingle-makers, at ſo much per thouſand. There are ſome who have negroes of their own; theſe muſt be preferred, becauſe otherwiſe they will require to be ſupplied with ſome of the planter's. Theſe agreements muſt be made in writing, well explained, with a device and chart to prevent all diſputes. It is almoſt always the planter's buſineſs to bring the timber, ſhingles, and other materials, within reach of the artificers, by his own negroes.

31. Timber.

The Timber is ſquared in the wood by the carpenter; but the trunks or logs that are ready cut among the plantations muſt be firſt employed. This perhaps may ſpoil ſome coffee-trees; but, when the timber is taken away, the ground is levelled,

levelled, and may be planted again, ſo that no empty places be left.

32 Shingles.

It being generally extremely difficult to procure ſlates and tiles, Shingles are the only covering which ſhould be permitted in permanent buildings, either on account of duration, or on account of fire; but whether they are to be purchaſed and brought from a diſtance, or made by hired artificers upon the eſtate, they are very expenſive. Beſides, theſe artificers, for their own eaſe and benefit, make a wanton waſte of wood. But this inconvenience may be almoſt entirely prevented if the planter has or can find means of teaching a negroe of his own, who may be inſtructed to be an œconomiſt of wood. Such a negroe, with any common aſſiſtant, may plane, at leaſt, two thouſand ſhingles a week. Such being the caſe, no thatch ſhould be employed. The ſhingles muſt be four or five lines thick, eighteen inches long, and ſix broad at moſt. If they were broader the ſun would make them bend, and ſuffer the rain to penetrate. For the ſame reaſon they ſhould not be employed before they are perfectly dry *(a)*.

33. Moon's Wane.

Whatever ridicule may be attempted to be thrown upon vulgar obſervations, it is well proved by experience, that trees are in ſuch a ſtate of vegetation, or poſſeſs ſuch a diſpoſition of the juices in the Wane of the Moon, as renders them more durable when employed in domeſtic purpoſes; and though this operation of nature is not eaſily explained, no man of ſenſe will deny but that the phenomenon is

(a) As to Thatch, ſee Number 56. of this Chapter.

CHAP. II. as poſſible as ſo many others, of the truth and exiſtence of which no one doubts. Accordingly, notwithſtanding the note of ridicule, I ſhall poſitively adviſe to cut wood and timber for planks, ſhingles, and incloſures, in the wane of the moon, even on the grounds deſigned for plantations.

It is needleſs to enter into a nomenclature of the different timbers which St. Domingo, and all the tropical iſlands, afford in great abundance, and of good quality; as the names of them are very variable, and would not be underſtood in another place. For he ground-works and poſts the moſt incorruptible and hardeſt muſt be employed. For the upper works, as beams and rafters, thoſe which have a long fibrous grain, and of the lighteſt kinds. This ſort alſo does beſt for ſhingles and boards. The roſin trees are generally good for any thing. But ſome woods, which are known to become ſoon worm-eaten, muſt be rejected. The ſoft kinds ſhould be put under ſhelter as ſoon as they are ſquared; otherwiſe the moiſture ſpoils them before they are employed.

Boards ought to be ſawed fourteen lines thick; and that they be perfectly dry, as well as the ſhingles, they ought to be placed in the ſmoke, under the roofs of the negroe houſes, for five or ſix months.

The artificers muſt be ſtrictly watched, both for the proper conception and exact execution of the plans, as well as for the employment of the beſt materials, the rejection of the ſpoiled timber, and the perfection of the workmanſhip itſelf.

The buildings are either of Maſon's, or of carpenter's work.

34. Maſon's-work.

For the former, the mortar muſt conſiſt one third of lime, and two thirds of ſand. But the proportion of lime is required to be ſomewhat greater in plaſtering the baſons and platforms. Cement will alſo be better than ſand in the baſons; and the proportion of lime may be diminiſhed in the underground works. The foundations of walls muſt always be deep in proportion to their height. It is the beſt maſonry where mortar is uſed freely, well intermingled with ſmall ſtones amid the larger ones. Terrace-walls require to have ſlopes; and this in proportion to the height. Small holes muſt likewiſe be leſt, at proper places and diſtances, as outlets for air and water. Theſe walls, for the ſake of œconomy, may be made with clay inſtead of mortar, or with dry ſtone; but then they muſt be thicker, have greater ſlope, and be parjetted, in dry weather, with good mortar. With regard to houſes, as it is very difficult in the mountains to procure brick for the windows, doors, and arches, they are uſually made of the beſt timber, well faſtened with the maſonry.

35. Carpenter's work.

Carpenters alſo do joiner's plain work, as the making of doors, windows, floors, and the like, as alſo the tiler's work; except where the houſes are thatched, which is done by the negroes.

Here there are two ways of building. One where the poſts are planted in the ground, and another where they are raiſed up with tenons and mortiſes, upon horizontal ground pieces of timber

CHAP. II. (in French, *ſaulages*) ſupported by a ſmall wall, more or leſs high, and of proportionable thickneſs.

The former way is leſs expenſive, and beſt adapted for the negroe-houſes, ſtables, and out-houſes. Here the hardeſt and moſt durable timber muſt be uſed for the poſts. This form is convenient, becauſe the poſts, in the event of their rotting, may be eaſily changed for new ones, without ſhaking the building. The poſts muſt be ſunk three feet into the ground; and if they are hardened in the fire they will laſt better.

In the latter way, the ground timber, being raiſed upon a wall, laſts longer; and longer ſtill if bricks are placed at ſmall diſtances between it and the wall, admitting of the paſſage of the air. This way of building is more neat; and, as the floor may be raiſed at the level of the walls *(a)*, the houſes are leſs damp and more healthy, eſpecially if, inſtead of being full paved with tiles or bricks, or plaſtered, as the platforms, (which is often the caſe) they are floored with planks or boards, with a free admiſſion of air underneath; as is indiſpenſably neceſſary in the coffee-ſtores.

All the houſes of carpenter's work are cloſed around, as well as the ſeveral rooms ſeparated, either by thin walls between the poſts, or by boards of palm-tree or of other timber. The negroe-houſes, and others of a ſimilar kind, are wattled between the poſts. The beſt wattling is made with the bark of the leſſer palm-tree (of which I have

(a) This may alſo be effected in the former mode of building, by means of little walls between the poſts.

ſpoken

ſpoken in a former place); and if it is made with nicety, well faſtened, parjetted with good mortar, and whitened with lime, it may be employed, in preference of boards, in any houſe. For want of the ſmall palm-tree, thin ſtaves of wood may, I believe, be ſubſtituted with ſucceſs, with the ſame precautions.

Such are the general obſervations. I ſhall beg leave to add, that the houſes muſt be placed, as much as the place will allow, at ſuch diſtance that the communication of accidental fire may be prevented; and, I muſt alſo repeat, within the eye, ear, and command of the maſter. The exactneſs and accuracy of the manufacture, the attendance of the hoſpital, the daily and nightly order and police of the negroe-houſes, and the care of the cattle of every kind, depend entirely upon the maſter's preſence and vigilance. It is however proper that his own dwelling-houſe be removed from the current of offenſive exhalations, and that it be, for inſtance, windward of the hoſpital and ſtables.

36. Frame of the Buildings.

Now I proceed to deſcribe, more particularly, the different Buildings; and firſt the grater-mill-houſe, with its appurtenances, as the baſons, draining platforms; ponds and ciſterns, if theſe are neceſſary, from ſcarcity or abſolute want of running water.

37. Grater-mill-houſe.

Between thirty and forty thouſand weight of coffee will employ a Grater-mill for the ſeaſon. I ſpeak of hand-mills. I ſhall ſubjoin the ſketch of a houſe, forty feet in length, and twenty in breadth, where four mills may be managed with eaſe and convenience. (Plate 9.)

The

CHAP. II.

The floor or garret in which the coffee is firſt laid up, and from which it falls into the mills, A, through wooden gutters of ſix inches ſquare, muſt be very ſtrong. In very ſteep grounds, there being a good terrace-wall, it may at one end be cloſe to the cut of the hill, ſo that the negroes may get into the garret on a level. Otherwiſe ſtairs (5.) are required; for it is neceſſary that the acceſs and egreſs be eaſy and free.

The mills are placed upon their gutters B, which fall with a ſlope into a baſon, C. The ſkins fall into another gutter, G, from whence they are conveyed or carried backwards. Forwards are the baſons. The coffee baſon, C, muſt be large, and in a long ſquare form; I ſuppoſe eight or ten feet ſquare, for the annual produce of thirty or forty thouſand weight. It muſt not be more than eighteen or twenty inches deep, ſo that the negro who turns the coffee may not have water much above his knees.

A ſmall trickling or thread of water is neceſſary in each mill. The larger the quantity coming in from the conduit 1. 1. the better; for if the baſon can be filled twice in twenty-four hours (and ſtill more if in greater abundance) the coffee will thus be better waſhed. If the water is ſcarce upon the ſettlements, or if there is no running water, the defect muſt be ſupplied by means of a pond or ciſtern, ſo diſpoſed as to receive more or leſs of the rain water which flows from the drying platforms; and then the mill-houſe and its appurtenances muſt, as it is obvious, be ſituated under the pond or ciſtern, and of courſe under the platforms, which makes the

carriage

carriage of the coffee more toilſome; from the baſon C. the water goes into the next leſſer veſſel D, with all the floating *ſcums*, through an outlet 3, which is always open. This baſon has another outlet 4, with a ſmall grate, through which nothing eſcapes but the ſuperfluous water. Both baſons have a ſluice 2, faſtened in the maſonry, and when that is taken up, the water carries the coffee and the ſcums to their reſpective draining platforms E. F. ſhut with grates 6.

38. Ponds and Ciſterns.

I now muſt explain in what manner all this may be beſt conſtructed; and firſt the Pond or Ciſtern, where theſe are unluckily neceſſary. They only differ in this, that the pond ſupplies a ſmall quantity of running water, and only requires the addition of the water from one or two platforms; and of courſe need not be ſo wide as the ciſterns, which are filled from all the platforms, there being no running water at all; however, as they muſt be built with the ſame nicety and ſolidity, with proper proportion to their width and depth, only differing in ſize, I ſhall explain the mode of conſtructing a ciſtern.

This is a great work, an immenſe quantity of materials being required in the building of a ciſtern; for it muſt hold water ſufficient for the conſumption of three or four weeks. The calculation is made by cubical maſſes; if the coffee baſon contains three hundred cubical feet, the ciſtern ought to contain nine thouſand; independant of other wants. I ſuppoſe a ciſtern forty feet ſquare and twelve deep. It will contain about eighteen thouſand eight hundred cubical feet. (Plate 10.)

The

CHAP. II.

The beſt form for a ciſtern is a perfect ſquare, three ſides of which ſhould be cut in the ground, ſo that the fore wall only appears. This muſt be of a ſloping form, as broad as the other three, and the baſis almoſt double in thickneſs. The trenching is managed like all others: A number of negroes dig, others carry the earth in hampers or wheelbarrows, and throw it down the hill, taking care that the place deſigned for the mill-houſe and its appurtenances be not encumbered; and, if good ſtone is found in the trenching, that muſt be ſet apart for building.

When the trenching is complete, and the floor A, fig. 1, levelled, the foundations are dug around, three feet broad, only that on the fore part muſt be much larger and deeper than the others. They are then built up to the level of the floor. The two interior feet of the work are built with ſand and lime mortar, the foot near the perpendicular trenched ground, with clay mortar. But the whole fore wall is made as the inſide. The floor is now framed, *viz.* firſt a foot deep with ſtones and clay mortar, and two feet above with lime and ſand mortar, with an almoſt inſenſible declivity towards the outlet D. Then the four walls are raiſed up, in the ſame manner as the foundations. I need not ſay that the beſt ſtone, lime, mortar, and workmanſhip are required every where. The angles muſt be built round at the inſide, for greater firmneſs, it being there that the water makes the greateſt effort.

The ciſtern is filled with the rain falling from the platforms F, through gutters and the ſmall baſons E, three

E, three or four feet ſquare, and two in depth, where the ſand ſubſides, and the floating rubbiſh is ſtopped by means of a grate. Above the ciſtern wall, there is a trench or outlet K, three or four inches deep; if there is a ſuperabundance of water, a rail H. muſt be placed all round the ciſtern, to prevent the children from falling into it, if it is not covered.

By means of two pillars built in the ciſtern, it may be covered with two parallel roofs, or with a floor of beams and boards, which may drain into the ciſtern itſelf.

The water is drawn up and conveyed to the mills and into the baſons, through a pipe or cock, D. 1, placed in the fore wall. But a *ſucker* is more convenient than a plain pipe, and leſs expenſive than a cock. For this purpoſe, a ſquare hole, ſix inches wide and deep, is made in the floor D, at the upper end of a pipe running through the fore wall D. 1.; this hole is ſhut with a paving ſtone, (fig. 3.) a ſquare piece of braſs, K, paſſes the ſtone, and is pierced with an hole L, in the form of an inverted cone. Another piece of the ſame metal and figure, M, about an inch in diameter at the lower end, ſhuts the hole hermetically, and by means of a ring faſtened to it, and of a ſmall chain or ſtring, it may be taken out perpendicularly from above the ciſtern wall. The preſſure of the water, together with the reſiſtance of the air below, prevents the leaſt drop of water from trickling out. In order to make it flow, the ſluice is drawn up by the ſtring, and when let fall, the ſuction of the water draws it into the hole, which is again ſhut.

The

CHAP. II.

The water of ſuch a ciſtern will never be very clear, and if people are obliged to drink it, it is proper it ſhould be filtered, by means of a ſyphon filled with ſand. A well B, four feet deep, is dug at the bottom of the ciſtern, and built exactly with the ſame ſolidity and precautions; and without it, another well C, as high as the ciſtern walls, with a communication under the wall through a large opening L (fig. 2.); both wells are filled to the ſame height G, as well as the opening L, with ſand well waſhed and clean. It is obvious, that the water muſt filtrate through the ſand, and riſe to its level in the well C, where it will be drawn up perfectly limpid and pure *(a)*.

I return to the conſtruction of the ciſtern. When the walls and floor are dry, the whole is firſt rough caſt, and then plaſtered, exactly in the ſame manner, and with the ſame precautions, as will be explained, No. 46 and 47, for the platforms. But here mortar made with cement will be better than that made with ſand; and the following is a ſtill better cement, if it can be procured.

One hundred and twenty pounds of good tile cement well burnt, powdered, and ſifted, one hundred pounds of the beſt lime, ſix pounds of walnut oil, ſix pounds of liquid ox blood; the whole well mixed and beat together, and employed as ſoon as it is made.

Any one may be ſenſible that, if by any means, a ſpring of water can be conveyed, even from a

(a) The firſt water muſt not be drank, being neceſſarily impregnated with lime.

great

great diſtance, the expenſe will be ſhort of that of a ciſtern, which is beſides but a precarious reſource.

I return to the other more uſual eſtabliſhments

39. Frame of the Mill-houſe.

It matters little how the Mill-houſe be framed, either in maſon's or in carpenter's work, as above mentioned. The requiſites are, ſolidity, and the ſtrength of the floor above; the boards alſo muſt be joined by ſmooth ſurfaces, not grooved, that the juice of the cherries may find its way through the joinings. The houſe muſt be cloſe, as the negroes will be overheated in cold evenings, and yet the acceſs free for paſſage into the mills, for carrying out the ſkins, or entering into the garret. Where the ground has deſcent, the gutter G. (Plate 9.) for the ſkins, may be ſo deep on the outer end, that the trouble of taking them away may be delayed till the morning. The houſe muſt be covered with ſhingles, becauſe the work is done by candle light, and thatch is more liable to be ſet on fire; for the ſame reaſon the negroes ought not to be ſuffered to go up into the garret with lighted pipes.

40. Gutters and Baſons.

The gutters B, where the coffee falls from the mills into the baſons, muſt be as ſteep as the place will permit *(a)*. Both the baſons or veſſels, and gutters muſt be bottomed with a bed of good maſonry, eighteen inches deep, at leaſt as high as the water riſes into the gutter. The whole is uſually rough caſt and plaſtered, in the manner of a ciſtern or platform. But as the acid gum, and the toſſing of the coffee with wooden tools, ſpoil the

(a) Boards are placed over them where the negroes ſtand to turn the mills.

plaſter

CHAP. II. plaſter in a very ſhort time, it is better to pave with ſquare bricks and cement mortar, at the bottom, as well as at the ſides. This will be eaſily performed, if the walls are made to ſlope gently. The walls muſt be only fifteen or eighteen inches thick, and the floor muſt be inclined to the ſluice from all ſides. Stone or marble will not do ſo well as brick for paving, becauſe they are, in general, of an alkaline nature, and the acidity will corrode them in a ſhort time.

The *ſcum-veſſel* muſt be contiguous to the other, and ſmaller by two thirds. The intermediate wall has, on the ſummit, a gutter, through which the water and *ſcums* run into the ſmall veſſel, which has an outlet with a grate, that the water may run out, and the ſcums be ſtopped. It is framed exactly as the other, only not quite ſo high.

41. Sluices. The main outlets of the veſſels, 2. Plate 9, are in general wooden pipes with ſtopples; but *ſluices* are more convenient. They conſiſt of a frame of the beſt dry wood, faſtened into the maſon work, with large grooves on the inſide. A thin board goes through the groove, and ſhuts the veſſel. The upper part of the board is ſtrengthened, on both ſides, with iron plates hollowed, and through the hole, a little lever ſerves to draw the ſtopple board up. If the ſtopples, in the grooves, are almoſt imperceptibly leſs wide at the lower than at the upper part, they will be more eaſily drawn up by a ſingle effort. A little tallow is now and then put into the grooves, both to make them ſhut better, and to make the movements eaſier. The frame and ſtopples may be tarred before they

are

are placed. Sometimes there are two ſtopples, one of which is a thick ſieve, to let the water run out, without the coffee being ſuffered to paſs. By this means the water is changed.

42. Draining Platforms.

Both the draining platforms are made exactly as the others, which I ſhall explain in the next article. Only the little walled borders which incloſe them, muſt be ſo high that the platform may hold the whole contents of the baſon. The fore borders muſt have outlets (6, Plate 9.) with grates, to ſuffer the water to paſs, and to prevent the coffee from eſcaping. Laſtly, theſe platforms muſt be paved in the ſame manner as the baſons, and for the ſame reaſons, with a double declivity to each ſide and forwards, from the ſluice to the outlets, ſo that the coffee may be ſpread out by the impulſe of the water.

The draining platforms, if the place permits of it, muſt be contiguous to the others (but that is impoſſible where a pond or ciſtern afford the ſupply of water); in all caſes, however, the communication between both muſt be eaſy, convenient, and paved, or at leaſt kept ſo ſmooth and clean, that the ſeeds which fall from the hampers, as the coffee is carried along, may be picked up.

43. Diſpenſed with.

However, where there is great plenty of running water to clean the coffee perfectly, the main draining platform may be ſpared, becauſe then, the coffee may be drained upon any of the platforms without ſpoiling them.

For that purpoſe, all the platforms are (as in Plate 4. K.) arranged under the baſon, on both ſides of a canal, through which the water flows

 with

CHAP. II. with the coffee; and by means of ſmall ſluices, ſome of which ſhut the canal forwards, and others open upon every platform, it appears that the coffee is conveyed to any of the platforms at pleaſure. But then the lower borders muſt have their outlets ſhut with grates, as has been ſaid of the draining platforms.

If the planter's circumſtances are eaſy, he muſt at once make the above-mentioned works complete and permanent, preparing room for four mills, which he will procure, one after another, as his crops make them neceſſary; thoſe who cannot afford, at once, ſo much expenſe, muſt do the beſt they can.

44. Drying Platforms. With regard to Platforms or *barbacues* (as I underſtand they are termed in Jamaica) they need not be anticipated, and may be made every year, as the produce increaſes, but always after a general plan. Their outlines and figure depend, in a great meaſure, on the ſituation of the ground; the chief thing is to make the beſt of that ſituation, ſo as to form the moſt extenſive ſurface at the leaſt expenſe.

I have already mentioned reducing the ground to the level, which is almoſt always a neceſſary labour (as well as in other ſettlements) it would in fact be better to cut all the platforms to a level, but, where the declivity exceeds two or three feet for each platform, cutting them one above the other in amphitheatre is leſs expenſive; *(a)* and, where the grater-mill is above and the ſtore below the

(a) See Plate 5, where the declivity is five feet for two platforms; o. o.

platforms,

platforms, it is nearly as convenient. The earth is thrown down on both ſides, and may thus form an additional flat ſpace, fit for other ſervices, as walks, plantations of graſs, and the like, but not for building. Sometimes, inſtead of cutting away the ground, the level muſt be raiſed with terrace walls, of which I have already taken notice. Here I ſhall only add, that thoſe places muſt always be filled up with quickſtone, well ſettled and beaten with heavy rammers, (Plate I. fig. 13.); if they are filled with earth or gravel, they will ſink, even at the diſtance of twenty years, and thereby break the maſon's work which may be upon them.

The moſt convenient and the beſt looking figures of the platform, is a perfect ſquare, the width from thirty to forty feet. It is however obſervable that platforms ſhould be, in ſome meaſure, calculated according to the quantity of coffee which is gathered in one day, that they may be filled at once. The common average for drying parchment coffee, is a pound of ſixteen ounces for a French ſquare foot; ſo that a ſquare of thirty feet will dry nine hundred pounds; one of forty, ſixteen hundred, and ſo on. Upon the ſuppoſition that ſeven days are required for drying a batch of coffee, it is eaſy to calculate how many platforms will be neceſſary for the produce of the year. In twenty-eight days, a ſquare platform of forty feet will ſerve to dry ſix thouſand four hundred pounds. Thus where crop time is longer, a leſs ſurface of platforms is neceſſary.

45. Bottoms.

Firſt the borders are laid; *viz.* between the platforms with dry walls, and outwards with good

CHAP. II. maſon-work, both eighteen inches high, and the latter only having proportionable foundations. The floor is then laid, with a layer twelve inches thick of ſolid ſtone, well placed and beaten with heavy rammers *(a)*. This layer is covered with three inches of coarſe gravel, and again this with as much ſmall gravel and ſand, likewiſe well beaten; the whole with a gentle declivity, of one or two inches per ſix feet, outwardly. Now, to ſeparate the platforms, and to incloſe them outwards, edges are raiſed around, with ſmall ſtone walls, ſix inches high, and the ſame in breadth. Thoſe at the outſide have a few openings to ſuffer the rain water to paſs out. In the centre, a ſquare or circular border is built, of the ſame height, with a ſimilar drain; this is the *baſſicot*, the diameter of which muſt be the fifth of the ſurface of the platform, ſix feet for thirty, eight for forty. But here, the inſide of the border is gently ſloping, and the outſide is inclined longways, for at leaſt three feet or more all around, that the coffee may hold faſt to the very brink of the border, the declivity being formed with an addition of gravel and ſand well beaten. Thus no room will be loſt; and when the coffee is drawn in, the rakes will ſlide along the declivity, and not break the plaſter of the border.

The planter ought to avoid, as much as poſſible, draining one platform through another. Thoſe on the outſide have their natural drain without, but thoſe in the middle ſhould be drained by means of

(a) The rammers, are billets ſix inches in breadth by eighteen inches in length, with a handle of four feet, as a peſtle. See Plate 1, fig. 13.

an

an intermediate canal. Where there is a ciſtern, all the platforms muſt be ſurrounded with a canal, conveying the waters into the ciſtern. If any houſe is contiguous to the platforms, a ſmall diſtance muſt be left between, to avoid the water falling from the roof; and, in general, no paſſage to and fro ſhould be permitted through the platforms. CHAP. II.

A very great quantity of mortar muſt have been prepared now, where lime is in a greater than uſual proportion; it, as well as the ſand, muſt be well ſifted. 46. Plaſtering.

As early as the dawn of the morning, all the negroes are ready either to moiſten and beat up the mortar, with their hoes, or to carry it in their large porringers or kettles. The maſons lay a bed of it, fifteen or eighteen lines thick, firſt over the borders, and next over the floor, taking care previouſly to moiſten. That layer or plaſter muſt be as equal as poſſible; and, as ſoon as the ſun is up, it muſt be immediately well covered with freſh plantain leaves.

When the plaſter hath acquired ſufficient conſiſtence, ſix or eight negroes go upon it, their feet being well cleaned, and begin to beat it gently with rammers well poliſhed; others behind them rub it with ſquare glaſs bottles, taking care to reunite the cracks, to preſs down the riſings, and to moiſten it with water where neceſſary. The platform muſt not be uncovered, but as the beaters and poliſhers advance; and it muſt be covered again as ſoon as they paſs. If the weather is cloudy, the work may be carried on all the day long; if otherwiſe, it muſt be ſtopped, and the platform thick 47. Icing or poliſhing.

CHAP. II.

covered over when the ſun becomes powerful. Towards evening the work recommences, if there has been no rain, and continues mornings and evenings till finiſhed; but when the plaſter becomes too hard for the bottles to make impreſſion, it is rubbed with *cocona nuts (a)*, the ſmootheſt that can be found. Theſe muſt be thrown away as ſoon as they begin to be chafed or frayed. The cracks muſt ſtill be ſprinkled with water, in order to make them unite. Thus the work goes on every morning and evening, ſometimes for a fortnight, and the platform is ſtill uncovered only as the negroes go forward, and again covered as they paſs, with a thick layer of plantain leaves, as exactly as poſſible. When ſufficiently poliſhed, ſo that the rubbing is no longer neceſſary, it is covered, and remains ſo for three or four weeks; it is then uncovered, and expoſed night and day; but it will be well not to uſe it ſooner than a fortnight *(b)*.

I underſtand that platforms of boards are uſed, in ſome places, for want of ſtone and lime; but, in my opinion, theſe muſt be very defective.

At Martinico they have houſes in form of *drawers*. The drawers are drawn out in the morning, and puſhed in again in the evening. This may do in plantations of ſmall produce, but hardly where ten or perhaps twenty thouſand weight of coffee muſt be dried at once. Beſides, no kind of

(a) The *cocona-nut* is a kind of pea, much broader than a dollar, and as thick as the finger, with a brown, poliſhed, very hard ſkin, which is the produce of a wild creeping plant, growing in the woods and buſhes.

(b) When a platform is entirely worn out, the old plaſter is broken, and a new one made.

timber

timber can be ſo good as a platform of the preceding deſcription, where the hardened feet of the negroes can hardly bear the heat, when the ſun is powerful. CHAP. II.

For the ſervice of the platforms, a dozen of good ſoft brooms, a few ſhovels, and two dozen of rakes (Plate 1. fig. 13.) are neceſſary. The latter conſiſt of a ſmall board, as the bottom of a barrel, with a long ſtick for the handle.

48. Coffee-houſe.

Where the Coffee-houſe or ſtore is ſeparate from the maſter's dwelling-houſe, a building ſixty-feet long, thirty-four feet wide, with galleries, will be ſufficient for a produce of two hundred thouſand weight a year; becauſe the garret may be uſed in addition, A, (Plate 11.) where two ſmall rooms, I. K, are ſpared for the *ſcums* and *pickings*.

The houſe is divided into three rooms, twenty feet ſquare, for ſtores, B, and a gallery, C, ſeventy-eight feet long, and fourteen in breadth, where the coffee is ſifted, culled, and weighed. The outer gallery, D. E, may ſerve for ſeveral uſes; among which may be a ſmall room, D, to contain the bags and other things of that kind; another, E, for the harneſſes of mules and horſes; another place for hanging the tarpawlings, &c.

The walls and partitions (even though they were of maſonry) muſt be lined with boards, as well as the rafters in the garret, about ten feet high. The garret muſt be ſupported by ſtrong beams, and by a great croſs beam, through the three rooms B. The floor of the main body muſt be of beams and boards, quite as ſtrong, with a free paſſage for air underneath, through openings all around, as G.

CHAP. II.

This building muſt be of maſon's, or of the beſt carpenter's work, and covered with ſhingles, nailed over. There muſt be a pair of ſtairs, F, to go up into the garret.

It is neceſſary that all the ſtorehouſes have windows, ſo that, after rainy weather, the acceſs of dry air may abſorb the dampneſs. Independent, and I might ſay inſtead of this, I contrived to give a paſſage for light into my garret by ſome panes of glaſs, H, faſtened with maſtick upon wooden frames, well tarred, which, nailed upon two rafters, were placed amongſt the ſhingles. Theſe did very well both for light and for warmth. I had before experienced great inconvenience from dormer windows, and other like contrivances. I ſhall return to this article when I ſhall ſpeak of the dwelling-houſe.

I muſt obſerve in general, that if this or any other building be on the ſouth ſide of the platforms, it muſt be removed at ten or twelve feet diſtance, on account of the ſhade which it would caſt in time of declination. The ſouth-eaſt and weſt of the platforms ſhould always be out of the reach of ſhade.

49. Peeling and Winnowing-mills houſes.

I have already deſcribed the Peeling and Winnowing-mills. They muſt be placed under cover. The former requires a very expenſive building, as the diameter cannot be much leſs than thirty-ſix feet. It muſt be covered with ſhingles, and may be of good carpenter's work. I ſubjoin a plan (Plate 12.) of a houſe leſs expenſive, as the main body is only twenty-four feet broad by thirty-ſix long; and by means of two galleries, B, of ſix feet, and of the arches, (fig. 2.) the mules go their circle

circle through both the main body and the galleries. The winnowing-mill is placed in the end, C, of a gallery. CHAP. II.

In other houſes (as in fig. + Plate 5.) where the ground inclines, this mill is placed in a ſmall gallery +, the floor of which is lower by five or ſix feet, ſo that the coffee is thrown from the peeling-mill into a large hopper above the fan.

All theſe ſettlements are ſuſceptible of numberleſs little improvements, correſponding with the nature of the place, and which the maſter's induſtry may direct towards the greater convenience and eaſe of the operations.

It muſt not be forgotten that the engines require a great deal of care, and that the places of friction muſt be frequently greaſed with *mutton*-ſuet.

Before I proceed to the explanation of the other houſes, I muſt ſpeak of the engines by which the power of mules may be applied to the grater and winnowing-mills, as well as to the peeling-mill; and the power of water to the three together; but eſpecially of the latter.

50. Water-mills.

The principal additional pieces for the hydraulic engine (Plate 13.) conſiſt of a water wheel, A. A trundle head, B, adapted to one end of the axletree C, puts in motion a horizontal wheel D, by means of teeth, the vertical axletree of which, E, turns the grinder of the peeling-mill round the trough, by means of a ſecond axletree faſtened to it, as in Plate 7. At the other end of the axletree C, there is a vertical doubly-indented wheel, F, which, by means of a cog-wheel H, and of the teeth I, turns the roller of the grater-mill with

great

CHAP. II. great rapidity. Here alſo, by means of the ſecond row of circular teeth K, and of the cog-wheel L, the motion is communicated to the winnowing-mill, being at the other end of the iron-bar M. N. are the collars, hinge, and plattens that ſupport the iron ends O, of the vertical axletree E, upon a large piece of wood, P.; and Q. is another platten, ſupporting the end R. of the horizontal axletree C, whoſe other end S. is ſupported by the great frame of the grater mill. T. is a wheel of iron, adapted to the grater-mill (and incloſed in a wooden box), which, by means of four heavy weights of lead, V, makes the motion of the roller more equal and uniform.

The Plate 14 is the plan, and the Plate 15 is the elevation of the whole water-mill.

Independent of the former pieces, which are marked in both with the ſame letters, U, (Plate 14.) is a conduit through which the water flows into the wheel A, to put the whole machine in motion. X. is the outlet of water, divided into two channels, with ſluices, a. b, that the chaff and the red ſkins of coffee may be conveyed to different places. z. is the winnowing-mill, from which the chaff falls into X. b. Y. is a gutter, through which the red ſkins fall into the ſame outlet of waters X. a. &. is the grater mill upon its gutter d. W. is the peeling-mill, with its grinding-wheel e, and its axletree f. g is a pair of ſtairs, from the peeling-mill down to the grater-mill.

h. (Plate 15.) is a box, through which the cherries fall into the grater mill, from the garret, j, into which the negroes throw them from the other

garret l, into which they are brought up through the door m.

51. Mule-mills.

The Plate 16 exhibits the figure of a triple mill, ſet in motion by Mules; almoſt all the pieces are the ſame, except that, inſtead of the water-wheel, the chief piece is the vertical axletree E. The whole contrivance is as follows. In the ſtate exhibited in the figure, namely, to grind the coffee by means of the lever b. f, the collar c. f. turns round the axletree E, with the grinder e; and the vertical tree F. remains unmoved. For the operation of the grater-mill &, and of the winnowing-mill z, the piece b. of the lever is taken out. The piece d. is put at the end of the lever A, and (as the mules are always tied in a.) then the wheel e. remains motionleſs. The axletree E. turns in the collar c. f, and puts in motion the horizontal wheel D, the axletree C. C, the vertical wheel K, the cog-wheel L; and, of courſe, the grater-mill &, and the winnowing-mill z.

In both engines the three mills may act at once; but, by ſome eaſy means, the operation of one or two may be ſtopt, while two or while one turns. The quantity of water is always in proportion to the exertion.

52. Obſervations.

It muſt be owned that the beſt workmanſhip is neceſſary for theſe engines; for I know nothing worſe than a bad one. An engine well-known and experienced muſt be taken as a model; but though this be done, the correct execution is a nice matter. Here I cannot forbear naming one *Hoſtein*, a ſkilful artificer at the Cape, who was deſervedly celebrated for the ſtrength and preciſion of his work.

Theſe

CHAP. II. Thefe engines alfo require greater care than the others.

It is generally conceived that thefe engines are expenfive; but, upon correct calculation, they are lefs fo than imagined. Hoftein furnifhed a complete water-machine for the three operations, and even a fpare roller and fieve for the grater-mill, and the two fluices of the bafons, for two thoufand dollars.

This engine will fave four grater-mills, which coft nine-hundred and fixty dollars; a winnowing-mill, one hundred; a peeling-mill, with the houfe, which cofts at leaft one thoufand; the fluices at leaft thirty dollars. In all, two thoufand and ninety dollars.

Add to this, that the engine will be lodged in a houfe of thirty-fix feet by twenty, which may amount, with all its appendages, to four hundred dollars. But, as the canal muft be larger, the expenfe may perhaps be two hundred dollars more, and the engine two thoufand. In all, two thoufand fix hundred dollars. There is only, thus, an excefs of five hundred and ten dollars.

Let us now confider the advantages of water-mills.

If every thing is arranged to the beft advantage, a ftout intelligent negroe, affifted by a boy of fixteen, may manage the whole work; whereas forty-four grown negroes are required for four hand-grater-mills. The labour of turning the winnowing-mill is alfo faved by this method. The work may be done at any time of the day; whereas the forty-four negroes are employed after the labour of the day;

at

at an unſeaſonable hour. All the negroes, every morning, muſt ſpend half an hour in carrying the coffee to the drying platforms; whereas, in this caſe, it may be conveyed by the water. Laſtly, the water carries away the chaff, which is good for nothing; and may conduct to a cloſe receptacle the ſkins, which are good for manure. Beſides, the water-mill performs more than double the work, in a given time, of any common mill. CHAP. II.

Thus, in any plantation which makes ſixty thouſand weight of coffee, I would not heſitate in going to the expenſe of a water-mill, where a ſufficient quantity of water and a ſkilful mechanic can be found. Nay, the ſcantineſs of water is ſometimes ſupplied by a large pond, calculated to be filled by the ſpring in twenty-four hours, and to flow in time ſufficient for the daily working of the machine. But this is ſomewhat precarious.

Nothing ſo much enlivens a country habitation as a plentiful current of limpid water, capable of being conveyed every where by proper diſtributions. It conduces to health, as well as cleanneſs. The play of an hydraulic machine is beſides exceedingly amuſing, and carries pleaſing thoughts to the mind, ſince it ſpares toil to man.

53. Other Settlements.

When the manufacture is well eſtabliſhed, the next thing is the hoſpital, then the negroe-houſes; after theſe, the maſter's lodging and its appurtenances; laſtly, the ſtables, poultry and pigeon-houſes. But this is far from being attainable, either at once, or even without intermiſſions. To continue theſe works without interruption, would divert the negroes from the crop; nor ought the ſervice

CHAP. II. vice of the artificers, at any time, cauſe the weedings and culture to be neglected. Carpenters may ſquare and ſaw their timber in the wood at any time. But during crop the maſons ought to ceaſe working.

54. Hoſpital. An Hoſpital well deſigned muſt be raiſed a little above ground, and, if it is poſſible, paved with ſquare bricks, for the ſake of cleanlineſs; cloſe at night, well aired in the day; placed under the eye of the maſter; ſituated in a yard, planted with ſome trees, where the ſick may take an airing; and walled in, to prevent other negroes from conveying into it unwholeſome food.

The Plate 17. is the plan of an hoſpital, to which the appendages of the maſter's houſe may be added, if the place requires it. The whole is a hundred feet by thirty.

It conſiſts of a kitchen, A, a room for the hoſpital nurſe, or doctreſs, B, another for women lying in, C. The other rooms muſt be double, that the ſexes may be ſeparated; namely, two for the venereal and cutaneous contagious diſorders, D, two for ſores and ſimple indiſpoſitions, E, and, laſtly, two for fevers and other acute diſtempers, F.

The rooms of the women lying in, and of the feveriſh ſick, muſt be furniſhed with little couches, with paliaſſes, and the others with platforms of boards, a little inclined, and capable of being taken away in cleaning of the rooms. Upon theſe (E.) iron-bars of proportionable length may be fixed, with their padlocks and rings to confine thoſe with ſore legs, or occaſionally to furniſh means of correcting or confining the refractory. Running water

is

is alſo very convenient here, for bathing and other purpoſes.

This houſe may be conſtructed of carpenter's work, cloſely ſhut, either with walls between the poſts, or boards, or plaſtered wattling. The roof muſt be ſhingled on account of fire.

Some individuals will perhaps find the hoſpital too expenſive. I beg them to conſider that the plan may be executed for four hundred dollars at moſt, and that it concerns the life of human beings.

55. Negroe-houſes.

The Negroe-houſes are of different lengths, according to the nature of the place; but they ought never to exceed one hundred feet, and fifty if they are thatched. They ought to be ſeven or eight feet high under the roof, and twenty feet wide. Every two negroes are allowed ten feet by twenty, which they divide into two rooms; one, A, (Plate 18.) where fire is made, the other, B, for ſleeping. A gallery, ſix feet wide, might be added behind for their poultry, C. A free paſſage of air ſhould be left throughout; otherwiſe, all the doors turned to the eaſt or ſouth. When hard timber can be got, theſe houſes are made with poſts ſunk into the ground, which is leſs expenſive, and permits of being renewed when ſpoiled. They muſt be only boarded with thick wattling, leaſt they ſhould be too warm; in which caſe, as there is always a number of fires, the negroes, going at once into the chill morning air, would catch colds and worſe diſtempers. Some planters make, in every firſt room, A, a hearth of maſonry, which leſſens the danger of fire.

If

CHAP. II.

56. Thatch of different kinds.

If ſhingles cannot be procured, of which I have ſpoken in a former article, theſe houſes muſt be covered with Thatch. The beſt of all is the *lataneer*, and the leaves of the leſſer palm tree. There is alſo a kind of wild corn, with ſilky ears, growing in waſte lands, which may be employed (in French *herbe a panache)*; ſome planters are obliged to plant large fields of ſugar canes, the tops of which make very good thatch, but only when they are full grown up. Guinea graſs and plantain leaves are alſo employed, but with very little advantage. The roofs made, as in the more eſſential houſes, in the figure of a tomb, are leſs affected by the wind, but require more nicety in thatching.

A few planters ſuffer their negroes to make their own huts themſelves, and in what form they pleaſe; but theſe will always be very incorrect, and perhaps inſufficient. Beſides, it ſeems that this building of houſes, is one of the obligations of the maſter.

57. Dwelling-houſe.

If the planter wiſhes to have his own houſe diſtinct from the coffee-ſtore, I ſhall entirely truſt its form to his own fancy. I will only obſerve, that the houſe muſt be wholeſome, convenient, and ſufficiently capacious for the family. Some glaſs windows and a chimney are very comfortable, and hardly diſpenſable in the cool and rainy climates.

But, if the landlord wiſhes to attend chiefly to his manufacture, he may dwell under the ſame roof; but in ſuch a manner that he be entirely ſeparate, ſo as to be neither diſturbed by noiſe, nor by the ſmoaking of tobacco. A large garret will make a capacious ſtore; and, if the floor be well joined, there is no cauſe to fear duſt, againſt which an

additional

additional precaution may be taken; *viz.* to tar the floor all over. I have a great propenſity to this method, as the people employed in the work of ſifting and picking are uſually the moſt ſlothful and inattentive, and require conſtant watching. The Plate 19. is the plan of that building. I ſhall only, as to the ſtore part, refer the reader to what I have ſaid in the Number 48. Ch. II. and ſay again, that all the boards and ſhingles ſhould be well dried in ſmoke before they are employed, and the latter nailed upon the roof. CHAP. II.

58. Outhouſes.

By Outhouſes are underſtood, a kitchen, G, (Plate 17.) with its chimney and oven g, and its furnaces; a waſhing-houſe, H, with its chimney; and two ſtores for the proviſions of different kinds, I. K. All theſe articles may be brought together in the ſame houſe (and even joined with the hoſpital) where precautions muſt be taken to ſecure againſt fire.

59. Stables.

For the preſervation of the cattle in rainy cold weather, a ſtable is indiſpenſable. It is built in the middle of a pen or yard, well incloſed, and the gates locked every night. The poſts of the ſtable muſt be of hard wood, ſunk into the ground; it ought to be well paved with common ſtone, as well as the pen, and a little inclined, to convey the waters away. The beſt form is to divide the ſtable, lengthwiſe, by a manger, to both ſides of which the beaſts are tied in ſeparate places; or it is ſtill better to make two mangers, A, (Plate 20.) and a paſſage, B, betwixt, for a perſon to carry in the graſs. A quarter, C, is aſſigned for the mules; another, D, for the maſter's horſes; another, E, for thoſe of the

 gueſts;

CHAP. II.

guests; another, F, for the cows, and especially for the milch cows, with a place, G, inclosed for their calves. The stables should be shut against the north, the other sides may be open.

This house has no need of being high, but it must be at least twenty feet wide, and still more if the manger is double, as in Plate 20.

A little separate stable is also necessary in another place, but within reach, for the animals which have contagious distempers.

60. Poultry-yard, &c.

In a large Yard (M. Plate 4.) with a pond in the middle, three or four great trees surrounding it, a house must be made for the Poultry, with different rooms, well paved, for fowls of different kinds, as also one for the poultry wench. It need not be very extensive, because it is better that the poultry sleep upon the trees.

There must be also a pigeon-house, raised upon four pillars, ten or twelve feet high; either well plastered and glazed, or garnished with tin plates, to keep out the rats and mice. The house must be furnished with baskets, where the pigeons may lay their eggs; with a ladder, and a covered hopper for the corn.

The pillars must be walled round, two feet from the house; this place is designed for rabbits. It must be well paved, and holes must be made in the walls for the rabbits to burrow in.

In another place, four or five little lodges are made, with good stakes, and covered, for a hogsty.

All the last-mentioned buildings, the stables included, may be thatched. It is observed that pi-

geons,

geons, in particular, do better under thatch than under tiles, or even ſhingles.

The keepers of the proviſion and negroe-grounds have their huts by their poſts. Huts likewiſe are made in every plantation-ground, that the negroes may find ready ſhelter when overtaken by heavy rains. But here the danger of a flaſh of lightning is frightful.

61. Electric-bars.

This puts it in my remembrance to mention Electric-bars, which have lately been uſed on the principal buildings in our plantations. The neceſſity of a good frame, and of keeping them in good order is generally known. (I. Plate 19).

62. Waters and

I have mentioned, ſeveral times, the great convenience and neceſſity of conveying Water to the ſettlements. When the ſprings happen to be cleared of wood, they ſhould be covered with thick plantations of plantain trees; for the bamboos, though they caſt a deep ſhade, have the peculiarity of draining the ſprings. There is alſo another phenomenon, which probably depends on the nature of the ground; I have ſeen ſome ſprings increaſe, and others decreaſe almoſt to nothing, upon clearing the wood.

63. Canals.

Water-conduits, or Canals, uſually run through a road, cut on purpoſe in the mountains. They are made either of boards, or with palm-trees, cut into two gutters, which are upon the ground, or ſupported with ſtakes and forks. But maſon's work is, by all means, preferable, and requires leſs inclination of the road.

Firſt, the road is levelled, and thus the poſſibility of conveying the water is aſcertained, as alſo the

CHAP. II. regularity of the inclination of the canal. The *leaſt* is ſufficient; but the greater it is (within proper bounds) the narrower the canal will be, in order to convey a given quantity of water. With an inclination of ſix lines per ſix feet, or a fathom, a canal of ſix inches by four or five, will be enough for a water-mill.

When the road is made as even and exact as poſſible, the canal is begun at the ſettlement (two feet above the zenith of the water-wheel, if it is deſigned for a mill) upwards to the ſource. Outlets are left, in proper places underneath, either for the torrents, or for the rain flowing from the mountains. The beſt way to cover it is with flat ſtones, or palm-tree boards, which may be taken out in cleaning. At ſome diſtance from the ſpring it is well to make a baſon, where the water may depoſit the ſand or gravel, and where all the floating bodies, as wood and leaves, may be detained by a grate. At the upper end, where the ſtream is admitted into the mouth of the canal, a good ſtone wall is made acroſs the former, obliquely, ſo that the ordinary ſtream may be conveyed into the mouth, and that the overflowings may find their uſual way, without injury to the croſs-wall or canal. The beſt place for this is where the ſtream is confined between narrow banks, upon a bottom of rock.

64. Gardens, &c. I ſhall entirely leave the Gardens, Orchards, Walks, and other things of that kind, reſpecting either the comfort or the embelliſhment of a country ſeat, to the taſte and ingenuity of the maſter.

I have already mentioned the remarkable fitneſs of the ſoil and climate of our mountains for the growth

growth of greens, vegetables, and fruit trees of every ſort. The country affords, perhaps, every thing for uſe and ornament, in the ſame degree as Europe. Spouts and caſcades may be made as well. Almoſt all the flowers of Europe may be cultivated with ſucceſs, and ſome wild indigenous ſhrubs bloſſom beautifully for a great part of the year. The fineſt hedge and covered walks may be made with lemon-trees, logwood, and ſtill better of the cherry-tree of the Weſt Indies. Abundance of pretty creeping plants are well appropriated for bowers; and thick and ſtately walks of that kind may be formed by an artful management of the bamboos *(a)*.

Thus, in deſcribing the preparation of the coffee, and the different ſettlements, I have accompliſhed, as well as I am able, my ſecond object; and, as I kept myſelf within the bounds of convenience and ſolidity, thoſe who wiſh to go nearer to magnificence, or thoſe who cannot afford even ſo much as I have ſet down, may extend or contract my plan according to their views and circumſtances, ſtill building upon my foundations.

I now finiſh my taſk in this point, with recommending to the planter to preſerve, with unceaſing attention, the fabrick he has raiſed at great labour and expenſe, and never to delay repair till waſte is become conſiderable. For that purpoſe, ſome negroes ſhould be inſtructed in the different kinds of workmanſhip, at leaſt ſkilful enough for the purpoſe of repair.

(a) I muſt mention alſo, that if the ſettlements are liable to great ſqualls of wind, rows of bamboos are a ſafe ſhelter.

It is only when all the ſettlements are completed that the planter can, with propriety, increaſe his plantations as he pleaſes. Before that, things may be calculated, ſo that the works which attend the buſineſs of building do not check the culture of the coffee, of which I am about to ſpeak in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CULTURE OF THE COFFEE TREE, DURING THE SEVERAL PERIODS OF ITS DURATION.

THE improvement and appropriation to our use of the productions of nature, is the general object of culture, with a view both to increase the quantity and ameliorate the quality. But the science of culture is like the science of medicine. In both, it is the general and particular object to assist nature, which, in such case, will gladly conspire with our exertions; but if thwarted, at least for a length of time and with rudeness, will be found rebellious. Hence a proper study of the plant, the object of our care, demands our first attention. We ought to make ourselves familiarly acquainted with its origin, its progress, its decay, its temperament, its disposition; I had almost said its habits and inclinations. In consequence, I beg leave to expatiate on some circumstantial particulars relative to this subject. 1. Culture in general.

The original reproductive Sprout of the Coffee Tree is in the seed. Thus the bountiful hand of the Creator has multiplied it almost to infinity. Take a seed, and open its fissure or stigma, you will hardly perceive the sprout; it is indeed exceedingly delicate. If the seed is kept long in a state of siccity, it withers into sterility, whereas, when it is green, it shoots out with wonderful ease and strength. 2. Sprout.

3. Growth. Let the ſeed, with its parchment *(a)*, be laid only upon a wet ſoil, you ſee it open itſelf a little. A pedicle peeps out, an extremity of which leans towards the ground. Here two radicles are ſeeking and ſoon graſp their nurſe. The other extremity rears itſelf up, loaded with the whole ſeed. In a ſhort time, two follicles, almoſt round, and of a thin yellow colour, unfold themſelves, from the very ſubſtance of the ſeed, and ſhake off the parchment. The ſtigma or fiſſure ſeemed to mark their ſeparation, on the flat ſide of the ſeed; and, on the round ſide, they ſeemed perfectly blended together; but now they part of themſelves. Thus it is the ſeed itſelf which ſpreads out into theſe two follicles, which turn green by the contact of the air.

4. Sapplings and Leaves. From between them a ſmall top riſes. Its point is acute, and divides itſelf into two Leaves, of lanceolous form. The ſappling riſes again and again, ſtill in the ſame manner, bearing its leaves two and two, or axillary, at equal diſtances, and every pair oppoſite to each other, above and below.

5. Boughs. When the ſappling has ſeveral leaves, the two original follicles fall; when it is about twelve or fifteen inches high, the Boughs begin to make their appearance at the eye, cloſe above the ſtem of the leaves. When theſe boughs, which originate from the trunk (and which may be diſtinguiſhed as *primary*) have acquired ſtrength, the leaves at their origin fall.

6. Primary.

The ſappling riſes, always bearing leaves, and

(a) Germination alſo takes place from the whole cherry, as will be ſeen in the article of Nurſerie, No 23.

afterwards

afterwards boughs above them, by pairs, or in axillary form, and oppoſite. Theſe boughs lengthen themſelves in the ſame manner and proportion; and as they grow, they always end, as the trunk, in a ſharp point, which divides itſelf into two leaves, between which another point ſhoots out; that is, another pair of leaves, which alſo ſpread out at a proper diſtance, and ſo on. CHAP. III.

In their turn, *ſecondary* branches ſhoot out, directly above every leaf of the primary ones. Theſe make their growth as the former, and bear *tertiary* branches, if the tree is luxuriant. Where that goes farther, it is always in the ſame order. 7. Secondary. 8. Tertiary.

Here a material obſervation is neceſſary, as it is, in a great meaſure, the foundation of the whole ſyſtem of lopping or pruning. 9. Principle of lopping.

The vertical ſappling or trunk has been ſhown, bearing its boughs or primary branches, in oppoſite pairs; ſo that the inferior ones exhibit the figure of a croſs with the ſuperior, thus the four branches ſpreading in four different directions; and this is neceſſary, that the tree be garniſhed all round, without being embarraſſed. Exactly from the ſame principle of avoiding encumbrance, the arrangement of the ſecondary and tertiary branches is different. They all are placed by pairs, on both ſides of the mother branches, ſo that all ſpread out horizontally, and with a direction, in ſome meaſure, towards the circumference, (ſee Plate 22.) If any ſhould grow upwards or downwards, they would become intricate, and the tree embarraſſed. Nature makes no ſuch blunders; and if ſuch happen

to

CHAP. III.

to be the unintentional effects of art, art muſt redreſs them, as we ſhall ſee in its place. It muſt alſo be obſerved, that the tree being in its natural ſtate, two branches ſeldom grow from the ſame leaf or bud.

Now I ſuppoſe the tree to be about four or five feet high. The boughs near the ground will extend wider, as they are nearer the ſource of vegetation, ſo that the ſhape of the tree is pyramidal. All thoſe branches of three orders or more, garniſh it richly, but, as all are horizontal, from below upwards, all diverging from the centre, more or leſs, all placed either at the four faces of the trunk (and theſe at diſtances, at leaſt eight or nine inches from each other, at the ſame face) or both ſides of the mother branches, the profuſion of nature can neither be perplexed nor intricate.

That beautiful œconomy of nature muſt be remembered, and the accidental wanderings checked and repreſſed into that order; for a period will arrive, when the hand of man muſt force nature from her common directions and arrangement. The redreſs of that wrong is the buſineſs of culture, as the article of pruning will explain.

10. Natural Shape.

The coffee tree is claſſed among the ſhrubs. Its natural height will ſeldom exceed fifteen or eighteen feet. The ſize of the trunk is proportionable; but, being probably improved by culture, it is uſually from two to five inches in diameter, in correſpondence to the difference of ſoil. In infancy, the primary boughs ſhoot out near the ground, but when the tree becomes fully grown, it is probable they would fall,

fall, and that the tree, if left to itself, would have the form of all others; that is, a naked trunk and a branchy head.

II. Artificial Shape.

Confined to the usual height, the coffee tree is one of the most elegant productions of nature. Its shape is that of a fine bush, pyramidical and luxuriant, without confusion. Its leaves are of a deep green colour, lanceolous, polished, and shining, chiefly on the superior surface; its blossoms, spreading a sweet pleasing fragrancy, are absolutely like small white jessamines, supported by short stems, composed of a calix, four follicles and a pistil, with its stamina lightly tinged with yellow, the whole upon a short stem. If they happen to be blasted, they fall immediately burnt, but if the infant fruit forms a knot, then the flower falls to the end of the pistil, and remains there suspended, the pistil still adhering to the fruit till both are dried and fall together. The little green fruit grows on until it becomes yellow; as it approaches ripeness, it spreads itself over with red spots and streaks, which widen till the fruit is perfectly ripe, and of deep shining purple colour. Both the flowers and fruit spring forth in large clusters going off from every leaf or bud, and at the diverging of the branches; and, in both states, nature is no where more profuse and beautiful in the variety of its colours and forms.

The coffee tree is endued, in an extraordinary degree, with vegetable life; being cut, it grows again in many sprigs. Its branches cut and placed in the ground, by any of their ends, have been seen to bear roots and leaves indifferently. I saw one fallen from a height of thirty feet with its clod; it

stopped

CHAP. III. ſtopped on a road, and there bore fruit for ſeveral years, and perhaps even now. The bark of the tree is grey, compact, and moderately rough; its wood is white, but hard, knotty, with very little ſapwood and central pith: under ground, it has a *pivot* or perpendicular root, three or four feet deep: the roots, at firſt large, end in an immenſe bulk of capillary fibres. If the pivot finds the quick ſtone, gravel ſtone, or clay, the tree will not laſt long; but it, as well as the roots, find their way through ſtony ground, and if there is a good proportion of mould, ſuffer no inconvenience; nay, the tree may do better, as the ſtones keep the mould together.

12. Period of the Produce and Duration.

The Duration of the tree and the Period where it begins to bear, vary according to the climate and ſoil: the duration is above thirty years in the beſt ſituations, and not more than ſix or five in the worſt: the period of bearing is after the ſecond year in warm ſoils, and the third in the cooleſt. The full crop follows next year, or even ſometimes a year later in the moſt favourable circumſtances. Culture may influence the term of duration, and chiefly, if the land be eaſy and the mould rich, a whole plantation may be ſpun out into an indeterminate length, new trees being planted as the old ones die away.

13. Varieties.

Trees of different kinds are met with.

One, bearing ſmall narrow leaves, a little criſped, which has been fancifully named *Mocha coffee.* One, the boughs of which are ſtiff, and riſe much above the horizontal line; but by far the beſt and moſt productive is that deſcribed above, which bears large even leaves, and the boughs of which, naturally

rally horizontal, are gracefully inclined by their weight. This muſt be excluſively preferred. It would be a matter of curioſity, but perhaps of little uſe, and it is beyond my reach to inveſtigate how theſe varieties have been produced, as it is very likely that a ſingle kind only has been imported into the Weſt Indian ſettlements. A botaniſt might expatiate upon this ſubject, and, after all, perhaps his reſearches would amount to no more than a hypothetical probability. Beſides, experience evinces that the coffee tree is none of the *dyoick* kind, but that it bears fruit by itſelf, without being aſſiſted by the vicinity of others.

Such is that precious buſh, which, in the nomenclature of naturaliſts, is known by the appellation of *Jaſminium Arabicum*, expreſſive of its flower and origin. It agrees beſt with a cool, not cold climate, with a mountainous ſituation, alternately moiſtened with rain and warmed by the ſun; the moiſture particularly requires to be filtrated very freely, ſtagnating moiſture being apt to heat and rot the roots; chiefly a virgin ſoil is neceſſary for its growth: it alſo ſuffers highly from ſtrong winds, either cold or hot.

14. Mr. Deſclieux.

I ſhall not enter into its hiſtory; but it is juſtice to mention that Mr. Deſclieux, an officer of the French navy, brought it, in 1726, with great care and at the expence of his own comforts, from the King's garden to Martinico, from whence it has been propagated through all the other Weſt Indian plantations. That great benefit is almoſt unrecorded, and the benefactor known to few, while ſtatues and ſuperb monuments proclaim to the world and

poſterity,

CHAP. III. posterity, the odious names of ravagers of mankind; and of philosophers, who have perhaps done more mischief by intoxicating all ranks of men with doctrines and maxims, which should only have been inculcated to the wise and statesmen.

15. Plantation. I come to the plantation.

When the ground is cleaned, the alleys traced, or the roads cut open, the first work is to lay out the rows of coffee trees.

16. Laying out. Two or more lines, of a hundred and eighty feet long, must be differently divided at the several distances designed for the trees, with little scraps of scarlet cloth, marked with numbers. The one or the other of those lines will serve, as the ground or exposition direct.

By means of those lines, parallel rows are marked out from above downwards, in general from the roads; conforming, as much as possible, to the greatest declivity of the ground. Two men hold the line well stretched, and lay it upon the ground. If any obstacle, as stumps of trees, happens to be in the way, the line must not decline to a side, but must rather be placed straight over it. Other negroes are provided with pointed wooden pickets, about eighteen inches long, and plant them where the scarlet marks lie, and always at the same side. Where the line is above ground, the picket is set perpendicularly near the scrap of scarlet, and, being dropped, is planted exactly in its place. Next, the line is moved on, and its change, determining the distance between two rows, is measured, at both ends and in the middle, with sticks of certain length. So the line goes on.

Some

Some planters admit of a little more diſtance between the rows than between the ſcraps of cloth; that is intended for the paſſage of the negroes. Others obſerve, that the even rows croſs the odd ones, ſo that a ſcrap of cloth faces the middle of two neighbouring pickets, thus forming an irregular quincunx rather than a ſet of perfect ſquares: Both theſe methods are real improvements.

17. Quincunxes.

This leads me to ſpeak of planting in Quincunxes, the advantage of which is to approximate the rows, and, of courſe, to gain ground, though the trees are ſtill at the ſame reſpective diſtances. This method has the inconvenience of narrowing the paſſage for the labourers, and the boughs will ſuffer from it in their extremities. Beſides, the gardeners of Europe have renounced the quincunxes, becauſe they intercept the free paſſage of air, which is neceſſary to the trees.

This, however, is the manner of laying out a quincunx:

When the firſt row, A. A. (Plate 21.) is marked with the line, two laths, equal to the diſtance of its pickets, are placed at both extremities. In triangles, whoſe baſis are at the pickets, 1. 2. 2. 3. 3. 4. At the tops b. c. d. other pickets are planted, which mark the ſecond row B. B. Upon this you make the ſame operation for the third row C. C.; and ſo on for the rows D. and E, &c. It is obvious that all the pickets are equi-diſtant, though you gain as much as the difference which exiſts between the ſide A. B. of the ſquare, and the diagonal 1. b, which is about a ſeventh part of the whole ſurface.

In all caſes, as the negroes place the pickets, the

maſter

CHAP. III.

maſter or the overſeer, being at the upper end of the line, takes an account of the numbers on each row; and in the evening notes the whole in the journal. Thus the correct number of the trees on plantations is known.

18. Proportions.

The quality and expoſition of the ground ought to be the ruling guides to determine the diſtance of the trees from each other. That muſt be remembered which has been laid down. (Chap. I. Nos. 4. 5.) Here are the general rules.

1°. The richer the ſoil, the expoſitions being the ſame, the more diſtant muſt be the trees.

2°. The cooler the expoſitions, the quality of the grounds being the ſame, the farther aſunder the trees muſt be planted.

3°. If on the north and weſt the ground is good, plant ſtill farther. If, on the contrary, in the eaſt or ſouth it is light, (which, as I have ſaid, is moſtly the caſe) plant ſtill nearer. In both caſes, there is a double reaſon, *viz.* the *quality* and the *aſpect*.

Accordingly, if to the ſouth and eaſt you plant at ſix feet, the quality of the ground being the ſame, plant at ſeven to the weſt and north, if the deſcent is ſteep; or at ſix by ſeven if it is eaſy, (the greater diſtance being between the rows) for where the deſcent is ſteep, the ſuperior trees caſt a longer ſhade upon thoſe below.

I have made no difference of the north with the weſt, though that expoſition be naturally cooler, becauſe it happens almoſt always that, when the ſun begins to make its deſcent weſtwards, the clouds gather, and prevent it from warming the coffee trees

which

which, without that, would lie under its influence till evening. CHAP. III.

4°. Where the wind blows with violence, it is an additional motive to plant at a ſtill greater diſtance, becauſe in that caſe the trees muſt be cut lower, and of courſe will ſpread out more in width. (See No. 33.)

A ſquare of land, planted at three feet ſquare, will contain 13,611 trees; at ſix, 3,402; at eight, 1,914; at ten, 1,225; at twelve, 850; at ſix by five, 4,151; at ten by nine, 1,713; at twelve by eleven, 932, and ſo on. But as lands are meaſured by horizontal ſurfaces, it is obvious that ſurface is gained, in proportion to the declivity of the ground; for a diagonal is longer than the ſides of its ſquare. If it is remembered that three Engliſh acres make a ſquare and four twenty-fifth parts of a ſquare, the calculation of the trees an acre will receive is eaſy.

Next, holes are to be dug, of which every picket muſt, as much as poſſible, be the centre. Theſe muſt be nine or twelve inches in diameter, and fifteen or eighteen in depth. Perhaps ſo much is not expreſsly neceſſary for the ſucceſs of the plant, but it is obvious that the tender roots will penetrate more eaſily into a ſoil well triturated and manured. 19. Digging.

The tools uſed in digging are old bills, helved with a ſtick of two or three feet. If the ground is mixed with hard ſtones, the uſual inſtrument is a bar of iron, with a point at one end, and a ſtrong blade, ſix inches long and two in breadth, at the other. (Plate I. Fig. 9. 10.)

The earth from the hole is placed beneath it, at

CHAP. III. the ſurface of the ground, and the picket is left in the empty hole.

A few ſettlers plant, in light crumbly grounds, by means of the *picket*; that is, inſtead of digging a hole, they content themſelves with forcing a large pointed ſtick into the ground, move it round, and then inſert the plant into that little hole, together with ſome mould well triturated. Thoſe expeditious and lazy methods are only mentioned to warn the reader from adopting them.

20. Planting. With regard to Planting, two things come under examination; namely, the plant itſelf, and the proceſſes.

21. With Seeds. Planting with Seed is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, practicable, with proper precautions. But the method is always precarious, and the plantation is kept back at leaſt one year. Beſides, as it is employed to avoid the trouble of digging holes, the ſtreams of rain ſweep away half the ſeeds, and drive the other half out of the rows, ſo that nothing can be more irregular and defective.

22. Plants. Sapplings are excluſively preferable, and the beſt of all are ſuch as have been reared in nurſeries, one of which muſt be made at the very firſt, and indeed with every ſucceeding plantation, as long as another is intended to be made next year. For want of nurſeries, ſuch plants muſt needs be taken as may have germinated under old trees, from ſeeds occaſionally fallen; and, as they have grown in the ſhade, they are moſtly rickety or defective, and little capable of enduring the ſtrong heat of the ſun. In general, however, for the firſt plantations, nothing better can be had, and even theſe muſt be begged from a neighbour. In ſuch caſe, the leaſt defective muſt

be chosen, and planted in rainy weather, to give the chance of succeeding better. CHAP. III.

23. Nurseries.

A level, or at least a ground of easy descent, where the mould is crumbly, is the most eligible for the purpose of a Nursery. In the middle rows of the coffee trees, little furrows being made with the scraper, (Plate I. Fig. 3.) the finest seeds of stout luxuriant trees are put in the furrows, about an inch from each other, and lightly covered: The seeds must be fresh. Some plant the whole cherries; I prefer to take off the skin, and to wash the separated seeds; because otherwise one of them fails, and if both succeed, they grow so near that they annoy each other *(a)*. The nursery must be preserved from the streams of rain, by means of two oblique gutters above it. It must be kept very clean of weeds, and no corn nor any thing else must be sown in it.

24. Season for planting.

Any time of the year is proper for planting, provided it be rainy; but in winter, the plants, though they succeed well, will not advance much till spring comes to their relief. In the rains of July, August, and September, they grow faster, but never so well as if planted in the more genial rains of April and May, when nature seems to open itself to all the powers of vegetation. Great attention is now required, as the treasures of future harvests are at stake.

(a) As in germination the pedicle, after fastening its radicles into the ground, raises its head, lifting up the seed, it is obvious that, if the cherry is entire, that seed which has germinated the first must lift up the other, which being thus deprived of the humidity of the ground, and incapable of fastening its radicles into it, will perish.

25. Choice and Dreſs of the Plant.

Firſt, for the Choice and Dreſs of the plant: The beſt of all is that which is *crowned*, viz. that has four little boughs, which happens commonly at the end of twelve months. The beſt way would certainly be to take it up, with its clod, and to carry the whole into the holes, and then, the ſeaſon being rainy, plants much more advanced might be taken with ſucceſs, and the produce would be forward in proportion. But that is very difficult, when no time ſhould be loſt, for fear of miſſing the proper ſeaſon, and where it is neceſſary to plant many thouſands.

The plants muſt not be pulled off by force, in which caſe they might be peeled or twiſted. The furrow muſt be raiſed up, and broken deep under the roots with a flat, ſharp, iron ſhovel. The plants are taken hold of, and the clods ſhaken off. All ſuch as have their leaves ſpotted with yellow patches, or their roots worm-eaten, muſt be thrown away. But that is ſeldom the caſe with nurſery plants. For ſuch as are good, the pivot is cut about an inch, and the capillary roots are a little ſhortened, with a ſharp knife.

The ſooner the ſapplings are planted after being taken up, the better; though they may, in caſe of abſolute neceſſity, be kept for four or five days without injury, laid in a ſhadowy place, their roots covered with moiſt earth, under a bed of plantain leaves.

26. Proceſs.

Next comes the method of planting, equally deſerving proper attention.

The earth dug out is not returned again into the hole; the mould around is only taken, ſome of which

which is firſt thrown in the bottom, about four or ſix inches deep. Then the plant is ſupported with the left hand in the middle of the hole, the pivot touching lightly the new bed; with the right the ſurrounding mould is thrown in, to the height of ſix inches. This is lightly preſſed down with both hands. Earth is thrown again, and again preſſed more ſtrongly, but with care that the ſappling be not hurt, crooked or diſplaced. Three or four inches of the hole are left open, which the earth above will fill in proceſs of time. The ſappling muſt be ſet ſo deep, that its two inferior branches be rather under the level of the ground.

The buſineſs is finiſhed, by ſinking the picket at the upper margin of the hole, where it will ſerve both as a ſmall fence to the infant tree, and as a mark, ſhould the plant happen to wither.

Some planters ſow three or four ſeeds round the hole, but a ſeparate nurſery is by far better, as the nouriſhment of thoſe paraſites muſt be taken from that of the tree.

27. Acceſſories.

When the plantation of coffee is completed, beans, Indian corn, and greens are ſowed, (as alſo plantains and roots in the ravines, ſee Chap. I. No. 23. and the following). It is true that theſe may prove a cauſe of the negroes, in their way to purloin in the night, frequently breaking the ſapplings. But the ſame may happen while in queſt of wild ſpinage or *calaloos*. I refer alſo the reader to the other acceſſory plantations, mentioned in Chap. I. Nos. 32, &c.

Beſides, except in the early and neceſſitous times of a ſettlement, proviſions are not permitted to be ſown in the coffee fields after the firſt year.

28. Weeding.

There is not perhaps any plant which requires

CHAP. III.

more purity of ſoil than the coffee tree. Weeds keep it back, cauſe it to grow yellow, fade, wither, and even periſh. They are alſo the cauſe of leſs abundance both in flower and ſeed, and of mildewing or ſtunting in growth. It is of courſe neceſſary to weed with great care, and never to ſuffer the weeds to grow into ſeed. However, where the land is ſteep, and ſtill more where it is ſoft and crumbly, it muſt, by no means, be turned, for the ſhowers will ſweep it away. This is againſt the common rules of huſbandry, but it is indiſpenſable here.— The weeds muſt be then, as much as poſſible, pulled by the hands, and if thick deep roots compel to dig with tools, the earth muſt be again returned and preſſed down. The negroes muſt be diſtributed, for this labour, one in every middle row, and two, if it is wider than ſeven feet. The beſt way would certainly be to take the weedings out of the field, both for greater cleanlineſs, and that they may rot for manure in a remote place; but if that cannot be done, there are at leaſt ſome weeds, of a moiſt nature and ſtrong powers of vegetation, which it is abſolutely neceſſary to carry away altogether; others may be ſpread out, if the ſun is powerful, and they will ſhortly wither. But if the *(a)* weather is rainy, they muſt be laid in little heaps, in the very rows of the coffee trees; for if the heaps were placed in the middle rows, they would turn the ſtreams of rain towards the trees, which would thereby ſuffer. If the weeds are heaped around the trunks of the trees, a manure is thus undoubtedly made, in proceſs of time, but a bait is alſo laid for ants and other offenſive inſects.

(a) This is the worſt time for weeding.

As

As often as a field of coffee is cleaned, the plantain trees, the ground proviſions and graſs in the neighbourhood ought alſo to be weeded. The plantain trees ought likewiſe to have the ſupernumerary ſuckers lopped off, only three ſtalks of different heights being left at each ſtock; and laſtly, the roads, where ſtones and rubbiſh accumulate, muſt be cleared away.

Care muſt be taken that lands do not remain waſte near to windward of the plantations, as they are an everlaſting nurſery of ſeeds, which, carried by the wind, occaſion endleſs weeding.—Such troubleſome nuiſances muſt be deſtroyed by the hoe and by fire.

The hoe, by means of which weeding is performed with expedition, can only be uſed in level grounds. The ſcraper, (Plate I. Fig. 3.) is the more general inſtrument uſed for this purpoſe. It is a ſmall rod of iron, ſixteen inches long, terminated at one end by a ſmall triangular blade about an inch wide, and at the other with a ſmall hoe of about two inches. Several planters, however, uſe, with better reaſon, ſmall crooked pieces of iron circles, (Fig. 4.) as they occaſion ſtill leſs waſte of ground.

If the plantations have been made too extenſive for the hands, or, ſhould this not be the caſe, if the harveſt is without intermiſſion, it is difficult to keep the fields ſo clean as they ought to be. If the weeds have unfortunately been ſuffered to overrun, and go into ſeeds, there will be no end, if the uſual method of weeding, from one end of the plantations to the other, is followed; becauſe the firſt part cleaned

CHAP. III. will again be overrun, before ordinary circumſtances permit to return to it. It will be neceſſary, therefore, in this caſe, to weed one tract firſt, then another, and to return to the firſt, as ſoon as the weeds puſh out; and in this manner to paſs over the whole twice, at a ſhort interval, ſo that it may be perfectly clean.

Several means have been attempted, both to prevent or to leſſen the growth of weeds, and to keep the ground from being waſhed away, as is the caſe after weeding. Sweet potatoes have been planted: They enrich the ground, if not dug out, and keep it together; but they entwine the coffee trees, and keep away from the ſoil the genial influence of the ſun. I have heard of others who have covered the ground with, as it were, a mattreſs, or thick bed of ſugar canes or millet graſs, doubtleſs leaving an empty ſpace round every tree; but I have no experience which can enable me to ſpeak of the practice. I candidly confeſs I ſee no other objection to it, but the toil of planting, cutting, carrying, and placing ſuch an immenſe quantity of ſtuff. It may be tried; but this, as well as all other trials, ought to be made on a ſmall ſcale at firſt.

Two or three times a year, the ſavannas or paſtures ſhould be cleared of all the wild weeds, unfit for the cattle, and which ſmother the good graſs. It is generally known, that a proportion of black cattle improves the paſtures, and that ſheep and goats ſpoil them.

29. Accidents: 1°. If, in weeding, the ſapplings of coffee trees are obſerved to be withered, others muſt be planted in their ſtead, as has been explained, (Nos. 19. and 26.)

26.) The older the plantation is, the more care is to be taken in digging a wider and deeper hole, adding a proportion of manure. In this caſe, larger ſapplings muſt be choſen, and ſet in the earth with their clod, (See Art. 55. No. 1.) ſo that they may better keep pace with the others.

2°. If any ſappling is found broken or twiſted, it muſt be cut cloſe by the ground, in a ſloping direction reſembling the mouth-piece of a flute, the cut ſurface facing the north. Suckers will ſhoot up from this, of which the beſt only need be preſerved. This will advance ſo much the better, as the roots, in the beginning, will acquire great ſtrength. Here a picket is more neceſſary than in other caſes, becauſe the ſucker may want the ſupport of a prop.

30. And Diſtempers.

3°. When, after a light ſhower of rain towards noon, the ſun immediately darts its rays with great force, trees are liable, as well as human creatures, to *ſtrokes of the ſun*, as they are termed, the effect of which is to blaſt the young plants, or to mildew the green fruit. I know no remedy againſt this evil but to plant afreſh; but this rarely happens in the upper mountains, where the climate is generally cool, and the ground freſh.

4°. Often, and particularly when the trees are eighteen or twenty months old, you find a tree whoſe leaves become yellow and wither. Such plant will certainly periſh, if not ſpeedily relieved. The cauſe may ariſe from a premature overload of fruit. Loſe no time then to remove this entirely. If after a few days it does not begin to recover, it is probably eaten at the roots, by a large white worm, much reſembling a ſlug. I cannot be ſatisfied of the

efficacy

CHAP. III. efficacy of cutting the tree close by the ground, which is considered as a remedy for this disease *(a)*, because the evil is in the root. I believe the worm must be taken out completely; and, as this can hardly be done without taking up the tree, I never failed to do so, and I even was careful not to plant again in the same place, without having made previously a larger hole, and left this hole exposed for a fortnight to the sun. If in digging thus deeper you find a vein of clay, rather plant a plantain tree, for another coffee tree would only be another victim.

5°. In hot situations, plantain trees are intermingled with the coffee trees, for the purpose of shade and coolness. These are usually placed at every fourth or sixth row, as the trees are more or less distant, and the place more or less hot. This is generally attended with great success. But the plantain trees are sometimes placed in the intervals of the coffee trees, and, of course, too near them, so that they become entangled with their boughs, and the fall of the clusters of the plantains, and even of the leaves, may break and hurt them. It is better, therefore, that a plantain tree be placed instead of a coffee tree, and that the rows be alternately plantain and coffee.

6°. If, on the contrary, from the extreme coolness of the place, the trees lose their leaves, and the ends of their boughs wither, which is the usual consequence, the situation must be examined. If the evil originates from the actual situation, there is no other remedy but pruning freely; but this never hap-

(a) In an essay upon this culture, printed in the Jamaica Almanack of 1789, which (however short) is by no means contemptible.

pens

pens except when trees are fully grown up. Sometimes, however, ſuch accident ariſes from woodland, on neighbouring heights, caſting its ſhadow over the plantation. In ſuch caſe, nothing will do but clearing away the obnoxious wood. I ſaw an inſtance of this in a deep valley, where the trees faced the ſouth, and where the remedy had the expected ſucceſs.

7°. Where the climate is exceedingly cool and damp, the trees grow well, but do not bear, though the ground be excellent. This happens chiefly where the country is covered with wood, and will diſappear as new ſettlements are formed. Thus I have ſeen ſome eſtates, at one time under this predicament, become very productive after ſeven or ten years; the climate having been entirely changed by opening and cutting down the woods.

8°. Wood rats are fond of the pulp of coffee, and ſometimes commit great havock among the fruit, upon trees near the wood. Snares may be laid for them, for rat's poiſon would be dangerous, on account of the negroes and dogs. This damage is, however, very inconſiderable; and the beſt remedy is to clear completely the borders of the wood.

9°. Sometimes ants and wood lice get up into the trees, and do ſome little miſchief. Aſhes may be laid at the foot of the tree, with a view to prevent their aſcent. When ſhaken down, at the weedings, they ſeldom multiply ſo as to do harm.

10°. When the ſeaſon has been uncommonly dry, the cherries are liable to be blaſted, either *empty*, and, though large and red, to have no ſeed within, or *mildewed* (black-burnt) before they are ripe. There is no remedy. But the high mountains are,

in

CHAP. III. in a great meaſure, free from this inconvenience, which is only felt in a great degree in hot ſituations. I know of a crop, in a moſt beautiful plantation in the iſland of Tortuga, where forty-five thouſand out of eighty fell ſhort from this cauſe.

11°. The eſſay upon the culture of coffee trees, which I have noticed in a preceding note, ſpeaks of white flies as highly offenſive to the crops in Jamaica; and recommends as a remedy, *to plant pine-apples betwixt the trees, as thoſe inſects prefer the ſweet acid of this fruit, which either kills them, or prevents their multiplying.* I am glad to mention that obſervation; but I have never heard of thoſe white flies in St. Domingo.

31. Wind. It has been ſaid above that ſharp winds are hurtful to coffee trees. They criſp the leaves, diſorder the boughs, throw down the bloſſoms before they knit, diſturb the growth of the fruit, and laſtly ſhake the whole tree, chiefly when young, in ſuch a manner that the trunk works a conical hole in the earth, which proves deadly in ſtrong ſoils, by affording a receptacle for ſtagnant water, which cauſes the roots to rot.

If this has happened, the earth muſt be well broken round, the hole filled up, and the tree either propped or cut near the ground, as has been ſaid in the preceding article, No. 2.

Beſides, ſeveral precautions are employed againſt the wind, the firſt of which has been hinted at in a former article, (18. No. 4.); and another will be mentioned in No. 33 of this chapter. A more immediate remedy is to prop the trees: the picket uſed in planting may ſerve in the beginning, though ſup-

port

port is ſeldom neceſſary before the tree is large enough to give the wind a hold. Beſides, when the plant is very ſlender it yields to the wind. When the tree becomes larger, the danger is greater, and higher props are neceſſary. In all caſes, it is tied to the prop with the dry ſkin of a plantain tree, ſo as the trunk may be kept firm, without being ſtrangled in its growth; and at every weeding the knot is a little ſlackened.

I have ſeen the young trees ſucceſsfully ſheltered by rows of *tayaux* (See Chap. I. No. 37.) planted between every row, or every ſecond row. But the roots muſt not be dug out, and the largeſt leaves muſt be cut at the weedings. This ſeems, in appearance, to keep back the trees; but in proportion as the growth of the top is ſlower, the trunk and roots gain force; and when the tayaux are deſtroyed, (which is done in the end of the ſecond year, by cutting them cloſe, and choaking the ſprouts by leaves heaped upon the ſtocks) the coffee trees reſiſt the wind, and grow with redoubled vigour.

Theſe precautions are needleſs when the trees are formed, or *ſtopped* as it is termed, (ſee the 33d article) and full grown; but the wind may ſtill prove hurtfnl to the boughs, leaves, bloſſoms, and fruit.

Where the lands are almoſt level (as the greateſt part of the iſland of Tortuga) belts of wood may be left between and around the ſeveral fields of coffee trees: theſe break the wind completely; and being perhaps a hundred feet wide or more, may be opened into ſtately delightful avenues. But in ſteep grounds

CHAP. III.

grounds and cool climates, this would ſerve no purpoſe, becauſe the trees are placed too high to benefit from the ſhelter; and, as the daily breeze uſually comes from the ſame quarter with the ſun, the ſhade which theſe woods would throw over the trees would be otherwiſe injurious. Every culture and climate, as every thing in this world, has its inconveniences, as well as its advantages, and we muſt reſt ſatisfied with the mixture.

32. Pruning in general.

I come now to the ſubject of Pruning, underſtood in its general ſenſe. It is divided into different operations.

The firſt is to *ſtop* the tree, a practice generally obſerved in all the plantations of St. Domingo. But it is chiefly remarkable, that it is owing, in a very great meaſure, if not entirely, to this, that full lopping becomes indiſpenſable, if ſkilful induſtry is not exerted to avert it.

33. Stopping.

Stopping conſiſts in cutting the top of the tree, in a greater or leſſer degree. It is practiſed for ſeveral reaſons, equally neceſſary and obvious.

1°. By bringing the fruit within reach of the hand, it prevents the negroes from pulling down and bending the boughs, in the buſineſs of gathering. This is the more uſeful, as the boughs, which reſiſt ſtrongly if drawn in their natural direction, are eaſily broken off when bent downwards. A primary bough, alſo, once broken off, never ſhoots again.

2°. The tree acquires more ſtrength and vigour, both below and above ground.

3°. It affords leſs hold to the winds.

4°. The form of the tree is more beautiful.

5°. It

5°. It loſes none of its inferior original branches, which, as nearer the ſource of vegetation, are better nouriſhed, and of courſe more productive.

Theſe explanations may appear ſuperfluous to many. They are mentioned for the ſake of thoſe to whom it may be neceſſary to explain every thing.

It is not proper to give a preciſe and fixed rule for ſtopping trees, *at a certain height*. The facility of picking is a main point. In this view, the trees ſhould never be allowed to exceed five feet. Next the quality of the ground muſt be examined. In the beſt, five muſt be conſidered as the proper point, from which it may come down to four, three, and even two feet in the worſt. Here I ſuppoſe that the plantation has been well laid out, and the trees placed at proper diſtance.

The aſpect muſt alſo be conſidered. If much expoſed to winds, the trees (all other things being equal) ought to be lower. But it is ſuppoſed this has been foreſeen when the plantation was laid out; for if the tree be lower, it will conſequently (with the ſame means of growth) ſpread wider. Yet that the boughs of neighbouring trees may approach one another, is no matter of doubt, but the matter ought to have been ſo judged, that they do not interfere; hence it is a rule, that in windy expoſitions, as the trees muſt not be permitted to riſe ſo high as in others, the diſtances between them muſt be proportionably greater. (Referred to this in No. 18, 4.)

Thus, the facility of gathering is the ruling point. The goodneſs of the ſoil, the expoſition

of

of the ground, and the ſtrength and diſtances of the trees ſhould be next eſtimated with each other. Miſtakes committed may even, in ſome meaſure, be amended; for if the trees have been planted too near, as is proved by uncommon luxuriancy, it will be adviſeable to permit a higher growth; if too wide, it will be proper to ſtop lower; never, however, forgetting the probable dangers from winds.

Some planters, as a remedy againſt winds, ſtop their trees eighteen inches, more or leſs, under the proper height; and when, by this means, the tree has taken firm root, ſuffer a luxuriant (*gormandizing* as it is termed) ſucker, to ſhoot out under one of the upper boughs, which they again ſtop at a proper point. Theſe ſuckers, in general, bear large leaves and little fruit. Great numbers fail, and a plantation treated in this manner will be dwarfiſh and unſightly. I by no means recommend the method; but ſhould it be practiſed, the bough from which the ſucker ſhoots ought to be cut ſhort off; becauſe otherwiſe, it would ſtrangle the ſtem of the top, and annoy its vegetation. I will ultimately allow, that if the trees have been ſtopped too low, the growth of a ſucker may be admitted, as the only (though inadequate) remedy.

Under the ſame aſpect, and on ground of the ſame quality, all the trees ought to be ſtopped at the ſame height; becauſe, there being no cauſe for irregularity, nothing contributes ſo much to the beauty of a plantation as uniformity of appearance.

Some planters ſtop at *ripe wood*, others at *green wood*; the former are obliged to ſuffer the tree to grow

grow almoſt a foot too high. The latter cut it as ſoon as it is grown beyond the point. I always preferred the latter method; 1ſt. Becauſe the top, being tender and brittle, yields to the fingers; in the other, a knife is neceſſary, by which the trunk is always more or leſs ſhaken. 2dly, Becauſe the tree is ſtopped ſooner, and does not remain ſo long nor ſo much expoſed to the winds. Moreover, it is eſſentially neceſſary to cut immediately under a knot. Thus, the little top which is left, keeps the next boughs together, which otherwiſe, by their weight, might cauſe the tender trunk to ſplit aſunder in the manner of a fork. It alſo ought to be remarked that, in all probability, the tree, after it is ſtopped, may grow a few inches; but on this point I have no exact obſervation. CHAP. III.

While the negroes are weeding, the drivers ſtop the trees, meaſuring the heights by their ſtaffs, which are marked with notches deſigned for the grounds of different aſpects and qualities.

In this buſineſs, you have been obliged to thwart nature in her deſigns; and, according to my prediction, you may expect to ſee her, as it were, offended. 34. Effects of ſtopping.

It appears that, becauſe the trees have been ſtopped, and the heights to which the ſoil and the vegetative power ſeemed deſigned to rear them, has been circumſcribed, an impetuous and overflowing ſap breaks out from all quarters. If nothing is done againſt this exuberance of vegetable juice, the trees, in proceſs of time, will grow into a maze of entangled boughs, inacceſſible to the genial warmth of the ſun, and deficient in the ordinary

CHAP. III. powers of fructification. It is the buſineſs of the planter to check the exceſs of vegetation, and to aſſwage, ſo to ſpeak, the wrath of offended nature, by a ſtrict ſubſerviency to her laws and original intentions.

Remember what they are (No. 5 to 12.)

35. Clearing. Vertical green ſuckers, with large leaves, ſhoot from under the primary boughs. Theſe are very properly termed *gormandiſing* tops: pluck them off inſtantly.

Whereas all branches ought to grow by the ſides of the primary boughs; branches ſlender, browniſh, with large leaves and very diſtant knots, ſpring upwards, and in almoſt vertical directions from the knots, riſe through and entangle the good boughs and branches: pluck theſe alſo inſtantly.

Whereas every bud within the ſtems of the leaves ſhould have but a ſingle branch, and every knot two oppoſite ones, two, three, or four are ſometimes obſerved to ſhoot at a ſingle bud, ſome of them in a backward direction. All theſe, thus ſuperfluous, muſt be plucked early, and only one left at each ſide of the knot, namely, that which is ſtrongeſt, and chiefly has the beſt direction towards the circumference.

I have ſaid *plucked*, becauſe this muſt be done when the ſhoots are very tender, and at a time when they yield eaſily. Beſides, if a branch is cut, a great number of ſprouts ſucceed; if *plucked*, nothing follows, and the wound is ſpeedily cicatrized. Care muſt, however, be taken not to tear the bark too much.

Any negroe, however unexperienced and raw,

will be capable of doing this after two lessons, nor is the task toilsome. It is enough that, at every weeding, the trees are searched. Two negroes may be appointed for this purpose through the year, but negroes, not under the inspection of a driver, do very little work in general.

36. Its Effect.

If this method is assiduously attended to, beyond doubt the trees will bear no other branches but such as they ought to have; hence pruning will seldom be materially necessary. What then will become of the superabundance of vegetation? It must, of course, be spent in giving greater vigour and strength to the roots, trunk, and branches, and in a greater and more perfect fructification.

37. Further Method of Clearing.

I had carried, in my plantation, this plain natural idea a step farther, in strong grounds, and more particularly in the cool expositions. I plucked from the main boughs all the two secondary branches, *next to the trunk*, from above downwards. Thus I diminished the quantity of wood, which, in the centre, is more exuberant. I thus formed round the trunk a large opening, through which air might circulate, and the sun penetrate even to the earth. Thus vegetation was cherished, and moss, which arises from moisture, and is very hurtful, was produced in less abundance. Success had crowned my industry easy and simple, when the revolt . . . God knows what is become of my poor trees, since the eye of their friend has been withheld from watching over them.

58. Perfection of Clearing.

This does not entirely exempt the trees from the saw and the pruning knife, chiefly when they grow old; but the work will be short and easy, where the

CHAP. III. preceding precautions have been taken, and it muſt be performed after every crop.

If a head is ſpoiled it muſt be ſawed. (See No. 47.)

If any of the ſuperabundant branches have been left, through neglect, theſe muſt be cut off.

If a bough has been broken by accident, and if any branches have become ſpent and withered from too great a load of fruit, theſe muſt be pruned. In ſhort, every thing that is defective muſt be completely taken away, but without retrenching any thing elſe.

390 Regeneration of Boughs.

The pruning of a bough of conſequence will make a chaſm in the tree, if it is not otherwiſe made up. This may be effected by a kind of device which I ſhall endeavour to explain, by the help of the Plate 22, where the progreſs and effect of the operation are delineated.

A. B. D. (fig. 1.) repreſent the bough which, being ſpoiled at its end B. D, muſt be cut, the ſound portion, A. B, being preſerved. The object in view is to make the former grow again, ſo as to furniſh a circumference, in the ſame direction; and, as much as poſſible, reſembling that of the former bough.

For this purpoſe, the bough A. B. D. muſt be cut immediately above a knot, where two or at leaſt one good ſecondary branch may be found, as in B. You ſhall have the branch, as deſcribed in fig. 2. A. B.

Then, cut the ſecondary branch in C. (fig. 2) ſo as to cut alſo the tertiary branch C. e, and preſerve the oppoſite tertiary C. d.; and then, the branch will be in the ſtate deſcribed by the fig. 3.

If,

If, instead of tertiary branches, buds only are found in C. it is the same thing. Cut off the branch and the posterior bud, and preserve the anterior, which will give out a branch C. d.

In both cases, the bud or branch C. d. will extend, with all the sap which was designed for the whole part cut off; and the bough will again exhibit the figure 4. A. C. D, much like the figure 1. A. B. D, for it will reach, in its turn, the circumference, loaded with secondary and tertiary branches; and the crook C. will always tend to conform itself to the vacancy.

This ingenuous and simple operation of nature assisted by art, often occurs in full pruning, as well as in the present.

In both, if long branches interfere with the neighbouring trees, they must be shortened, as much as is necessary. Moss and other parasitical excrescences must be removed. (See Art. 48.)

Some planters, who have no idea of lopping regularly, content themselves, after the crop, to break the dry branches. But a careful husbandman will not imitate them.

After this operation, nipping may be necessary. (No. 51.)

40. Necessity of full pruning.

When the above plain and easy practice has been neglected, the trees, particularly in strong grounds and cool expositions, grow into impenetrable thickets. Vegetation is entirely attracted to the summit by the air; there a mass of small branches makes a deep cover, which smothers *(a)* the inferior

(a) The curious and numerous observations of naturalists, which prove that the plants draw more of the nourishment from moist air than

CHAP. III.

ferior boughs. Thefe wither and decay if the tree is left long to itfelf. Then it exhbits the figure of an umbrella, bearing only a few cherries on the upper branches. If the expofition is ftill cooler, the tree lofes its leaves, the ends of the branches wither, and upon the whole the tree bears fcarcely any fruit.

Great toil and great lofs are the confequence of this neglect, for full pruning is the only remedy.

41. Tools. The faw and the crooked knife (Plate 2. fig. 14, 15.) are the tools employed for this and the former operations. The fmall Englifh handfaw, about two inches broad at the handle, is the beft. The blade of the knife ought to be ftrong, at moft an inch broad, and five inches long, befides the hook, which muft be pointed. The blade, for greater ftrength, and for other reafons equally obvious, ought to be of one piece with the handle. The mafter and the drivers have always leffer crooked clafpknives in their pockets, to cut what accidentally falls under their eye.

42. Principles. Pruning is generally confidered as the moft arduous part of this culture. Why fo? Becaufe, in general, men, inftead of feeking for a fure and fimple principle, the confequences of which are obvious and eafily applicable in practice, ufually proceed by one routine or other; and as nature,

than from the earth, are generally known. For that purpofe, the leaves are provided chiefly on the inferior furface, with millions of abforbent pores, for which reafon it is obferved to be always lefs fmooth than the fuperior furface. The leaves, as well as the bark, have alfo their exhaling pores. In confequence of this, it is obvious that air ought not to be interrupted in its courfe, either by allowing the trees to grow too thick, or by planting them originally too near. Mofs, which fhuts the pores of the bark, muft, for the fame reafon, be removed.

fimple

ſimple and uniform in the principles of her proceedings, is extremely fruitful in ſportive deviations, when driven by art out of her own ways, routine becomes a difficult and embarraſſing line of conduct. But when once obſervation has diſcovered the more general and ſyſtematic proceedings of nature, it is obvious to common ſenſe and reaſon, that the beſt means to redreſs her ſportive wanderings and deviations, is by conducting her gently to her more uſual paths and her original forms. The means of ſucceeding are eaſily deduced from the ſame obſervation. It is for this reaſon I have inſiſted at large (in Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.) upon a natural ſymmetry of ramification, and (in Nos. 33, 34.) upon the cauſes of deviation from it. In the application therefore of this principle, as may be collected from what has been ſaid in No. 35, it is obvious to common obſervation, that pruning conſiſts (and can indeed be allowed only to conſiſt) in cutting off what deviates from natural ſymmetry, preſerving what correſponds with it, and directing the vegetative principle to purpoſes of order, uſe, and regeneration.

I will not deny, that this demands attention, but it is ſo far from being extremely difficult, that I had myſelf above thirty negroes capable of pruning trees, which they had learned by routine, as knowledge of a higher ſource cannot be expected from people of this deſcription. In the beginning, I ſent five of them to work, for a week, at a neighbouring plantation; theſe ſucceeded pretty well, and taught to others thoſe rude leſſons which they had themſelves learnt. Nothing was left to me but to direct

CHAP. III. their routine into the path of nature, from which, as I had obſerved, the negroes of my neighbour had not deviated far.

It may be objected, and I, by no means deny, but that the great variety of grounds, of climates, and expoſitions, may occaſion differences. Theſe, however, never alter the leading principle, namely, of conducting nature in her deviations, back into the uſual ſyſtematic path. They only affect the modifications more or leſs, and leſs than is generally ſuppoſed.

43. Varieties. The tree is every where the ſame. Its nature, its ſhape, and temperament are all like. The differences ariſe from foreign circumſtances, ſuch as ſoil, climate, and expoſition. According to this ſhort and eaſy ſyſtem, pruning muſt be conſidered as the true medical aid of the coffee tree, and it muſt be proportioned, I ſhall ſay, rather to the circumſtances or local ſituation, than directed by a ſuppoſed difference of temperament in the patient. Towards this, the negroes muſt be particularly directed by an uninterrupted watchfulneſs on the part of the maſter. I return to the ſeveral applications.

I repeat that, *in warm and ſoft ſoils*, nothing will ever be neceſſary beſides clearing, as I have deſcribed it in Nos. 35, 38, and that this practice may ſuperſede any other, even in the beſt grounds, and in cool climates, if early and conſtantly employed.

44. Half pruning. But in ſultry expoſitions and good grounds, though it may have been neglected, it will be ſtill ſufficient to clear the trees perfectly. Firſt, whatever is rotten, withered, or broken, muſt be taken off,

off, always attending to the method of regeneration, explained in No. 39. Next the gormandizing, vertical and crofs branches, as well as the fupernumerary and thofe which diverge from natural directions, muft be plucked off, or cut, if too ftrong. The fpoiled heads muft be fawed, but with great œconomy. The fummit and the centre muft be particularly laid open, to admit the fun and air. Laftly, if the tree is ftill too thick, fome fecondary branches, thofe which diverge moft from natural direction, muft be taken out, for the primary boughs ought never to be touched; in this, as well as in the preceding operations, fome mechanical rules muft be attended to, which will be found in No. 47.

45. Full Pruning.

I come to the third and laft degree of pruning, which muft never be employed but in trees which are in cool afpects, and in the fituation defcribed in No. 40.

Trees which require this procefs are, in general, fo very thick and intricate, chiefly at the top, that the pruner is at a lofs where and how to begin. The crown or top muft be firft cleared, by plucking all the fmall branches that abound in every direction. Next, crooked large branches, as they are met with, muft be cut. Laftly, if the head is rotten, it muft be fawed, without facrificing a line of what is found. This œconomy can never be too ftrictly attended to.

The whole tree is then eafily feen, and what is to be preferved or cut will not efcape the pruner's obfervation.

All the primary boughs which have kept their natural direction muft be preferved, for this reafon, that

CHAP. III.

that once cut off, they never grow again. However, if they are entirely broken or ſpoiled at their riſe, they muſt be lopped off notwithſtanding. It is the ſame, if they have taken a wrong or croſs direction at their origin; but here, reſerve and œconomy are neceſſary. If there is a ſingle knot ſound and well directed, and ſtill more if there are two or four, theſe muſt be cautiouſly preſerved. If the fartheſt knot has a good ſecondary branch, it muſt be treated as is explained in No. 39. If it has not, it muſt be ſtill left, for it will bear ſeveral twigs, the beſt of which may be choſen, in the next operation, to make up the main bough. Thus all the boughs muſt be examined, from above downwards, and treated as required.

Laſtly, where the ſituation is exceedingly cool, and the trees are decayed into barrenneſs, from the great overload of wood, all the boughs muſt be ſtripped of their ſecondary branches, both with a view to renew the fruit-bearing ones, and to give a ſtronger direction to the ſap; as alſo, if the extremities of the boughs are withered, as happens in the trees ſtripped of their leaves, from ſeverity of cold, or if they interfere with the neighbouring trees, they muſt be pruned and ſhortened.

46. Umbrella Trees.

If the operation of pruning ought, in all caſes, to be made with œconomy, it is obvious that ſtill more œconomy is neceſſary in rectifying the diſorders of thoſe trees which have loſt their inferior branches, and are diſtinguiſhed by the correct appellation of *umbrellas*; ſuch are actually very deficient in wood, and pruning will diminiſh it ſtill more.

I tried

I tried to replace those inferior boughs, by suffering a gormandizing sucker or two to shoot up, as near the ground as possible, which I stopped under the umbrella. I hoped that these might have produced fine boughs. But whether it was that the mother trunk engrossed all the substance, or that the umbrella, growing thick, smothered the suckers, these never answered my expectation. In cases where the tree was low, I have suffered one to shoot up, which I stopped when it had four or six boughs. This succeeded only a little better; and those trials have satisfied me that the best method (particularly where the umbrella is small) is to cut the tree close by the ground, and to treat it as will be explained in Number 55, 2.

47. Manual Dexterity.

I come now to the Manual Dexterity of pruning, in general.

1°. In order to saw the trunk at any part, the saw must be managed with one hand, and the trunk held fast with the other, both for the purpose of preventing the tree from being shaken too much, and to facilitate the working of the saw. The trunk must be cut sloping, from above downwards, the oval surface of the cut facing towards the north, and very much inclined; in which case, the sun will strike less forcibly upon it, and rain will more readily pass over; for if it enters into large cracks or fissures, it will hurt the tree extremely.

2°. The large boughs, which cannot be conveniently cut with the knife, must be sawed, and held fast in the manner above described. But in these cases, the saw should never be used where the knife can be employed.

employed. If a very large bough is gently bent down, and the cut made, with an even quick ſtroke, upwards, the power of the knife is ſurpriſingly great.

3°. As the ſaw tears and notches the bark, around the edges of the cut, both wood and bark muſt be dreſſed and pared with the knife. After this, the bark grows better, and the wound cicatrizes more rapidly round the cut.

4°. In order to cut a branch, the branch muſt be held firm with one hand, and with the other the knife applied forwards, and drawn ſteadily and quickly. If the cut is not performed at the firſt ſtroke, the ſtroke muſt be repeated in the ſame manner, ſtill bending the bough gently, but being careful not to ſplit it. Should this happen, the whole damaged part muſt be taken off; ſhould the hand ſhake, the buſineſs will not be well done, and the knife is apt to be notched, if its temper is too hard. This defect of the temper, however, is remedied by dipping the knives, for a ſhort time, in boiling water.

5°. In all caſes it is neceſſary to cut very cloſe; thus where a ſecondary branch is cut, let it be done very cloſe to the mother bough, more particularly behind the cut; and if it is wiſhed to prevent the ſhoots from riſing up in crowds, cut a little of the bark of the mother bough around the cut.

48. Moſs.

When the tree is completely pruned, the Moſs and other paraſitical excreſcences are ſcratched from the trunk, with a wooden knife (Plate 2. fig. 16.) taking care not to injure the bark.

A common negroe can hardly prune every day more

more than thirty of thoſe thick and overgrown trees, from which the tedioufneſs of lopping, where ſeveral thouſands require this operation, may be conceived. As the prunings are made, the boughs muſt be cut in pieces and ſpread upon the ground, ſo as to occaſion little incumbrance.

For the better performance of the work, care muſt be taken that the knives and ſaws be ſharp, which muſt be effected by means of the grinding ſtone and triangular file. After the buſineſs of pruning is over, the inſtruments muſt be collected together, rubbed with tallow, and kept for the uſe of another year.

49. Seaſon.

Where the choice is leſt, March, April, and May are the beſt ſeaſons for pruning, the trees requiring a relief after the crop, which they find fully from the vegetation of the ſummer. It may however be performed in any ſeaſon of the year, ſo that ſome planters appoint, for this purpoſe alone, a certain proportion of negroes, who continue the employment the year round, unleſs in the ſhort times of full bloſſom. In general, however, the rapidity of crop admits of no other work being done at that time, the intervals being ſometimes even too ſhort to allow of weeding.

Upon the whole, when any branch requires to be cut, neither bloſſom nor fruit is of conſideration, however unpleaſant the havock may be. Beſides, the trees in general would be exhauſted, or ſink under the loads of fruit, if all their flowers came forward. If the fruit is ripe, the pruners begin to work two or three days before the reapers, who pick the

cherries

CHAP. III. cherries from the branches, as they lie upon the ground and are ſtill freſh.

50. Quacks. The care of the health of the vegetable kingdom is no more free from the bane of quacks, than that of the animal. There are wretches, ignorant of every knowledge, who aſſume the name of pruners of coffee, and traverſe the mountains, tendering their ſervice, for two pence or a penny for each tree. If any one is ſimple enough to employ them, three hundred trees will be maimed or deſtroyed every day. The rule of this horrid havock is to cut four or five knots from the top, often with the bill, a hurtful inſtrument; next to cut all the boughs, as they ſay into *parrot ſticks*. Thus the maimed trunk makes a mournful appearance, having only a few naked ſtumps, five or ſix inches long. The conſequence of this is the deſtruction of the one half, and the barrenneſs of the other. When any one of this deſcription came to my eſtate, I felt a ſecret impreſſion of the impending danger of my trees, and could not be eaſy till the impudent quack had taken his departure,

51. Nipping. A field of coffee fully pruned preſents the appearance of an European foreſt in the time of winter. The trees are naked; a few leaves only, remaining at the ends of the branches, ſeem to deplore their departed companions. The ground, ſo to ſpeak, is ſtrewed with dead carcaſſes. The aſpect is ſad and mournful. The mind is impreſſed with melancholy ſenſations. For a while, nature ſilent, and ſeemingly downcaſt, appears as if meditating revenge. But ſhe is, in fact, better employed.

ployed. Senſible of the good done, ſhe collects all her forces to refund her ſtores with the uſury of gratitude. Viſit the diſmal ſcene after a few days. All is changed; delightful ſenſation! Sap appears every where. Millions of twigs have ſpread over the wounded ſurfaces; and the eye again rejoices in the verdant luxuriance, as the mind is elated with the pride of ſucceſs.

Under this extraordinary operation, nature muſt be aſſiſted by all the powers of art. Firſt, it is eſſential to keep the ground perfectly clean and free from weeds.

Next, all wanderings muſt be brought into order, and the exceſs of a vegetation too luxuriant muſt be cut off. This is called *nipping*.

From every cut ſurface many ſmall twigs are ſent forth, the ſupport of which will exhauſt the tree, and produce a greater thickneſs and intricacy of buſh than there was before the operation. All this ſuperabundance muſt be taken off, but the order and ſymmetry of nature preſerved; the retrenchment muſt be directed by an adherence to its original forms. Thus a ſingle branch at each bud, and two axillary at each knot may be left; in all caſes taking care to prefer ſuch as have the moſt natural and horizontal direction. This, in reality, is no more than doing at one time what I directed to be done in ſucceſſion, in the Art. 35. In the preſent ſituation alſo, every thing muſt be pulled, nothing ought to be cut with the knife, except what may have eſcaped the firſt *operation*. As to *this*, it muſt be poſtponed, till the twigs are five or ſix inches in length, which happens uſually in the third month,

but

CHAP. III.

but not deferred later. This operation is alſo tedious, it requires the hands of loppers, and the eye of a maſter.

When the trees have once undergone full pruning, it is a point of conſequence to manage them in ſuch a manner as not to require a repetition of ſuch a troubleſome and laborious operation. The means pointed out, in Nos. 35, 37, and 38, muſt be employed with care and vigilance.

52. Labour and Loſſes.

It is now evident how much I had reaſon to exclaim againſt the labour which the planter brings upon himſelf, by neglecting careful and ſeaſonable clearing. The actual loſs is, by no means, leſs affecting. Crops decline and have been reduced, in reality, almoſt to nothing, as the neceſſity for full pruning has increaſed. The crop which, in the ordinary courſe of things, ought to follow this operation, is entirely loſt; and in fact, there is a loſs of at leaſt two full harveſts. Skilful pruning, however, will reſtore the produce to its higheſt extent. I can warrant this from my own experience, before, after an accurate inveſtigation into the nature of the tree, I had recourſe to the method explained in the Numbers 35, 37, and 38.

53. Decay of the Trees.

I come now to the Decay of the coffee trees.

The provident huſbandman will not fail to have a foreſight of this period, and, at an early ſeaſon, make a neceſſary proviſion of manure.

54. Manure.

A great number of things, conſidered as nuiſances in themſelves, are good for this precious purpoſe. The dung of all kinds of cattle, the ſweepings of pens, houſes, kitchen, poultry, and pigeon houſes; the leaves and trunks of plantain trees; the weedings, and

and chiefly, the red ſkins of coffee, *(a)* may be gathered into receptacles without the reach of currents of water, either in the fields or near the grater-mill houſe. Theſe, in proceſs of time, are improved into a black mould, which then makes a moſt excellent manure. I ſaw once a ſtriking example of the valuable qualities of the manure from coffee ſkins. An induſtrious overſeer dug a few pits, behind his houſe, upon a clay perfectly dead, and formed proper outlets for water. He filled thoſe pits with the mould from that manure alone, to the height of eighteen inches. Cabbages, turnips, carrots, redbeets, and ſmall greens of different kinds, the largeſt and beſt I ever taſted in my life, were produced.

The decay of coffee trees may be diſtinguiſhed into partial decays from temperament, accident, or diſtemper, and into general decays from impoveriſhed ground, or from the age of the trees. This period is more or leſs late, according to the quality of the ſoil. The manner of treating the diſtempers of individuals, or the decay of a plantation is much the ſame. The only difference lies in applying the remedies to the plantation in general, or to the ſeveral parts of it.

I have already mentioned the accidents to which young trees are liable. I confine myſelf here to thoſe of trees of fuller growth. When in grounds not yet exhauſted, one or more trees give ſigns of decay, the treatment may require to be managed according to different plans.

(a) I have already excluded the chaff and parchment of coffee.

55. Remedies.

1ſt. The tree muſt be well pruned, as has been explained in the Numbers 44 or 45, according to the reſpective ſtate of decay. Next the earth muſt be dug all around into a trench, a foot wide or more, as deep as poſſible, and at the diſtance of a foot from the trunk. If any of the roots are found to be ſpoiled, they muſt be cut off; the others muſt be cleared, and ſhortened with a ſharp crooked knife. Then the pit muſt be filled again with the earth well broken, to which muſt be added a fourth or fifth part of good old manure well rotted. The ſurface is then to be beaten or trampled even and ſmooth. Nay, if the ground is very ſteep, ſome trunks of plantain trees muſt be laid down and kept faſt, by means of pickets below, to prevent the ground from giving way.

2dly. If the *trees* or branches are in a worſe ſituation than the above, *they* may be ſawed near the ground (as has been mentioned in No. 47.) or near the riſe, and, when the ſhoots are advanced, the beſt and loweſt in point of ſituation, ought to be choſen and ſupported by a prop, the others being pulled off; in this operation, the roots muſt be dug round, pruned and manured, as in the former. There is no doubt but that the preceding method is preferable, wherever the branches, after being lopped, may actually form a good well garniſhed tree.

There is a remark, in the eſſay mentioned above, "that thoſe ſecond ſhoots laſt but a ſhort time, "and hardly yield two good crops." In my opinion, however, and the opinion is grounded upon experience, they laſt much longer; and, indeed,

deed, the precautions of digging, manuring, and lopping the roots, ſeem not to have fallen under the obſervation of this author, though very conducive to ſucceſs.

3dly. Every thing in nature has a period fixed to its exiſtence. If a tree is actually dead; nay, even if it has once undergone the former operation of regeneration, another tree muſt be planted in its ſtead, ſuppoſing the ground to be ſtill good. The largeſt and healthieſt plant muſt be taken from the nurſery with its clod. A hole muſt be dug, at leaſt as large as a barrel of flour, and the plant carefully placed, with all the precautions of manuring, breaking the earth, and ſecuring its ſafety, by means of trunks of plantains.

The manure, previouſly to theſe operations, ought to be carried into the field by the negroes, as they go to their daily work, and laid in different heaps. This ſpares time and trouble.

4thly. When the ground of a *plantation* is exceedingly ſteep, exhauſted or waſhed away, it is perhaps the beſt method to form *a new one*; though, indeed, it may be obſerved that there is no ſpot (except perhaps mere clay) which may not be improved by dint of labour and manure, into a receptacle ſufficiently proper for the artificial mould neceſſary in the vegetation of fine trees. But ſuch is a work of immenſe labour, and ought only to be attempted, where there is no reſource in wood land, and where the ſettlements are of great value.

56. Neglected.

It is, however, true, that too many planters wantonly abuſe this reſource; and, inſtead of cheriſhing

CHAP. III.

their old trees, indulge themſelves in forming new plantations. But it is to be obſerved, that theſe are attended with as hard labour as the remedies noticed above for old plantations; that they muſt become neceſſarily more and more diſtant from the ſettlements, which occaſions, daily, a great loſs of time. Beſides, nothing is ſo unſatisfactory as to be ſurrounded with waſtes. A father of a family ought to preſerve virgin grounds for his children and ſucceſſors. Laſtly, why ſhould thoſe ſervants be abandoned, who require only care and attention to preſerve themſelves in a condition to feed you in their old age.

57. Obſervation.

I ought to have obſerved before, that the huſbandman, either by the mode of arranging his plantations, or by the ſeaſonable employment of full loppings, ſhould be careful to keep the crops of every year as nearly equal as poſſible; for it muſt be obſerved, that coffee trees, like other fruit trees, produce alternately a full and a ſhort crop. The operations muſt, therefore, be ſo managed, that the crops of each ſucceeding year be brought to a level with that of the former. For want of this calculation, ſome planters make a hundred thouſands of coffee one year, and only fifty the next. Hence, in the firſt year, every nerve muſt be overſtrained to meet the labour; and many things neceſſary to uniform ſucceſs will be of courſe neglected.

58. Crops.

Harveſt and vintage are, in Europe, the moſt chearful ſeaſon of the year; but, here, the planter's feelings are perpetually on the rack. Crop-time is generally the period of continued rain; the coffee ſuffers and is often loſt, falling from the trees and

rotting,

rotting, unleſs the negroes are ſuffered to work at the riſk of getting wet, which ought always to be avoided where poſſible. If, however, indiſpenſible, it is the buſineſs of the planter to ſhow example by ſharing occaſionally of the hardſhip; and, to encourage the negroes, by adding in compenſation ſome ſmall douceur in the evening. It were better, while they remain in the field under rain, that they be nearly naked. When they come home, a glaſs of rum, a good fire, and dry cloaths, will be neceſſary and comfortable. But ſuch is the diſpoſition of people of this deſcription, that, after all theſe precautions have been taken for their preſervation, they frequently dreſs themſelves, go wantonly out into the rain, and ſleep all night in their wet clothes.

59. Seaſon.

The crop begins ſooner or later, and laſts in proportion to the temperature of the climate. In the warmeſt ſituations, it begins in Auguſt, and is over before or by the end of October. It has, in ſuch caſe, but very few and ſhort intermiſſions. In cooler countries, it begins often ſo late as the beginning of October, and continues ſometimes to the month of May. Full crop is then in December and January, unleſs in thoſe months there are intervals ſufficient for weeding. The bloſſoms follow the ſame courſe.

As crop-time approaches, care muſt be taken that all the negroe grounds be well weeded and well ſtocked with proviſions.

60. Baſkets.

Each negroe ought to have a Baſket with a handle, as alſo a large hamper ſufficient for a burthen. Theſe are made with bamboo, or with ſome of the

CHAP. III.

creeping plants in the wood. If this creeping plant is at a diſtance, one day or a part of a day muſt be allowed to fetch it. The greater number make their hampers themſelves; others are made by the negroes in the hoſpital, for ſuch as are uninſtructed or bunglers. They ought to laſt two or three years; but it is abſolutely neceſſary to watch that the idle do not loſe or deſtroy them, during the continuance of the crop.

61. Proceſſes.

In the buſineſs of weeding every negroe takes a middle row; but here, in general, each negroe takes the entire row under his charge, ſo that he firſt picks the tree on one ſide, and then turns round to the other, which is toilſome in ſteep grounds. In doing this, he ſometimes lets his baſket fall, and thereby loſes the cherries, or loſes time in picking them from the ground. Sometimes gravel is taken up at the ſame time, which ſpoils the mill. And laſtly, being incumbered and in danger of falling, he lays hold of the boughs and breaks them. To preclude ſome of thoſe inconveniences, ſome planters cauſe their negroes to collect the cherries in bags, hanging at the neck. Inſtead of this, I placed every negroe in the middle row, and cauſed him to pick to right and left, ſo that he had no occaſion to turn round. The work went on quicker in this way, than it could do by means of bags; and the other inconveniences were diminiſhed.

The negroes, with a view to get more quickly over the work, are apt to take the branch in their hands, and to ſtrip the fruit at once into their baſkets; but that muſt be carefully prevented, becauſe it

it tears the bark and ſtrips off the leaves. The cherries ought to be picked ſeparately by cluſters. The ſtems are generally left; but I have obſerved that, when taken out without injury to the bark, the branches puſh forth ſooner. This, however, is a nice work, when time cannot admit of it.

When the bag or hand-baſket is full, it muſt be emptied in the hamper; and this, when full, carried to the mill, from which the negroes return to the work, (though ſome planters cauſe the coffee to be carried to the mill by mules, a very good practice where the field is at a great diſtance): this happens only once in the morning. Two hampers make a barrel, and the barrel is commonly the taſk required of each negroe, when there is plenty of ripe fruit. Some negroes, and particularly the women, who are more handy at delicate work than men, pick conſiderably more. A neighbour of mine, being ſhort of negroes, offered a gratuity for each ſecond barrel: two negroes generally completed it, and ſhared the gratuity. However, more than a barrel is never exacted; and even, if the diſtance is great, ripe fruit ſcarce, or the weather bad, much muſt be abated of this quantity.

Such cherries only as are ripe are picked, the others being left to another time. However, when the crop is urgent, the cherries may be gathered as ſoon as the yellow colour begins to turn red. Such coffee may perhaps be leſs perfect in taſte, but it does well at the mill; and I never perceived it to be different in the quality required at the market. Some green coffee may remain at the laſt picking,

CHAP. III.

for which it is not worth while to come again; this may be picked apart and mingled with the *ſcums*: it would not paſs the mill. As to the dry ripe, the caſe is the ſame. But, though preferable in taſte, coffee ſhould never be ſuffered to dry upon the trees, for it will do them injury.

62. Quantities.

Where the crop-time continues long, a negroe may gather two thouſand weight, if the plantations are not diſtant; where ſhort, not more than twelve hundred weight. In the beſt grounds, the trees may yield as far as four pounds of ſixteen ounces; though, every where, there are ſome particular ones which may exceed that quantity by four times. In the worſt, a tree may perhaps yield no more than three or four ounces. But whatever plantation yields, in general, a pound per tree, is deemed a very good and profitable one.

63. Of Barrels.

Coffee is meaſured in Barrels, as it comes to the mill. When the cherries are in good plight, it is ſuppoſed that thirty-three barrels will afford a thouſand weight ready for market. I have always found a benefit of five or ſix per cent. above this calculation. The beauty and largeneſs of the ſeed, depend upon the ſtrength of the ground and of the tree. Old trees bear better, though perhaps ſmaller fruit.

The number of the barrels are every night noted in the journal.

I muſt repeat it again in this place, that, in grater-mills, eſpecially cattle or water mills, which are ſtopped with more difficulty, it is highly neceſſary to watch that the negroes do not leave ſtones, or other hard bodies amongſt the cherries. I have ſeen

inſtances

inſtances where flints, ſteels, keys, and knives, have been left, by which the grater was entirely ſpoiled.

64. Delivery and Sale.

I have fully explained the preparation of the coffee, in the ſecond chapter. It now remains to take notice of the Carriage, Delivery, and Sale of that commodity, in managing which the planter has happily no occaſion to forego his uſual occupation.

As ſoon as coffee is cleaned, it is put into the bags in which it is intended to be carried to the market (ſome old ones are reſerved for the uſe of the manufacture). They are ſtamped with the maſter's name or cypher. They contain commonly a hundred pounds weight, and every mule carries two; but, if the diſtance is ſmall and the road eaſy, the bags may be heavier by ſix or ten pounds.

The evening preceding the departure for market, the carriage negroes, with the coffee-man, preſent themſelves to weigh and tie the bags. The maſter ſeals or leads them, makes a note of what he ſends, and inſcribes it in the journal. Next morning, if the weather is favourable, the carriage men take the harneſſes from the ſadler's hands, accoutre and load the mules; the carriage driver receives the paſſports and the letters, and they ſet out. It is eſſential to watch the arranging of the harneſſes, ſo that the loads be not diſordered, and the mules wounded. The convoys muſt ſet out early, eſpecially where the diſtance is great. It is alſo highly material, chiefly where the roads are ſteep and the diſtance

great,

CHAP. III. great, to beſtow great attention on the fitneſs of the harneſſes themſelves. Laſtly, a ſmall tarpawling, ſix feet ſquare, for the purpoſe of covering the bags in caſe of rain, would be uſeful.

It is often impoſſible to go to market and return the ſame day. The mules and negroes, in this caſe, lodge at ſome plantation belonging to an acquaintance of the maſter. But there are ſome planters who have a ſmall pen on the road, with a houſe, the keeper of which plants graſs and takes care of the incloſures: the convoy reſts there all night, and next morning proceeds up to the eſtate.

65. Carriers, Coaſters, If the coffee is not carried to the town by the planter, as is moſtly the caſe, it is remitted to public Carriers or Coaſters, who convey it thither by land or by ſea at a fixed price, and bring back the proviſions of all kinds, which are conveyed on the unloaded mules to the plantation. The bags, in ſuch caſes, muſt be more ſecurely tied and ſealed; and (I am ſorry to ſay) this even does not always prevent the frauds of thoſe employed in the ſubaltern buſineſs of carrying. For this reaſon, leads have been contrived, bearing the cypher of the planters. For my own part, I made uſe of ſealing-wax of a particular colour.

66. And Factors. An honeſt Factor in town receives and ſells the coffee, furniſhes and expedites all kinds of proviſions, renders in his account once a year, and often makes advances to the planter, the whole at ſtated commiſſions or intereſts. Some of them are extremely valuable and attentive in their correſpondence.

The

The market price of coffee has been variable, from the moſt early period to the preſent day. It has been ſo high as thirty Sols, and, in time of war, it has been known to fall ſo low as five. It then behoves the planter, as far as it can be done, to keep it for bettar times. Theſe laſt twenty-five years it has ſeldom fallen below twenty Sols; and, at fifteen, the planter finds a proper intereſt and recompence for his advances and labour. In general, this culture is eſteemed the moſt profitable in St. Domingo, though that of ſugar, particularly clayed ſugar, is highly ſo. The charges of ſugar eſtates are much greater, and the net proceeds ſmaller in proportion. However, as they have the valuable advantage of being much more durable than coffee eſtates, they deſerve undoubtedly a preference.

67. Journal.

I muſt now ſay a few words of the Journal-book.

Every honeſt adminiſtrator ought to be ready to lay his adminiſtration open; and every owner is glad to balance accounts with himſelf, and to be able to refer to notes upon occaſion. Such is the object of the journal.

The journal muſt contain a ſtate of the negroes and cattle, a ſtate of the births and deaths, the number, dates, and various kinds of plantations, the daily works and employment of the negroes, ordinary as well as extraordinary; the ſtate of the crops day by day; the deliveries of coffee, as well as the price of ſale and amount, as ſtated in the factor's letters; laſtly, the ſtate of proviſions received, and of the tools, utenſils, and cloaths delivered to the negroes.

This

CHAP. III.

This book, besides its other advantages, will help to form, in a more accurate and consistent manner, those *census* or returns, which the planters are bound to give the government every year, of their families, estates, lands, plantations, negroes and cattle; one of the best regulations in our admirable constitution.

I hasten to the fourth part of my task.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE GOVERNMENT AND CARE OF THE NEGROES AND CATTLE.

In the beginning of this work, I intimated that my views were calculated for, or drawn from the times prior to 1789. I ſhall, therefore, endeavour to treat this intereſting ſubject, as I would have done in 1788. Happy period, of which nothing is left but the dear ſorrowful remembrance, though ſome faint remote hopes remain of its returning, under that protection which, in the ſevere viſitations of God, has not been denied to our miſeries.

1. The Negroe in general.

When one ſpeaks of any claſs or deſcription whatſoever of the human race, it muſt be underſtood that he ſpeaks in general terms, which admit of various and numerous exceptions. It is in thoſe *exceptions*, that great accompliſhments and great defects, that great virtues and great vices, are only found.

Thus, generally ſpeaking, the negroe is not perhaps the worſt ſpecies of the human race. He is an animal rational in a middle degree; tolerably good, becauſe he is docile and timid, and becauſe he never thinks of a better condition than what he actually enjoys, unleſs the thought, as well as the means of attaining, is forced upon his obſervation. He is little capable of actual gratitude and ſolid attachment; but he is endowed with a general

vague

CHAP. IV. vague notion of right and wrong; and, as he is exceedingly jealous of what he ſuppoſes to be his due, chiefly of what has been promiſed to him, he is pretty well inclined to do what he knows to be his duty. Beſides, he has all the defects of people of the loweſt claſs; he perverts every thing to gratify his ſloth, luſt and gluttony, and, under theſe predicaments, he will be found an impudent liar. He is exceedingly attentive, and has ſufficient ſkill to lay hold of every remiſſion of diſcipline, to turn to his own advantage the weakneſſes and examples of his maſter. He is imitative and apiſh, as the reſt of the human race; and, as ſuch, rather exerts himſelf to attain the evil, which preſents more preſent and palpable enjoyments, than the good, the benefits of which are, unfortunately, almoſt always more abſtruſe and remote.

In a phyſical view, he is ſtrong and robuſt, bears fatigue with hardineſs, is little liable to diſtempers, as he is calculated by nature, and improved by habit, to be the inhabitant of a warm climate.

Such, nearly and in a general view, is that creature whom we are forced to keep in his *natural* ſtate of thraldom, in order to obtain from him the requiſite ſervices; becauſe it is now proved by experience, more deciſively than by ſpeculative reaſonings, that, under a different condition, he would not labour, unleſs to remove actual wants, which are few and ſmall in the Weſt Indies. Here let the philanthropic imprudent ſpeculator, view the preſent ſituation of things, correct his ſyſtem, and profeſs contrition for the incalculable miſ-

chief

chief he has done, in the republican parts of St. Domingo. But no more of this subject.

2. Principle of Government.

It is necessary, then, to turn this our property to the best account. We must exact from the negroe all the work he can reasonably perform, and use every means to prolong his life. If interest directs the first, humanity enjoins the second, and here they both go hand in hand. Happy accord! the consciousness of which forms the whole philosophical and political system of the planter; all the magic of the supreme power of one chief, and of that entire submission of the many, which would still have subsisted unimpaired in this island, had not the fatal French revolution introduced principles, incompatible with the condition of the country *(a)*.

In order to make the best of the powers of the negroe, and to keep him in subjection, chastisement is unfortunately sometimes necessary. Such also is the case with soldiers, with sailors, and with all servile classes of men. But, that his life may be prolonged as long as possible, the planter must not forget that chastisement ought to be neither too severe at a time, nor too often repeated; that the negroe stands in need of quiet, of relaxation, of comforts during health; and of tender and attentive

(a) It is particularly remarkable, that while almost all the Dutch and British colonies have suffered, one time or other, the shock of local insurrections of negroes, the French colonies have never felt any thing of that kind. I can see no better reason for this, but the difference of their respective constitutions. *Ours* left the strength and power of the multitude a hidden mystery. The whole sway was, *visibly at least*, in the hands of a single man, both here and in the mother-country; and this is the exact pattern and example of the power of the master on his own estate. This is only a hint of a very extensive idea, which, if further explained, would be found to be beyond contradiction.

assistance

CHAP. IV. assistance in times of sickness; that he must have always homely, but wholesome and abundant fare, and cloaths and lodgings suiting to the climate. The planter *has been sensible* that humanity, as well as interest, calculated on the surest grounds, direct all those things; he has not been deaf to these suggestions. Nay, who knows but gratitude may be occasionally felt. Upon recollection, the negroe will be found to do for the planter more than the planter does, and is bound to do for him. The infant and old man do not perform labour, but the one will, the other has. Care has been bestowed upon them, on account of their inabilities. The first reward appears in the zeal of their families. Honest planter, often you have seen grateful and tender feelings glow on the face of the fond mother, while you noticed and caressed the child in her arms; or in the eye of the dutiful son, who supports the decrepit old man, tottering along and groping his way to receive a daily ration from your own table. Lo! a tear trickles from thine eye. Oh, friend, thou art the happiest man in the world!

It is to you honest planters of St. Domingo, that I address this apostrophe, without flattery and without remorse. I cannot speak of the treatment of negroes in other more happy colonies; but it is justice to say, that (save in a few odious exceptions generally detested) your negroes were ruled with as much justice and humanity as with firmness. Thus, in what follows, I shall rather describe what actually was done, on the most of your estates, than what ought to have been done.

Several

Several planters are desirous of working their estates with Negroes accustomed to the country, and, to accomplish this, they pick them up singly as they find them, and more frequently in towns, or they purchase entire small gangs. Where there is a proper choice, I have no objection to this; but it is not an easy matter to effect in general. In the second instance, there is a paultry mixture of children or of decrepit invalids; in both cases, there must be a motley compound of opposite habits and dispositions, where vices will meet and ferment together. 3. Negroes accustomed to the country.

I have advised to begin with negroes ready made, because, in the hardships of a first settlement, they are better able to shift for themselves. It was partly for that reason that I recommended beginning with a small number. I also advise that a mason, a carpenter, a shingle planer, and a saddler be procured, if any of good character can be found; for want of these, young negroes are placed as apprentices with artificers. But these will not be ready in less than three years; and then they sometimes will be found to have acquired bad habits, and not even to have learned their trade.

I should prefer, in many respects, to form a gang of young Guinea Negroes of the best choice; and even when there is a sufficient number of men full grown for the labour, I would advise to purchase only boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen. Guinea negroes require, in the beginning, to be gently worked and well attended. Some may be lost in the seasoning to climate; but to counterbalance this, they are formed and disciplined according to 4. Guinea Negroes.

CHAP. IV. the maſter's own ideas, and it is the ſureſt means to make a good and beautiful gang.

5. Choice. In the Choice of Guinea negroes, the planter ought to attend to the following circumſtances: Youth, an open cheerful countenance, a clean and lively eye, freſh lips, ſound teeth, a ſtrong neck, a broad and open cheſt, ſinewy arms, dry and large hands, a flat belly, ſtrong loins and haunches, round thighs, dry knees, muſcular calves, lean ancles, high feet and lean; an eaſy and free movement of the limbs; and a middling ſtature, or rather ſmall.

The Congo, Arada, and Thiamba, are the beſt nations. Women, in general, do not admit of ſo much nicety of choice in this reſpect, becauſe, all over the coaſt of Guinea, women are accuſtomed to work for the men. A gang ought to be, as much as poſſible, compoſed of the ſame nation. I preferred the Congos. They are docile, and work pretty well, provided they are well fed.

6. Cares. As ſoon as Guinea negroes are purchaſed, the firſt Care is to have them well bathed with warm water, in order to take off the palm oil, with which they are rubbed on ſhip-board. This is neceſſary, as it intercepts perſpiration. They muſt next be clothed as the climate requires *(a)*. It is likewiſe extremely neceſſary to cauſe them to drink, for the ſpace of a fortnight, a ſudorifick potion, (as the dock water) to forward the eruption of cutaneous diſtempers, which the ſhip ſurgeons have often barbarouſly repreſſed, and which produce fatal conſequences. If direct ſuſpicion of this is

(a) I cannot omit the unpleaſing but neceſſary practice of ſtamping them.

entertained,

entertained, it is better to reproduce the itch, and then to cure it methodically. They ought to be christened also as soon as possible. Some planters stand godfathers for all their negroes, to keep them free from the superstitious and abusive power of godfathers and mothers of their own colour.

I prefer setting negroes to work as soon as they arrive, but this must be done by degrees, avoiding exposure at first to cold rains and dews, because the climate to which they have been accustomed, is different from that of the mountains of St. Domingo; for the same reason, I should advise to purchase Guinea negroes only in the spring. They require also to be particularly watched by the drivers, on account of their distempers.

There are a few planters who judge it proper to commit new negroes in trust to the care of their other negroes. These make servants of them, and in general use them with very little regard, if not with severity. On the contrary, let the planter take the charge upon himself; let him lodge them under his eye, watch over their personal concerns in all respects, ascertain that their food is prepared and distributed regularly twice a day, until they are in a condition to be left to themselves. It is then the time to give them a ground well settled and planted, a house and bed, a kettle, a porringer, a vessel for water, a knife, two suits of cloaths, two hens and a mate, if wanted or wished for. When they are thus settled, it is still necessary to watch them for a time, more carefully than over the others.

The planter who wishes to work at ease, to

CHAP. IV. execute all his works properly, and to ſpare his negroes, ought to have a fifteenth part more than is abſolutely neceſſary for the labour of the eſtate. But I own this happens ſeldom; ambition, and the facility of extending the plantations, being great temptations to cauſe deviations from this rule.

I ſhall now ſpeak of the different employments of negroes.

7. Artificers. It is the cuſtom that the Artificers go into the fields, when not employed at their own trade. The carpenters and tilers muſt viſit, every now and then, the houſes and roofs, to keep them in repair. The maſon, before the crops, muſt ſee that the baſons and platforms are in good order. He muſt alſo refit all the other works in his province, without waiting till the decays are conſiderable. On the day of every journey, the ſaddler muſt give out, and, at the return, take back the ſaddles, pannels and harneſſes, refit them immediately, dry them, and greaſe them with fiſh oil. It is ſufficient expertneſs for a ſaddler to be able to make cruppers, breaſt leathers, girths, and the like, and to refit a ſaddle neatly. One man may have the knowledge of, and actually practiſe two trades. The maſon may alſo be a ſaddler. It is evident, that the watching over all thoſe concerns requires the eye of the maſter.

8. Driver. It is commonly and juſtly ſaid, that Drivers or Commanders are the ſoul of a plantation. Before they are appointed to this ſituation, their character ought to be well known; it is the buſineſs of the maſter to form them. They ought to poſſeſs fidelity,

fidelity, affection, intelligence, ſobriety, diſcretion, juſtice, and ſeverity. They ſhould know to preſerve diſtance and authority, make themſelves acquainted with all that the negroes do or intend to do, chiefly during night, keep an eye upon the nocturnal viſits and excurſions; obſerve, while at work, if any are indiſpoſed, give attention to every thing, and render account of every thing to the maſter. Laſtly, to be perfectly ſkilled in work of every kind.

The drivers are allowed to puniſh the negroes, but not to a greater extent than five laſhes. Such faults as require more ſevere correction are reported to the maſter, to be chaſtiſed according to his directions. In all caſes, where more than four negroes work together, a driver is neceſſary; and, where the land is ſteep and interſected with ravines, a driver can hardly watch, in a proper manner, over the work of more than thirty.

The place of the driver is behind the gang. He walks through all the rows, obſerves if any thing is wrong, calls the negroe back that he may rectify his faults, teaches him where he is ignorant, puniſhes him if he commits errors repeatedly through neglect or through obſtinacy. The driver muſt only teach, and never do the work of a common negroe. He muſt be reſpected, and when chaſtiſed muſt be chaſtiſed in private, unleſs for faults which require that he be degraded to the ranks.

In the diſtributions of cloth, a double ſhare is given to the drivers, if they have behaved properly.

CHAP. IV. The drivers wear a ſtaff and a whip, as enſigns of their authority.

9. Drivers of Mules. The Driver, or Chief of the Negroes and Mules, employed in carriage, ſhould be faithful, ſober, and attentive to the care and good plight of his beaſts. He ought to know to cure their wounds and ordinary diſtempers. In journies he muſt have, over the negroes under him, the ſame authority as the drivers in the field. To conduct twelve mules, ſix negroes are neceſſary, of whom three ſhould be ſufficiently ſtrong to lift and carry the bags of coffee.

10. Coffee-man. The Coffee-man (I mean he who has the care of mills, platforms, and of ſuperintending the manufacture) is alſo a kind of commander or driver in his department. It is neceſſary that he be ſkilful in his employment, attentive and careful in looking after the machines, and every other thing deſigned for improving the quality of coffee. He muſt be particularly attentive in obſerving, and ought to have ſkill in foreſeeing, rain, that the coffee may be houſed or ſheltered on threatening appearances.

11. Pruners. The Pruners ought to be handy, intelligent, diligent and careful in preſerving their tools. Negroes are pleaſed with this work, as, in reality, they ſeem to have a pleaſure in whatever carries the appearance of deſtruction. It is thus that when they fell wood, the fall of great trees is announced by huzzas of joy.

12. Hoſpital Matron. The Hoſpital Matron or Doctreſs muſt be a woman of middling age, of a compaſſionate diſpoſition, careful and affectionate, of a robuſt conſtitution,

ſtitution, capable of bearing fatigue and watching. It is required that ſhe have ſkill to dreſs ordinary wounds and ſores, to deliver pregnant women, which, as births are here moſtly natural and eaſy, is an eaſy matter. It is her duty to keep the hoſpital and patients clean; and, as ſhe will not be permitted to ſleep abroad, it is proper ſhe be lodged ſo as not to ſuffer the privation of uſual gratifications. Long experience with the practical knowledge of ſimples, have ſet ſome of thoſe women, in many reſpects, above ſurgeons too frequently met with in the mountains. I had one, the loſs of whom I ſhall regret all my life.

Where the gang is rather numerous, the doctreſs muſt have an aſſiſtant, to learn the art under her direction, and to execute the works of drudgery.

I became tired of thoſe mountain ſurgeons, who frequently could not be found at the time they were wanted; and who, in general, are equally deſtitute of capacity and of zeal. I learned to bleed with very little trouble; and, by the help of doctor Buchan's Domeſtic Medicine, a work *(a)* which I cannot too earneſtly recommend to the planters. I performed the office of phyſician to my ſick negroes, aided by the labours of my intelligent and faithful *Mari-Anna*. I only called for the ſurgeon in caſes which required manual operations, or when any one dangerouſly ſick deſired ſuch aſſiſtance, but it was ſeldom of much avail. Such inſtances, however, were rare, and things in general went well.

(a) It has been tranſlated into French, and improved with notes, by no means unworthy the original, by Dr. Duplanit, phyſician to his royal highneſs count d'Artois.

13. Child Keeper.

The Keeper of Children is uſually a woman advanced in years, to whom an eaſy employment muſt be aſſigned. She ought to be careful, patient, and fond of the ſtate of infancy.

14. Poultry Maid.

The care of Poultry is alſo an employment for old age; it is very eaſy. All the negroe women manage it perfectly well, on their own account; for it requires only faithfulneſs and attention. However, it generally happens that, wherever there is not a landlady to direct and manage the buſineſs, little good is obtained, particularly in the mountains; for, while the negroes have poultry in abundance, the maſter perhaps cannot muſter a chicken.

The care of the pigeons, rabbits, and fattening hogs, falls into this employment.

15. Keepers.

The Keepers of proviſion-grounds are alſo old negroes, but ſtill capable of ſome exertion. They are armed with a ſpear, and attended by a dog. They ought to ſleep in the day and watch in the night, in the grounds of both the maſter and negroes. They muſt be faithful as well as watchful, particularly if there is any new ſettler, or any planter in want of proviſions, in the neighbourhood. To theſe is intruſted the charge of cutting the plantains, and of digging and replanting for the ſervants of the houſe and for the hoſpital.

In general an eſtate has people ſet apart for keeping of cattle; but if the negroes employed on this duty are not changed every week, they become idle and licentious. If the paſtures are well incloſed, there is no occaſion for them, as the ſervants who look after the cattle in the morning, may drive

them

them in or out of the paſtures at ſtated times, without inconvenience or much trouble *(a)*.

I paſs now to the gang in general, and, in the firſt place, to what relates to the important article of population.

16. Population.

It cannot be denied but that a number of children occaſion great loſs of labour in the mothers, which perhaps overbalances the actual benefit. But it muſt be conſidered, that theſe children are bonds of love, which bind the negroes to the ſoil and to the maſter; and nothing evinces ſo ſtrongly the ſatisfaction, happineſs and welfare of this claſs of people, as a great population, which beſides will, one day or other, furniſh recruits for the field. In ſhort, humanity commands that care be beſtowed upon this ſubject, and it affords, in reality, a pleaſing ſenſation, to be ſurrounded with a black brood of theſe infants liſping out the word papa.

But though population is deſirable, it is not always an eaſy matter to attain it. Sometimes women have an averſion to a ſituation which checks their amours, and they, conſequently, endeavour to prevent pregnancy, or to procure abortion by forced means. It is then that ſtrict watchfulneſs is neceſſary. On the one hand, encouragements to favour pregnancy, on the other ſeverity to prevent voluntary and early miſcarriages muſt be tried. Be aware of this, if women come to the hoſpital with ſudden floodings, and particularly if, in remote places, you find the alegate pear-trees and others of that kind ſtripped of their bark. I was witneſs to an

(a) If precipices are found in the ſavannas, they muſt be fenced round.

CHAP. IV.

inſtance where every method failed, till ſuch time as the women were bound to declare their ſituation every month, which was verified and regiſtered, and an iron collar was fixed upon thoſe who miſcarried, till their enſuing pregnancy was well aſcertained; unleſs where the cauſe of miſcarriage was evident and well known.

Both religion and good manners enjoin that the negroes be united in lawful wedlock. But wedlock ill agrees with the natural levity and ficklenefs of this claſs of people. Nay, experience has ſhown that regular marriage would be the means of converting peaceable concubinage into adultery, diſcords, and deadly feuds. Some evils are unavoidable, and his Holineſs himſelf is obliged to licenſe brothels at Rome, however repugnant to his character of ſanctity.

It is neceſſary, as much as is poſſible, to procure an equal number of men and women. Intercourſe of the ſexes ſhould be prevented, as much as can be done, between the neighbouring plantations; matches ſhould be promoted by ſmall benefits and encouragements; concord maintained between man and wife, without pretending altogether to fetter inconſtancy. Here only gentle means muſt be uſed; for the natural affections and paſſions of men are ſeldom reſtricted by open force. The women ought to be rewarded in their pregnant ſtate, or while rearing, more eſpecially if the fathers are among themſelves.

17. Women with Child.

As ſoon as a woman is ſo far advanced in pregnancy, that hard labour might endanger a miſcarriage, ſhe is employed in works about the houſe, as in picking or turning coffee upon the platforms,

or in ſewing for the negroes; always taking care that ſhe be not ſuffered to lift heavy weights or carry burthens.

18. In Child-bed.

When the pregnant negreſſe begins to feel the approaches of her labour, ſhe is brought to the hoſpital. Her room muſt be without fire, well aired; but the wind muſt not blow directly upon her bed. The delivery is uſually very natural, and performed by the doctreſs, who is generally inſtructed in the buſineſs. In caſes of any difficulty, a ſurgeon is called to attend.

19. Infants.

It is a practice among the negroes not to offer the breaſt to the child before a certain time, and to give him, mean while, different things, ſuch as wine and oil. Theſe do harm, if they do any thing. The firſt milk of the mother, is the medicine prepared by nature to purge off the meconium; and if the breaſts are ſuffered to grow too big, by the abundance of milk, great inconveniences may be the conſequence. As ſoon as the mother and child are dreſſed, and have taken ſome reſt, the breaſt muſt be offered, without waiting until ſwelling comes on. The child will generally take to it, if not at the firſt, at the ſecond or third trial.

Upon the whole, the many prejudices of the negroes (which are of the ſame ſort as among the lower ranks of people in Europe) muſt be guarded againſt; and Dr. Buchan's directions cloſely attended to. I alſo recommend, upon this ſubject, an excellent ſmall treatiſe of Mad. Anel le Rebours, (avis aux mères qui veulent nourris leurs enfants) Directions for the Mothers who wiſh to nurſe their own Children.

It

CHAP. IV.

It is a laudable practice to christen provisionally the children, as commonly the church rites are not entered into till after some time.

The mother and child, when every thing goes well, may be sent out after twelve or fourteen days. The ninth day is supposed to be the term of the critical period for the child.

It is customary to give the midwife a small gratuity for every successful delivery. The mother also receives a complete suit of clean cloaths, either when the child has passed the first dangers, or when he is weaned.

There is an evil known in St. Domingo by the name of (mal de machoire) *fallen jaw*. It is a kind of tetanos or spasm, which affects the jaws and throat, and cuts off the action of swallowing, and the possibility of sucking. It is an opinion too generally entertained, that this disorder originates exclusively from actual malice or violence. The suspicion has gained credit, from the frequency of this malady on certain estates, while those in the neighbourhood did not suffer in any degree; as also from its disappearing entirely, when means of watchfulness to prevent it, and severity in punishing it, have been employed. The event of this happening cannot be denied; but the truth is, spasm may proceed from mere unskilfulness of the people employed about the infant, as, if the breast is large and full, and the mother suffers its weight to press upon the child's feeble chin. It may also be occasioned by neglect, as if, the room being close and heated by a great fire (as is the general practice with negroes in this situation) sudden streams of cold air are suffered

to rush in upon the child. Besides, this part of the human race seem to be more liable to spasmodic affections than the whites. It must, however, be owned, that sometimes exterior marks of violent pressure have been discovered on the throat; and it is certain that pressure may be made, to a degree, dangerous to the life of a tender child, without leaving visible traces. In all cases, inflammations, swelling, and incapacity of sucking, is the consequence, and the unhappy little wretch is beyond the power of relief, and necessarily dies of the actual malady, and of the consequent inanition: but the real cause is hardly discoverable, because, whatever it may have been, the effects are the same.

It is extremely necessary to take precautions against the effects of awkwardness and neglect, as well as bad intention. No fire must be allowed in the room, which must be kept open, though care be taken that the current of air does not strike upon the bed of the mother and child. During the first nine days, no one except the midwife, not even the reputed father, must be permitted to enter the chamber. The midwife must watch the manner of giving the breast, chiefly in the drowzy hours of night. Both she and the mother must be made acquainted that no excuses will be admitted, nor accidents of neglect overlooked. If accidents should happen, the ordinary gratuities will not be paid, and even severe penalties may be inflicted; but all this must be mentioned only when the mother is out of danger, and at a time when it may be proper to execute the sentence.

The master supplies the mother with a complete

set

CHAP. IV.

ſet of childbed linen, and he clothes the infant, till he can wear cloaths of a coarſer texture. Perhaps, if negroe children were ſtripped naked, as ſoon as they begin to crawl, until they arrive at the age of ſix or ſeven, it would be better both in point of cleanlineſs and of bodily ſtrength.

Beſides, as ſoon as the child is paſt danger of fallen jaws, he is allowed, for the benefit of his parents, an entire ſhare of cloth, ſalt, and ſalted proviſions, the ſame as other negroes.

20. Nurſes.

Negreſſes do not go to work till three or four weeks after delivery, and, while nurſing, do not appear in it till an hour after the reſt of the gang. The children are laid under the ſhade, and one or two negro girls attend them. But as the nurſes do but little work in the field, under pretence of ſuckling, it is better to employ them in the manufacture at home, or in the garden, and about the houſe.

As a farther encouragement to population, one day in the week is granted to every mother, for each living child, ſo that when a mother has ſix, no more ſervice is required of her; a ſtate called here *houſehold freedom*, and very different from the legal one. In ſuch caſes, the negroes labour on their own account, within the precincts of the eſtate, to the police and diſcipline of which they are ſubject, not being allowed to go up and down at their will, which is the privilege only of perfect freedom.

21. Children.

The age of ſixteen or eighteen months is the period for weaning the Children if they are healthy; after this, they are left to the keeper's care, when the mother goes to work. She takes them only at her return in the evening. The keeper leads them

to

to bathe every day, and keeps them clean of vermin. When the maſter ſits at breakfaſt and dinner, brings them before the door, or into the gallery, and gives them the food prepared for them. No more is neceſſary or proper. If an afternoon meal were added, it would not prevent the parents from cramming them again in the evening, which might be hurtful. All day long they amuſe or plague the maſter with noiſy playful tricks: theſe ſhould be encouraged; but they muſt not be ſuffered to go upon the platforms, as they would ſpoil them in various ways. The keeper does not omit to make them repeat a ſhort morning prayer.

When they arrive at the age of ſix or ſeven years, they are at the charge of their parents; but it is proper to begin inſtructing them in ſome work or other. The firſt may be ſome needle-work, whatever be the ſex; at nine or ten, they are employed in ſome other manner, but in a manner correſponding to the capacity. Where there is a ſufficient number of boys and girls from twelve to ſixteen, it is cuſtomary to form them into a ſmall ſeparate gang, employed in weeding and in gathering coffee. As ſoon as they are of ſufficient age and ſtrength, they are transferred to the great gang. Grounds, houſes, utenſils, and two hens, are then given them; and they are at liberty to marry.

I come now to the Gang in general.

22. Gang.

One hour before day light, the bell and the whip of the driver calls up the negroes, that they dreſs their breakfaſt in time: then, all the doors and windows of their houſes ſhould be thrown open, to prepare them for going into the cold air.

The

23. Works.

The negroes repair to their Work at the point of day, under the conduct of a driver, who reckons and ſees that his number is complete. At nine or ten, half or three quarters of an hour is allowed for breakfaſt; at noon, they ceaſe from their labour till two; when they return and continue till ſun-ſet.

Such is the more uſual order of things; but, in the greater part of the mountains, the negroes prefer to continue at work till an hour and half before ſun-ſet. This is alſo more profitable for the maſter. In this caſe the hour of breakfaſt is later, and the time allowed longer. Except in the time of crop, they bring, on their return in the evening, ſtones or packs of graſs, which they gather or cut in the fields. The young ones go for the proviſions, which the keepers have gathered or dug for the hoſpital and houſe ſervants. In crop time, care is taken that the wives of ſuch negroes as are employed at the mills, carry and prepare their proviſions.

There is no doubt, but that if negroes would only be ſent to work after ſun-riſe, ſome diſtempers would be prevented; but the daily loſs of an hour is more attended to. As ſoon as the ſun is up, the jackets muſt be thrown off. When the negroes have been employed in works more toilſome than uſual, or when they have been wet with rain, it is cuſtomary to give them a glaſs of rum; though in the latter inſtance, Dr. Buchan prefers a warm aromatic infuſion, as of lemon-tree tops, and gives very convincing reaſons for the preference.

It is neither neceſſary nor perhaps proper (particularly where the drivers are truſty and ſkilful) that

that the maſter or overſeer remain conſtantly behind the negroes at work, and ſtill leſs when they are weeding or gathering. It is only fit that he be there for an hour in the morning, to ſee in what manner they exert themſelves, and what they are capable of doing during the day. He ought to come again towards evening, to ſee if time has been loſt, to view every place, and obſerve if any thing has been neglected or badly executed, and to make the drivers reſponſible for ſuch neglect. In the intervals of the day, it will be proper that he viſit the other plantations, proviſion grounds, ſavannas, incloſures, and roads, to ſee where labour is moſt neceſſary; and he muſt alſo beſtow attention upon the manufacture of coffee and the hoſpital.

24. Sundays.

Thus the whole week is employed; and thoſe holidays with which our Roman calendar is overcharged with a profuſion, offenſive to culture and induſtry, are very little attended to. But Sunday is the Chriſtian's day of reſt, and given in property to the negroes. If circumſtances compel a ſurrender of this privilege, amends are made, either by another day next week, or, in crop time, by a compenſation, and, even in the laſt caſe a part of the Sunday is always allowed to them for their own buſineſs.

On theſe days the negroes are called up only at day-break. The firſt care is the kettle and food. Next, the houſes are to be cleaned, both within and without. It is proper that the maſter inſpect this, as alſo inſpect that the beds are in good order, for theſe people muſt not be ſuffered to ſleep

CHAP. IV. upon the ground by the fire, as they are diſpoſed to do. It will be well alſo that he examine if the houſes or roofs have any need of repair, and if ſo to cauſe the repair to be made next day.

At ſeven the negroes repair to prayers upon the platforms, where all the tools are produced for the examination of the maſter. After this follows the diſtribution of ſalt or ſalted fiſh, on the Sundays alternately. While this is done, the doctreſs examines the feet of the ſlothful, and cauſes the chigos to be taken out.

Then the negroes purſue their own buſineſs, as waſhing their cloaths, planting, weeding, gathering proviſions, arranging their grounds. At evening they bring a bundle of fuel for the hoſpital, the kitchen, the laundreſs, the baker, and one of graſs for the cattle. This wood is gathered from planted grounds, as long as ſtumps of trees remain; afterwards where it can be found.

What I have ſaid (Ch. 1. No. 43.) on the diſtribution and planting of the negroe grounds, muſt be carried in mind. It is proper that the maſter occaſionally walk through theſe plantations, while the negroes are preſent, to inſpect them, and form regulations for their being kept in good order.

On Saturday or Sunday evening, the negroes are allowed to dance upon the platforms, never at their own houſes, till nine o'clock. But foreign negroes muſt not be admitted.

25. Commerce in Towns and Boroughs.

Negroes are fond of going to the next Towns or Boroughs, to ſell their eggs, fowls, and corn, and to buy what they may want. For this purpoſe, a certain

certain number of tickets or paſſes are given every Saturday night by rotation. They generally ſet off early in the morning, and muſt return at ſunſet. But, though this is a general practice, it is proved in experience to be attended with heavy inconveniences to the maſter, and to be hurtful to the health of the negroe. It is, in fact, a great ſource of corruption; a truth which, I believe, wants no illuſtration.

Though a ſituation remote from town, or from the landing places, is, in many reſpects, an inconvenience, I conſidered mine as advantageous, on account of its diſtance. The negroes in my diſtrict never went abroad. I brought from the Cape all the articles which my negroes deſired. Theſe they received at the firſt coſt, ſo that all the profits of retail were ſaved to them. The payment was made in fowls, eggs, or other productions, at ſtated or market prices. I kept notes, and our little accounts were always fairly ſettled to mutual ſatisfaction. The negroes had good commodities cheap; and my table was ſupplied with what, in the general practice, would have been carried to a foreign market. It were to be wiſhed, that this rule were followed every where. Under this head, I obſerve that hawkers ought to be cautiouſly admitted into eſtates, and never be permitted to enter into, or to ſtay, in the negroe houſes. They are often retailers of corruption, and promoters of bad inclinations.

26. The Negroes Property.

The Property of the Negroe living or dead ought to be, as it really is, ſacred to the maſter, and his

CHAP. IV. exclusive right to his wife still more so, if possible *(a)*. I have no occasion to enlarge upon a matter so well understood, and so generally respected: but as the negroe ought not to be suffered to want any thing that is necessary to his health and welfare, it is equally material to guard against the hurtful vanity of making him rich. Luxury insensibly creeps in, and corruption follows in its train. Unwilling as I am to recal the memory of our misfortunes and calamities, I cannot avoid observing, that the foolish fancy of enriching negroes was but too common and extravagant among us. The revolt was hatched, and did actually make its first appearance among the negroes of Galifet's near the Cape, who were much the richest of all the plain. I have seen on this plantation, on a Sunday evening, three hundred fellows as gaudily dressed as the most elegant servants in town. I have even seen ten hampers of white bread sold at the negroe houses. I have also seen an old house-slave who had two slaves of her own; and an old carpenter negroe dining upon soup and fowls, the table laid with a fine cloth, napkins, silver spoons and forks; his wife sat at a distance, and their children attended them; yet it was not upon a Sunday. The attorney of the estate valued himself upon this wealth and apparent comfort of the slaves; but I was otherwise affected, regarding it as a sight of no good omen. The respectable man fell the first victim, by the hands of those very villains to whom he

(a) Upon the last article, the young subalterns employed in the estates must be kept within great discretion, the want of which has more than once been attended with shocking consequences.

had

had afforded the means of attaining thoſe ſuperfluities. (Mr. Odelucq, my honeſt and good friend.)

From the reaſon above mentioned, and becauſe the deſtruction which hogs make in the ground proviſions, as alſo their daily maintenance, occaſion famine upon an eſtate, notwithſtanding every care, it is abſolutely neceſſary to prohibit ſuch ſtock, as alſo to prohibit having property in cows or mares. It is enough that negroes have plenty of fowls, ample grounds, and every other aſſiſtance neceſſary from the maſter's hands.

I come now to the New Year's Day. *Nunc formoſiſſimus annus.*

27. New Year's Day.

This is the day, but the only one, of Saturnals ſoftened into a chearful orderly diverſion *(a)*. An ox has been killed the preceding evening, and a vaſt proviſion of victuals prepared. The cloth is divided into rations, the lots ſet apart with the hats and jackets. Munificence has paved the way to feſtivity and affection. The morning juſt begins to dawn, when a hurricane of drums, of diſcordant ſhouts and African ſongs, awake the maſter from his ſlumbers. When he comes forth, opening his eyes to the twilight, and his ſoul to benevolence, ruſtick compliments and whimſical wiſhes are poured upon him in abundance. Pardons are granted, a general amneſty takes place. The cloathing of the year is diſ-

(a) A planter of St. Domingo can hardly give credit to the reports made of *Chriſtmas*, where diſſolute feſtivity and drunkenneſs ſeem to favour of outrageous riot, for three days together or more; and appears as teeming with dangerous conſequences, if the reports are not exaggerated.

CHAP. IV. tributed, with a glaſs of rum, the concluſion of every ceremony of the day. They, after ſome frolicks, go to dreſs themſelves in their beſt cloaths: they return and begin to dance. Meanwhile the kettles boil, and the ball breaks up to give time for breakfaſt. The glaſs of rum re-animates the ſpirits. The dance is reſumed with redoubled alacrity. The time of dinner arrives, after which they are again treated with a dram of rum. Meanwhile the ſun declines, followed with a refreſhing coolneſs, favourable to exertion. Now the goddeſs of mirth extends her influence over all. Every mind is gay and every heart is dilated. Love flies around, ſhaking his firebrand and darting his arrows. Jack, Tom, and Dick, are hard at work with Betſy, Suſan, and Anna. One outvies the other, and all contend for the praiſe of the day. A large croud of gazers hang upon the lively match, and every one keeps his breath in anxious expectation of victory for his friend. Tom ſeems to ſlacken. A murmur is heard around. His fair Suſan, bluſhing if ſhe could, is ſtruck at the heart. A glance is darted, expreſſive of ſorrow, ſhame, anger, and love. Tom finds new ſtrength, and takes the briſk gambol afreſh. The ſparks graſp and twiſt their mates, make them whirl and jump with contending emulation. Then the dance rages more and more lively and ſwift. Every nerve is in motion, every exertion raiſed to the utmoſt. All the powers of youth and pleaſure keep pace with the drums, now beating with tenfold quickneſs. The croud preſſes round, more attentive, more ſilent, more anxious. The knave

Jack

Jack gives Dick the trip, and poor Anna falls beneath him. At the unexpected trick the whole gang thunders out a laughing and ſhouting. Lo! *The bell ſtrikes ten!* The maſter comes forth and ſays, "Friends, it is enough; here is the laſt dram, "and let us go and reſt for the labour of to-mor-"row."

At the awful voice and ſolemn addreſs, deep ſilence follows; every body withdraws; and the enſuing night is as quiet as any in the year *(a)*.

What faſhionable town aſſembly is preferable to this, to a man who feels that happineſs which he beſtows upon others! He muſt not, however, give himſelf up blindly to the overflowings of his benevolence, but moderate the exceſſes which tumultuous mirth might beget. No quarrels, no excurſions will be permitted. Strangers will not be rudely turned away; nay, they will ſhare the dram; but they will be watched and diſmiſſed with courteſy at night. The platforms round the maſter's houſe are the ſcene of all this gambol. The negroe huts are, as it were, abandoned. The man at the helm muſt not loſe ſight of any of the crew.

The lot of a negroe is ſeven elns *(b)* of cloth. The women get eight, which makes two ſuits. Some needles and thread are added, with a woollen jacket, inſtead of which ſome planters (perhaps with better reaſon) give in preference a large linen ſheet, though

(a) In the great towns the aſſemblies are more numerous and motley; but good watch is kept every where; no diſorder is ſuffered; and night puts a final ſtop to all the noiſe and feſtivity.

(b) An eln conſiſts of three feet ſeven inches and eight lines. Eight elns are equal to ten yards; and our French coarſe cloth is broad by more than 3-4ths of an eln.

CHAP. IV.

the negroes are more fond of jackets. A hat alſo is given to the drivers, and to the other chief negroes, and a couple of handkerchiefs to the mothers. Here the firſt expence is a real ſaving. I imported all theſe articles directly from France, at a higher price, but of a better quality; ſo that I had the pleaſure of ſeeing the cloaths of my people laſt far into the next year; while the cloaths and jackets imported by merchants, were ſometimes of the worſt kind. But in all caſes the maſter is obliged to watch over the preſervation of the cloaths, the negroes being, for the greateſt part, naturally careleſs and unprovident. He is alſo obliged to get ſome ſuits made in the hoſpital, or by the maids and nurſes, for ſuch as cannot do them themſelves.

23. Diſcipline and Puniſhments.

It is painful, after deſcribing the preceding chearful ſcene, to ſpeak inſtantly of Diſcipline and Puniſhments: but my ſubject compels me to it. Particulars would be too diſguſting: I ſhall content myſelf to ſketch out the general heads.

The moſt heinous miſdemeanours (for crimes are not comprehended in this ſubject) are offences of inſubordination, firſt to the maſter, and next to the drivers.

In the ſecond place, the wrongs which the negroes are guilty of towards one another, as by aſſault and battery, theft, adultery, and rape, &c.

The former ought never to be pardoned; and, for the latter, the party aggrieved muſt have, *moreover*, ample amends or reparation made to him.

Next come the faults againſt general order; as running away, nocturnal excurſions, introduction of ſtrangers

ſtrangers at night, clandeſtine and forbidden commerce, theſts of valuable things belonging to the maſter, as money, goods, furniture, cattle of all kinds, fowls, &c. Theſe are always liable to puniſhment.

Next come theſts of fruits and proviſions, and faults committed through lazineſs and neglect. Here indulgence has more latitude. The third or the fourth is to be puniſhed, if ignorance of the former is pretended on plauſible grounds; for the negroe muſt be made to believe that the moſt trifling fault will not eſcape puniſhment, if it falls within the notice of the maſter.

The uſual penalties are flogging, confinement, ſimple or in the ſtocks, and carrying a chain or collar, though the continued ſight of the latter is painful. I am not inclined to recommend ſtopping any allowances, which may be neceſſary to the negroe's health.

Puniſhments muſt be *certain*, immediately inflicted, proportionable to the fault, and never exceſſive. Racks, tortures, mayhems, mutilations, and death, are reſerved for crimes of an atrocious nature, and fall only within the province of the public magiſtrate; though perhaps more ſpeedy executions, and particularly on the ſpot, would have more ſtriking effect. But the laws have wiſely placed thoſe powers beyond the cognizance of the maſter, and do not fail to avenge the treſpaſſes committed againſt their authority. A ſtated price is paid to the maſter, from the public revenue, for ſuch negroes as are condemned to death or perpetual puniſhment.

In the management of private diſcipline, it is

eſſential

CHAP. IV. eſſential to be acquainted with the character of the offender, that ſuch puniſhment may be preferred as is moſt likely to deter him from offending again. It is fortunate when, from that knowledge, you may venture to ſpare the revolting ceremony of flogging. The hand of the driver to be employed in puniſhing, is alſo a matter worth obſervation. Twenty laſhes from one, may be more ſevere than a hundred from another. The knots of the whip muſt alſo be new: a knot, dipped in the blood of a man infected with diſtempers, may perhaps communicate evil to another, by way of inoculation. This is not ſufficiently attended to.

Laſtly, never threaten a negroe with puniſhment at a future time; and never chaſtiſe in anger, where you run a riſk of exceeding the proper bounds. The coolneſs and temper of the maſter increaſes the moral effect of the chaſtiſement; and a negroe menaced may abſcond or run away, ſo that puniſhment for two faults is to be inflicted inſtead of one.

I am confident that a code of regulations of the above tendency, is not calculated to draw upon planters the ſlanders, with which they have been loaded, by thoſe pretended philanthropiſts, who have uſurped the name of *friends to negroes*, which, in reality, more truly belongs to us.

29. Menial Servants. I ſhall be very ſhort upon the ſubject of Servants. Theſe are in the moſt comfortable ſituation. But the fewer you have, the better; and it is a rule never to let them be idle. When the buſineſs of the houſe is finiſhed, the men are employed in aſſiſting in the heavieſt works of manufacture, or care of the horſes and cattle. The women ſew for the children,

children, hospital, and new negroes. Both work in the garden, pick coffee, and the like. CHAP. IV.

I come now to the state of Sickness; and here the father steps into the master's place. 30. The Sick.

Never turn back any one. A negroe presents himself in the morning, especially on Mondays: "*Sir, I am sick;*" his eye is clear, his tongue clean, his skin cool, and his belly soft. It is ten to one but he pretends illness; yet, perhaps, he really has occasion for a few days' rest. Let him go to the hospital; take away the pipe; put him upon low diet, with plenty of water and clisters; and he will be glad to be dismissed after two or three days.

Let the drivers have a watchful eye in this respect. A good negroe is seen to slacken at work, or to fail at his meals: let him be sent directly to the hospital, and, of course, to the master's previous examination. Another has a small excoriation on the leg: let him be sent instantly, otherwise a large sore may be the consequence; and what might have been cured in three days may last perhaps for a month. The surest way, in such cases, is to put the sick in the stocks. These accidents are frequent in stony steep lands. Dust, mud, and dew, aggravate scratches to ulcers in a short time, independent of the acrimony of the blood of the individual, a more immediate cause. Negroes, fond of labour, dislike the hospital; and it is such that must be principally watched. On the contrary, there are others who irritate an accidental sore, or actually form one on purpose. For those the hospital must be made as disagreeable as possible. When cured and convicted, they ought to be punished.

The

CHAP. IV.

The ſexes, as has been ſaid, ought to be in rooms apart. The different kinds of diſtempers, and eſpecially thoſe of a contagious nature, muſt not be mixed indiſcriminately. All fevers, agues, itch, tetter, pox, and the like, muſt be ſeparated from the ſores and other ſimple diſeaſes.

Every thing muſt be kept in a ſtate of the moſt perfect cleanneſs. It is to be wiſhed that the floor were paved with bricks, that it may be occaſionally waſhed. The beds ſhould be ſprinkled with boiling water to deſtroy vermin. Every couch for the ſick muſt have a palliaſſe, two pair of ſheets, and a blanket. Hoſpital ſhirts or ſhifts muſt be furniſhed for the negroes at entrance. They leave them at their departure. If negroes in hoſpital have no other than their uſual cloaths, they muſt neceſſarily be dirty and louſy; and, for this reaſon, the body ſhould be bathed and the head ſhaved, when they are admitted into the hoſpital. There muſt be a proviſion of kettles and potter's ware, ſufficient to make and contain drinks and ptiſans, and for other purpoſes.

The maſter muſt have, in his own cloſet, a pharmaſy furniſhed with ſmall quantities, but often recruited, of the uſual ſimple and compounded medicinal drugs; with two mortars and peſtles, the one of braſs and the other of marble, a balance of middle ſize, and a little one with their weights. Every night he himſelf weighs and gives the medicines to the doctreſs, taking care, by preciſe directions, to prevent miſtakes.

A journal book is uſually kept in the hoſpital, where

where the dates of admiſſion and diſcharge of patients are inſerted, and where the ſurgeon writes his preſcriptions for the following days. I have given my opinion (too freely perhaps) of theſe gentlemen. It admits of exceptions, amongſt whom I beg thoſe who will take offence to rank themſelves. But though often deficient in requiſite knowledge and attention, they are always neceſſary for luxations, fractures, and other manual operations.

Independent of cutaneous, venereal, and febrile diſorders (the laſt of which are not very common amongſt the negroes in high mountains) the moſt frequent diſeaſes are colds, fluxions on the breaſt, worms, diarrhæas, and dyſenteries, the latter are often epidemical. Inveterate ſores are often venereal or ſcorbutick. The maraſmus or waſting, tending to diſſolution, and dropſy of new negroes, generally proceed from cutaneous diſeaſes repreſſed. It is then the ſafeſt way to reproduce the original diſtemper. In the latter caſes wine and ſubſtantial food are highly neceſſary.

I neither am able, nor is this a fit place, to attempt to treat of theſe diſeaſes. I ſhall only ſay again, that an accurate ſtudy of Dr. Buchan's work, will enable a man of tolerable diſcernment, to cure all of them, with better ſucceſs than could be expected from the deſultory viſits of common practitioners. Dr. *Tiſſot's advice to the people on health*, is alſo a valuable book, but neither ſo extenſive nor ſo accurate as the other, particularly with the notes of the tranſlator. In general, reliance on the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, aſſiſted with exact obſervation of

CHAP. IV. the origin and progreſs of the diſeaſe, a good regimen, few remedies given at a proper time, and careful nurſing, does all that medicine can do. The goſſiping preſcriptions of old women muſt not be allowed, though there are many ſimples, which the country affords, and many well tried receipts, by no means contemptible.

The negroes, before they are received into the hoſpital, are preſented to the maſter. He examines and preſcribes for them. To him belongs (or to his wife, if he is bleſſed with one who does not diſlike the buſineſs) the excluſive direction of his own hoſpital. To viſit it is his firſt care in the morning, which viſit he repeats as often as is neceſſary. I could name more planters than one who have taken patients, when in danger, into their own bedrooms.

Beſides no negroe, when in good health, ought ever to be permitted to come into or near the hoſpital, unleſs merely to inform themſelves of the ſtate of their children, wife or huſband, and parents; and it muſt be particularly attended to, that they bring with them neither pipes nor improper food.

The ſoup, broth, wine, and bread of the maſter, are never too good for thoſe who are ſeriouſly ill. A bullock's head may be provided, thrice a week, for the others, with an allowance of coarſe flour bread and ground proviſions.

It is not in our power to attend our ſick negroes with the ſame aſſiduity and watchfulneſs as we do our wives and children; but, in the eſſential things, little difference is made. The frames and

diſtempers

diſtempers are ſimilar, except that negroes do not bear low diet ſo well as whites.

The convaleſcent negroes muſt not be diſmiſſed before they are able to work. Even then, one or two days are allowed them for putting their own proviſion ground in good order, according to the time it may have been without attention.

31. The Old.

I come now to Old Age.

Light employments (as has been ſeen) are given to negroes, as they begin to fall into the decline of years.

But as they ſink into decrepitude, retirement and reſt, with affectionate uſage, to alleviate the pains and hardſhips of bodily infirmities, are a debt due to humanity, and an acknowledgment for long ſervices. A man of reflection and ſenſibility, cannot fail to be moved at the ſight of that privileged creature, who after fulfilling, in an uſeful manner, the functions of his ſtation on earth, through all the periods of life, ſtands upon the brink of eternity, about to be re-united to the Author of his being.

Take care, then, not to afflict the good old man, by dragging him from his old manſion, his family, and his habits, under the idea of having him more within the reach of your care and attention. It is better to make his houſe more comfortable; to furniſh him with warmer cloaths, and to ſupply his wants partly from your own table. Do not forget a glaſs of wine, the beſt milk of old age. Viſit him often. If he ſuffers, comfort him and relieve his diſtreſs. If he is ſick, encreaſe the uſual care. He will bleſs you, and the bleſſings of a good old man will be placed to your account of credit

before

CHAP. IV. before the Almighty. The youth will thus be encouraged to ſerve you, and inclined to love you, a proſpect of comfort being placed before their eyes, after the toils of life. If you ever deſcend into your own heart, there you will find an inexpreſſible ſentiment of approbation.

32. Cattle. I ſhall, laſtly, ſpeak briefly of Cattle and of Beaſts of every kind.

Thoſe cattle muſt be preferred which are young, and have been bred up in the neighbourhood. Such as come from dry places are with difficulty kept in good plight, under the climate and on the ſour paſtures of the mountains.

They muſt neither be kept always under ſhelter, nor left entirely expoſed to rain, to dews, or to heat. In the fine weather of winter, and in the nights and mornings of ſummer, they muſt be ſuffered to ſtray about and browze; but they require to be kept in the ſtables, in the moſt burning hours of ſummer, and in the rains or chill nights of winter. I have ſaid enough of the ſavannas, Chap. 1. No. 44, and 46; and of Stables, Ch. 2. No. 59.

33. Horses. From what has been ſaid, it is plain that a planter, deſirous of taking proper care of his eſtate, can only ride out on buſineſs, or make ſhort viſits, occaſionally, for the ſake of intercourſe with friends or neighbours; and that, therefore, a very ſmall number of Horſes will be ſufficient for his purpoſes. He muſt, however, take peculiar care of them. Horſes from America, commonly pacers, are preferred, but creoles are more eaſily fed and more certainly ſerviceable.

He

He muſt be careful to be provided with what may be deemed a more than barely ſufficient number of Mules. The ableſt are reſerved for carriage, the others for the mills. If an animal is wounded, though ever ſo ſlightly, he ſhould not be employed till the hair fully covers the wound; but if the ſore is, for inſtance, upon the back, he may notwithſtanding ſerve in the mills. 34. Mules.

Mules, but particularly horſes, muſt be curried every morning and freed from ticks. Now and then their mouths muſt be examined, and the lampraſs and barbles cut off. It were to be wiſhed that they could be bathed every noon in deep water, and eſpecially in ſea-water, when attainable, and when they are cool.

If the place to which the coffee is carried is not very diſtant, particularly if there is no deep paſſage of rivers on the road (in which caſe mules are more proper, as being taller, to prevent the bags of coffee being wet) Aſſes will do the ſame ſervice as mules. They are much cheaper and more eaſily fed; but they require to be kept in better and ſtronger incloſures. 35. Aſſes.

A great number of oxen and bulls are a needleſs incumbrance *(a)*; but a good many cows are extremely uſeful *(b)* for the hoſpital, the children, and all thoſe douceurs of milk, butter, and cheeſe, 36. Cows.

(a) I do not pretend to reflect upon this honeſt uſeful animal. Nay, ſeveral planters have employed him for carriage; but he is ſlow and ſpoils the roads. I remember M. de L. an Attorney General at the Cape, who, being exceedingly big, tall, and heavy, rode one to go up to his eſtate on the mountains.

(b) One old cow is kept for the entertainment of new year's day. Old mules and horſes are good for nothing, but a good maſter will not deny them a handſome retreat in his paſtures.

CHAP. IV.

which are comfortable at the maſter's table, and alſo for rearing young fowls. The ticks muſt alſo be taken from the black cattle, and they require to be put under ſhelter in the chill or rainy nights of winter; and, at leaſt, the *milch cows* to be ſupplied with graſs. *Their* calves muſt be kept apart. Care muſt be taken that the milk be not ſmuggled by the keepers or other negroes.

In general, milking is not ſo well underſtood here as in Europe. The negroes are relied upon, and they believe it impoſſible for a cow to let her milk go if the calf is not by her, or that ſhe cannot be milked after weaning. A ſteady determination is neceſſary to overcome thoſe prejudices. I can warrant, from my own experience, that the cows give milk after the calves are no more with them, and until they breed again; only the milk grows thin in the laſt days, and it may be thrown away. By this means two cows will be more profitable than four or ſix, in the common method.

I will not enter into a detail of the diſeaſes to which the cattle is liable (ſome of which originate chiefly from expoſure to cold rain and dews, and alſo from the quality of the paſtures) nor of their cure. I refer myſelf, for the uſual ones, and for wounds and accidents, to the known receipts and ſimples; and, for the more complicate, to the books upon the ſubject, as our *Perfect Farrier* and *Ruſtick Houſe*, where even a planter of the Weſt Indies may find very uſeful particulars, though the work relates to European huſbandry.

37. Goats.

Goats ſhould be kept away from plantations, and bred upon barren grounds. They leap over and

and go through every inclosure, and make a great deal of waste.

38. Sheep.

Sheep have, in a great measure, the same inconvenience. They, as has been said, spoil the pasture grounds. Besides, they succeed but ill in rainy places.

39. Hogs and Swine.

As Hogs and Swine must be prohibited to the negroes, the master should have none running about. He may only buy gelded hogs and fatten them in very close pens. Every month one is killed, and another put in his place. This is a great resource.

40. Dogs and Cats.

I cannot omit the two most domestic of all animals. The one so brisk, so alert, and playful; the other so loving, so faithful, both so useful. How can a solitary man live without a dog, and even a cat, where friends are so rare? The latter ought to be good hunters; the former watchful, but not dangerous, on account of the negroes.

41. Fowls, Pigeons, and Rabbits.

No pains should be spared to breed a great quantity of Fowl of all kinds, as hens, guinea hens, geese, ducks, and turkeys. Young peacocks are very fine, and the bird is the pride of our yards; but it spoils the roofs.

The cote pigeons are the best species, larger and more delicate than the others. They breed better, and, as they never fly far, they are less liable to be destroyed by the negroes. They only require to be better fed.

The domestic rabbits are also a great resource. When they are fed with orange and other aromatick leaves, they are as good as the wild ones. A

CHAP. IV. A ſingle buck muſt be left in each warren, and the young muſt be kept without his reach.

With all thoſe comforts, the fruits, the greens which are got from the new plantations of coffee, or from the garden and orchard, with a negroe for hunting and fiſhing, who may be formed (but who muſt be watched) where game and fiſh are within reach, a planter may, with very little expence, find a very comfortable living.

42. Concluſion. Thus I have run over my taſk, without being able to flatter myſelf that I have fulfilled it in a ſatisfactory manner. I have, however, endeavoured to be throughout perſpicuous and conciſe, and to omit no eſſential point. If I have not had ſucceſs, I beg indulgence. I am ſorry I have not been able to do better. I do not pretend that planters, who have experience, may here find any improvement; nay, if I am found to have only explained what they know as well as myſelf, I will begin to ſet ſome value upon a work merely deſigned for ſuch as, having little or no idea of the culture, are obliged from neceſſity to carry it on.

I have affected to ſpeak very little of the overſeer or attorney, always confounding them with the owner; becauſe I wiſhed to hint that, while they are entitled to the ſame reſpect and authority, if they have not the ſame zeal, the ſame concern, the ſame watchfulneſs, the ſame juſtice and humanity, they are quite unworthy of a truſt and of an employment ſo honourable. Some are found who are, in all reſpects, deſerving both; but many others are defective, and this will by no means be thought ſurpriſing, if all the details which I have entered into

into are conſidered; if all the duties incumbent upon them, and the neceſſity of dedicating themſelves entirely to their occupations, are felt.

But again, why ſhould the owner refuſe to take upon himſelf the care of his own and of his family's fortune? The occupations I have deſcribed are by no means unpleaſant, and if they are manifold, they agree the better with a life of quiet, uniformity, and retirement. Add to theſe, ſome intercourſe with a few honeſt neighbours and friends, books, maps, compaſſes, pencils, pen and ink, the whole time is comfortably filled up. Perhaps a wife ſhares and encreaſes your enjoyments; perhaps children grow round you. What then is wanting for your bliſs?

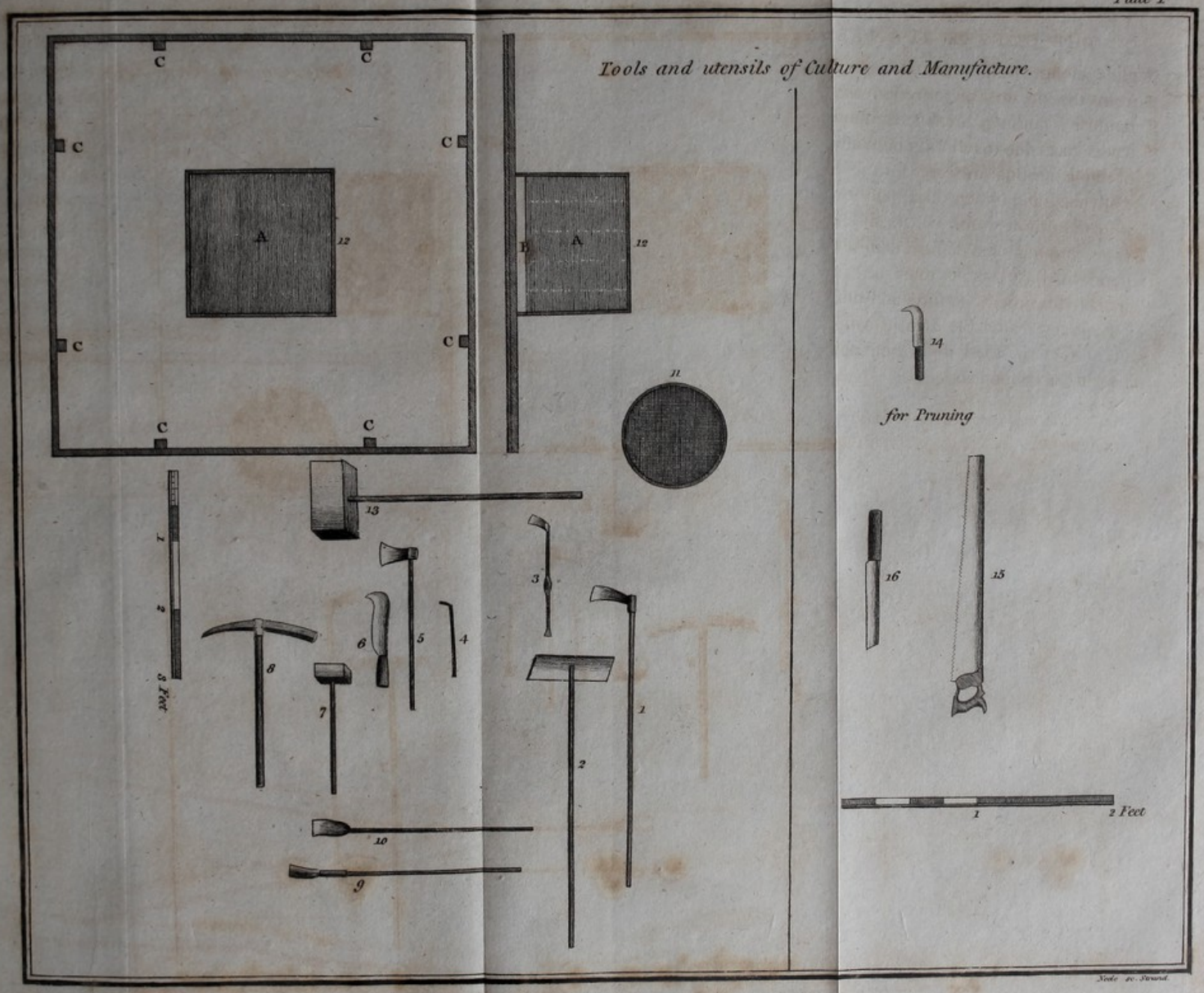
A good citizen owes to his country the beſt uſe of that portion of land, which Providence has aſſigned to him, in the territory of the ſtate. Is that a truſt and reſponſibility to be thrown away into mercenary hands?

To enjoy, under a burning zone, a cool healthy climate, to have all the true comforts of life; to ſee all around convenient buildings in good order; a well-ſettled manufacture and houſhold; plantations that anſwer your advances, and abundantly repay your toils; happy ſervants; cattle in good plight; and to be able to ſay to yourſelf, in the calm and recollection of ſelf-applauding conſcience: "I have "created all this. Nature, heaven and earth, my "country, and my fellow citizens, ſmile at my "labour and ſucceſs. If I am remote from the "pleaſures of a boiſterous vain world, I am ſecure "alſo from its intrigues and corruption. My days

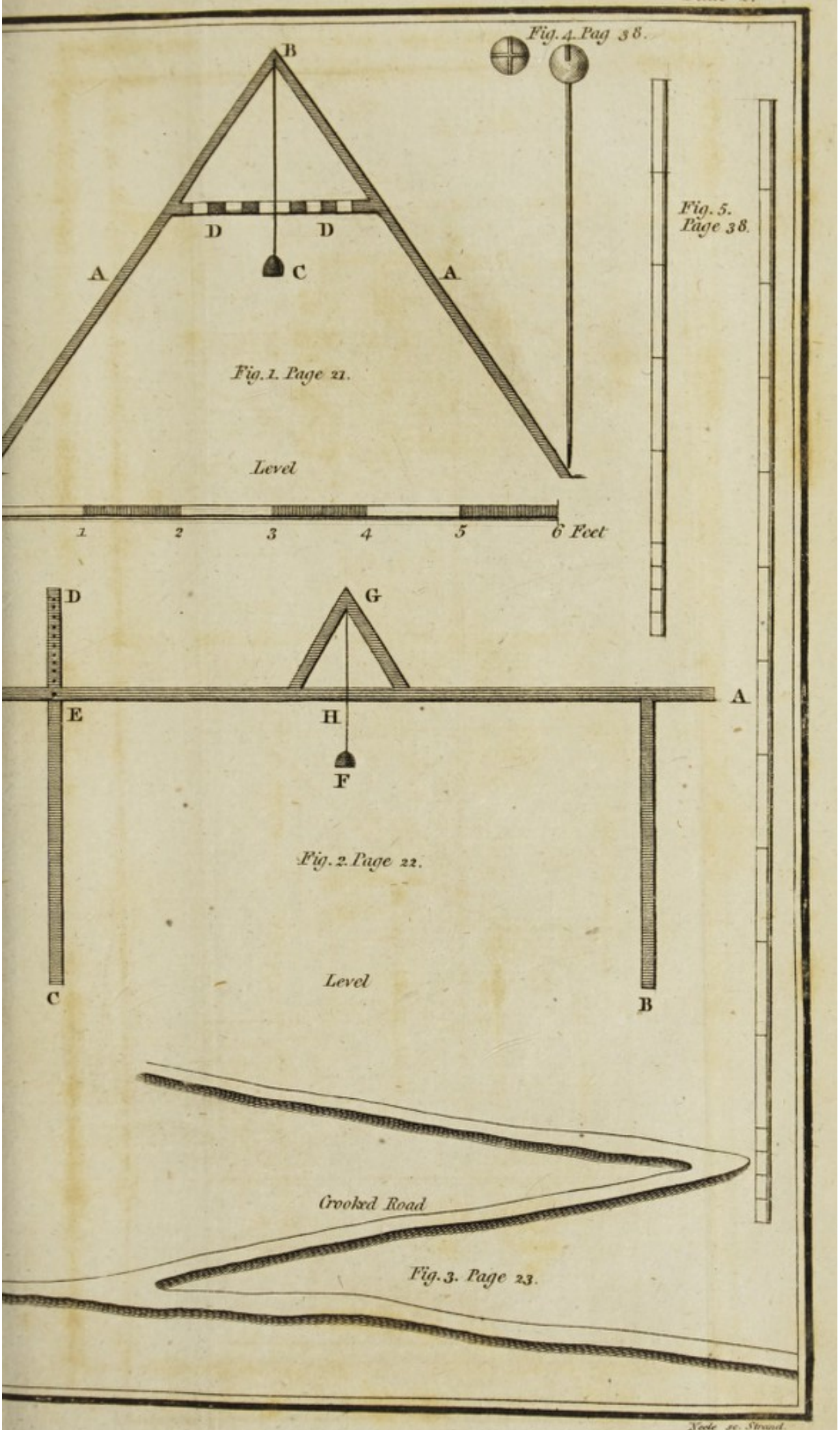
CHAP. IV. "glide along without trouble, my nights are free "from the dreams of ambition and the pangs of "remorse; nothing breaks my slumbers but the "tender cares due to suffering humanity; the wishes "of those around me are for the duration of my "existence, and when that shall be peaceably ter-"minated, my servants will sprinkle my grave with "tears; my children or heirs will bless for ever the "good man, to whose toils they find themselves "indebted for their comforts and bliss."

I ask any reasonable man, if happiness does not exist in such a situation, is there any under heaven where it can be found?

O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint
Agricolas. VIRG.

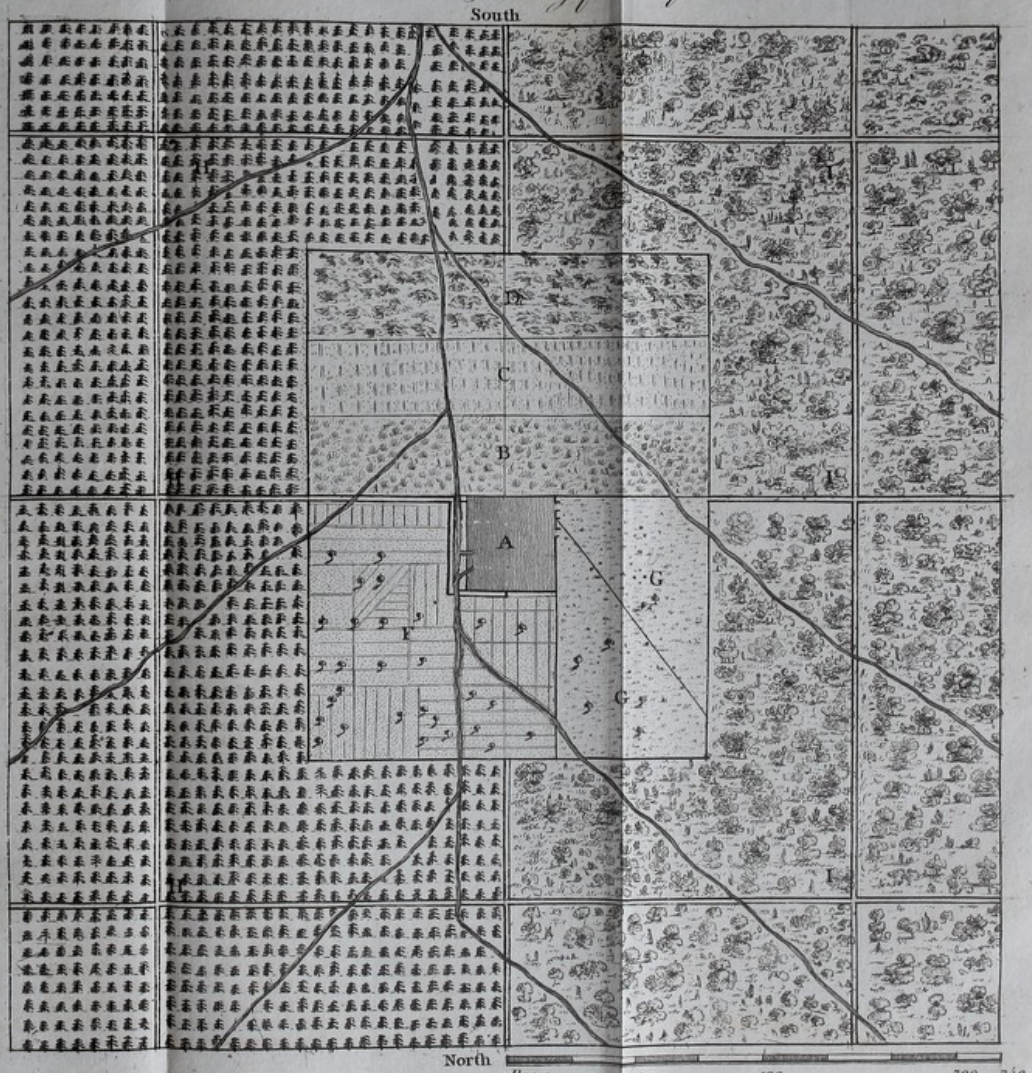


Neale sc. Strand.



Neale sc. Strand.

An Estate belonging to Mr. A. in the parish of M. in St. Domingo of two hundred & twenty five Squares.



Explanation

A. *Houses & Settlements*
B. *Forage Grounds*
C. *Provision Ds*
D. *Plantains and Roots Ds*
F. *Negroe Grounds*
G. *Savanas*
H. *Coffee Plantations*
I. *Standing Wood or Wood Land*

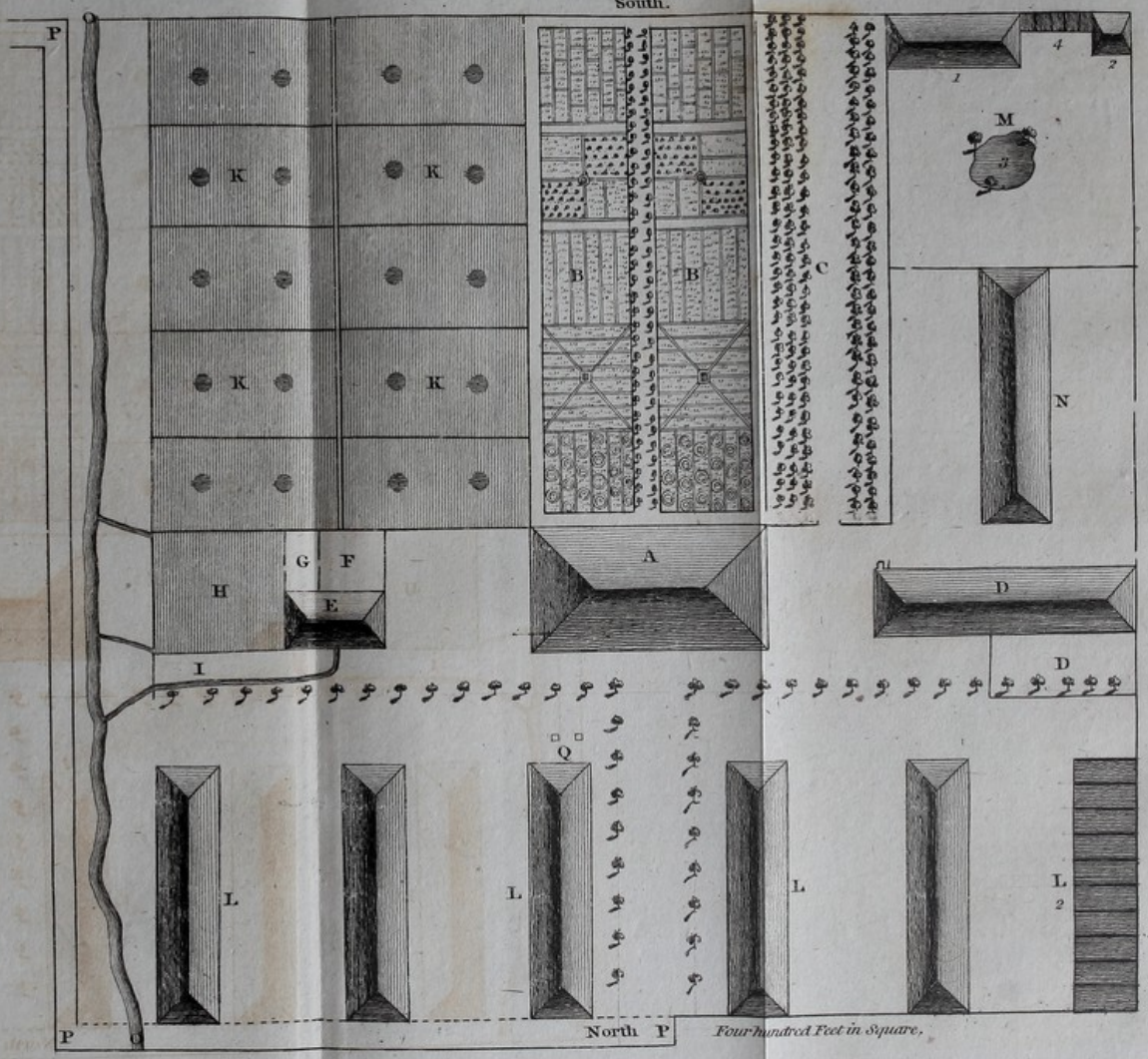
Neale sc. Strand.

Settlements of M A's Estate in St Domingo

Fig 4

Explanation.

A Dwelling House & Coffee Store
B Garden.
C Orchard.
D Kitchen, out Houses, Hospital & Hosp.l yard.
E Mill House.
F Bason to wash the Coffee.
G D.o for Scum Coffee.
H Platform for D.o
I Canal or Pipe.
K Drying Platforms.
L Negro Houses.
M Poultry yard. 1 P. house, 2 Pigeon house and Warren, 3 Swamp, 4 Pens for Hogs.
N Stables and Pen.
OO River.
PP Road.
Q Bell.

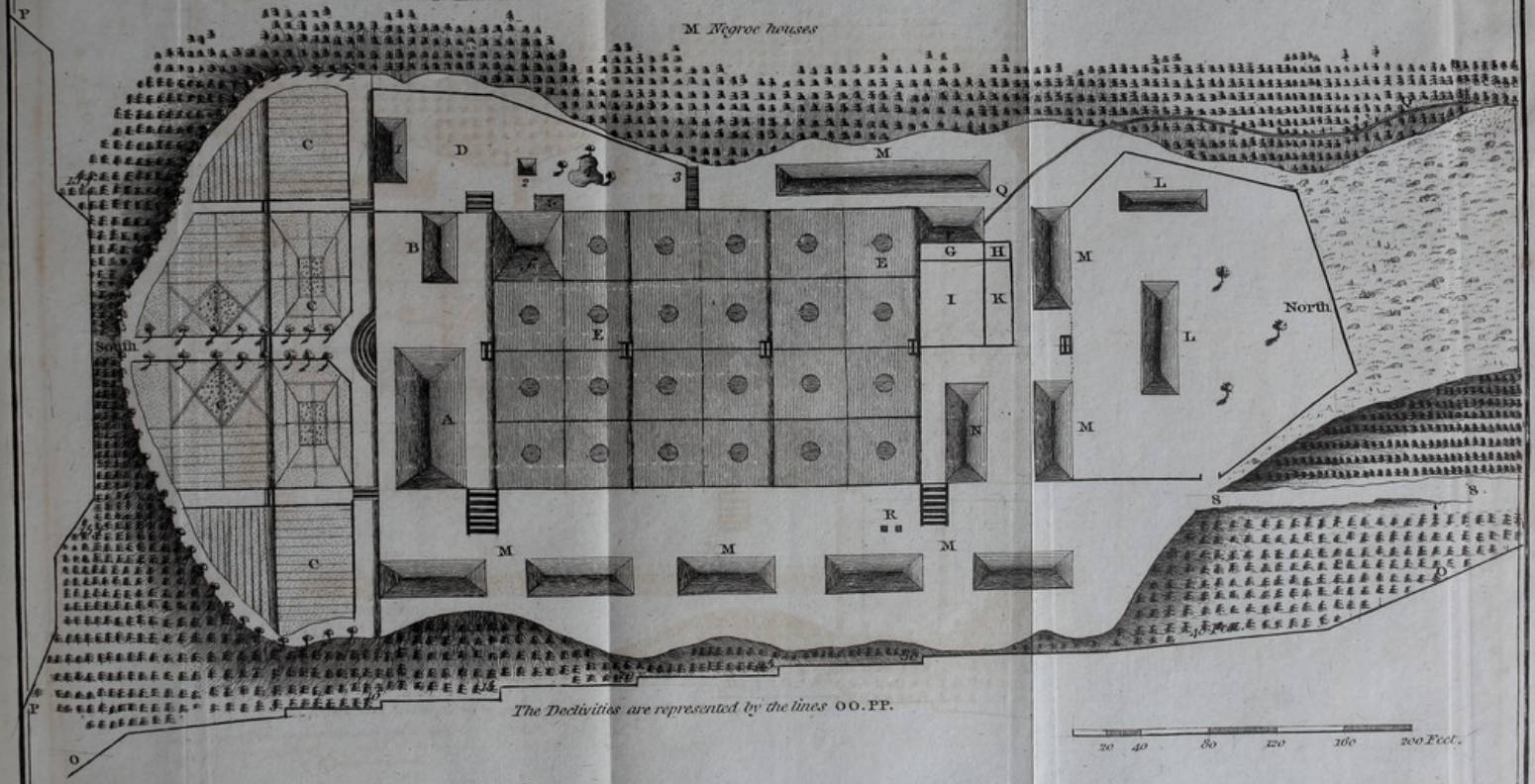


Neele sc. Strand.

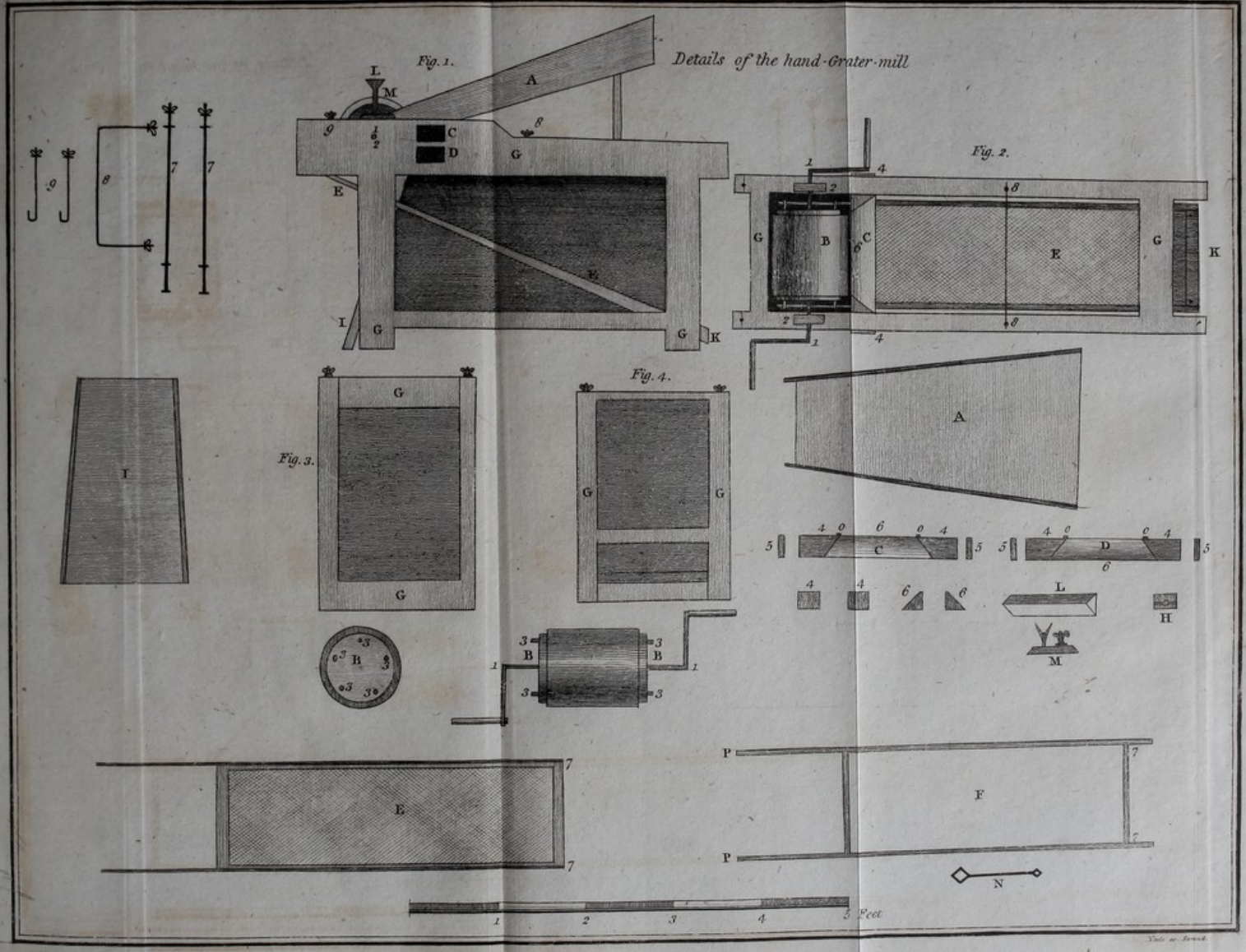
Mr. B's Settlements upon a declivous out stretched summit of a Hill.

EXPLANATION.

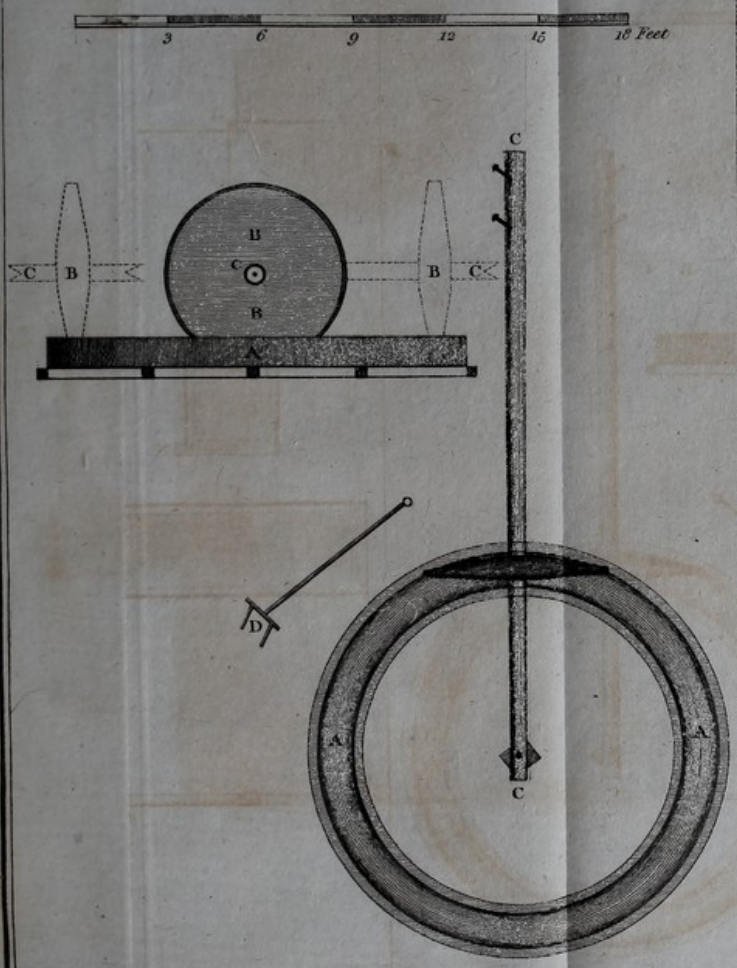
A Dwelling House & Coffee Store
B Kitchen & out Houses
C Garden
D Poultry yard &c.
E Drying Platforms
F Mill house
f Grinding Mill + Fan house
G Bason for the Coffee
H Do for Scum Coffee
I Draining Platform
K Do for Scum Coffee
L Pen and Stables
M Negroe houses
N Hospital
OO Declivity from North Southwards
PP Do from above both sides
QQ Canal
R Bell
SS Road



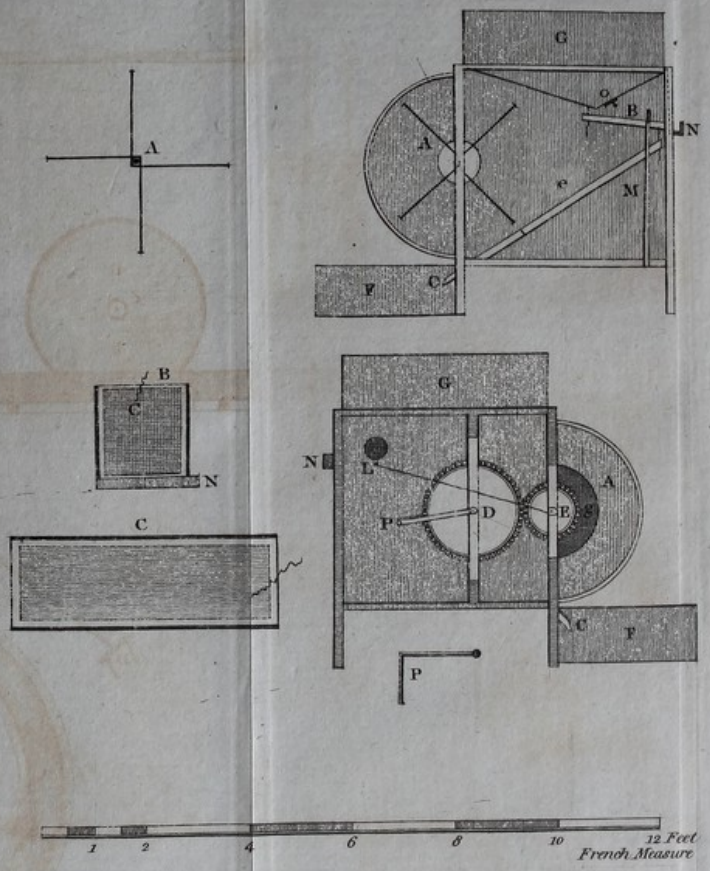
Neale sc. Strand.


Details of the hand-Grater-mill
Fig. 1.
Fig. 2.
Fig. 3.
Fig. 4.
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
M
N
P
Feet

Peeling Mill.

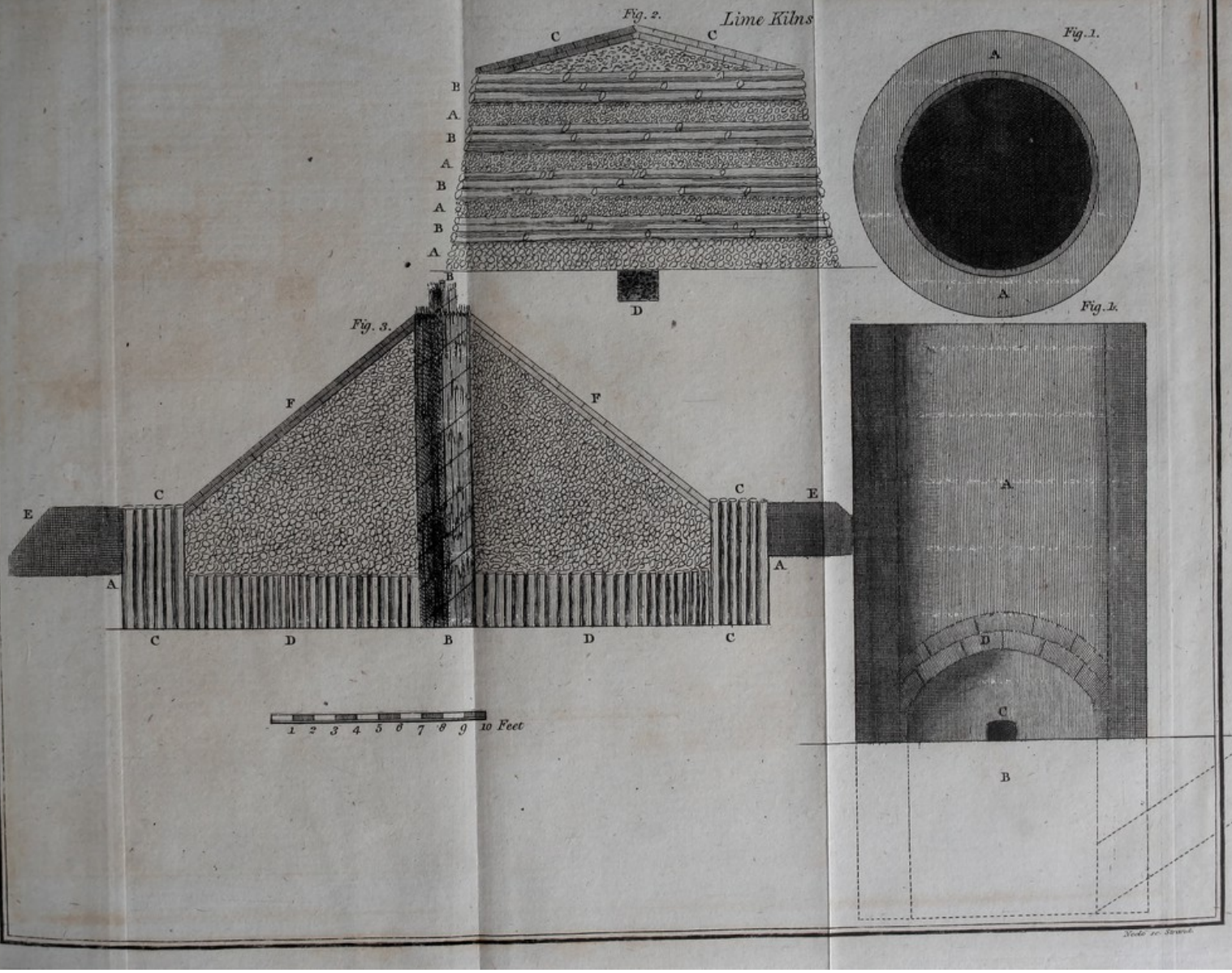


Winnowing Mill.

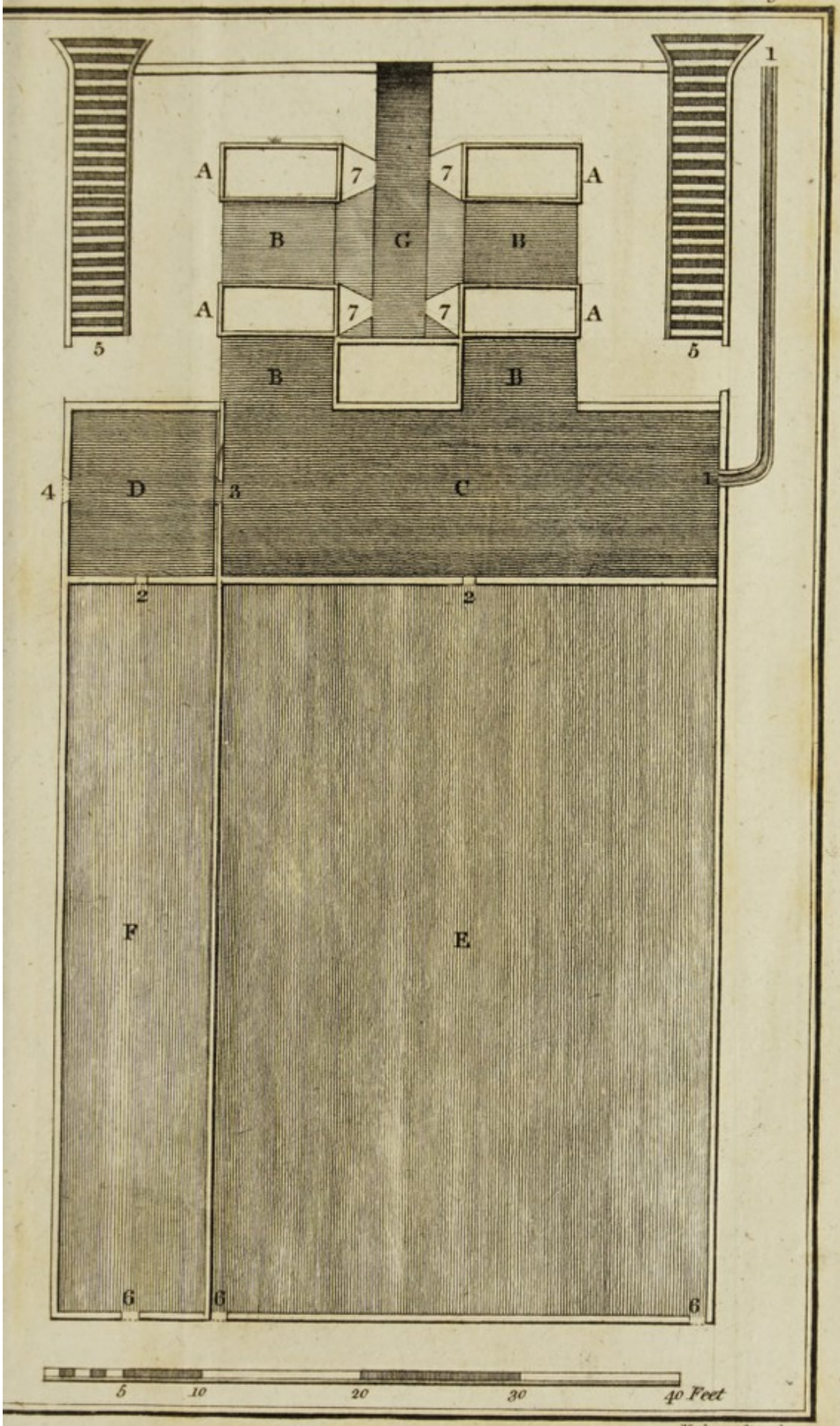


Neale sc. Strand.

Lime Kilns



Neale sc. Sawyer.



Neele sc. Strand.

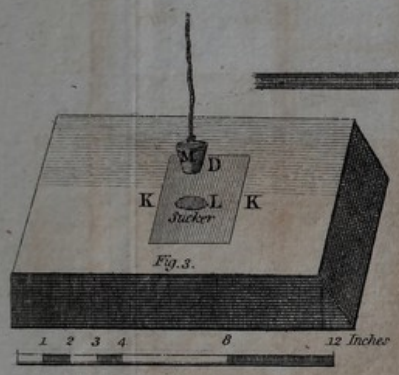


Fig. 3.

Elevation Line 2.3.

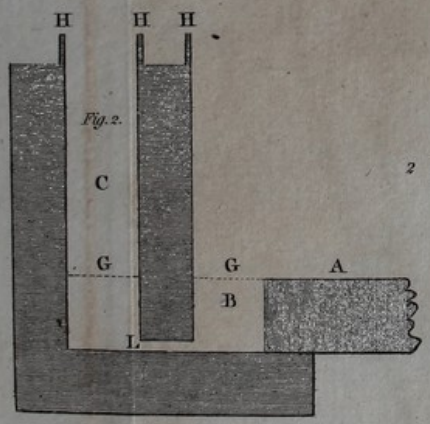


Fig. 2.

Cistern of Filtration

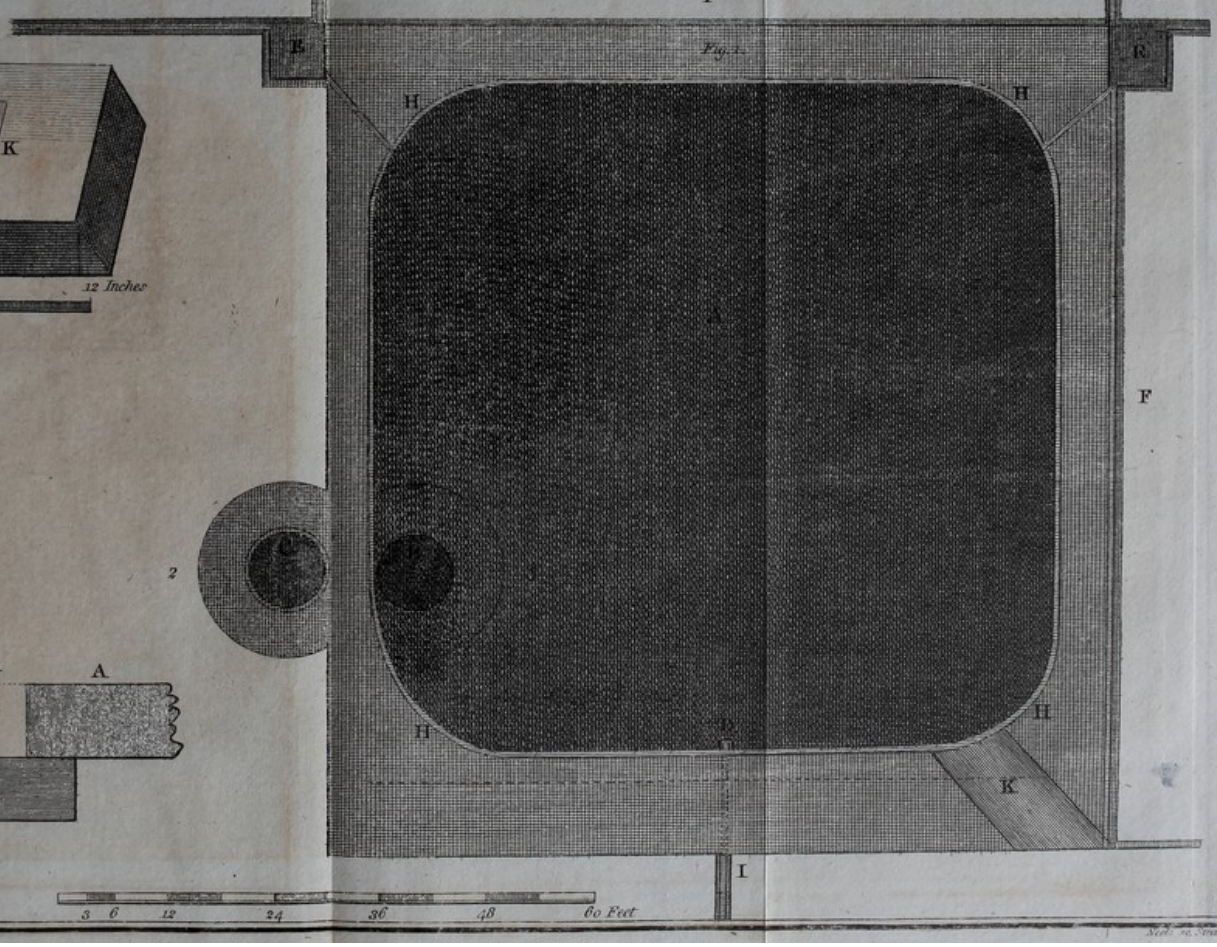
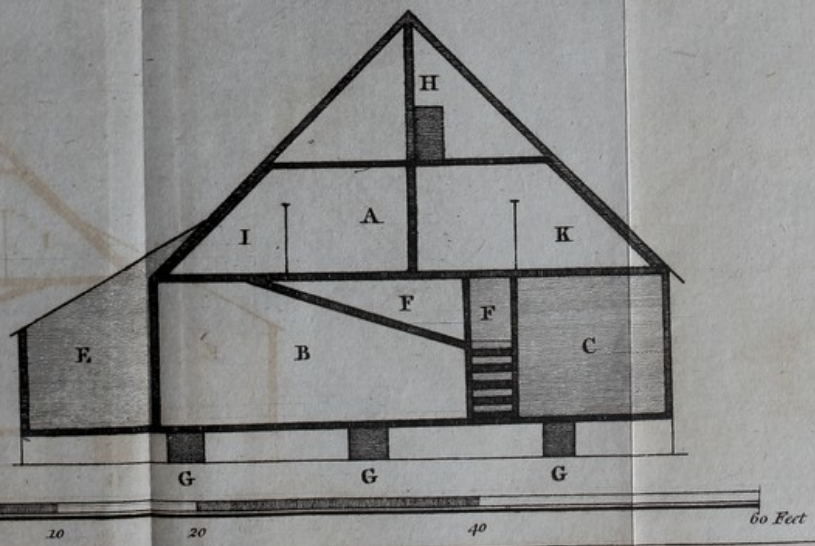
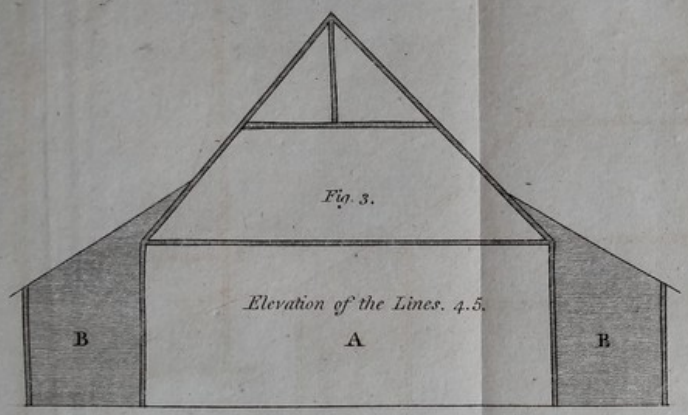


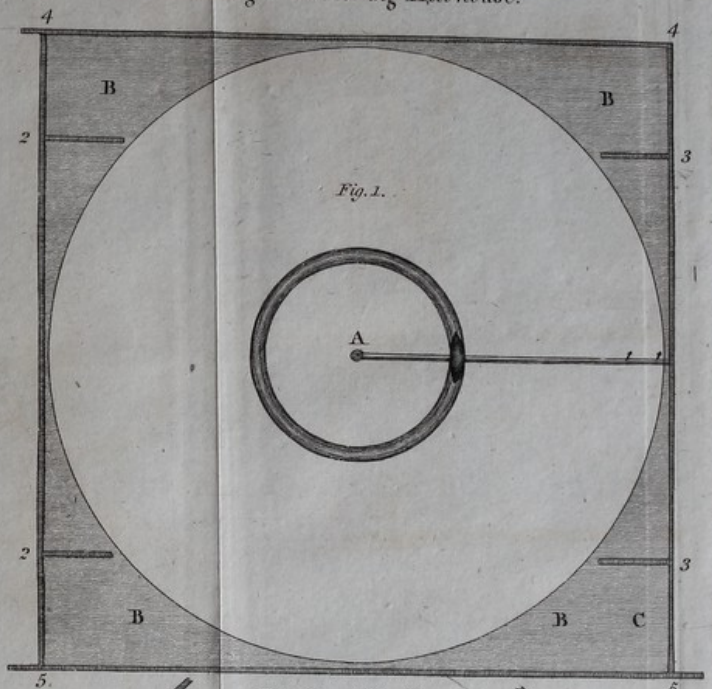
Fig. 1.

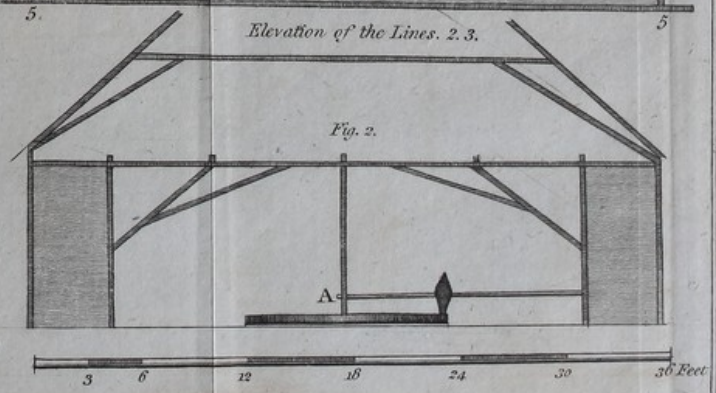


Neele sc. Strand.

Peeling & Winnowing Mill-house.

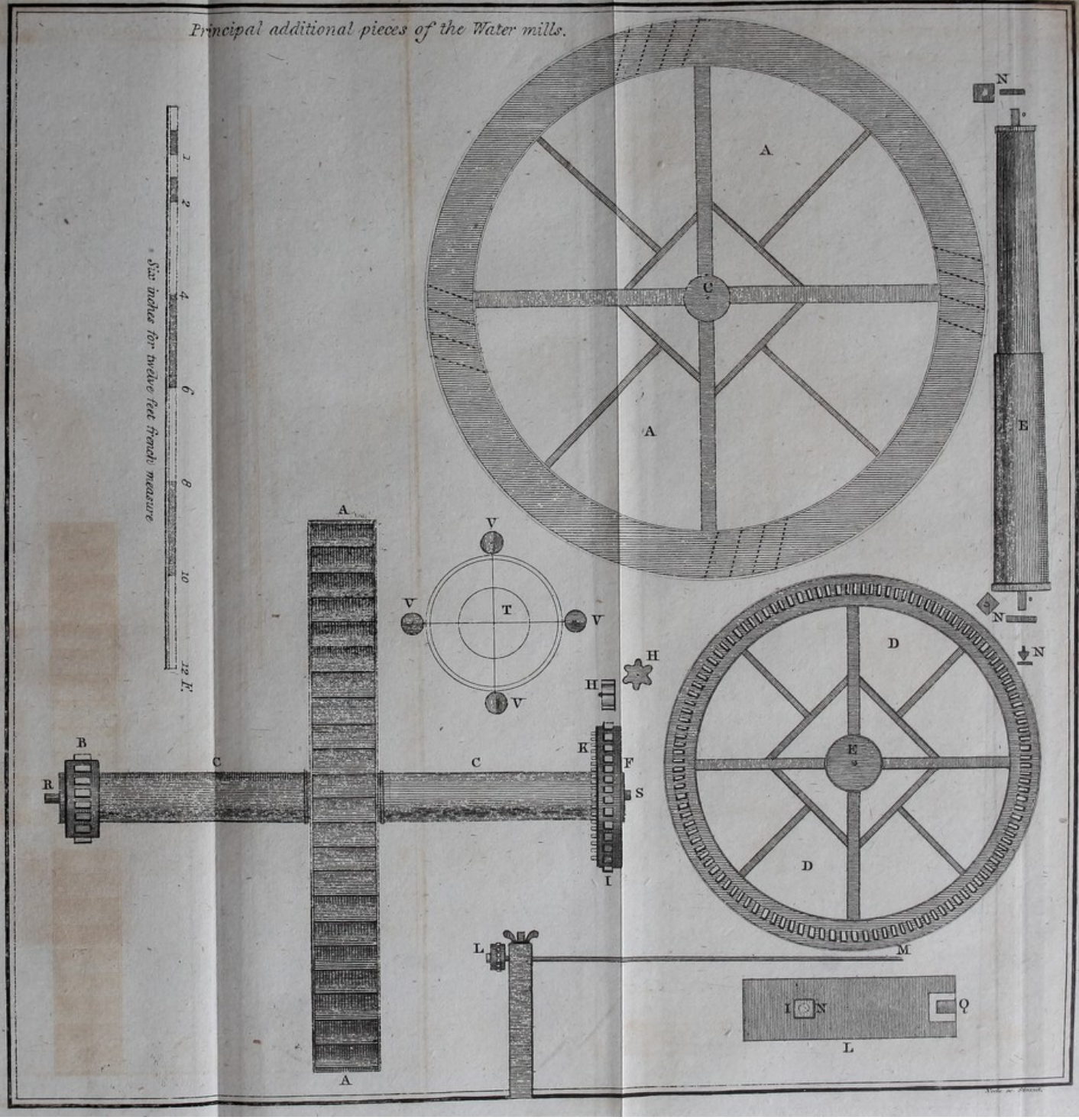


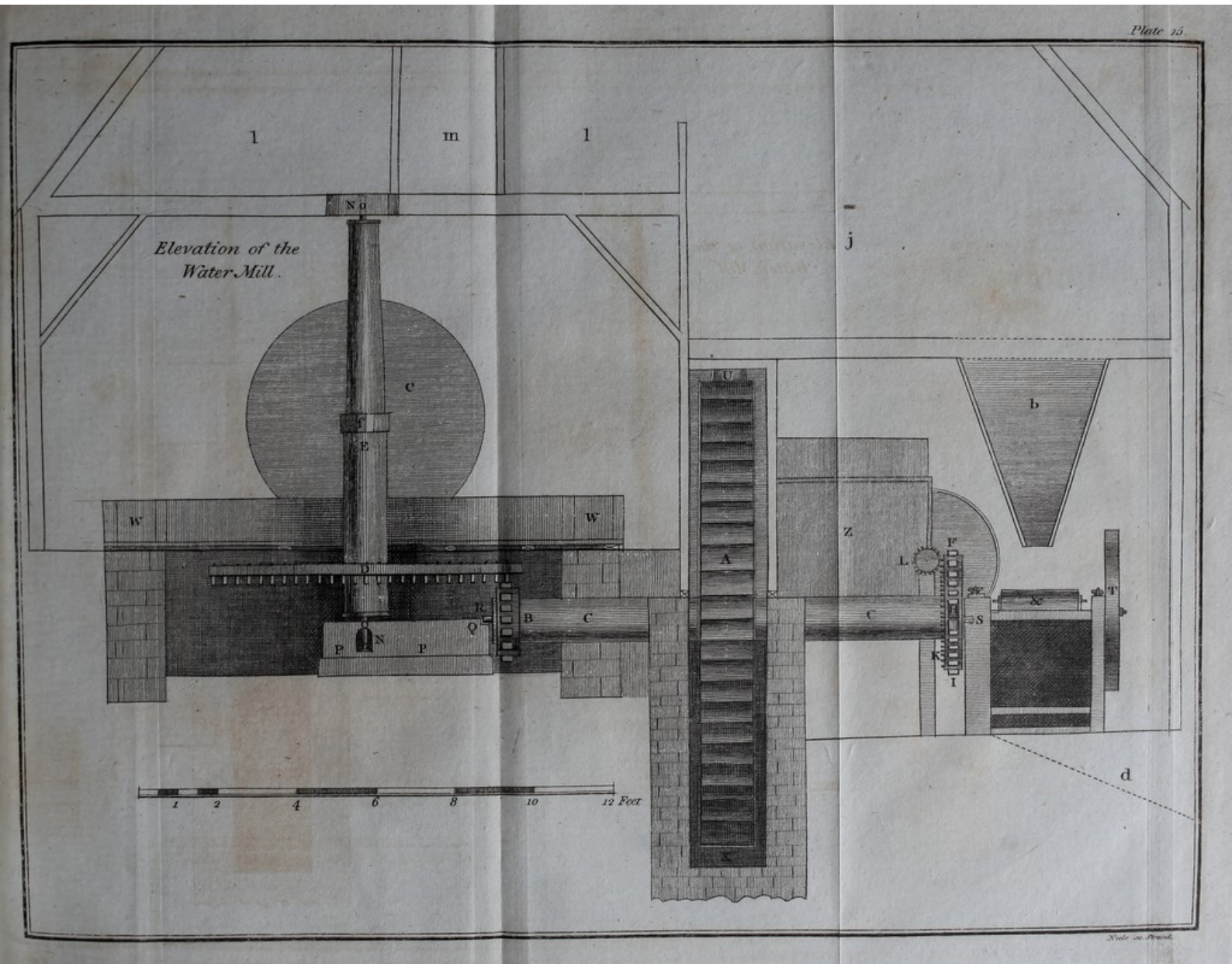




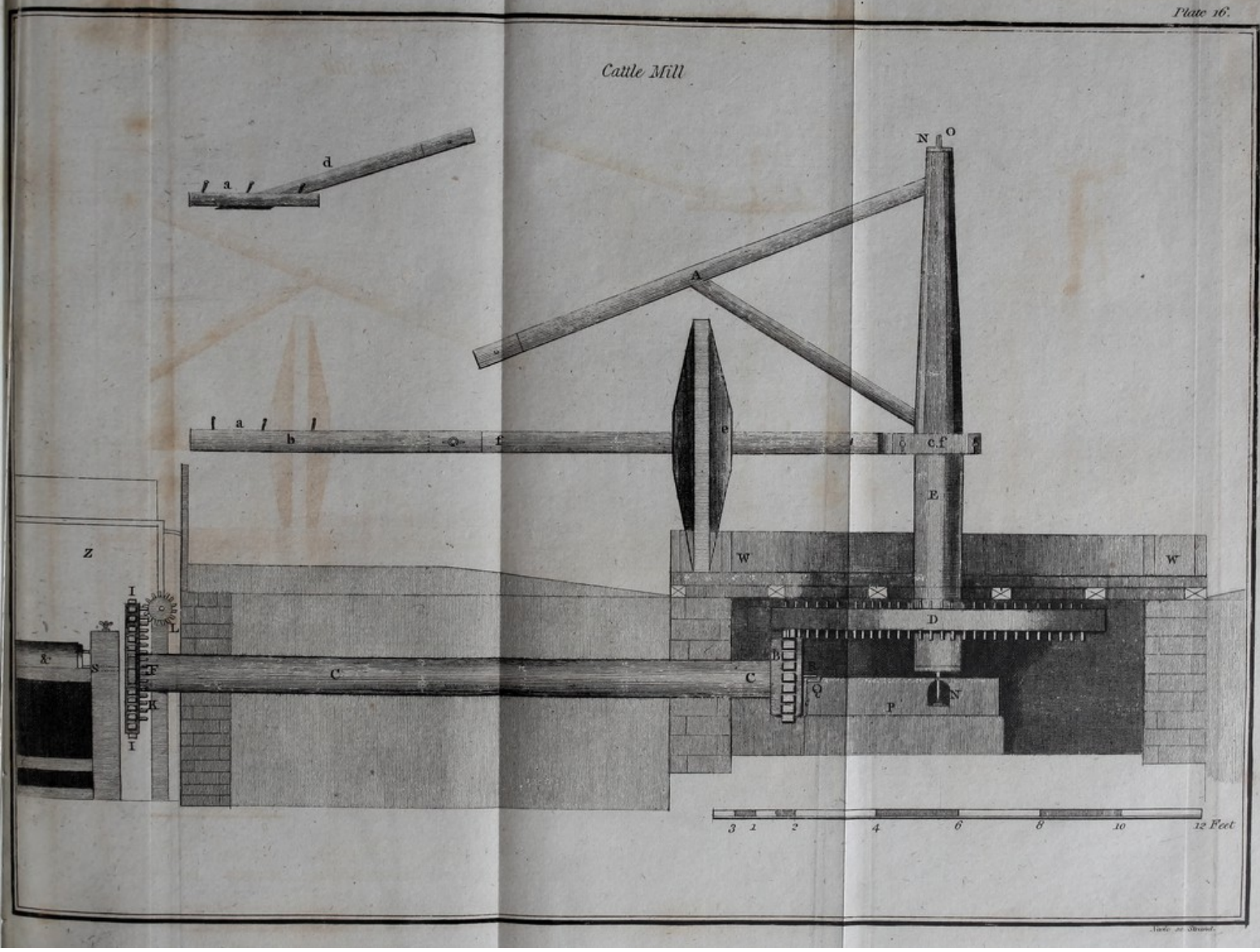
Yeale sc. Strand.

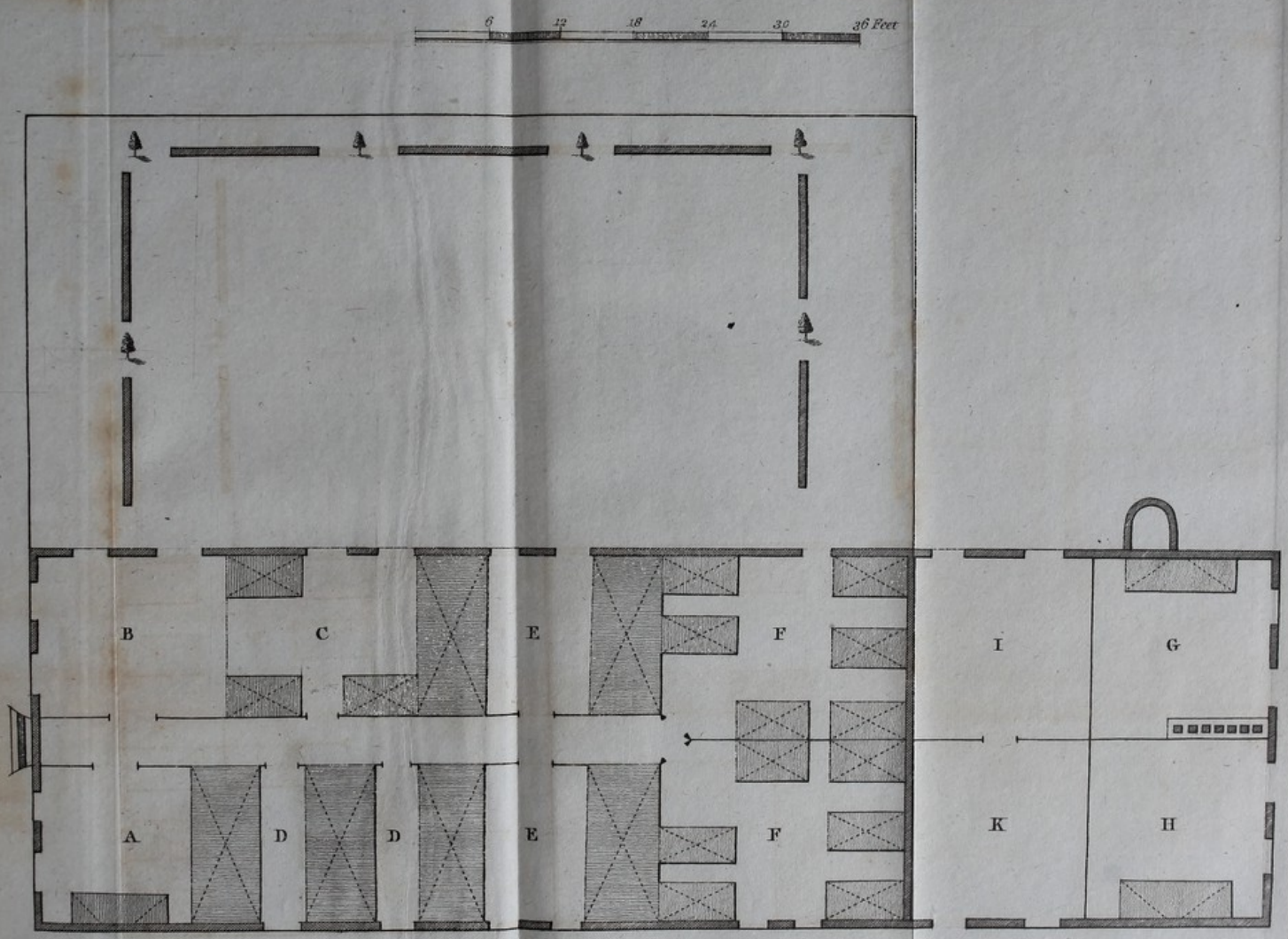
Principal additional pieces of the Water mills.




Elevation of the
Water Mill.
l
m
l
j
b
c
d
N
O
G
E
W
W
D
R
Q
B
C
P
N
P
U
A
Z
L
F
C
S
X
T
K
I
1
2
4
6
8
10
12 Feet

Cattle Mill





Neale sc. Strand.

Plate 18.

Fig: 1

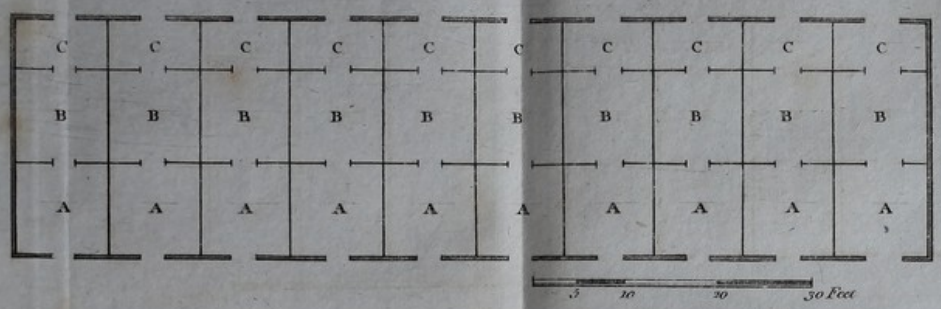


Fig. 2

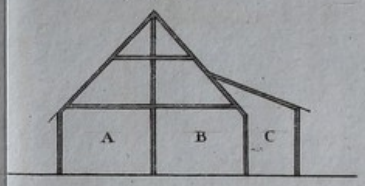
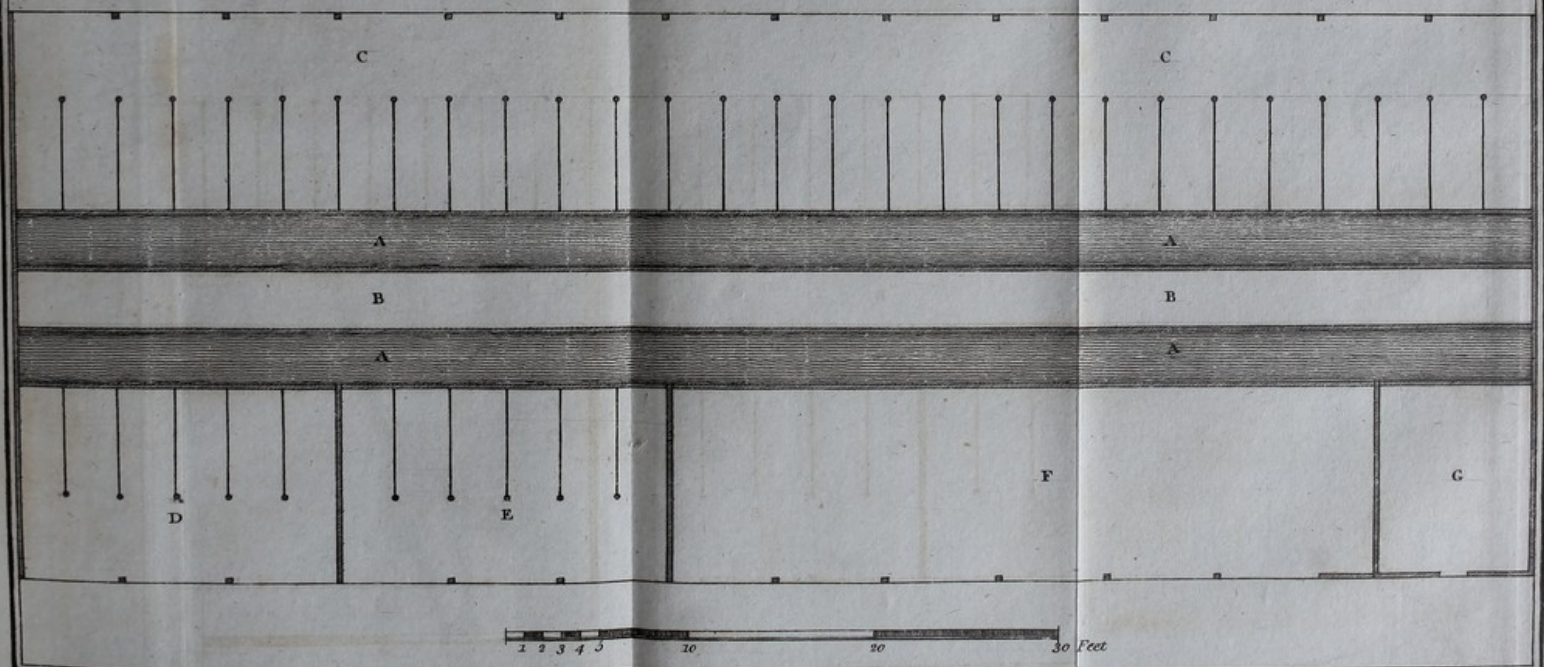
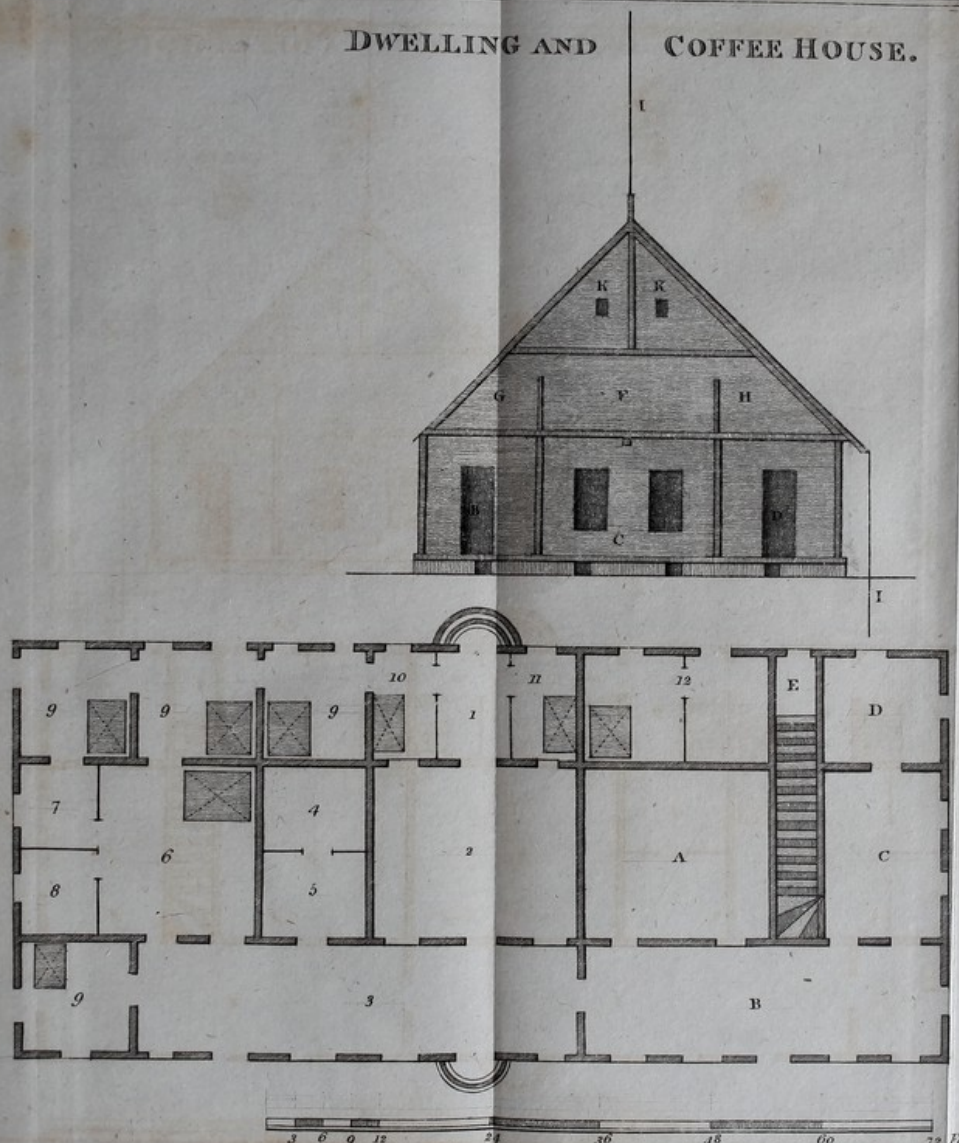


Plate 20.



Neele sc. Strand.

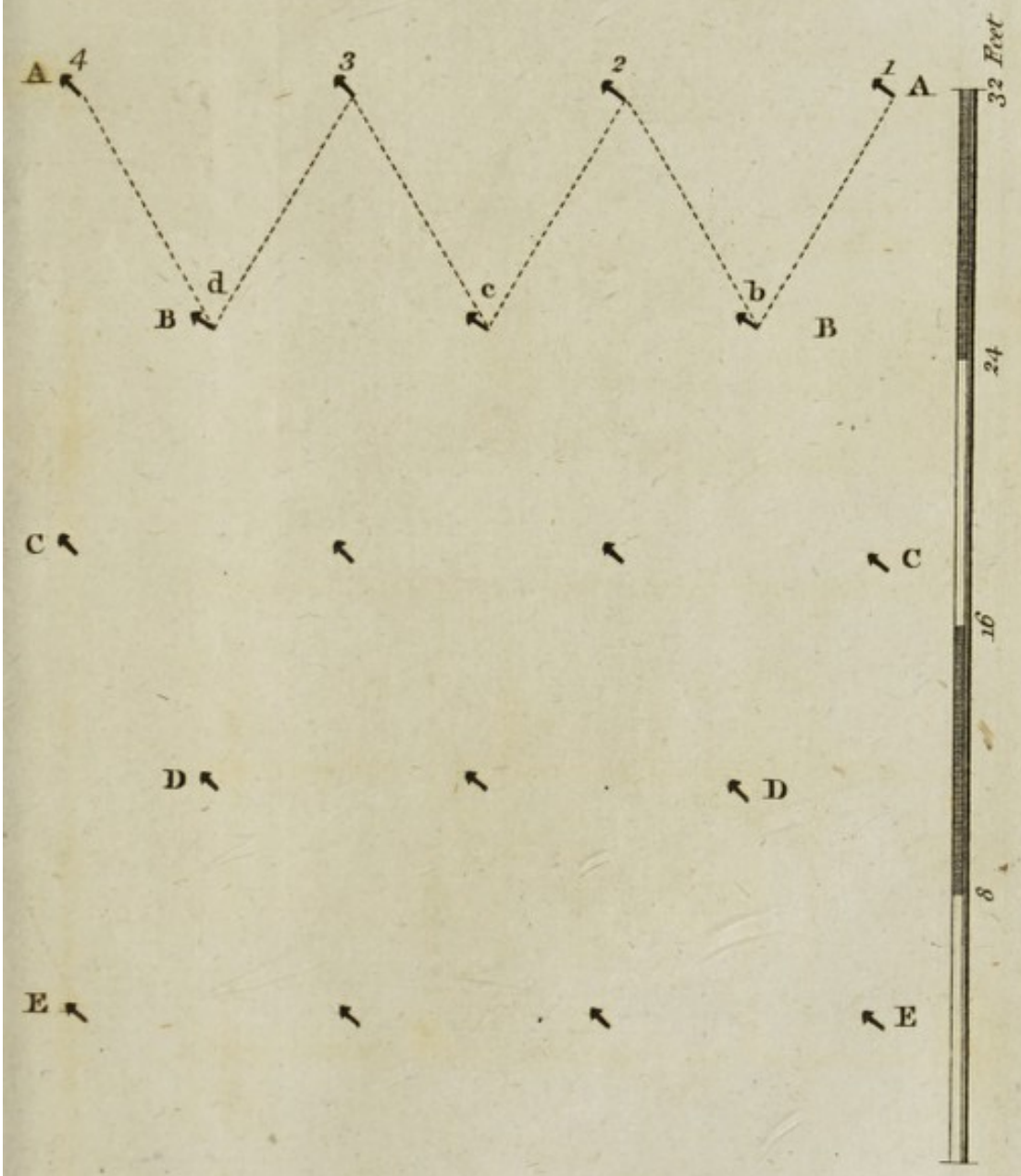
DWELLING AND COFFEE HOUSE.



1 Entry
2 Parlour
3 Dining-room
4 Bottlery
5 Office
6 Master's Bed-room
7 Ms Dressing-room
8 Ms Library
9 Rooms for Strangers
10, 11 } Do occasionally
12 Overseer's Apartment
A, B, C } Three rooms for the different Works of Sieving Picking and Weighing
D A Room for the Harnesses
E Stairs with a little room for the Bags &c. underneath
F Coffee Store
G, H } Lodges for the Scums and Pickings
I Electrick Bar
K Panes of Glass

Neale sc. Strand.

Quineunx



Neele sc. Strand.

PRUNING

Fig:1

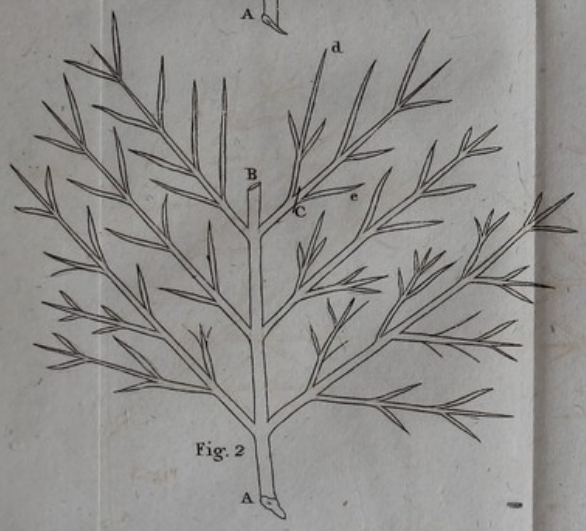


Fig. 2

Fig. 4

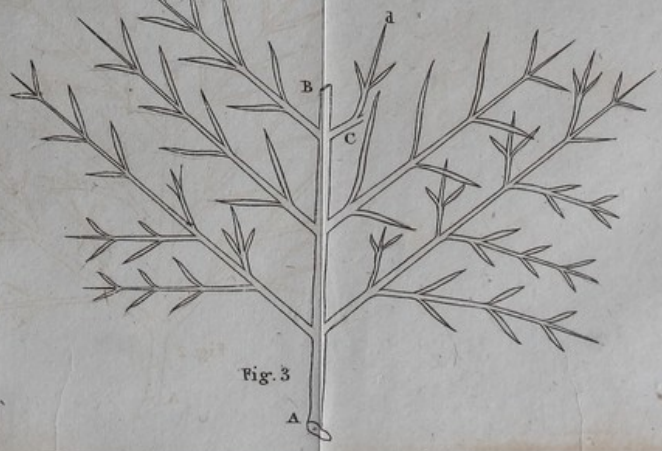


Fig. 3

Neele sc. Strand.

APPENDIX.

A REVIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT, CONSTITUTION, LAWS AND STATE OF ST. DOMINGO, BEFORE THE REVOLUTION, AND UNDER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

I HINTED above that, after I ſhould have explained all the various particulars relative to one of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable cultures of St. Domingo, I ſhould proceed to give an account of the conſtitution, laws, and government of that iſland; a government which, after long experience, has been found to be well calculated to promote the ſucceſs of huſbandry and trade, and to protect and cheriſh the happineſs of the planters.

Though ſome may be of opinion, that this enquiry has not ſufficient connexion with the preceding ſubject, ſo as to appear in the ſame work, it muſt at leaſt be allowed, that it is at all times an object of curioſity to the philoſopher and ſtateſman; and, I may add, that the preſent occaſion particularly invites me to the taſk I have undertaken. The affairs of St. Domingo nearly concern the Britiſh nation, and demand, in a moſt preſſing manner, the attention of adminiſtration.

I do not dive into the womb of futurity, or pretend to foretell the consequences of the present state of affairs in Europe; but I implore the Almighty for the re-establishment of my country, and the success of the British forces and government, the leading motive of my writing the following pages. If, however, I am unfortunately disappointed in these my hopes, this small tract may still be interesting, as exhibiting a faithful picture of the happiest and finest colony in the West Indies, fallen into a state of wretchedness little short of destruction, by the effect of the most fatal revolution recorded in history.

In order the better to arrange every object in its proper place, I shall divide this short review under different heads, comprehending all the articles that are most essential; namely, the legislature—the executive government—the courts of justice—the different orders of inhabitants, and the population—the revenues and taxes of all kinds—the culture and produce—the different branches of commerce—the religion and religious establishments, as well as those of charity—the military system and establishment—lastly, some hints concerning the present state of the British possessions.

Art. I. Legislature.

If the word legislature is to be understood in the sense usually applied to it by English writers, it must be observed that, in reality, a legislature neither existed in France nor in any of her colonies.

1. The King.

The King, with the assistance of his privy council, possessed the whole legislative authority. The power of the French parliaments (not a legislature, but merely a supreme court of justice) extended no farther than to *verify*, that is to register in record, and make known to the public the laws of his

majesty. The right of rejecting was not allowed to it; nay, that of remonstrating was only admitted with limitation.

The government of St. Domingo was regulated by this principle. It submitted to the general laws of the mother kingdom, in what respected the civil state, rights and property of the subject, the means of acquiring and tranferring property, of redressing private and public wrongs.

1°. Those laws of the kingdom are the unwritten law or *customs of Paris*; the General Laws of his majesty, concerning marriages, wills, gifts, entails, actions civil or criminal, and proceedings thereupon, and several others; all binding equally French subjects, whether in France itself, or in the foreign dominions and possessions depending upon France. 2. General Laws of France.

2°. It submitted to those particular edicts and laws, which his majesty thought proper, on different occasions, to enact for the government, administration, and regulation of the colony. Nay, the will of the sovereign sometimes manifested itself in less material occurrences, in even a less regular form, as in a simple letter of the minister, a certain edict having previously directed that those letters written in the name of his majesty, should be considered as law, to all intents and purposes. 3. Colonial Edicts.

3°. The governor and intendant, the Representatives of his Majesty, and the heads of the government in St. Domingo, were impowered to enact, jointly, such provisional regulations as the existing exigencies of the colony required, which had the power of law till repealed by his majesty. 4. His Majesty's Representatives.

The customs of Paris, and royal general laws of France, applicable to the colony, had been introduced into it without formal Promulgation; being a consequence of the connexion subsisting with the mother- 5. Promulgation.

mother-country, and applying to all French ſubjects at home or abroad.

But colonial laws, both the laws of his majeſty, and repreſentatives, required record and publication. This was made in the king's high courts of juſtice, or *councils ſuperior*; it did not, however, give the law any additional degree of authority; it only made it public, ſo that no ſubject could, after this, pretend ignorance. The law was directed to the attorney general, who preſented it by a bill filed by himſelf on purpoſe. It was recorded, printed, and poſted up; and then ſent by the attorney-general, with the decree of the court, to all the inferior courts or juriſdictions, where it was publickly read and recorded at the inſtance of the king's attornies. After this, all the courts and judges were bound to take notice of it *ex officio*.

6. Repreſentations. No cauſes were ſufficient to poſtpone promulgation, after a law was preſented; and ſtill leſs execution, when proclaimed and recorded. The ſuperior councils were allowed to make Repreſentation (if they found good cauſe) either to his majeſty or to his repreſentatives, but without, in the mean time, affecting the validity or interrupting the courſe of the law, while the regard paid to the repreſentation was entirely at the option of the legiſlator. The governor and intendant were authorized, by their private inſtructions, to ſtop the execution of the king's laws, if they as well as the court were ſenſible of material grievances.

7. Bye Laws. The high courts had the privilege alſo of making ſome Bye Laws (Reglements) for profeſſional diſcipline, for the regulation of their ſubordinate or miniſterial officers; and, ſometimes, for the better execution of the laws. But this power was confined within narrow limits; and inſtances are not wanting, where ſome of thoſe bye laws have been cancelled by his majeſty, though he, at the ſame time,

time, enacted the ſubſtance of the regulation into a law of regular form.

The colonial laws have been collected by M. Moreau de St. Mery, down to the laſt of December 1785; the revolution having prevented the farther continuation of the work.

Laſtly, It muſt be obſerved, that in caſes where the above laws were not ſufficiently explicit, Civil Law was reſorted to, as rule of deciſion, *ratio ſcripta*; likewiſe Canon Law, and the printed deciſions of the courts of parliament. 8. Civil or Canon Law.

ART. II. EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION.

The Miniſter of the Marine was alſo Miniſter of the Colonies. He had the whole direction and ſuperintendance of the government. The buſineſs of all the civil, military, adminiſtrative, commercial, and eccleſiaſtical departments, was conveyed through him, to and from his majeſty. He was alſo, in latter times, in lieu of chancellor, with reſpect to the colonies. 1. Miniſter.

Before I ſpeak of the interior government, it will be proper to mention, that the French part of St. Domingo was divided into three principal diviſions or grand departments, viz. Weſt, North, and South; each of which was again ſubdivided into leſſer diſtricts or juriſdictions, comprehending a certain number of pariſhes, as follows: 2. Diviſion of the Territory.

Departments.	Diſtricts and Towns.	PARISHES.
Weſt.	Port au Prince	Port au Prince.
		Leogane.
		Croix des Bouquets.
		Arcahaye.
		Mirbalais.

Weſt,

Departments.	Districts and Towns.	PARISHES.
West, *continued.*	Saint Marc -	St. Marc.
		Vérétes.
		Petite Riviere.
		Gonaïves.
	Petit Goave -	Petit Goave.
		Grand Goave.
		Fond des Negres.
		Anſe Aveau.
		Petit Trou.
North	Cap François	Cap François.
		Petite Anſe.
		Plaine Durord.
		Láeul.
		Limonade.
		Sainte Suſanne.
		Quartico Morin.
		Grande Riviere.
		Limbé.
		Dordon.
		Marmelade.
		Port Margo.
		Gros Morne.
		Plais Ance.
		Le Borgne.
	Fort Dauphin	Fort Dauphin.
		Ouanaminthe.
		Valliere.
		Terrier Rouge.
		Le Trou.
	Port Depaix -	Port Depaix et Tortue.
		St. Louis du Nord.
		Gros Morne.
		Jean Rabel.
		Le Mole.
		Bombarde.

South.

Departments.	Districts and Towns.	PARISHES.
South	Les Cayes St. Louis - -	Les Cayes St. Lewis. Cap Tiburon. Tes Coteaux. Torbeck.
	Saint Louis -	Saint Louis. Aquin. Cavaillon.
	Jacmel - -	Jacmel. Cayes Jacmel. Baynet.
	Jeremie - -	Jeremie. Cap Dame Marie.

The general form of the Government was military. The civil power, courts and magiſtrates, as well as other ſubjects of all denominations, were ſtrictly ſubordinate to and dependant upon the governor and the intendant. Such a form of adminiſtration, though liable to great inconveniences, was juſtly conſidered as beſt ſuited to a country at a great diſtance from the ſeat of government; the reſort of people of mixed characters, and, above all, as cultivated by ſlaves far out numbering the whites and free inhabitants. 3. Government.

Some Checks, however, were provided againſt the arbitrary exertions of diſcretionary power. 4. Checks.

1ſt. All the branches of public revenue, not of general application, but appropriated to particular grand diviſions, were not under the controul of the executive. Nay, the ſtatement and aſſeſſment of the general taxes did not belong to it.

2dly. The reſpective limits of the military, adminiſtrative, and judicial powers (branches of the executive)

executive) were exactly defined by the laws. The one was ſtrictly prohibited not to encroach upon the other; and, if a ſubject applied to government for redreſs of an injnry cognizable in the courts, he was liable to damages upon an action brought before the court. This check, however indirect, ſerved in a great meaſure to prevent treſſpaſſes.

5. Boards of Agriculture.

3dly. There were two Boards of Agriculture, one at the Cape for the North, the other at Port au Prince for the Weſt and South, compoſed of ſeven principal planters and a ſecretary. They had an agent at Verſailles of their own appointment. They held regular meetings. Vacancies at the board were filled up by the exiſting members. They had no ſalary. That of the ſecretary was 5,200 livres *(a)*; the agents from the whole colony 12,000 livres.

Beſides the privilege of tranſmitting to the miniſter, in the moſt full and unreſerved manner, ſuch information as they judged conducive to the benefit of the iſland and its inhabitants, they were *bound in duty* to convey to him, after the death or departure of every governor or intendant, an exact account of the character, the abilities, the views, the conduct and probity, with a ſcrutiny into and eſtimate of the good or evil which had ariſen from his adminiſtration. This information was tranſmitted to the miniſter, through the agent; but a copy was at the ſame time ſent to the exiſting government, which was likewiſe required to be forwarded, with the neceſſary obſervations and remarks.

I need ſcarcely mention the power reſerved to the ſubject, of applying individually to his majeſty, for redreſs againſt private ſtretch of power. Such applications, though perhaps not entirely deſtitute of influence, had but very ſeldom any direct public

(*a*) For the underſtanding of the ſeveral ſums mentioned in this Appendix, which are all in Colonial currency, ſee the comparative table at the end.

effect,

effect, under the idea of weakening authority and confidence in the executive.

There was, however, in the ſervice of France, a check to unwarrantable conduct, of greater influence than any that political regulations could deviſe. I mean a certain point of honour, a certain liberal and diſintereſted ſpirit, which reigned in the breaſts of the officers in the French monarchy; regard to character, to the opinion of the public, and a great emulation of advancement to rank. A governor who acted ill was ſeldom brought to trial, but he was ſuperceded in his office; contempt followed him to his retreat. Such a conſideration could not fail to influence, in a high degree, thoſe men who, after thirty years ſervice, believed themſelves to be better rewarded by a diſtinction of honour than a large penſion.

Upon the whole it is juſtice to ſay, that though government poſſeſſed the power of being oppreſſive, it was never ſo in reality. Sometimes a governor might be deceived, and if in ſome inſtances complaints have been found to be grounded, in moſt they have been found to be the railings of enraged men, complaining of treatment which their conduct had fully deſerved.

6. Two Branches.

Government conſiſted of two diſtinct Branches, the military and the adminiſtrative. Hence there was an officer at the head of each, diſtinct in their functions. I ſhall firſt mention them with their ſubordinates. I ſhall next explain their powers and duties.

7. Governor-General, and

The Governor-General was the head of the military. He was always an able experienced officer, either lieutenant-general or major-general (maréchal de camp.)

Sometimes a lieutenant-governor; ſometimes, in time of war, a commander in chief of the troops, were under him. But this was not uſual.

The

The governor was alſo inſpector-general of the troops, militia, artillery, and fortifications. The naval force (which in time of peace was not very conſiderable) was alſo ſubordinate to the governor, as far as the connexion of ſea and land ſervice required.

8. His ſubordinate Officers.

The Officers ſubordinate to the governor, were a commander *en ſecond* at Port-au-Prince for the Weſt, one at the Cape for the North, and one at the Cayes for the South. They have been, in general, younger maréchals-de camp, ſince the ſuppreſſion of the rank of brigadier. In default of a lieutenant-governor, the ſenior of theſe aſſumed the government proviſionally, in caſe of the death of the governor.

In every one of the leſſer diſtricts before mentioned, and at the Mole and Tiburoon, there was formerly an *état-major*, compoſed of a lieutenant of the king, a town major, and an adjutant major; but lately there was only a particular commander, and in the largeſt towns an adjutant, who was commonly an officer of the garriſon. The authority of theſe commanders was extended to all the pariſhes within the diſtricts. The ſenior officers of militia had the chief command in their reſpective pariſhes; and from all theſe, to the governor-general, there was correſpondence, ſubordination, and reſponſibility, in a regular channel, through the immediate ſuperior.

The reſidence of the governor (as well as of the intendant) was at Port-au-Prince, as centre of the iſland in times of peace; at the Cape, as the moſt convenient ſituation, affording protection to the reſt in times of war.

All the ſubordinate officers were removable at pleaſure, (except the commanders of militia, who continued in office for life) the governor-general (as well as the intendant) remained in the ſtation only for three years. This was one of the greateſt faults

faults in our conſtitution, the governor retiring from his office, at the time he began to be fit to diſcharge the duties of it. The board of agriculture at the Cape had propoſed, before the revolution, that the government ſhould devolve of right, every three years, on the ſenior of the commanders *in ſecond*, who ſhould previouſly have reſided, for three years, in each of the three great departments. Thus, every governor could be furniſhed with the opportunity of acquiring the moſt perfect knowledge of the colony, ſo that a ſettled and uniform plan of government might be better purſued.

9. Intendant, and his

The powers and functions of the intendant were expreſſed in his title, *intendant of juſtice, police, finance, war, and navy*. As he was chief juſtice of the iſland, and as this function was deemed the moſt reſpectable of all, he was uſually taken from among the judges of the king's courts of parliament; an admirable precaution; for, as all the powers of government, eſſentially affecting the ſubject, were in common between the governor and the intendant, the uſual ſeverity of military command was tempered by the more gentle methods of the civilian, and the propenſity of a ſoldier to arbitrary ſtretches of power was checked by the more formal cautiouſneſs of a lawyer.

10. Subordinate Officers.

The corps, called *the body of the adminiſtration* (which was alſo an honourable employment in the ports of France) formed the ſubordinate aſſiſtants of the intendant. This corps conſiſted of commiſſaries general, commiſſaries ordonator, commiſſaries, principal and ordinary clerks of the marine. The ſtore-keepers and the receivers of the prerogative revenues were other ſubordinate officers. The three grand departments were adminiſtered by commiſſaries, either general or ordonators; the other officers were employed under them, either in the ſame

places, or in the diſtricts, as the intendant thought proper to appoint. There was a regular chain of correſpondence and ſubordination, every thing reſorting ultimately to the general centre of power (the intendant), as every order and direction was originally derived from him.

11. Controller. I muſt not omit to mention, in a particular manner, an officer belonging to this body, *viz. the controller of the marine.* The controller, though in ſome reſpects ſubordinate to the intendant, and even proviſionally appointed by him, in caſe of vacancy, was, however, as the eye of the king in the adminiſtration. His approbation and ſignature were neceſſary in every tranſaction, even in every tranſaction of the intendant: he had the power of denying it, informing the miniſter of his motives. Every bargain, expence, payment, or purchaſe, was recorded in his office.

There was a general verifier of accounts, to aſſiſt the intendant in the ſettlement of ſuch accounts as fell under his cognizance. Notaries public were alſo appointed in all the diſtricts, to make and record all bargains, acquittances, &c. relating to adminiſtration. (Notaries of the intendance.)

12. Greffe of the intendance. There was alſo an office of record for the government and intendance (greffe de l' intendance), where all grants, charters, and determinations of the governor and intendant were regiſtered. A very moderate fee was paid to the clerk of the regiſter (greffier), on that account. In every department there was an office of the ſame kind, (greffe de la ſubdelegation). All theſe were appointed by the intendant *(a)*.

This ſyſtem ſeems extenſive, if the great extent of the colony is not attended to. It will be found,

(a) The minutes or records of the ſurveyors of lands were depoſited in thoſe offices at their death or final departure from the colony.

however,

however, to have been a very œconomical arrangement.

The whole ſalary of the governor was 150,000 livres. 13. Salaries.

The intendant, 120,000 livres.

N. B. They had no allowances, only a ſmall gratuity for a ſingle tour through the colony.

The commanders en ſeconde and commiſſaries general, 36,000 livres.

The commanders of diſtricts and commiſſaries, 9,000 livres.

The others in proportion.

N. B. The governor and intendant had lodgings in the king's houſes. The next officers had a ſtated ſum allowed, or a lodging furniſhed where the offices in which they were employed were held.

The governor and intendant ſupported their reſpective ſecretaries at their own expence. No fees were permitted to be received, nothing being paid for grants, charters, paſſports, commiſſions, nor for any inſtrument delivered at the ſecretary's office. The ſecretaries had, for the time, very ſcanty ſalaries, but looked forward to a place of truſt and profit, at the departure of their maſter, if they were conſcious of having acted well *(a)*. 14. Secretaries.

It appears from former and from preſent experience, that the diviſion of the military and adminiſtrative branches of government is extremely neceſſary. A military man is ſeldom found qualified for the minute detail of civil buſineſs; and though even that were the caſe, the two departments would be too extenſive for a ſingle perſon; add to which, that, when every thing depends on him alone, his actions may be arbitrary, as there is no check; 15. Governor's powers.

(a) The experience of the PRESENT times makes this obſervation neceſſary. The hiſtory of the ſecretary's office of this iſland, in all probability, is not known in England.

whereas it will be different when two men of character are concerned in the ſame buſineſs, or in matters co-relative.

The powers here were either diſtinct or they were in common, and the boundaries of both were marked with preciſion.

The governor general was more immediately the repreſentative of his majeſty. State and exterior dignity of power were attached to his perſon. He was entitled to a guard of honour. When preſent in the king's courts, after being introduced with reſpect and ceremony, he ſat in his majeſty's royal chair, which was unoccupied when he did not attend. He had the chief command over all officers commanding either troops of the line, army, artillery, engineers, or militia. He granted proviſional or acting commiſſions and appointments in the above departments. His authority extended over the navy and its officers, over all the maſters and crews of the ſhips trading in the harbours, and over all the planters and inhabitants of the colony.

He was the ſupreme guardian of general peace, charged to keep all ſubjects in due allegiance, loyalty, and ſubmiſſion; entruſted with the external defence of the iſland, the protection of trade and juſtice, the execution of the laws and judgments, and more particularly of thoſe of admiralty courts.

He poſſeſſed the excluſive right of giving the inhabitants leave to depart from the colony, taking care previouſly that ſatisfaction or ſecurity were given to their creditors *(a)*.

16. Intendant's powers.

The intendant, as chief juſtice, was *firſt* preſident of the ſuperior councils. He watched the conduct of all the judges and miniſterial officers in the co-

(a) An intended departure muſt be proclaimed thrice in court, in the gazette, and at the church-door on Sundays after ſervice; and a certificate of the court's regiſter muſt be produced, either that no claims have been made, or that they have been ſatisfied.

lony,

lony, to prevent or punish neglects, frauds, extorsions, bribery and corruption, and to ensure relief being given by the courts to plaintiffs.

All the officers of administration were immediately dependant upon him. He distributed them in the several departments, as he thought fit, and, in case of vacancy, granted provisional or acting commissions, which were usually confirmed by his majesty.

He superintended the collection, management, and appropriation of the general prerogative revenue and taxes. He appointed the receivers of the former: these were accountable to him only. He settled the accounts of the receivers of colonial taxes, with the assistance of two commissioners of the superior council, after the examination of the verifier general of accounts. The debtors and accountants to his majesty, and to the colony, were also compelled, by his authority, to give satisfaction.

All bargains, purchases, expenditures relating to the army, the navy, fortifications, public works and buildings, as also the pay of the military, and salaries of civil officers, were ordered by him. All the stores and hospitals were under his inspection. All mariners belonging to trade fell under his discipline.

All bargains, purchases, and payments required to be made according to settled rules and formalities; and, in general, there was an admirable system of œconomy, expedition, safety, and perspicuity in matters of account.

In matters of joint power, the governor had the preponderance, in case the opinion of the intendant was different, liable, however, to the final determination of his majesty. 17. Joint Powers.

Public works of convenience or embellishment were ordered in common, by the governor and in-

tendant. The plans and devices were drawn and laid down by the engineer in chief, who superintended the execution, and gave in his report. The bargains and payments were in the province of the intendant.

The grants of demesne lands and waters *(a)*; the emancipation of slaves *(b)*; the opening, making, and repairing of public roads and bridges; the police of harbours, wastes, rivers, and ferry boats;

(a) These grants were wholly gratuitous, and not liable to rent or services. The following were the formalities. The surveyor of lands for the parish delivered to the party a certificate, setting forth that such land, of such figure, extent, and boundaries, existed in demesne lands. This was countersigned by the officer commanding, and proclaimed, for three successive Sundays, at the church gate, after the service. Upon this, the grant was made and registered in the office of record, if no claim had been preferred in the mean time. The conditions were, to settle the land in a given time, and not to sell it before it was settled, under the penalty of forfeiture. The surveyor of lands then measured the land, after information and legal summons given to the neighbours, whose claims were determined by the courts after this; or if no claim had been made, *buts* were planted in the corners of the land, marked with the cypher of the surveyor. The record and the chart of the land remained at his office, and a legal copy was delivered by him to the party. This was the lawful entry, and gave the landlord a legal right of possession, *jus in re*, whereas the charter gave only an imperfect title, *jus ad rem*.

The following was the mode of adjudging the forfeitures. Upon information given by any person that the land was liable to forfeiture, the king's attorney brought an action in the inferior court. After trial by witnesses and inspection, the judge pronounced his opinion (not a sentence) which was transmitted, together with the record, to the land's court (tribunal terrier) composed of the governor, the intendant, and three judges of the superior council, who determined the question, liable to an appeal to his majesty in council. In 1787, that court was suppressed, and those questions were determined by the governor and intendant.

(b) These were the formalities of emancipation. Upon a petition given to the governor and intendant, a tax was fixed, and the master was authorized to manumit the slave, which was done by deed before a notary public. The deed was proclaimed, for three different days, at the inferior court, and if no claim was made, or if made after it had been satisfied, the first warrant, the deed and proclamations endorsed, and the receipt of the receiver of the taxes being presented to the governor and intendant, the charter was granted, and recorded in the records of intendance and those of the court. I shall treat the subject of emancipations in another place, and under a different view.

the

the general purveyance of victuals; fishing in public rivers; hunting in demesne lands and others; the provisional appointment of the chief officers in the inferior courts, and the final one of all the subordinate and ministerial officers of the same, were concerns of joint authority.

If a culprit had been sentenced to death for excusable homicide (the French laws being so far severe) they were jointly authorized to arrest execution, with the consent of the attorney general, till the king's pleasure was known.

In case of public necessity, they were empowered (after information taken) to admit foreign importation of flour and bread, as well as exportation of sugar, cotton, coffee, and indigo, for a specified time.

The discipline of the clergy, the temporal interests of the parishes and church establishments, as the erections of parishes, the purchase of land for the church and vicar house, the building and considerable repairs of the same, fell under their joint direction.

They had the power to try and condemn to death the fraudulent receivers of public revenue, assisted by five judges of the superior council and an attorney for the crown.

I may have omitted some minutiæ, but the above are the chief powers, and such was the system of government before the year 1789.

18. Powers of subordinate officers.

In general, the determination of the governor and intendant were given, after information brought by, or desired from their subordinate officers, in the grand departments or petty districts.

These were impowered to determine the most urgent and provisional business. They were charged with the execution of the warrants of their superiors, and with all the local details of government and

adminiſtration. In other caſes they applied for deciſion or judgment.

19. Limits and correſpondence with the Spaniards.

The greateſt part of the iſland belongs to the Spaniards. After ſeveral diſputes on account of limits, commiſſaries were appointed by both governments, in the year 1776, to ſettle and mark a boundary in a clear and unequivocal manner, and a treaty was made in conſequence. Inſpectors of limits were appointed by both ſides. The French inſpector was a general officer; his ſalary and the amount of his lodging were 22,000 livres.

By the treaty, the reſtitution of the runaway negroes was reciprocally ſtipulated, at a certain premium, with coſts. A commiſſary of the French reſided, for that purpoſe, in the Spaniſh territory. He had a fixed ſalary, paid by the maſters of the negroes.

The Spaniſh coloniſts ſupplied the French with cattle for the butcher. The merchants carried paſſports from the government; and the tolls paid in paſſing the limits were fixed at ſo much per head.

The treaty had adjuſted all points in conteſt. Mutual intercourſe and correſpondence took place, and no diſpute has ariſen ſince. I ſhall, in another place, mention another trade carried on between the two colonies.

Art. III.—Courts of Justice.

BEFORE I give an account of our courts of juſtice, and of courſe of the proceedings preſcribed by our laws in ſuing for redreſs of injuries, it will be previouſly neceſſary to give a conciſe but general idea of the laws relating to property, and of the modes of acquiring or conveying it. Perſonal rights were ſuch as might be expected in a

mere monarchical government, and yet in a remote ſettlement, where every indulgence and encouragement, conſiſtent with public ſafety, was granted to the ſubject.

Our property was deemed real, perſonal, or mixed. *Real*, in lands and tenements. *Perſonal*, in things moveable. *Mixed*, in heirlooms, &c. 1. Property.

Negroes were, in fact, perſonal property; but, in ſome inſtances, had the privilege of real. For inſtance, they could only be executed for debt, when the land on which they were actually employed was alſo under execution, unleſs the debt in queſtion be expreſsly for the purchaſe of thoſe individual negroes.

Our incorporeal hereditaments conſiſted moſtly of *ſervitudes*, either *urbanæ* or *prædiales*, as ways, commons of paſtures, &c. In general, they were acquired only by the operation of the law, or by expreſs agreement, but never by preſcription.

Our law was not by any means ſo nice in its diſtinctions, nor ſo free in admitting of fictions, as Britiſh law; and as our perſonal property was generally of great value, there was very little difference in the modes of conveying property, whether real or perſonal. There were, however, ſome inſtances of difference in title by deſcent, and in the liberty of conveying by will or by purchaſe, which will be remarked hereafter.

Our property in lands though really originating from the king, was not liable to thoſe feudal tenures and ſervices introduced by the laws of England, from a mere fiction of that principle. All our lands and tenements were held rather as *allodial* than as fee ſimple. From this ſingle circumſtance it may be ſuppoſed, that our ſyſtem muſt have poſſeſſed a great degree of ſimplicity. Our intereſt in hereditaments and tenements was not indeed entirely free from the general diſtinctions incident to them; 2. Lands and Tenements.

them; but the consequences of the distinctions produced here much less intricacy than where the system is borrowed from feudal law, however mitigated.

The general distinction of our property, *as to title*, was by descent or by purchase.

3. Title by Descent.

Descent was lineal or collateral.

At the death of a parent or progenitor, all the children had an equal right to his or her inheritance, real and personal, without any preference of sex or primogeniture. Representation took place *in infinitum*.

In collateral descent, the next heir was preferred, without distinction of sex. Two or more heirs, in the same degree, had equal rights. Here representation took place only in so far as the children of a brother or sister were admitted, with their uncle or aunt, to the inheritance of another uncle or aunt, deceased; but a distinction was admitted (undoubtedly a consequence of the French feodal law) in real estates of inheritance (propres) left. These were inherited only by the heirs of the line paternal or maternal from which they were derived; *paterna paternis, materna maternis*.

The progenitors or parents of the person deceased, dying without children, were only entitled to his personal property and real estates of purchase. The rule was *propres ne remontent*.

All heirs whatever were liable to all debts and incumbrances, *pro modo emolumenti*, even without *assets*, and though not expressly charged or mentioned in the obligations; but, by relief granted in chancery (lettres de benéfice d'inventaire) they were bound only as far as the assets enabled them to pay.

In collateral descent, the severe distinction of whole and of half blood was not admitted, as in the law of England.

Purchase,

Purchaſe, in general, ſignified any title other than that by deſcent; even the real eſtate, conveyed by a father, by gift or deviſe, was purchaſe. This title was different in kind. 4. Purchaſe.

The parents were reſtricted in the diſpoſal of their property by will. One half of the ſhare, to which every child had a right by law, muſt have been left untouched. There was another reſtriction. Though lands of lineal inheritance might be alienated *inter vivos*, they were capable of being bequeathed by will only as far as the fifth part. No other check had been made on the liberty of deviſing, except in the caſe of baſtards. 5. Deviſes.

Deviſes were either *univerſal*, that is, of the whole inheritance, or of property of a certain kind; or *particular*, that is, of a certain eſtate or certain thing. The deviſee of the former only was liable to debts, but *pro modo emolumenti*, or with *aſſets*.

Heirs were veſted by law. Univerſal deviſees muſt have been veſted by the right heir, either amicably, or by judgment of the court.

Wills and codicils were of two kinds: 6. Wills.

One, holograph, that is, entirely written and ſigned by the teſtator, with the raſures and inſertions, if there were any, approved. The uſe of ſeals was not admitted.

Another, written by a notary public, in the preſence of another notary, or of two witneſſes, who ſigned with the teſtator, the will having been *dictated* by him, and *read* over to him after it was written.

Wills were liable to a kind of *probate*, but in the court of common law, as the laws of France do not admit of the juriſdiction of the ordinary on that account, and as this juriſdiction was not admitted in the colony in any reſpect.

Executors were veſted of the whole property, real or perſonal, for the payment of legacies and debts

debts, for one year; but if the heirs were abſent, they might be veſted for five years. Where there was no will or no executor appointed, the heirs being abſent, public adminiſtrators were veſted; yet any relation, however remote, might claim the poſſeſſion, giving proper ſecurity. But all theſe were only managers, accountable to the heirs.

There was a peculiarity in our laws. All guardians were appointed by the judge, aſſiſted with the family. Progenitors, and even the mother of the pupils, had a right to be preferred. The choice made by the father's will was attended to; but the election ſtrictly lay with the judge.

Executors, adminiſtrators, and guardians, were obliged to conform to ſettled rules, which the nature of this work does not permit to enumerate.

7. Gifts. A gift or *donatio* was a conveyance, without a valuable conſideration, of ſome eſtate, or of ſome valuable thing, and even of the whole property. Theſe were liable to reſerves, reſtrictions, conditions, and reverſions, as deviſes. They muſt have been made by public notaries, and recorded in court in a limited time, under the penalty of being void. They alſo became void, if the donor afterwards begot a child, provided he had none at the time the gift was made.

8. Marriages. Marriages were uſually preceded by deeds of ſettlement made by notaries public. If there was none, the cuſtoms of Paris ſettled a commonalty of all moveables, and of lands purchaſed during wedlock (conquets) and a dowry for the wife, in caſe of her ſurvivorſhip.

There was great liberty allowed in the marriage contracts as to conditions or ſtipulations.

The moſt uſual were, a commonalty limited or extended at pleaſure, or no commonalty at all. The huſband was perfect lord of the commonalty while he lived, but he could not by will abridge his wife's

wife's ſhare. *Vivit ut dominus, moritur ut ſocius.* He had alſo the full management of his wife's other property, but it could not be alienated unleſs by common conſent.

A dowry for the wife was entirely arbitrary, and reſembled the Engliſh *jointures* rather than dowries of the common law.

A prelibation for the ſurvivor, upon the commonalty, alſo arbitrary.

Laſtly, a gift, mutual or not, more or leſs extenſive, in caſe there were no children. By common law, the commonalty being liable to all the preceding debts of the parties, a proviſion to the contrary was uſually made, as alſo in caſe of the ſale of any of the wife's eſtates.

After marriage, nothing could be added or altered in thoſe ſtipulations, by gift or will, except by mutual gift, if there were no children.

Canonical impediments rendered a marriage void; but it could be annulled with more difficulty after the death of one of the parties, or if children were begotten. Baſtards born before marriage were legitimated *per ſubſequens matrimonium* to all intents and purpoſes.

The legal requiſites for the lawfulneſs of the marriage were, mutual conſent and capacity (for minors under twenty-five years of age, the conſent alſo of parents or guardians) three proclamations in church, the preſence or conſent of *proprii parochi*, and the ſolemnization in the pariſh church, before four witneſſes, were neceſſary.

There was no divorce. Separation of property, or ſeparation a *menſâ et thoro*, could only be adjudged by the courts for very ſtrong cauſes.

Subſtitutions ſometimes took place in gifts, deviſes, or marriage ſettlements. They had ſomething of the Engliſh tails, uſes and truſts, and were much like 9. Subſtitutions.

like the *fidei commissa* of the civil law. An estate was given to A. remainder to his children, or to his male or female children, or to his heirs general, or to another person, or to his children or heirs, born or unborn.

This title was liable to nice formalities, and one of the most intricate points of our law; but it was seldom employed in St. Domingo.

10. Uses. There existed a title where possession and use were in one person, and property belonged to another. It derived frequently from the preceding titles, and chiefly from marriage contracts. It is the *usufructus* of the civil law. The *usufructuarius* could make or suffer no waste.

It must be understood, that from all the preceding titles different tenancies might result, as severalty, coparcenary, joint-tenancy, or tenancy in common. Partition might be the consequence.

Here it is observable, that the estates of the West Indies are in general ruined by partitions, because the settlements are very expensive, and the extent of land ought to be proportionably great. At Martinico, partitions have been prohibited, perhaps when it was too late. The inconvenience had not been yet sensibly felt in St. Domingo; but the period approached when a similar provision would have been necessary,

11. Leases. Leases of lands have been found hurtful to the landlords, and they seldom took place, except for the estates of wards, which the guardians used to farm in open court. Then the *lessee* was bound to give two securities, responsible as well as himself, for the rents, for waste, and for the death of the negroes and cattle, and they might be arrested in execution, for that kind of debt of record.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding all thoſe precautions, leaſes have been ſeldom found beneficial to wards (*a*).

Leaſes of houſes in towns were, on the contrary, very frequent.

In general no leaſe exceeded nine years.

Our laws ſeem to have been more tender of the intereſt of the poſſeſſor; the Engliſh common law, and the ſtatute of limitations, more of that of the original proprietor. 12. Preſcription.

A debt, whatever, was preſcribed by thirty years, though the deed or obligation might exiſt.

The right of poſſeſſion was acquired after one year and one day.

The right of property, or *right right*, after ten years, when the party had been preſent, or twenty when abſent, if the poſſeſſor was *bona-fide* and had a good title, ſuppoſe a charter of grant and lawful entry made, while the other with the ſame right had made no ſettlement on the land.

Property in land was acquired after a poſſeſſion of thirty years, even without title.

Other limitations were ſhorter. Actions for rents were preſcribed after five years; of debt for merchandize after one year; but here, the books of the merchant and the oath of the defendant might ſerve to admit or reject the limitation.

The cauſes of forfeitures of lands have been explained. Other forfeitures were effected by attainders. Fines were adjudged, in ſome caſes, as penalties, as alſo forfeitures of goods and other things of the ſame ſpecie; never forfeitures in money. Actions of qui tam were not admitted. 13. Forfeitures.

(*a*) The wards were emancipated by letters of chancery at ſixteen years of age; then they could adminiſter their property, but they could ſell neither their eſtates nor their negroes. They and their guardians were under the protection and inſpection of the courts, inſtead of the chancellor.

His majeſty had no right in their eſtates, which right is merely feodal.

There

14. Escheats.

There was no feodal escheat.

The inheritances of bastards intestate, of aliens, of persons who had no heirs, and had left no will, were escheats to his majesty.

15. Sale and Purchase.

Now the word *purchase* bears a more limited sense.

One of the most usual modes of conveyance, both of real and of personal property, with almost no distinction, was by sale and purchase. The requisites for its validity were, *res*, *pretium*, *consensus*, and *traditio*, either real or conventional.

The warrantee of the vendor was of right, if there was no agreement to the contrary, and it would affect the heirs and successors of the vendor in general and of course.

Deeds of sale in general, where the thing was of any value, were executed by public notaries. But they (as well as all other agreements between subject and subject) might be strictly executed in private writing. In this case, when synallagmatick, that is, mutually obligatory, two copies must be made, signed, and reciprocally delivered.

16. Redemption.

A title of acquisition by custom may be the consequence of the former. Our laws were tender of preserving the estates of inheritance in families, and where such an estate had been sold, any relation of the vendor, in the line from which the estate proceeded, might redeem it in a year and a day, provided he repaid the price and full costs. But all expences made by the purchaser during that time were lost *(a)*. An action was necessary, in which the proceedings were very nice and strict.

Bonds

(a) There was, in France, another right of redemption, merely feodal and belonging to the lord. This Mr. Smith seems to have had in view, volume 2. page 371. of his Enquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations. But I beg leave to observe that he seems not to have attended to the constitution of St. Domingo, when he says, that " *in the French colonies* the estates *held by the noble tenure of chivalry* " *and*

Bonds or obligations, of all kinds, were alſo performed in private writing or by notaries. But, though conditional obligations often took place; a bond of double the ſum borrowed or due, which might be forfeited, if the real debt was not paid, was a ſtipulation which our laws did not admit. 17. Bonds.

Judicial bonds or recognizances were not in uſe.

It is needleſs to ſpeak of contracts or quaſi contracts.

As to commercial affairs, I have little to ſay which differs from the Engliſh ſyſtem; except that there were ten days of grace, inſtead of three, for the payment of bills of exchange or promiſſory notes; and that the laws of bankruptcy were not by any means ſo preciſe as in England.

I muſt now ſpeak of Courts. The plan was very ſimple: but in the hiſtory of them, two periods muſt be diſtinguiſhed. The following was the original. I ſhall take no farther notice of the tribunal terrier, abrogated in 1787 (as I have ſaid in a preceding note) nor of the cognizance given to the governor and intendant, of the queſtions formerly tried in that court of attribution. 18. Courts.

I have mentioned ten Diſtricts. In each of them there was a court of common law and an admiralty court. 19. Inferior.

The firſt conſiſted of a judge, a deputy judge or lieutenant, an attorney for the king, with two or three *ſubſtitutes* reſiding at the court, and another ſubſtitute in each pariſh; a recorder or regiſter; and laſtly, a court bailiff *(huiſſier audiencier)* who called the cauſes at the bar for trial. 20. Of Common Law.

Attornies, who were ſimple practitioners, were alſo counſels, and managed all the proceedings and

" *and homage* are, for a limited time, liable to the *right of redemption* " by the heir of the *ſuperior* family, or &c."
See what I have ſaid, No. 2.

pleadings for the parties. Their numbers were fixed according as the extent of the territory required. They were commiſſioned and ſworn in, after an attendance of five years in the buſineſs of the law. They ſerved alſo in the admiralty courts.

A certain number of bailiffs (*huiſſiers*, from the old French word *huis*, or door) were appointed to ſummon the parties, to notify and execute the proceedings and judgments, and to keep ſilence and order in the court. Theſe miniſterial officers attended by turns, in all the courts. They had a common office, where all the buſineſs was allotted, and the fees received in common ſhared every month. This arrangement had put a ſtop, or at leaſt a check, to many abuſes.

This court had the cognizance of all civil actions between the planters, inhabitants, and merchants of the diſtrict in general; as alſo of the pleas of the crown: but, in capital caſes, additional judges were taken from among the ſenior attornies.

21. Of Admiralty. Juſtice more expeditious and more coercive being neceſſary for the protection of ſea trade, Admiralty courts were eſtabliſhed. They conſiſted of a judge or lieutenant of admiralty, an attorney for the king, a regiſter, and a court bailiff.

In the two principal towns, where the buſineſs was more extenſive, all theſe officers were diſtinct from thoſe of the other courts; but, in the leſſer diſtricts, the ſame perſons officiated, though the functions, courts, and ſittings, were ſtill diſtinct.

Theſe courts had cognizance of all actions of debt due to maſters, ſupercargoes, and agents of ſhips trading in the harbour; of maritime contraband trade or ſmuggling, of all maritime contracts, which were not ſo reſtricted, in that reſpect, as in England; of all miſdemeanors and crimes committed at ſea, or in the harbour; of prizes made in time of war, &c.

There

There was a receiver of certain perquiſites paid by the ſhips to the lord great admiral; this perſon accounted to his royal highneſs; and, together with the court, cleared out and licenſed the ſhips.

There was alſo a harbour-maſter (capitaine de port) for the order of the port, who had pilots under him. But he was more dependent on the government than on the court of admiralty.

All the judges and miniſterial officers, of both the inferior courts, had their fees ſettled, at a moderate rate, by tariff laws, or tables of rates.

The Colony had two high courts or *Councils Superior*, one at the Cape for the north, and one at Port-au-Prince, for the weſt and ſouth. 22. Superior Councils.

In the earlieſt times, thoſe councils were compoſed of planters, who ſerved gratis. They were indeed very little ſkilled in law, but they were of the higheſt character and greateſt wealth in the iſland. This reſpectable aſſembly was endued with great privileges, being deemed a kind of repreſentation of the colony.

When, by the progreſs of culture, trade, and population, the increaſe and complication of buſineſs required more ſkill and more frequent attendance; lawyers were ſent from France, who required to be ſupported by ſalaries, yet the functions and privileges of the court were not abridged: but, though the buſineſs of law might, by this means, be more ably managed, the intereſt of the colony was entruſted into the hands of ſtrangers. Since that period, younger ſons of planters, ſuitably educated, have been again admitted.

The courts, at the period I now deſcribe, were compoſed of twelve judges, one of whom preſided; four aſſiſtant judges, who were young men belonging to the landed intereſt, an attorney-general, with three ſubſtitutes, a regiſter, and a court-bailiff.

The governor *(a)*, the commanders *en second*, the commanders particular, the commiſſaries general, and ſenior commiſſary of the place where the court reſided, had the right of aſſiſting and voting in all determinations of whatever kind, and this tended to enforce the power of government.

The ſalary of the preſident and attorney-general, paid by his majeſty, was 17,000 livres; that of the counſellors, 13,500 livres; the aſſiſtant judges and ſubſtitutes of the attorney-general had only the proſpect of preferment. They had no fees from the parties. By this means, they were more ſtrict in checking the exactions of ſubordinate judges and miniſterial officers. The regiſter and court-bailiff had fees from the parties, and no ſalary *(b)*.

When a vacancy happened among the principal members (as well as among the chief officers of the inferior courts) the council named three perſons *(c)*, one of whom was appointed by his majeſty. The governor and intendant appointed the aſſiſtant judges and ſubſtitutes. They had alſo the right of appointing proviſionally the members of the inferior courts. The final appointment belonged to his majeſty, who took the recommendation of the lord great admiral, for thoſe of the courts of admiralty.

A certain proportionable number of counſellors were commiſſioned alſo, to manage the proceedings and pleadings for the parties. Theſe belonged to the body of advocates of France, and muſt (as alſo all the members of the courts) have been ſworn as barriſters in one of the courts of parliament, after

(*a*) The commiſſions of the governor and intendant were publickly read and regiſtered in court, uſually in their preſence.

(*b*) When the members of the councils were abſent from the colony, by leave of the governor and intendant, given only for indiſpenſable reaſons of ſickneſs or buſineſs, their ſalary was reduced to 2,400 livres.

The military officers, when abſent by leave, had no pay, unleſs by an expreſs order from the miniſter.

(*c*) Taken from among the aſſiſtant judges and ſubſtitutes, the officers of inferior courts, and the advocates.

three

three years ſtudy, and after taking their degrees (licences) in the univerſities. They were entitled advocates, and their fees were ſettled by law, and rated in each ſentence by the court.

The ſuperior council did not take cognizance of original actions. The reſpective and gradual juriſdiction of courts being much reſpected. They only determined the appeals of all the ſentences, either civil or criminal, of the inferior courts of common law and of admiralty, in their reſpective departments.

Independent of the privileges which are mentioned in other places of this review, the preſident, attorney-general, and counſellors, acquired perſonal nobility, after twenty years actual employment. This became tranſmiſſible and hereditary, if the ſon continued the profeſſion, and ſerved in it for the ſame time.

23. Police.

The general Police of the iſland belonged to the governor. But, here, by police, we underſtand the king's peace in each particular place, and the cognizance of ſummary diſputes, aſſaults and batteries of common people; the good order of taverns, of wine or ale-houſes, of inns, of gaming-houſes, and of common proſtitutes; the cleanneſs of ſtreets, the removal of filth and common nuiſance (*a*); the price of bread and meat; and the fitneſs of weights and meaſures in ſhops, markets, &c. This was the province of the judges, and king's attornies of the inferior courts in the towns; and of the *ſubſtitutes* in the pariſhes.

The latter had ſome other judicial functions, as the ſetting the ſeals of the court upon the effects of the deceaſed, before legal inventory was taken; and a proceeding like the *coroner's inqueſt*, in caſe of any

(*a*) Every morning, the ſtreets were ſwept and cleaned. At ſeven o'clock, public tumbrels took away the filth and rubbiſh; and then, if any nuiſance was found, a fine was levied upon the delinquent.

ſudden or violent death. All that was liable to the ſuperior juriſdiction of the attorney-general and high court.

24. Terms. The ſittings of the courts were not limited to fixed terms, nor were the judges itinerant, as thoſe of the courts of Weſtminſter.

Courts ſat regularly through the whole year; viz. the ſuperior councils thrice a week, except one month or ſix weeks in ſummer; the inferior courts had public ſittings every week, for one, two, or three days, as the buſineſs required; beſides private ſittings every day for ſummary queſtions, or for the trial of indictments and pleas of the crown. A few days reſt were allowed only at Chriſtmas and Eaſter.

25. Jails. As there were courts in every diſtrict, there were alſo Jails, where the civil and criminal priſoners were confined. To theſe were carried the runaway negroes, or negroes taken without paſſports. Theſe were chained together, and employed in public works till claimed, as alſo negroes ſentenced to perpetual or to temporary durance. Pounds for beaſts ſtrayed, or damage feaſant, were there alſo. The gaolers obſerved certain laws; the diſcipline of the jails followed ſettled regulations; and the judges, the attornies of his majeſty, and commiſſaries of the high court, had an inſpection, chiefly for the relief of the priſoners.

Some civil officers were alſo ſworn in, and dependent on the courts.

26. Notaries. Notaries Public were men ſkilled in the practice of law, and appointed to tranſact, more regularly, the deeds, wills, gifts, bargains of ſale, bonds, and other contracts between the ſubjects.

The original inſtrument was left as *record* in the notary's office; (and in latter times another was ſent to an office eſtabliſhed at Verſailles). The copies delivered to the parties were taken notice of by the courts

courts as authentic evidence. It was neceſſary that a ſecond notary, or two witneſſes, ſhould have aſſiſted in drawing up the inſtruments, as alſo to ſign them.

This was a convenient inſtitution, both for the preſervation of the inſtrument, and for thoſe who could not write; as notaries were to be found in every pariſh, and in all quarters of great towns. It was attended with other advantages.

As theſe deeds had a public character, and an undeniable date, they might indirectly affect perſons unacquainted with the tranſaction, though *res inter alios acta*. Suppoſe a horſe ſold by A. to C. and claimed by B. was the caſe.

As the *hypotheca* of the civil laws was admitted of in our conſtitution, the notary's record produced that hypotheca, (as well as the judgments of courts), ſo that the real eſtate of the obligee was liable to the debt, even in the hands of a poſterior purchaſer, as in thoſe of the obligee, his heir or deviſee.

27. Surveyors of Lands.

There was a Surveyor of Lands in every pariſh, a principal one in each diſtrict, and a general one in each grand department. Their principal functions have been already taken notice of. In the actions concerning property of lands, their inſpection and reports were methods of trial, after iſſue joined.

28. Of Roads.

Surveyors of Roads, appointed in the ſame places, had much the ſame authority concerning the tracing and opening of the new public and private roads, and the trial of queſtions relating to the ſame. They alſo rated, every five years, the proportional taſks of each planter, in the repair and maintenance of pariſh roads.

29. Of Weights & Meaſures.

There was alſo in every diſtrict or juriſdiction, a ſurveyor of Weights and Meaſures, who kept the ſtandards, verified the ſame, and brought information of frauds and deficiencies.

30. Parish Vicars.

The Parish Vicars might also be considered as civil officers. 1st, As they partook occasionally of the functions of public notaries, as to wills, when the notary was not at hand. 2dly, As they kept three public registers, where the baptisms, marriages, and burials were recorded. One copy remained at the church; one was yearly deposited at the office of the court; and the other was sent to the office at Versailles. The abstracts of those books, signed by the vicar or by the register of the court, were legal evidence of age, of death, of filiation and descent, in trials.

31. Public Administrators.

Lastly, I have mentioned the Public Administrators, or *guardians of vacant inheritances*.

In France, the inheritance of a man who died without heirs apparent, devolved on the lord by escheat (desherance). But, as many persons in the colonies had their natural heirs in France, five years were allowed to them, that they might have time to gain notice, and to put in their claims: So, where there was no executor appointed, the public guardian was vested, for the time, during which he was accountable to the heirs, and afterwards to his majesty, as lord of the island. The property was then sold; but the heirs could still claim the proceeds from the king. These officers were appointed by the superior councils (in every one of the ten districts) with proper securities, and were every year accountable to the same. This was one of the original privileges of those courts. These guardians must strictly conform to settled rules; and could perform the functions of attornies, in all the questions relating to their administration.

The guardians of *wards* were quite different; and his majesty had no interest in *their* property, as no feodal system was admitted in the colony.

32. Police Corps.

In the largest towns, a Corps of ministerial police was established, more or less considerable, for the

assist-

assistance of the principal officers in these their functions. It was composed of inspectors, *exempts*, brigadiers and serjeants. They were authorized to make summary records (procés verbal) of delinquencies, and thus bring information to the king's attorney; to arrest rioters, persons guilty of assault and battery, and thieves taken with mainour. They also were employed to summon the parties, or convey them to jail, when so ordered. They were appointed by the courts. They wore uniforms and arms.

		Livres.
Their pay was, independent of some perquisites and fines,	Inspectors, -	3,000 per ann.
	Exempts, -	1,500
	Brigadiers, -	1,000
	Serjeants, -	800

Marshalsea was another Corps, much of the same description, formed in aid of public justice, and serving on foot and on horseback. It was under the authority both of government and of the courts, which was indeed productive of some disputes. 33. Marshalsea

It was composed of brigades of five men, and a brigadier; an exempt, with the rank of lieutenant in the army, had the command of two brigades. A provost lieutenant, with the rank of captain, had the superior command in the whole department. A provost general, with the rank of major, but without pay, was only an honorary commander or inspector, and he had no functions relating to citizens. The brigades were stationed, less or more in number, in the towns and in some parishes.

Their functions were to watch over the general tranquillity and safety of the roads; to arrest malefactors, and negroes wandering without passports from their masters; to assist either in bringing the persons indicted to justice, or in the execution of civil and criminal judgments; lastly, to inforce the collection

lection of all direct taxes, and the execution of any warrants and orders from government or administration.

			Livres.
Their pay was,	Provost lieutenant,		2,000 per an.
	Exempts,	-	1,200
	Brigadiers,	-	900
	Privates,	-	600

They had also some perquisites, and were supplied with horses and cloathing.

The difficulty of composing properly these two corps (partly proceeding from the scantiness of their pay) was sensibly felt, but unavoidable in a country where every kind of honest industry enabled a common person to make considerable gain.

Such was the whole judicial system, before the year eighty-seven.

34. Actions. I now proceed to give a summary view of remedies against public or private injuries; and first of the latter.

Some were admitted by the operation of law, as *retainer* and *remitter*; some by the act of parties, as *accords* and *arbitrations*. But *reception* and *abatement of nuisance* were scarcely tolerated, from fear of *violence*.

Distresses and *replevins* were unknown. Only cattle trespassing, or *damage feasant*, were taken and carried to the public pound. A prize-money or forfeit was paid, though there were no damage: if there was damage, an action was open.

Government could not interfere in remedies of injuries, farther than in case of any trespass, nuisance, waste, or violent ejectment. The commanding officer was, then, bound to cause things to be re-instated, as far as possible, in their former order, and to direct the parties to sue for remedy in court.

For

For every injury there was certainly a remedy; but our actions were neither ſo multiplied, nor ſo preciſe and nicely diſcriminated, as in England.

Our actions were only divided into

Real actions, where the object was poſſeſſion or property of land. Theſe were again divided into *poſſeſſory* and *petitory* actions; and, where the plaintiff was *ouſted*, the defendant or ejector could not bring his petitory action (writ of right), till the prior action was decided, and ſatisfaction made. *Spoliatus ante omnia reſtituendus.*

Perſonal actions were actions of debt, actions for damages, for ſpecific ſatisfaction, and the like.

Laſtly, *mixed* actions were, where poſſeſſion and damages were ſued for, and in other ſimilar caſes. Some actions might be indirect, as action hypothecary againſt the purchaſer of an eſtate.

Actions were liable to limitations of time, the longeſt of which was forty years, when perſonal and hypothecary actions were joined againſt the ſame perſon, namely an heir to a real eſtate of the obligee. I have obſerved, that heirs and ſucceſſors were liable to debts, though not expreſſed in the obligation, but of right. *Gerunt perſonam defuncti.*

35. Original Writs.

It ſeems that, as the Engliſh common law has complicated the actions, and yet diſcriminated them with great nicety, it has been neceſſary that the clerks of chancery ſhould exert all their ſkill to find different *formulas* or writs appropriated to every one: but it ſeems alſo, that the taſk exceeded their ingenuity; as we ſee, on the one hand, that certain actions are employed in caſes to which they do not naturally belong, as *trover* and *converſion* inſtead of *retinue*, and *ejectment* inſtead of a *writ of right*; and, on the other hand, that the multiplicity of their writs being ſtill inadequate to all caſes, very extraordinary fictions have been introduced, and *the writ of treſpaſs on the caſe* has been contrived, as a general ſup-

ſupplement, to which ſometimes a *per quod* is annexed.

Our ſyſtem, on the contrary, was at once plain, free from fictions, adequate to all poſſible caſes, and ſeemed to reſemble exactly the actions *on the caſe*.

Writs of chancery were neceſſary in very few inſtances; which have been or will be hinted at occaſionally *(a)*.

In all caſes, a petition was given to the judge by the plaintiff, *ſtating the caſe*, and ſuing for *ſuch* and *ſuch* remedy, as poſſeſſion, property, payment, ſpecifick reſtitution, performance of any obligation or *damages:* and it is obſervable that, whereas, in many of the Engliſh actions, damages are the only remedy, though a more direct one might be given; *here*, damages were only given, either where no other remedy was attainable, or when a *per quod* was *collaterally* proved; as, when the plaintiff had ſuffered from ejectment, or non-performance of the contract: then, he obtained the principal ſatisfaction, as alſo damages; of which however the courts were very ſparing.

Upon the petition, the judge gave his warrant, that the defendant be ſummoned before him at a certain day.

36. Proceſs. The complication of Proceſs, the hardſhips of bails below and above, of diſtreſſes, attachments, capias, alias, plurias, and outlawries, were unknown and quite uſeleſs in our laws.

I cannot alſo help obſerving, that the liberty of the ſubject, which is ſo well guarded in the Britiſh conſtitution againſt prerogative, ſeems to be much trifled with by the common law; whereas, in France, the laws ſeemed to have ſhewn perſonal liberty the greateſt tenderneſs, perhaps in amends

(a) The councils ſuperior were authorized to grant thoſe writs, inſtead of the chancery.

for

for its being more open to arbitrary ſtretches of power. This inſtance and ſome others will illuſtrate this obſervation.

The defendant was ſummoned, in writing, by a bailiff, and a copy of the petition and warrant was given to him, or left at his houſe.

If he, or his attorney, did not appear on the day, default was given, with a continuance; and, then, if again he did not appear, judgment was given, if the action appeared well grounded. The ſentence was notified; and, eight days after, execution might be made of the defendant's property, and even he might be arreſted, in proper caſes.

But, during theſe eight days, the defendant might put in his *oppoſition*, by petition, againſt the judgment, which was then arreſted of right. In that plain method, the danger of execution was quite as efficacious to force the appearance, as even the hardſhip of an outlawry.

37. Writs of Chancery.

In the inferior courts, writs of chancery were only neceſſary where a deed had been cancelled, for the following cauſes: incapacity, proceeding from age, coverture, imbecility, violence, captation, and the like; if a real eſtate was ſold for leſs than half its value; if a copartner, or tenant in common, was wronged in a partition of the quarter or third of his ſhare.

Thoſe writs were termed letters of reſciſion; they directed the judge to give remedy, if the caſe was found to be truly ſtated. The formalities of petition, warrant, and proceſs, were the ſame.

38. Pleadings.

The cauſe, if not yet ready for determination, was *continued* from day to day; and, during this continuance, default or *nonſuit* might take place, but liable *once only* to oppoſition.

I ſuppoſe now that both parties were in earneſt.

If the queſtion was to be determined in public *audience*,

audience, the counſellors were reſpectively heard in their pleadings and replies, till iſſue was joined, or the judges enabled to determine.

If the queſtion depended on a complication of written evidence, as in diſputes of land, or in accounts, the pleadings were reciprocally carried on in writing (defence, rejoinder, rebutter, &c.); and, then, one of the judges made the report of the queſtion and proceedings, and the court, privately aſſembled, paſſed ſentence.

Pleas were ſpecial, or general and abſolute, declinatory *(a)*, dilatory, or peremptory. Pleas declinatory muſt have been propoſed *in limine litis*. Dilatory before the peremptory. If thoſe were found grounded, the cauſe was diſmiſſed to the competent judge, or the defendant releaſed for the preſent; otherwiſe there was a *reſpondeat ouſter*. I obſerve that the irregularities of *miſnomer* or *departure* and *pluſpetilio*, were little attended to. *Seofails* were of right. The party, before judgment, might *amend* his declaration, defence, and proceedings, as he pleaſed, though ſome *avowals* might become fatal.

The judgment might be interlocutory or final. In the firſt caſe a trial was uſually neceſſary.

39. Trials. Interlocutory judgment was ſeldom neceſſary, when the *iſſue* was upon *demurrer*.

If it was of fact, the modes of trial were by written evidence, or by witneſſes, (which dangerous method was much reſtricted). Agreements in writing were required upon every thing exceeding one hundred livres in value; and beyond it no oral evidence could be admitted of. Yet, in ſome inſtances of mere fact, where no writing could have been made, trial by witneſſes was unavoidable; and,

(a) When the court had no cognizance *ratione materiæ* or *ratione domicilii*. Seldom *ratione perſonæ*, as there was no privilege or *committimus*.

then,

then, two unequivocal were neceſſary. A commiſſary of the court was appointed for the trial, who recorded it; and the witneſſes might be challenged *propter incapacitatem, propter affectum, aut propter delictum.*

The ſecond method of trial was by inſpection, as of ſurveyors of lands or roads, or of artificers, or other perſons ſkilled in the object in queſtion, who made their report upon oath.

The laſt mode of trial was by *wager of law*, almoſt always of the defendant.

In all queſtions concerning infants or wards, the church, the public, the abſentees, or the king, the attorney of his majeſty *(a)* muſt neceſſarily give his opinion, either verbally or in writing, before Judgment could be pronounced. 40. Judgments.

After the trial, or if no trial was neceſſary, becauſe the iſſue was upon demurrer, judgment was given. It was written by the regiſter upon his books, a copy was delivered to the party, who cauſed it to be notified to the other, who appealed; or if there was no appeal, execution was made, if ſatisfaction was not inſtantly tendered.

In the High Courts, the proceedings were the ſame, except that a writ of appeal was taken by the appellor, or a writ of anticipation by the appellee, in conſequence of which the ſummons were notified. Here ſeven judges at leaſt were neceſſary, and a plurality carried the determination. If the appellor was again condemned, he was fined in twelve livres to the king. The coſts, in all actions, were adjudged to the party who was ſucceſsful; but never double or treble coſts. 41. In High Courts.

The methods of Execution of civil ſentences were the following: 42. Execution.

(a) He might alſo be plaintiff or defendant *ex officio.*

Here

Here our laws were ſtill tender of the perſonal liberty of the ſubject; for, ſo far from permitting a man to be arreſted in execution of judgment, on the contrary, if he had bound his perſon or body for a debt, his bond was void in that reſpect, where the laws had not expreſsly authorized it. The caſes ſpecified were bills of exchange, debts due to the public by receivers on account of their truſt, debts for leaſes taken in open court, when the clauſe was ſo ſpecified in the record, debts due to ſea trade by ſentences of admiralty courts, which the creditor might alſo execute *non obſtante appellatione*, giving ſecurity for it.

The other modes of execution were by ſeizure and ſale of the debtor's goods, furniture, money, jewels, cloaths, cattle, and negroe ſervants (ſome effects being however privileged) and by arreſt of his credits in the hands of his own debtors. The latter might alſo be proviſionally permitted, by the original warrant, for rents, or where the title was authentical.

Real eſtates might alſo be executed and ſold with the negroes and cattle upon them. But eſtates being of a very extenſive and complicated nature, the formalities of the execution were very nice and intricate; the proceſs, as being expenſive and difficult, was ſeldom ever attempted. Here it muſt be owned, that our ſyſtem ſeemed partial in favour of the planters. But the fault was rather aſcribable to the nature of things, than to the laws; and, in ſpite of that, trade was at leaſt as profitable as culture.

43. Arreſt of Judgment.

Judgments in the laſt reſort were never ſuſpended; but they could be reverſed in two manners:

1ſt. By the court itſelf, after letters of chancery taken (lettres de requete civile) when a formality of the law had been violated.

2dly.

2dly. By the ſovereign power of his majeſty in his council (voye the caſſation.)

In both inſtances, the intrinſick juſtice of the judgment was not conſidered. If it was reverſed by the flaws appearing on the face of the record, another trial, either in the ſame court, or in another court, would determine the queſtion. A time was limited. The execution of the judgment was not ſuſpended; but an action for damages, with a *per quod*, might lie, after the final judgment.

In the firſt inſtance, if the civil requeſt was rejected, the plaintiff paid a fine of four hundred and fifty livres to his majeſty.

44. Pleas of the Crown.

I ſhall make only ſome curſory remarks upon the proſecution, trial and judgment of indictments and preſentments, where the Britiſh laws juſtly boaſt of a great ſuperiority.

The party aggrieved might indeed bring an indictment, but only for damages; and the puniſhment of the public wrong was ſued for, only by the king's attorney and attorney-general.

In capital caſes, the perſon accuſed, of whatever condition, might be arreſted from the beginning; but, in indictments for miſdemeanours, a vagabond could be committed in an abrupt manner; a citizen only after ſummons and non-appearance.

In capital caſes, if the perſon accuſed abſconded upon a *non eſt inventus*, a kind of outlawry took place, and his whole eſtate was ſequeſtered. He was tried and judged by *contumacy*, and executed in *effigy*. But appearance reverſed the whole trial and attainder, and another trial was granted of right.

The form and manner of the trial ſeemed ſhocking. It was ſecret. The priſoner was allowed no council. He was interrogated in private, ſometimes too artfully. He had no copy of the proceedings and indictment. He was, indeed, *confronted* with the witneſſes; but he muſt challenge them, and make

his defence *extempore*. He was ſeldom permitted to bring evidence of his own; and his oath of *voyr-dire* was exacted, though his life was at ſtake.

But every amends poſſible was made to him on the judgment. The *body of the crime* muſt be conſtant. His own confeſſion could not condemn him. *Non auditur perire volens*. Suſpicion ſet a witneſs aſide. The ſmalleſt flaw in the proceedings made them void. Two witneſſes, univocal, *de viſu* and poſitive upon any overt act were neceſſary. The evidence was to be *luce meridianâ clarior*. A great majority of the judges was neceſſary, and the appeal was of right.

The rack (queſtion) had been ſuppreſſed by our good unhappy king Lewis XVI.

I ſhall throw a veil over the mode of execution, ſometimes ſhocking and unbecoming the *then* character of the nation.

His majeſty had the precious prerogative of granting pardon and reprieve.

Such was our whole judicial ſyſtem, calculated for cheapneſs, expedition, and ſafety.

45. Alteration in 1787.

In the year 1787, the miniſter was unfortunately betrayed into an inauſpicious Alteration. He was diſguſted at ſome inſtances of oppoſition, from the ſuperior council of the Cape, againſt an exceptionable law. A crafty attorney-general of Port-au-Prince took advantage of that diſpoſition, to encreaſe his own juriſdiction and profits; and a law was extorted, by which the two councils ſuperior were diſſolved, and one eſtabliſhed at Port-au-Prince, for the whole colony.

Independent of the former ſalaries, the judges and attorney-general were allowed large fees, *indirectly* paid by the parties. Public pleadings were ſuppreſſed; more expenſive proceedings in writing were adopted, and the queſtions were tried and determined in private.

To

To leſſen the inconveniences which were foreſeen, the inferior courts were allowed a final juriſdiction in cauſes not exceeding nine thouſand livres in value; and in judgments of life and limb againſt ſlaves. In conſequence, three aſſiſtant judges were added to thoſe courts, and were allowed both ſalaries and fees.

Severe conſequences were felt by the colony in general. The public expence of ſalaries was greatly augmented. The parties were charged with fees hitherto unknown. The proceedings in writing were more expenſive. Determinations were given in the dark, inſtead of being decided in fair open trials. Laſtly, poor ſlaves were attainted for life, without the relief of an appeal.

But, beſides thoſe general inconveniences, the north, from its diſtance, felt others more bitterly. The hardſhip of going ſixty or eighty leagues for juſtice, under a burning climate, and through a country little practicable; the danger of loſing papers and titles of property, when ſent by ſea; or if by the poſt, with an expence ſo conſiderable, that I know of a ſingle law-ſuit charged one thouſand livres on that very account.

Beſides, ſome alterations became indiſpenſible in the management of the municipal duty, which were additional grievances, and an abridgment of the franchiſes of that part of the iſland.

Thoſe innovations had a frightful effect. They offended the inhabitants of the north, and laid the ſeeds of diſcontent, which, in the beginning of the revolution, ſpeedily broke out into an open revolt, long before the reſt of the colony was diſturbed. Thus, a fooliſh people having ſeized upon all the powers of government, employed their firſt attempt in breaking thoſe new-fangled laws, and in re-eſtabliſhing the ſuperior council, a meaſure which (extravagant as it was in point of lawfulneſs) was

confirmed by both the national aſſembly and the king (12th October, 1790.)

To return to my ſubject: The ſalaries of the whole government, of the whole adminiſtration of the courts, of phyſicians, ſurgeons, and of all other civil officers, and the extraordinary expences relating to the ſame, were ſtated, in the public accounts, as follows:

			Livres.		
1786	-	-	1,569,046	12	2
1787	-	-	1,630,026	4	—
1788	-	-	2,143,547	6	7
1789	-	-	1,866,468	13	11
Total		-	7,209,088	17	8
Average		-	1,802,272	4	5

ART. IV. THE DIFFERENT ORDERS OF INHABITANTS AND THE POPULATION.

The principal diſtinction of our population was into that of freemen and ſlaves; and, among the free, into that of white men, and people of colour.

1. Whites. Among the White, the only legal diſtinction known, proceeded from the offices which certain ſubjects filled in the government, adminiſtration, or in the courts. Except in the execution of the reſpective functions, and in occupying a marked place at church, ſuch diſtinction was little felt in the uſual intercourſe of ſociety. In a rich country, where fortune was the chief aim of every individual, wealth had more real weight than even places of truſt and power.

On the other ſide, as it was a point of policy to render

render the white colour generally respectable, the common people of that description, though not upon a level with gentlemen, were still raised much above the rank they held in France, and were treated more upon a footing of equality.

Nobility (*a*) was not altogether unknown. Some few families had their titles registered in the records of the superior councils, which, however, could not be done without an express order from the minister, given after enquiry made, by the king's genealogist, into the genuinness of the titles; and, though titles are wantonly assumed by many creoles (a foolish fancy which seems rather to have encreased since the revolution) yet no gentleman could qualify himself so much, as to assume the title of esquire, in public deeds, except the actual officers of government, unless his family titles were properly registered. Laws existed, prohibiting, under severe penalties, any indulgence upon this point to notaries, recorders, vicars, and other public officers; but, even after this, these registered families had not any privilege over the other subjects worth being taken notice of.

The planters, undoubtedly, bore the first rank; and this was graduated according to their fortune and establishments. The most wealthy, however, seldom lived upon their estates, rather choosing to spend their fortunes in the luxuries and pleasures which the capital offered them. Their estates were in the mean time managed by attornies, honest perhaps, but poor and interested; the consequence of which was, that the colonial interest in the country, as well as in the towns, was in the hands of persons, who minded it very much less than the care of their own fortunes. Public spirit thus gave place to egotism and selfishness; and the influence

(*a*) Nobility here does not signify *Peerage*, which, in England, is the usual meaning of the word *nobility*. The acceptation is more general.

of the rich planters, which might perhaps have opposed, in some measure, the progress or the effects of the revolution, was entirely lost.

In general, political writers think of nothing so much as of a great population in a country. In a colony like Saint Domingo, every individual, who is not necessary or serviceable to culture, is a *nuisance*; and, where the principal works can only be carried on by slaves, a great population of whites is by no means necessary. Honest merchants, tradesmen, and artificers, ought to be encouraged and considered as next to planters; but idle men, as affording bad examples, and teaching corruption, should not be suffered. The colonial system was, no doubt, too indulgent in this respect. Multitudes of vagabonds, scattered over the island, when the revolution broke out, deluged the towns. Gangs of rioters appeared in swarms, as if from under the ground. They menaced and overawed the honest well-meaning citizens, and combined for the destruction of government, order, and of course of the colony itself.

2. People of Colour. By People of Colour are understood slaves emancipated, the several degrees of their offspring free by birth, as negroes, mulattoes, carteroons, mongrels, &c.

This class of people has been remarked to encrease, with a degree of rapidity far exceeding that of any other kind of population in the West Indies. They have an advantage of native assimilation with climate, over European whites; and of a life of less labour, of better feeding, and of certain other moral causes over the slaves; add to which, that they are recruited yearly by the incontinence of the whites, and by new emancipations.

Such an intermediate class of people, enjoying liberty and the rights of citizens, connected with slaves by the ties of blood and familiarity, with the

the whites by the more feeble bonds of gratitude, ought to have been an object of particular attention with the legiſlature. The laws which determined their political condition, ought to have been framed upon a thorough knowledge of the beſt colonial ſyſtem capable of exiſting. It might be expected that this ſyſtem would be revealed to the people by experience, in proceſs of time, and that opinions would conform to it, from the influence of intereſt, and of true political views; but, if thoſe opinions are at variance with the laws, union, ſubmiſſion, and public order, muſt be in danger.

Our laws were defective in this point, for this reaſon, that they were framed at a period too early. The firſt, namely, the edict of Lewis the Fourteenth, enacted, in the year 1685, the black code, when the French colonies were ſtill in the cradle; and the true colonial ſyſtem, unrevealed by experience, was a general regulation of police for thoſe new ſettlements. Among many other articles, it regulated the condition and uſage of the ſlaves; the liberty or power of emancipating, and the ſtate or condition of the individuals emancipated. It entitled ſuch, and ſtill more their offſpring, to all the franchiſes and privileges of other citizens, binding them only to pay great reſpect to their old maſters, and to the families of their maſters. Many articles of the civil law were adopted. The faculty of emancipating was granted to the maſters, in ſo abſolute and unlimited a manner, that even minors under age were not excepted; further, a ſlave appointed executor of his maſter, or guardian of his children, was emancipated of right at the ſame time: but the maſter who emancipated a ſlave, was not bound to make a proviſion for maintenance. A ſlave taken in wedlock by a free perſon, with the maſter's conſent, was emancipated of

right, and that privilege was extended to the baſtards of any wench; as, by the French laws, baſtards were legitimated *per ſubſequens matrimonium.* Though concubinage between the maſters and their ſlaves was prohibited (a proviſion, the execution of which is, in a great meaſure, beyond the reach of the magiſtrate) the maſter was formally permitted to marry his ſlave; at the ſame time, the property which the emancipated ſlaves and people of colour might acquire, by any title, was not limited; and thoſe born of the aforeſaid connexions, might inherit all the eſtates of their fathers. The French laws, indeed, reſtricted the bequeſts made to baſtards in general; but, as that reſtriction was not extended to conveyances *inter vivos*, and as ſtrangers could bequeath any thing to baſtards, the law was eaſily evaded, either directly by gifts, or indirectly by uſes and truſts, and by deeds of ſale. Thus, a maſter could emancipate all his negroes; he could marry his ſlave, and emancipate at once both her and her children, who became entitled to his inheritance. Any one could buy his concubine, and emancipate her and her offſpring by wedlock.

However, the mark impreſſed by nature upon people of colour, and the political neceſſity of keeping them in a ſtate of inferiority to the whites, which is univerſally adopted by all nations in their colonies, were felt and had their effect in the public opinion. At the ſame time, the numbers of emancipated ſlaves, and of the people of colour, multiplied at a prodigious rate. Their fortunes and their conſequential pride ill-ſuited with inferiority of condition. Some of them educated in France, had acquired all the accompliſhments which their natures, aſſiſted with every means of expence, were capable of receiving, and had imbibed a ſenſe of equality, in a free intercourſe there with perſons of rank. The neceſſity of amending the defects of a premature

premature law was felt, but a blind respect for the memory of its author, did not permit to annul it; and it was, perhaps, too late to strike the evil at the root.

The power of emancipating was abridged, upon the following principles: 1st. Emancipation was deemed to be the reward of honest service, not the salary of prostitution; the lot of faithful servants, not that of concubines and bastards. Besides, masters had only the right of giving up their property in the slave, but admission into the rank and privileges of citizens was a matter of prerogative, and the king's grant of liberty was necessary, as well as the master's manumission. 2dly. As to people of colour, the courts adopted, more strictly, the system of abridging the bequests made to bastards, in the limits of mere maintenance or annual alimony. 3dly. Several regulations, also, declared the people of colour unqualified for the military rank of officers, and for civil employments of power and trust. They were forbidden to take the surnames of the white families to which they had originally belonged; and they must, in their deeds and actions, assume the qualifications indicative of their degree of colour.

The first provision was easily evaded by the partiality of the fathers. Then the governor and intendant for the time being, (1776) fancied that a large discretionary tax laid upon the emancipations would be an effectual check; but it only served to shut the gate against poor honest servants, who could not afford the tax; but left it open to concubines and bastards, who wanted not the means to pay it. Nay, the tax and lawful emancipation were evaded by very shameful practices. Some vagabond was bribed to marry the wench, and to legitimate the bastards, and after wedlock was no more heard of. The second provision was but a very inadequate check to the wealth of people of colour.

colour. The laſt was more effectual; but it had a very bad effect. As the law of 1685 was never aboliſhed, the people of colour always looked back to it. They conſidered all abridgments of the privileges granted by it, as an inconſiſtency and a grievance; and their diſſatisfaction prepared them for that monſtrous part which they have acted in the revolution.

Upon the whole, one cannot help obſerving, that the frame and conſtitution of our colonies muſt be delicate, when the mixture of our population, and the regard to their ſafety, beget political principles, and require poſitive laws, in direct contradiction to the paſſions and natural affections of men. This is perhaps a lurking ſeed of deſtruction, which cannot fail to germinate ſooner or later, if all the wiſdom of the legiſlator is not from the beginning, and without intermiſſion, applied to keep it under. It is indiſputable, that people of colour muſt be kept in a ſtate of inferiority, with which great property is, here, more inconſiſtent than any where elſe. It may only be allowed, that it is by no means neceſſary or proper, that it be perpetual from generation to generation. When nature has waſhed out from their countenances all the marks of their origin, laws ſhould then ceaſe to diſtinguiſh, and they ſhould be generally conſidered as whites, to all intents and purpoſes; a proviſion, the advantages of which would be as material as they are obvious.

I return to the ſyſtem exiſting before 1789.

On the one hand, the people of colour were liable to no diſcrimination, for redreſs of private injuries, and in the proſecution of miſdemeanours and crimes, for or againſt; and however natural it might be for judges to be prejudiced in favour of their own colour, they made no difference. On the other hand, people of colour were kept at great diſtance by planters aud inhabitants of education;

but they were treated by them with indulgence and even civility. They were, in general, alſo themſelves very ſeldom wanting either in reſpect towards perſons of that deſcription, or in obedience to government, and even in zeal for the public ſervice; and being confined to mechanical trades, a great number became very uſeful by their induſtry and vigilance. If they ſuffered any ill uſage, it was from the loweſt claſs of whites, who, after entering into familiarity with them, and often living at their expence, were apt to claim their ſuperiority, and to exert it with inſolence, if any diſpute happened. I ſhall mention again the people of colour, in the article concerning the militia.

The Slaves of all colours were the loweſt claſs of our population. The laws allowed them no civil right. Whatever they poſſeſſed was ſtrictly their maſter's property, though the maſters were, in that reſpect, more indulgent than the law. The redreſs of their injuries, was rather a right belonging to the maſters than their own; but, in criminal indictments, they were tried exactly as the whites, chiefly before the laws of 1787, which I have mentioned. 3. Slaves.

What I have ſaid in the 4th chapter of this work, will make any further details on the uſage they met from their maſters unneceſſary. However, ſome general obſervations may be taken notice of.

Much has been ſaid againſt ſlavery in latter times; and great debates have been carried on by writers, upon the queſtion, *whether negroes and ſlaves can or cannot be diſpenſed with, in our ſettlements in the Weſt Indies?* I believe that the beſt reaſonings, as well as local and hiſtorical knowledge, have aſcertained the following points; and it may be boldly aſſerted, that the fatal trials made ſince the French revolution, ſet them beyond contradiction.

1ſt. The colonies are a ſource of wealth and of articles

articles of consumption, which the European powers and nations can no longer dispense with.

2dly. The tropical climates are such, that no other men, than negroes, can bear the hardships of culture in those settlements.

3dly. The habitual and local wants of our negroes are so limited, the country affords them with such abundance and facility, their natural indolence is so great, that it is only in a state of slavery that any labour, or at least sufficient labour, may be exacted from them.

It has been imagined by some, that the plough might be employed in the culture of the sugar-cane with great advantage; and, ignorant of the nature of our estates, they have fancied that, by means of it, a number of hands, chiefly slaves, might be saved.

The use of the plough is known in our culture. It has been employed in sugar estates, usefully, in breaking stiff grounds, and in making the work of digging and planting more easy; and there is little doubt but, had it been capable of being carried further, it had been so; as our planters are by no means unskilful or unattentive in sparing hand labour: but canes require to be planted in wide deep holes, which the plough cannot make. The labour of weeding, (in a country where wild vegetation is exuberant) and the immense toil of the crops and manufacture, would still require the same number of hands; for then every other work is suspended.

Besides, writers have only considered the cultivation of the sugar-cane, without attending to the other cultures; though, in fact, as necessary, and more extensive and profitable. Yet after what I have said in this work, I have no need to prove that the service of the plough is impracticable in our mountains, and in our works, where the crops and

weedings

weedings require alſo ſpeedy work and numerous hands.

Thoſe points ſettled, it only remains to provide, that the uſage of ſlaves be as humane as poſſible, without impairing their dependance and ſubmiſſion.

I am far from boaſting of any ſuperiority, in this reſpect, on the ſide of French planters. However, the Author of the Inquiry into the Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations, (who here cannot be ſuſpected of national partiality,) allows there is; and his remarks, upon the influence of different governments, are judicious. It is exactly true, that the power of the maſter lies here under the controul of the courts, and of the governor; and that expreſs laws, even in latter times, had reſtricted it within proper bounds.

However, though preſentments have been brought and proſecuted againſt maſters, in very heinous inſtances, even ſo late as in 1787, that check was very ſeldom put in practice, leſt ſubmiſſion ſhould be impaired.

But more obvious and gentle cauſes had produced great effect. It is certain that, in early times, the uſage was much harder. But as the principles of humanity have gained ground, as the planters have become more eaſy in their circumſtances, as the market price of negroes has gradually riſen to an exceſſive height, the condition of ſlaves has become more and more comfortable. Since that period, alſo, their ſervice has been more hearty, the annual population has been encreaſed. This was an additional encouragement to good uſage; and, by degrees, things came to that ſituation which I have faithfully deſcribed; a ſituation, by far happier than the natural ſtate of the negroes in their own country; a ſituation (I beg leave to add) in many

reſpects

respects preferable to that of most of the poor peasants of Europe.

I have already observed, that the submission of our slaves, and the tranquillity of our island, were never disturbed, which was not the case in other colonies. I have also hinted at one essential cause of that difference, the form of our government exactly resembling the œconomy of our estates. The uniting of humanity and steadiness in domestick discipline, with great strictness and rigour in publick police, was another cause of great effect. The great towns are, in general, sources and schools of corruption. If the magistrate is remiss and negligent, if drunkenness, mobs, riots, saucinesſ of negroes, are suffered in towns; while in plantations discipline is overstrained, and usage hard; even if they are steady, as they ought to be, submission and tranquillity must needs be precarious.

4. Population. It remains (to make this article complete) to give an idea of the whole Population of the island, at different periods, and in its principal divisions, as far as it may be ascertained by the public returns.

Whites	1784	20,229
	1788	27,717
	1789	30,831

N. B. The troops, artillery, marshalsea, police corps, mariners belonging to French trade, coasters, and people who, having no negroes, gave no returns, were not included in the above number.

People of colour	1784	13,257
	1788	21,848
	1789	24,848

N. B. A still greater number, who had no property or negroes, are not included, no return being given.

Slaves

Slaves - - -	1784 - -	297,079
	1788 - -	405,528
	1789 - -	434,429

N. B. It muſt not be imagined, that this ſeeming great encreaſe of population was altogether real. Some planters had the indelicacy to ſcreen a part of their negroes, and that cheat was, in a great meaſure, prevented by the vigilance and ſeverity of M. De Marbois, the laſt intendant, a man of great capacity and zeal for the public good; ſo that it muſt be taken only that the laſt returns were more accurate, though not yet entirely ſo.

Upon the beſt probabilities, the population of the colony in the year 1789, may be ſuppoſed to have been about

1789. - - -	Whites - -	40,000
	People of colour	32,000
	Slaves - -	500,000

Now the following is the comparative review of population, in the three great departments or diviſions of the colony, after the returns.

1789. -	Whites—	Weſt	- 12,798	30,831.
		North	- 11,996	
		South	- 6,037	
1789.	People of colour -	Weſt	- 12,962	24,848.
		North	- 5,410	
		South	- 6,476	
1789. -	Slaves—	Weſt	- 192,961	434,429.
		North	- 164,656	
		South	- 76,812	

N. B. The general population in the ſouth was comparatively ſmall. That of the people of colour

was

was much leſs in the north. It is alſo certain, that theſe were individually richer in the weſt and ſouth, than in the north.

Art. V.—Revenue and Taxes.

Among the revenues, there exiſted ſome which were merely contingencies of prerogative. Others were real taxes, either direct or indirect. Some of theſe were appropriated to the general expences of the colony, ſome to the private expences of the grand departments, and ſome only to the expences of a pariſh. Laſtly, ſome public receipts were of a peculiar nature, neither revenue nor taxes, but only depoſits for certain deſtined purpoſes. I ſhall more circumſtantially explain this diviſion of revenue, as ſtated in the colonial accounts, for the four years preceding the revolution; and firſt,

Section I.—*Prerogative Revenues.*

1. Demeſne Rights.

The rights of demeſne were inherent in the prerogative of his majeſty, either as king or as lord of the iſland. But he had moſt graciouſly reſigned them to the uſe of the colony.

They conſiſted of eſtrays, fines, wrecks, treaſures troves, forfeitures of attainder, eſcheats of inheritances of aliens *(a)*; of inteſtate baſtards, and of men abſolutely without heirs, and alſo inteſtate.

A receiver was appointed by the intendant for five years, in each of the ten juriſdictions. He was accountable to the intendant; but he was alſo

(a) Droit d'Aubaine. In France, ſeveral treaties made with foreign nations had exempted them. But, when they had no colonies, that exemption was not extended to this iſland. Naturalization and legitimation were in the king's prerogative. Aliens naturalized could not ſtrictly be agents for trade, but this was not much attended to in practice. Baſtards were not legitimated to all intents and purpoſes, without the expreſs conſent of the lawful heirs of the father and mother.

ſworn

ſworn in and bound to give proper ſecurities for his receipts in the Kings courts.

The charges againſt the monies of demeſne, were the debts and coſts of eſcheated and forfeited inheritances, and other coſts; the ſmall commiſſion or ſalary of the receiver; the maintenance of jails; the price of eſtrayed cattle or runaway negroes, claimed within the limited time by the owners, the ſame having been previouſly ſold, at a limited time, at public auction in court; alſo ſeveral expences for the adminiſtration of juſtice, particularly as indictments, were proſecuted at the king's charge.

N. B. This receiver was intruſted with another receipt not very conſiderable, appropriated to keep in repair the houſes where the courts ſat. It was levied, at the rate of two per cent. upon the price of negroes, cattle, and other things ſold at public auction, at the bar of the inferior courts.

	(a) Receipts.			Expences.			Surplus.		
	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.
1786 } 1787 }	560,358	0	2	526,053	3	9	34,340	16	5
1788	780,301	12	10	702,382	2	5	77,919	10	5
1789	808,364	6	7	766,115	9	11	42,248	16	8

I have already mentioned the tax laid upon emancipations. A ſingle receiver for the whole colony was appointed by the intendant, to whom he was accountable, and bound to give ſecurity. 2. Emancipation Fund.

	Slaves emancipated.		Taxes.
In the years	1785	534	Unknown.
	1786	365	£. 523,425
	1787	273	463,025
	1788	297	547,892
	1789	256	465,266
		1725	

(a) In this and in all the following receipts, the ſurpluſes of the preceding years are included.

From this fund were paid the penſions allowed by government, for encouragement of population, of 1,200 livres a year to the white fathers of twelve living children, and of 1,000 livres to the people of colour; ſome gratuities and indemnities; ſome expences of public works, as fountains, &c. the botanical garden eſtabliſhed at Port-au-Prince, &c.

	Receipts.			Expences.			Surplus.		
	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.
1786 } 1787 }	1,402,502	7	4	1,350,859	11	10	51,642	15	6
1788	654,908	10	8	651,249	9	2	3,659	1	6
1789	717,396	6	6	711,169	16	5	6,226	10	1

3. General Fund.

There was a ſingle general ſtock of demeſne, where a receiver was appointed by the intendant, and accountable to him, and where the following receipts were lodged:

1ſt. All the ſurplus of the preceding monies.

2dly. The rents of all the royal ferry boats, and of the principal ſhambles, when let to farm at public auction.

3dly. The rent of poſtage. The poſt office was farmed at home, and managed here, for the farmer's account, under the inſpection of the intendant.

4thly. The rent of the playhouſe at Port-au-Prince, belonging to his majeſty. That at the Cape was the property of a private gentleman.

5thly. The proceeds from the ſale of inheritances, managed by the public adminiſtrators, not claimed within five years; but the proceeds ſtill claimable by the heirs at law, if there were any.

The expences were, ſome particular ſalaries, ſome public works, the proceeds of inheritances claimed by heirs, the expences of poſtage, of printing, of paper, books, quills, &c. for the offices of adminiſtration

niſtration and government, and ſome caſual advance to the ſeveral receivers of demeſne.

	Receipts.			Expences.			Surplus.		
	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.
1786 } 1787 }	1,239,836	19	9	1,079,950	19	7	159,886	0	2
1788	1,171,293	0	7	1,131,658	1	11	39,634	18	8
1789	667,773	13	8	663,033	7	3	4,740	6	5

SECTION II.—*Depoſites.*

I ſhall, in a more proper place, give the hiſtory of the foreign trade of St. Domingo. Some particular cuſtoms were levied upon it, for importations and exportations; and there was, in each of the three principal places, where foreigners were admitted, a receiver of the ſame, appointed by the intendant, and accountable to him, together with two commiſſioners of the ſuperior council. 4. Foreign trade or entrepot Fund.

The expences of this fund were the ſalaries of different officers, employed at the office or cuſtom houſe eſtabliſhed for this purpoſe; and the ſurplus was remitted home, for certain premiums, for the encouragement of French importation of ſalted fiſh; ſo that this fund was only a depoſite.

	Receipts.			Salaries.			Remittances.		
	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.
1786	250,553	14	0	95,085	8	4	155,468	5	8
1787	291,178	1	5	99,323	12	6	191,854	8	11
1788	459,079	14	3	112,397	6	0	446,682	8	3
1789	576,715	9	6	177,698	10	8	459,016	18	10

When a maſter carried with him, or ſent, a ſlave to France, he was bound to conſign, into the hands of the treaſurer of the marine fund, three thouſand 5. Conſignment Money.

livres, as a ſecurity, forfeitable, if the ſlave did not return in a limited time. If he returned, the ſum was reimburſed.

	Receipts.	Reimburſements.	Surplus
	L.	L.	L.
1786 } 1787 }	153,600	70,500	82,500
1788	184,500	81,000	103,500
1789	256,500	100,000	156,500

6. Invalids. There was a ſtoppage of four deniers per livre, upon all military pay and ſalaries paid out of the marine fund (which I am going to mention) for the ſupport of invalid ſoldiers and mariners in the king's ſervice, and which was remitted home.

	Receipts.			Remittances.		
	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.
1786	204,766	1	9	204,766	1	9
1787	211,041	1	4	211,041	1	4
1788	153,131	1	2	153,131	1	2
1789	175,103	14	3	175,103	14	3

7. Seamen. When any French trading ſhip was diſmantled in the iſland, the wages due to the crew were ſettled, and depoſited in the hands of the commiſſary charged with that department, to be ſent home to the harbours the ſhips belonged to, where the payments were made.

	Receipts.			Remittances.		
	L.	S.	D	L.	S.	D.
1788	430,972	9	11	430,972	9	11
1789	97,312	11	10	97,312	11	10

SECTION

SECTION III.—*Taxes of general Application.*

Now I proceed to explain the general taxes, either direct or indirect.

It was a leading principle, in the ſyſtem of the French government, that the fiſcal hand ſhould not be heavy upon colonies of the nature of St. Domingo; that an excluſive trade, and the demand of home manufactures, a benefit of immenſe profit, were the only advantage which the mother country ſhould derive from them; and that the only means of ſupporting that trade and thoſe manufactures, were to encourage colonial culture, by all the means of indulgence and protection in the power of government. Upon this principle, the colony was not taxed farther than was ſtrictly neceſſary for interior expence; and, even that theſe taxes ſhould be leſs burthenſome, the modes of aſſeſſment and collection were left at her own determination. Nay, extraordinary expence, or expence which was not ſtrictly interior, as reinforcements of troops neceſſary in time of war, and the expences of the naval ſtation, were at his majeſty's charge, and paid by draughts or bills of exchange, drawn by the treaſurer, with the intendant's approbation, upon the royal treaſure. It was to make up that charge, ſometimes very conſiderable, that a duty (*droit de domaine d'occident*) and an additional duty, amounting together to ſeven and a half per cent. were levied upon the produce of the colony entering into the mother kingdom; a tax, indeed, ultimately ſupported by the planter, but ſo indirect, that it was either not felt or not regarded. 8. Fiſcal ſyſtem.

The colonial tax was ſingle, ſo that the ſyſtem was as ſimple as it could be. It was called *octroi*, a word implying ſome kind of franchiſe, as it ſtrictly means a *grant* made by the colony to his majeſty, for the ſupport of her own expences. 9. Octroi.

10. Its Statement.

Every five years, the expenditures of St. Domingo were laid before his majesty by the intendant, and through the minister. A writ or *memoir*, calculated upon the general list of expences, was sent both to the intendant and to the governor, stating the tax desired by his majesty, and ordering them to convene the colonial assembly for the assessment, and to regulate the mode of collection after their own manner.

11. Colonial Assembly.

That assembly was not one of the democratical kind, which God forbid! nor elective, which would have been inconsistent with the form of our government. It was composed of persons who had a right to be members by their places; *viz.* the governor and intendant, the three commanders and commissaries in chief of the three grand departments, the two attornies generals, and two members of each of the superior councils, and lastly, the twelve chief or senior commanders of the militia of the parishes, who were also respectable planters. The recorder of one of the courts served as secretary of the assembly.

12. Assessment.

The list of the general expences, the king's *memoir*, the returns of all the produce of the colony with the current prices, the returns of all the houses in the different towns, stating their annual rents, and several other pieces of information, were produced to the assembly, and, after due examination and free debates, the assessment and mode of collection were settled. An act was passed, which was proclaimed and recorded in the courts, as law; the execution was in the intendant's province.

13. In 1776.

The last assembly was held in the year 1776. The tax desired by his majesty was *five millions currency*; and the following assessment was calculated (as it ought to be) to give a small overplus:

Clayed

Clayed ſugar muſcovado -	36 livres	per 1,000 Wgt.
Brown ſugar - -	18 -	per D°
Coffee *(a)* - -	18 -	per D°
Indigo - - -	10 ſols	per pound.
Cotton - - -	2 ſols 2 den.	per D°
Rum or tafia - -	6 livres	per hogſhead.
D° - - -	12 -	per pipe.
Melaſſes - -	3L. 15s.	per hogſhead.
D° - - -	7, 10s.	per pipe.
Raw leather - -	2 -	per hide.
Tanned D° - -	1 -	per half hide.

In all thoſe articles, the law was indirect. It was direct in the following, as will be ſeen in the mode of collection.

The rents of houſes in the towns	2½ *per Cent.*
The ſlave ſervants, or ſlave artificers, or thoſe belonging to eſtates or manufactures, the products of which were not exportable, as gardens and proviſion grounds, lime, brick, and potter kilns, and the like,	3 dollars each

The principles upon which that aſſeſſment was made were, 14. Its Principles.

That no taxes ſhould be laid upon importations becauſe they really (though indirectly) affect the people, who, having no property, live from honeſt uſeful induſtry, a ſet of men who ought to be encouraged.

That, in the ſyſtem admitted of, the tax bears only upon the true wealth, namely, the produce of land and property, and thus, is the moſt equal and proportionate. A land tax, for inſtance, or a tax upon the negroes, has not the ſame advantage. The difference of ſoil is ſo great, that an eſtate of double extent and number of negroes and cattle, and managed with the ſame ſkill, will often yield

(a) Cacao was not taken notice of. It pays as coffee. That produce is very inconſiderable.

much leſs than another, with half the premiſes of the former; ſo that the ultimate criterion of fortune, and of poſſibility of bearing the public taxes, is the annual income.

That the collection, as will be ſeen, was the moſt eaſy and certain that could be deviſed.

Laſtly, one part of the tax was direct indeed, *viz.* that upon the houſes and negroes; but the greateſt part was indirect. The planter, who did not diſburſe it, never minded it, and the merchant, who paid it, made his purchaſe ſo as to make the tax fall (as it ought to do) upon the planter, who ſold the commodity.

That there was no aſſeſſment made, ſince the year 1776, may appear irregular; but it was conſidered that no better ſyſtem could be contrived; and, as commodities increaſed, ſince that time, in quantities, the duty was found ſufficient, though the expences were rather augmented, and no neceſſity of a new ſtatement and aſſeſſment was felt. However, it muſt be owned, that though no alteration was neceſſary in the ſtatement, yet new aſſeſſments, every five years, might have been proper, as the reſpective proportion of different commodities muſt have varied in a long period, and as a great number of houſes had been built, which might have been rated much higher than their actual eſtimated rents. But, where the tax was at leaſt equal to the wants, the poſſibility of enhancing it was little attended to.

15. Collection. There was a receiver of thoſe duties in each of the ten juriſdictions, appointed for five years by the ſuperior councils, upon oath, and with proper ſecurities. They were accountable to the intendant, with two members of the court delegated by it.

The method of raiſing the duties was eaſy and plain.

That

That upon produce was paid at the embarkation. The mafter of the ſhip produced his bill of lading, at the bottom of which the receiver acquitted the duty. At home, the bill and cargo were ſtrictly verified (on account of the occident demeſne duty) and if any thing was found not diſcharged here, he paid the duty double for the fraud.

It muſt be obſerved, that when, in times of dearth, the foreign ſhips were permitted *pro tempore* to import flour and bread, and to export the chief colonial products, they were liable both to the duty of which I am now ſpeaking, and to the occident demeſne duty paid in France by national ſhips. Their bills of lading were verified by the ſearchers, and all theſe duties were paid into the hands of the receivers of octroi.

As to the duty upon houſes; previous to the aſſembly, a roll was made by commiſſioners of the ſuperior councils, wherein all the houſes and the rents were ſtated, either by the inſpection of the leaſes, or by eſtimates. A copy of the roll was delivered to the receiver, that he might collect the duty agreeably thereto.

As to the negroes, I have already mentioned the annual returns which all the inhabitants were bound to give of their properties *(a)* and families, with certain formalities and precautions. A copy alſo of the general recapitulation of thoſe returns was given to the receiver, that he might collect the duty upon ſuch negroes as were liable to it.

Upon proclamation, the inhabitants were obliged to go and pay the direct duties at the receiver's office in a limited time; and thoſe who did not were compelled by the authority of the ſuperior council, under ſtated penalties.

(a) See alſo the article concerning the militia, Art. 9. No. 5.

Here

Here a remarkable proof of the economy of our *then* adminiſtration may be produced. The whole amount of the ſalaries of the ten receivers was 34,200 livres; but they were allowed a ſmall gratuity from each ſhip diſcharged, from four to eight dollars, in proportion of the tonnage.

The whole duty of exportations amounted, in

	L.	S.	D.
1786, - -	6,018,556	0	0
1787, - -	6,313,469	16	4
1788, - -	6,924,167	19	11
1789, - -	6,340,743	6	10
Total,	25,596,937	3	1
Average,	6,399,234	5	9

The *annual* duty upon the houſes and negroes cannot be aſcertained with the ſame preciſion, as the collection was not ſo punctual. The following are the receipts made upon the current and the preceding years:

	L.	S.	D.
1786, - -	296,[illegible]37	8	3
1787, - -	34[illegible]5	15	10
1788, - -	957,1[illegible]	5	8
1789, - -	478,532	13	4
Total,	2,076,474	3	1
Average,	519,118	10	9

		L.	S.	D.
Average of octroi,	Exportations,	6,399,234	5	9
	Houſes and negroes,	519,118	10	5
	Total,	6,918,352	16	6

Here

Here there was no expence, but the ſmall ſalary of the receivers.

However accurate the preceding ſtatements are, I muſt not omit to mention, that there is, in the hands of the preſent Britiſh commiſſary general, a return (given him, by whom I do not know), which ſtates the taxes upon exportations, in 1788, at 7,781,641 l. 11 ſols. 2 d.; but I am ſatisfied it is not correct. As to exportations it muſt, however, be underſtood, that, in ſpite of every attention and vigilance, ſome produce was ſmuggled out, without paying the duty, chiefly by the Americans.

The general money of octroi was lodged, by all the receivers, in the marine fund, that is, in the hands of an agent of the general treaſurers of his majeſty's navy. This perſon was appointed by them, and had a deputy in each of the two other grand departments, the Cape and the Cayes, accountable to him. This treaſurer was accountable to the intendant, and to the general treaſurers, liable to the reviſal of the exchequer (chambre des comptes) at home. 16. Marine Fund.

Funds lodged in that Depot.

Ordinary receipts: all the octroi duties collected by the receivers.

Extraordinary receipts: arrears and debts due to his majeſty, rents of his houſes, ſales made in the king's ſtores of things damaged, ſtoppages of pay to ſoldiers while they were at the hoſpitals, ſtoppages for the invalids, &c.

Laſtly, the money proceeding from bills of exchange

change drawn upon the treasurers general of the navy, which were,

		L.	S.	D.
1787,	- -	1,314,670	18	8
1788,	- -	1,053,105	10	4
1789,	- -	1,829,907	3	1

Expences.

Ordinary: of fortifications, buildings and repairs; of purchases of different kinds; of salaries of military, administrative, judicial, civil, and other officers; of pay, maintenance, rations, cloathing, hospital, and other expences relating to the troops, and the like.

Extraordinary: gratuities, indemnities, and charities; hire of houses, barracks, lodgings, expences of offices; the naval station; reinforcements of troops in time of war, and the like.

The general receipts, the former surplus included, and the expences, both ordinary and extraordinary, were,

	General Receipts.			General Expences.			Surplus.		
	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.
1786 -	9,228,398	4	7	9,075,403	11	5	152,994	13	2
1787 -	9,310,439	18	5	8,528,273	13	0	935,160	5	5
1788 -	10,838,351	0	4	9,448,188	4	0	1,390,162	16	4
1789 -	12,316,842	13	4	10,827,259	12	6	1,489,583	0	10

It must be observed, that the amount of the receipts, in these four years, exceeded much the taxes and usual revenue. But this consisted partly of arrears accumulated by the neglect of former intendants, and collected by the uncommon skill and vigilance of M. de Marbois, the last intendant, who was thus enabled to make several establishments of great

great ſervice, convenience, and embelliſhment, as public roads, bridges, fountains, keys, &c.

The following is the General Recapitulation of all receipts, expences, and ſurpluſes, of the different funds. 17. General Recapitulation.

1786—1787.	Receipts.			Expences.			Surpluſes.		
	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.	L.	S.	D.
Marine Fund, -	18,538,837	9	10	17,603,677	4	5	935,160	5	5
General D° -	1,239,836	19	9	1,079,950	19	7	159,886	0	2
Emancipation D°	1,402,502	7	4	1,350,859	11	10	51,642	15	6
Domain D° -	560,358	0	2	526,053	3	9	34,304	16	5
	21,741,834	17	1	20,560,540	19	7	1,180,993	17	6
1788.									
Marine Fund, -	10,838,351	0	4	9,448,188	4	0	1,390,162	16	4
General D° -	1,171,293	0	7	1,131,658	1	11	39,634	18	8
Emancipation D°	654,908	10	8	651,249	9	2	3,659	1	6
Domain D° -	780,301	12	10	702,382	2	5	77,919	10	5
	13,444,854	4	5	11,933,477	17	6	1,511,376	6	11
1789.									
Marine Fund, -	12,316,842	13	4	10,827,259	12	6	1,489,538	0	10
General D° -	667,773	13	8	663,033	7	3	4,740	6	5
Emancipation D°	717,396	6	6	711,169	16	5	6,226	10	1
Domain D° -	808,364	6	7	766,115	9	11	42,248	16	8
	14,510,377	0	1	12,967,578	6	1	1,542,798	14	0

N. B. Foreign trade, conſignment, invalid and mariners funds, are not mentioned, as being only depoſites, with particular deſtinations.

SECT. 4.—*Taxes of particular Application.*

I now proceed to mention the taxes of a particular application; and firſt, thoſe applied to the interior expences of each grand department, under the 18. Municipal Duty.

the name of *municipal duty*. Here the adminiſtration was entirely in the hands of the reſpective ſuperior councils, in conſequence of their ancient privileges.

They appointed a receiver for the whole diviſion, for five years, with proper ſecurities, and they took his oath of good conduct. The receiver was excluſively accountable to the court.

This was a tax laid upon all the ſlaves in general, and the court rated it, now and then, according to the exigencies. It never was under twenty ſols, and ſeldom above thirty ſols, per head. As the accounts of that adminiſtration were never publiſhed, the whole amount of the tax may only be aſcertained by the population of the negroes, ſtated in the fourth article, No. 4.

The expences were, the marſhalſea and police corps; an indemnity of 1200 l. paid to maſters, for their ſlaves attainted of felony; the ſalaries of the agent and two ſecretaries of the boards of agriculture; and ſome expences of the ſuperior councils, as a chaplain, a keeper, &c.

I ſhall mention the mode of collection immediately.

19. Pariſh Taxes.

Pariſh taxes were of a nature and application ſtill more limited, *viz.* for the maintenance of the vicar, the ordinary repairs of the church, churchyard, and vicar houſe, the ſmall charges of divine worſhip. They conſiſted alſo of a poll tax upon negroes, rated and aſſeſſed by the aſſembly of the freeholders (at leaſt thirteen in number), and levied by the church warden, aſſiſted with the authority of the courts. The church warden was accountable to his ſucceſſor, and to ſome commiſſioners of the pariſh, liable to the reviſal and compulſion of the king's attorney.

When any extraordinary expence was reſolved upon, as building a church or vicar houſe, expenſive repairs of both, or ſome other pariſh expences (ſuppoſe

pose a bridge), the determination of the meeting could not be executed, before it was approved, after due examination, by the governor and intendant, and their warrant duly registered in court.

For the sake of economy, while the church warden collected the parish taxes, he also raised the municipal duty, for which he was accountable to the receiver.

In the alteration made in the judicial system in 1787, the government united these two taxes, which were rated together at 3l. per each negro. The *then* single superior council of St. Domingo had the management of both. The salaries of the vicars were fixed with scandalous niggardliness, as well as the expences of worship. Thus, the freeholders were deprived of the direction of their own private affairs. However, the church wardens were still charged with the collection, and obliged to account at Port au Prince, from the most distant parishes. A commission, indeed, was allowed them, which they, in general, refused with scorn; and this innovation, and breach of privilege, was a further ground of disgust.

Thus, I have explained all the taxes paid by the inhabitants, or rather by the men of property, in St. Domingo. How light they were, will appear from the account I am going to give of the produce of the principal cultures of the colony.

ART. VI. CULTURE AND PRODUCE.

The French part of St. Domingo is comprehended between 18° 3′, and 19° 57′ of north latitude, and between 71° 45′, and 74° 26′ of west longitude, from the meridian of London. Its figure is very irregular, being deeply indented by the great bay of Port-au-Prince, between Cape Nicholas Mole and Cape Donamaria. 1. Extent of the colony.

The

The division of the west is about 108 miles in length, from Gros Morne to Eayes Jacmel, and 94 miles in average breadth.

The north, about 153 miles in length, from the river Capotilla to the end of Cape Nicholas, and 72 miles in average breadth.

The south, about 156 miles in length, from Jacmel to Irish point, and 48 miles in average breadth.

Thus, the surface of the west may be	- -	10,162 square miles.
That of the north	- -	11,016
That of the south	- -	7,488
In all	- -	28,666

2. Climate. In this great extent, the climate is variable. Upon the coast of the sea it is exceedingly hot. The heat would be intolerable were it not moderated by refreshing breezes, which blow from the sea during the day, and from the land during the night. In ascending into the country, the coolness increases, and in the highest mountains, the climate is not only temperate but even extremely cool.

Every where rain is more common on the mountains, than on the champaign country; but there is a variety. In the north rain is frequent in all the seasons of the year. In the west and south, there is seldom rain in winter, because what they call *north rains* are not known, the *storm rains* being the only rains of these districts. However the district of Jeremy must be excepted. The storm rains seem to be formed by the vapours attracted by the sun and condensated over the high lands of St. Domingo. The north rains seem to come from the main land and Florida, along the Bahamas and the island of Cuba, by means of winds blowing from north west, and reach

reach only the parts of St. Domingo lying more weſt and north.

In regard to healthineſs, it is remarked that the ſea coaſts are very unhealthy, but that this noxious influence diminiſhes in proportion as progreſs is made into the interior. The mountains are very healthy, and ſtill more ſo in proportion of their elevation.

The mountains, in general, poſſeſs a great number of ſprings, and more or leſs conſiderable ſtreams of water *(a)*, which of courſe form rivers in the plains below. In the north, theſe rivers are uſually employed to turn mills, as the practice of artificial watering is not neceſſary, rains being never wanting, except in the plain of Fort Dolphin in the eaſt. In the reſt of the iſland, watering is indiſpenſible, at leaſt in the ſix dry months, and it was employed with great ſkill. The diſtribution of waters in *Cul de Sac*, near Port-au-Prince, is a work which might do honour to the richeſt kingdom of Europe. But none of our rivers can be termed navigable, and can hardly be of any ſervice for commerce and carriage; they rather ſpoil the harbours, into which they fall, by the ſand and mud brought by the current. 3. Waters.

There is quite as much variety in the quality of the ſoil as in the ſtate of heat and health. The ſoil is much better on the high than in the low mountains. The richeſt plains are thoſe which are tra- 4. Lands and cultures.

(a) The mountains of Caymites and New Plymouth, in the diſtrict of Jeremy, and perhaps ſome others, are an exception. They are excavated, and thoſe excavations drain the waters. Even in the valleys, large openings are found, where the rain waters and torrents are in a manner ſwallowed up, and conveyed to the ſea under the ground. The iſland is liable to violent earthquakes, chiefly in the weſt; the ſouth to hurricanes, leſs felt in the weſt, and almoſt unknown in the north. Sometimes hail has been found to fall in the mountains. No noxious inſect or reptile is known in the iſland, except centipees, ſcorpions, and ſpiders, which are ſo only in a ſmall degree.

verſed by the more conſiderable rivers, becauſe the overflowings have depoſited a greater proportion of ſlime or mould, and all the plains ſeem to be originally formed from the depoſition of mud. All the eſtates, immediately watered by rivers, are defended againſt the overflowings by large cauſeys, alſo a beautiful and very expenſive kind of work; and even the overflowings are very ſkilfully employed, by means of ſluices made in the cauſeys, to raiſe the low grounds, and to improve thoſe which are open to the water of the ſea, by the addition of mud and ſlime carried by the rivers.

The mountains are generally cultivated in coffee, and the level grounds in ſugar, cotton, and indigo, as well as the little adjoining hills. The firſt culture, in early times, ſeems to have been tobacco and *rocow*, a kind of purple dye. Ginger and pimento, though not unknown, have never been attended to. Cacao was cultivated for a time, in ſome diſtricts, but it ſeems, at preſent, almoſt entirely abandoned. The returns that follow will give a diſtinct idea of all the preſent cultures, and of their proportions, in the different parts of the iſland.

It will be obſerved that, in the north, the manufacture of clayed ſugar is more extenſive than in the ſouth and weſt; that the ſouth and weſt yield more indigo and cotton than the north. The ſouth has already been obſerved to have a ſmaller population than the reſt of the iſland, in proportion to its extent. Its produce, in general, will be found to obſerve the rule of its population. It is likely that the quality of the ground may be one reaſon of this; but another more ſatisfactory may be found in its remote ſituation to leeward. The other parts of the colony being more convenient reſorts for commerce, the ſouth has been in a great meaſure neglected by traders, though premiums have been granted for the importation of negroes into that department.

The

The principal plains, where ſugar was cultivated with ſucceſs, are thoſe of *Cul de Sac*, near Port-au-Prince, including Croix des Bouquets, Boucaſſin, Arcahaye, Vaſes, and Montrouis.

The plain of the Cayes is alſo conſiderable.

The leſſer plain of Leogane.

The plain of the north is immenſe, from Port Margo to Maribaroux, about ſixty miles in length and twelve in average breadth. In ſome places the ſoil is of the beſt quality, as in Limonade, Quartier Morin, Jacqueſy, Maribaroux, and Baſlimbé.

In other places, ſome ſmall plains are found, where three or four ſugar eſtates are eſtabliſhed, as Port Depaix, St. Lewis in the north, Jeremy, and others.

The plains of Gonaives, Jean Rabel, Gros Morne, and others, if capable of being watered, would be very fit for ſugar, and ſome ſucceſsful attempts have been made; but the culture there was generally cotton and indigo.

The largeſt, and perhaps the fineſt of all the plains, is the plain of Artibonite, near St. Marcs. If the river, which divides the plain, could be uſefully employed, it is probable that the produce of ſugar (already pretty conſiderable) in this tract might much exceed that of the whole colony; but the current is ſo rapid, the overflowings ſo ſudden and ſo vaſt, that the expence, and perhaps an idea of the danger of carrying it above the level, have prevented the execution of ſeveral ſchemes that have been preſented.

Indigo exhauſts the ground in a ſhort time; it is liable, as well as cotton, to ſuffer great injury from ſeaſons, from worms, and caterpillars. Coffee and ſugar are products more ſafe and more regular in returns; but coffee grounds laſt only for a certain time. Coffee eſtates are actually more productive

and leſs expenſive than ſugar plantations; but as the canes are generally planted in plains, where the mould is never waſhed away, and as the leaves, which inceſſantly fall and rot upon the ground, are a good manure, the uſe and preſervation of which has been ſkilfully underſtood and managed in latter times, and to which other manures may be conveniently added, that culture is the moſt laſting, and in every view the moſt deſirable.

Almoſt all the plains are now without timber or wood, even for ſhingles and ſtaves. Some even have no other fuel than the cane traſh, which has paſſed through the mill. The virgin grounds, in the mountains, are ſtill furniſhed with the beſt ſort of wood, of various kinds, but it can ſeldom be carried down to the plains. Theſe are ſupplied with that commodity from America, Louiſiana, the Spaniſh part of the iſland, and from the ſmall iſlands depending on the colony, of which I am going to ſpeak.

Lime-ſtone, ſand, and common ſtone, fit for building, abound almoſt every where.

5. Mines. The hiſtory of St. Domingo mentions mines of gold, ſilver, and copper, chiefly in the Spaniſh part of the iſland. The opinion is entertained by many, that ſome actually exiſt in the French part; but happily, neither government nor the coloniſts ever paid any attention to this fallacious ſource of riches. They have found more profit in the cultivation of the ſurface, than they could ever attain by painfully digging into the bowels of the earth.

6. Iſlands. The iſlands depending on St. Domingo, are

In the north, and oppoſite to Port Depaix, *Tortuga*, about twenty-four miles in length, and five in breadth. Indigo is cultivated there with ſucceſs. Coffee does not anſwer ſo well, for want of rain in ſummer.

Gonava, in the vaſt bay of the weſt, about forty-five miles in length, and ſixteen in average breadth. As there is water only in one place, and even there very ſcanty, no culture has been attempted; but it affords (as well as Tortuga) a great quantity and variety of excellent timber and wood, as mahogany, cedar, gayae, &c. Caymites are ſmall iſlands oppoſite to Jeremy.

Laſtly, *Iſleavache*, in the ſouth, much leſs than Tortuga, where indigo and cotton are cultivated with tolerable ſucceſs.

St. Domingo has ſome manufactures, as diſtilleries of rum (inferior to Jamaica rum) tanneries, brick and lime kilns, potteries; ſome lands for breeding of cattle, but not ſufficient for the ſervice and conſumption of the iſland; laſtly, about the towns, it has ſmall eſtates, from which greens and vegetables of all ſorts, milk, butter, fruits, graſs, fuel, and coals, are ſupplied.

Very few lands remain in the poſſeſſion of his majeſty, and theſe in the moſt inacceſſible mountains, or in the moſt barren places, as the whole iſland of Gonava.

After theſe previous remarks, I ſhall ſtate the number and ſituation of the different principal eſtates in St. Domingo, in 1789, as follows:

7. GENERAL LIST of the Eſtates and Manufactures

		Sugar Estates. Clayed.	Sugar Estates. Brown.	Coffee and Cocoa.
West —	Port-au-Prince — —	77	126	276
	Saint Marc — —	21	23	368
	Leogane — —	27	40	64
	Petit Goave — —	17	28	70
North —	The Cape — —	141	19	1,357
	Fort Dolphin — —	111	8	381
	Port Depaix — —	6	3	229
	Mole St. Nicolas —	—	—	42
South —	The Cayes — —	26	85	77
	St. Louis — —	10	23	43
	Cape Tiburon and Coteaux	2	1	26
	Jacmel — —	—	1	68
	Jeremie — —	3	5	118
		431	362	3,117

in the Colony of St. Domingo, in the Year 1789.

Cotton.	Indigo.	Tanneries.	Rum.	Cacao.	Lime Kilns.	Potteries.	Brick Kilns.
74	496	—	45	3	54	6	1
327	1,189	—	12	1	73	4	10
20	79	—	27	—	15	—	1
36	243	—	19	3	20	—	1
16	17	3	28	6	73	5	9
5	47	—	14	—	7	5	7
29	369	3	4	2	26	2	4
16	10	—	—	—	19	—	—
81	183	—	19	2	33	6	3
30	263	—	8	2	19	1	—
14	172	—	—	5	8	1	—
109	137	—	—	3	8	—	1
32	45	—	6	27	15	—	—
789	3,150	6	182	54	370	29	37

The progreſs of culture and induſtry appears from the comparative returns of 1788 and 1789. In that period of one year,

Sugar eſtate ſettled — — —	1
Eſtates improved from brown to clayed ſugar —	20
Coffee eſtates ſettled — — —	307
Indigo ditto — — — —	53
Cotton ditto — — — —	84
Tan houſes ditto — — — —	3
Lime Kilns ditto — — — —	57
Potter works ditto — — — —	1
Brick kilns ditto — — — —	4

There is no particular mention of the other kinds of eſtates, which I have mentioned at the end of the previous remarks.

I ſhall now enumerate the exportable produce, as accurately as ſmuggling and falſe return of exporters will permit, from the year 1786 to 1789. Interior conſumption is not taken into the account.

Clayed ſugar (*a*)	1786 -	71,063,967 Pds.	
	1787 -	58 182,676	
	1788 -	70,227,709	
	1789 -	47,516,531	
		246,990,883	
Average produce		— —	61,747.720 P. 12 O.
Brown ditto -	1786 -	61,887,814	
	1787 -	71,898,676	
	1788 -	93,177,515	
	1789 -	93,573,300	
		320,437,302	
Average produce		— —	80,109,325 8
Coffee - -	1786 -	52,180,311	
	1787 -	70,003,161	
	1788 -	68,151,181	
	1789 -	76,835,219	
		267,169,872	
Average produce		— —	66,792,468
Cotton - -	1786 -	5,203,161	
	1787 -	6,806,174	
	1788 -	6,236,126	
	1789 -	7,004,274	
		25,299,735	
Average produce		— —	6,324,933
Indigo - -	1786 -	1,103,907	
	1787 -	1,166,117	
	1788 -	930,016	
	1789 -	758,628	
		3,958,668	
Average produce		— —	989,667

(*a*) Of many cauſes for the great difference of clayed ſugar produced in theſe 4 years, no other can be ſatisfactory than the influence of the ſeaſons in the diſtricts where that manufacture was more general.

Raw

Raw leather -	1786 - -	3,462 hides.	
	1787 - -	3,931	
	1788 - -	7,807	
	1789 - -	9,080	
		24,230	
Average manufacture		— —	6,070 ¾
Tanned ditto	1786 - -	7,754 half hides.	
	1787 - -	6,903	
	1788 - -	5,188	
	1789 - -	11,446	
		31,291	
Average manufacture		— —	7,822 ¾
Molasses -	1786 - -	21,855 pipes.	
	1787 - -	25,246	
	1788 - -	29,503	
	1789 - -	25,794	
		102,398	
Average exportation		— —	25,599 ¾
Rum - -	1786 - -	4,265 hogsheads.	
	1787 - -	4,450	
	1788 - -	303	
	1789 - -	598	
Average exportation		— —	2,404

N. B. Some wood, as mahogany and others, some cassia, and tortoise shells, were annually exported, without paying any duty, which we find rated, for the year 1789, at — — 1,200,000 L.

It is observed that, as our rum was very little demanded abroad, far the greater quantity was consumed at home, and of course a vast quantity of melasses.

The proportion of the produce in the different districts is presented in the following return:

9. Compa-

9. COMPARATIVE Return of

		Clayed Sugar.	Brown Ditto.	Coffee.
		P.	P.	P.
West	Port-au-Prince	2,497,321	44,716,226	17,829,424
	Saint Marc	3,065,047	7,931,710	7,041,852
	Leogane	895,871	7,079,205	1,932,952
	Petit Goave	27,090	655,187	807,865
North	The Cape	31,187,636	7,267,531	32,545,524
	Fort Dolphin	6,886,510	200,700	1,194,750
	Port Depaix	331,900	515,500	1,957,618
	Mole St. Nicolas	—	—	265,616
South	Cayes	2,597,666	24,586,050	3,025,604
	Cap Tiburon	100	377,800	600,002
	Saint Louis	—	—	120,665
	Jacmel	37,350	55,624	4,072,702
	Jeremie	1,420	247,760	5,440,646
		47,516,531	93,573,300	76,835,219

N. B. It will be obſerved, that ſome diſtricts, ſold no molaſſes, which can only be aſcribed to

Produce, in the different Diſtricts, 1789.

Cotton.	Indigo.	Raw Leather.	Tanned Ditto.	Molaſſes.	Rum.
P.	P.	H.	Hh.	Pipes.	Hgds.
1,878,999	137,951	2,643 ½	—	5,626	—
3,250,890	349,819	278 ⅔	1,710	—	272
139,887	4,960	60	600	25	4
50,053	210	27	—	44	—
269,240	245,117	3,600 ⅙	7,481	10,908	—
3,200	1,710	1,513 ½	1,080	1,651 ½	8
35,154	29,181	298 ⅔	—	193	20
26,861	2,823	37	—	92	—
855,447	169,305	—	—	—	—
13,672	1,088	—	—	65	—
19,253	5,761	—	—	—	—
460,832	10,045	84	—	—	—
54,786	598	121	176	—	—
7,004,274	758,628	9,080 ⅙	11,446	25,749	598

which made great quantities of ſugar, appear to have ſmuggling.

Such

Such was the ſtate of our culture and produce, or rather of our declared exportations, in 1789. The dollars were another object of exportation, when the commodities went high. The rents of houſes, the produce in cattle, manufactures, and different ſmall concerns cannot be aſcertained, and were conſiderable.

Now the average of produce ſtated above, may be eſtimated at the following rates, which have been the average market prices in the four years. The fractions will be neglected.

				Livres currency.
W. Sugar,	61,747,720 P.	at	70 *l.* per Hh.	43,223,404 *l.*
B. Sugar,	80,109,325	at	40 *l.* Ditto -	32,043,730
Coffee -	66,792,468	at	1 *l.* 5 *s.* a P.	83,490,585
Cotton -	6,324,933	at	200 *l.* per Hd.	12,649,866
Indigo -	989,667	at	10 *l.* per P.	9,896,670
R. Leather,	6,070 H.	at	20 *l.* per Hh.	121,400
T. Leather,	7,822 Hh.	at	20 *l.* per Hh.	156,440
Molaſſes,	25,599 P.	at	300 *l.* per Pipe.	7,679,700
Rum - -	2,404	at	180 *l.* per Hh.	432,720
Wood, caſſia, tortoiſeſhel		—	—	1,200,000
				189,894,515
Now an addition may fairly be made of a tenth more, for ſmuggling and for interior conſumption		—	— —	18,989,451
Value of all exportations			—	208,883,966

Art. VII. Commerce.

Paragraph I. *French Trade.*

1 French Trade. From the above, the commerce and navigation of the colony might be ſuppoſed to be conſiderable; yet,

yet, I muſt obſerve, that as the public inveſtigation was only directed towards the ſtatement of the revenue and of its expenditures, the information here cannot be expected to be ſo accurate as in the produce. However, from the hints found in the public accounts, and from the authorities which I have collected, I am enabled to ſtate pretty exactly what relates to commerce, and firſt to that of the mother country.

The trade of the colony was open to all the merchants eſtabliſhed in all the ports of the kingdom, without reſtriction, the principal of which were Marſeilles, Bourdeaux, Rochelle, St. Malo, Bayonne, Nantz, Dunkirk, and Havre de Grace.

The merchants, in our colonial ports, were in general agents of the trade of France and of the planters. They ſeldom undertook affairs on their own bottom. But their buſineſs was the more ſafe and profitable on this account, and it muſt be allowed that many of them were very honeſt and very ſerviceable to the planters. A kind of burſe (chambre de commerce) was ſettled at the Cape, by patent.

The jealouſies and mutual complaints of the planters and of the traders had no end. The former lamented the price of importations, and chiefly of negroes, continually increaſing. The latter exclaimed againſt the debts due by the colony, which they pretended to be little ſhort of one hundred millions. The truth of it is, that both were equally wrong.

On the one ſide, the increaſe of the price of commodities was the effect of the demand and conſumption, enhanced in the gradual proportion of a larger population, of a more extenſive culture, of an increaſe alſo of colonial produce, both in quantity and in price; and of courſe, of a greater proſperity. Beſides, it could not be denied, that however rich the

the ſoil was, however active and induſtrious the planters might be, it was only by the advances of trade that the colony had been ſettled and carried to that ſtate of proſperity which it enjoyed in 1789.

On the other ſide, the debts were much reduced, in the laſt twenty years, and would have been ſtill more ſo, if the revolution had not deſtroyed the colony. Beſides, after a long and vaſt train of buſineſs, debts due to trade, ſometimes from the profuſion and indelicacy of planters, but more often from unavoidable accidents and loſſes, had not prevented individuals from accumulating immenſe fortunes in almoſt every port of France, entirely reſulting from traffic with the colony; and upon the whole, thoſe debts which appeared to diſgrace the colony, deſerve to be conſidered in the light of rubbiſh, which indiſpenſibly remains after building a vaſt and uſeful fabrick.

2. Shipping. The French ſhips which have ſold their cargoes, in the different harbours of this iſland, were

		Ships.	Tons.	Men.
1787	—	532	172,900	13,300
1788	—	678	202,350	16,950
1789	—	577	184,525	14,425

3. Negroes. Of theſe the following were Guineamen, and the negroes imported by them were *(a)*,

		Ships.	Negroes.
1787	—	110	30,839
1788	—	98	29,566
1789	—	99	27,212

N. B. A premium of 300 livres was granted by his majeſty, for every negro imported into the ſouth, as an encouragement for promoting the culture of that department.

(a) The negroes were ſold on board the ſhips.

The

The importations were, 4. Importations.

		Livres Currency.
1788.	Eatable provisions, according to the current prices — —	38,719,840
	Dry goods — —	39,008,600
	Sundry other articles —	8,685,600
	The negroes, at the average price of 2,090 *l.* 2 *s.* the premium granted in the south deducted	60,569,190
	Total — —	146,973,230
1789.	Eatable provisions — —	29,862,145
	Dry goods — —	25,572,000
	Sundry other articles —	5,639,000
	Negroes as above — —	58,070,884
	Total — —	119,208,029
Importations,	1788 — —	146,973,220
	1789 — —	119,208,029
	Total — —	266,181,249
	Average proportion of importations	133,090,624 10 —

5. Balance.

The exportations, as has been seen, amounted to the average rate of — 189,894,515 livres.

The exportations by foreign ships, which will be seen, must be deducted — — 6,426,106 17 3

	L.	S.	D.
Remainder — —	183,468,408	2	9
Average importations — —	133,090,629	10	—

By the balance of which, the exportations (the dollars not included) exceeded the importations by — — — 50,377,778 12 6

Paragraph II. *Foreign Trade.*

The toleration of foreign trade had been an object of long dispute and struggle between the planters and

and the merchants of the mother-country, from the earlieſt times. The pretenſions on both ſides aimed at nothing leſs than abſolute liberty or abſolute excluſion. Government had in the beginning, much inclined to the latter; but when informed by experience, ſteering a middle courſe, whatever regard it had to national trade, it could not but be ſenſible that a certain indulgence of foreign importations was eſſentially neceſſary to the welfare of the colony, and that if it promoted culture, the proſperity of culture could not fail to turn in a great meaſure to the advantage of national trade. But as the blind intereſt of the latter had the greateſt influence, the miniſtry carried on the matter with great cautiouſneſs, and made many trials, always advancing, but by ſlow ſteps, towards improvement.

The excluſive prohibitions, in the early periods, ſerved only to promote a contraband more prejudicial than a reaſonable allowance. Theſe were taken off. Mole St. Nicholas was ſettled, and foreign trade was admitted there under great reſtrictions. The Americans chiefly reſorted to it, and they reſorted in great numbers. Their goods were taken by coaſters, who carried them to every part of the iſland, from whence they conveyed to the Mole molaſſes and rum, the only articles of exportation allowed. The coaſters increaſed to great numbers and made great profits. The national ſhips ſuffered from deſertion, and were drained of their men, becauſe a more profitable and leſs dangerous navigation was opened to them. Beſides, population of this kind was by no means advantageous to the colonial intereſt, police, and diſcipline. Laſtly, as the greateſt profits of the whole trade were in a manner engroſſed by the coaſters, ſmuggling was ſtill carried on with eagerneſs. Without it the planters had been but badly ſupplied.

In

In the year 1784, his majesty adopted another plan, and a law was enacted in his council, of which these are the chief articles: 6. Last Law.

The foreign ships, above sixty tons, were admitted into the three principal ports of Port-au-Prince, the Cape, and the Cayes, in exclusion of all others.

The articles of importation were boards, staves, shingles, timber, and all kinds of wood, chiefly for dying; coals, live cattle of every kind, salt beef, cod-fish, and salted fish; Indian corn and its flour, pease, beans, and vegetables; raw or tanned leather, skins, rozin, tar, and pitch.

The exportations remained, as formerly, confined to molasses and rum; but goods of importation from France were allowed to be re exported.

The duty upon exportations and importations was one per cent. of the value, and, moreover, three livres per head upon salt beef, cod-fish, and salted fish. These duties were designed as a premium for the importation of the above salted articles by the French, an encouragement which had very little effect, as our navigation was expensive, and wanted those more profitable branches to support it, which were at hand.

A kind of custom house (bureau d'entrepôt) was established, either to collect the duty or to prevent fraud. It was composed of a director, of a receiver and of searchers. Fresh directions were given to the naval station to watch over interlope (as well as to the domaine sloops maintained by government). It is but justice to say, that the officers of our navy were not slow to obey, nor perhaps averse to the profits accruing from the captures. It must, however, be owned, that no means can effectually prevent smuggling in a coast so extensive, and so full of small bays and creeks, as that of St. Domingo.

By the law of 1784, all nations were placed upon the same footing. But the greatest part of foreign

trade was ſtill carried on by the Americans. Some veſſels alſo from the Dutch iſlands, traded in our harbours. But the Spaniards, from the Main Land, Cuba, Porto Rico, and from Hiſpaniola, were particularly encouraged, as they ſupplied the colony with its current ſpecie, and with the greateſt part of the cattle neceſſary for the plantations. The Spaniards were even ſometimes allowed to export Guinea negroes.

Great importation indiſpenſibly requires proportionable exportation; and it muſt be allowed that the law paid too much regard to national trade, in limiting the exportations (chiefly with reſpect to the Americans) ſolely to rum and molaſſes. As amends were made, in ſome degree, to the national trade, by opening a new outlet for all French commodities, as dry goods, wine, oil, ſoap, brandy, which the Americans were allowed to export, ſome further indulgence of our own produce might have been granted. Our rum, as has been obſerved, was little demanded abroad. Cargoes of molaſſes could not pay the importations, even when, in latter times, the price became more than double; the conſequence of which was, that a great balance in caſh was annually exported, which contributed to drain the colony of ſpecie.

7. Shipping. The following are the returns of foreign trade, including ſome French ſhips, coming from the north, with American cargoes.

1788 -	763 Veſſels from America and from the Daniſh iſlands		55,745 tons.
	46 French ditto	— —	3,465
	259 Spaniſh ditto	— —	15,417
1789 -	Ships of all nations, 1,068	—	60,052 tons.

Importations,

Importations, value in cash, 8. Importations.

			L.	S.	D.
1788	—	—	17,065,392	11	3
1789	—	—	17,224,776	6	4

Balance of 1789. 9. Balance.

			L.	S.	D.
Importations	—	—	17,224,776	6	4
Exportations	—	—	6,426,106	17	3
			10,798,670	3	1

From that balance must be deducted the following articles:

	L.	S.	D.			
Commissions of agents	591,268	1	7			
Charges and expences	1,268,400	—	—			
Pilots, admiralty, &c.	368,950	3	8			
Duties of all kinds	474,243	—	—			
				2,703,861	5	3
The real balance was			—	8,094,809	3	10

in favour of foreigners, which the Americans must have exported in specie.

For the encouragement of the South, the governor had permitted, perhaps without proper authority (May 9th, 1789) the importation of negroes by foreigners into that department, liable to a duty of 45 livres per head. We find that the negroes imported in that year, were 602.

			Livres.
Sold for	—	—	1,314,147
The duty amounted to		—	19,755
Balance also exported in cash, was			1,294,392

Paragraph III. *Land Trade.*

I have mentioned a trade in black cattle for the shambles, carried on with the Spanish part of St. Domingo, under the express authority of government.

ment. Some of thoſe cattle were ſold to the planters, for their proper uſe, by the butchers.

But the Spaniards carried on another trade, namely in black cattle, mules, and horſes, and ſome articles of leſs value, as tobacco, junk works, and mats; pitter-cords, land turtle, &c. On this account, proviſions and dry goods were exported, and a pretty large balance was paid in caſh. But as there was no duty laid on that trade, it being only tolerated in this country, and forbidden by the Spaniſh government, no information could be obtained of the amount.

Paragraph IV. *Colonial Sea Trade.*

Some veſſels, fitted out in our ports, went to the coaſts and iſlands of the Spaniſh Main, in interlope, for mules, or, more openly, to Louiſiana for wood, timber, boards, and ſhingles. Theſe exported French goods. I have no particulars upon this ſubject.

10. Coaſters. As to coaſters, their numbers became much reduced, when the three principal ports were opened to foreign trade, and the men of theſe veſſels either engaged to man the homeward bound ſhips, or to enter into employment, one way or other, in the country.

Some coaſters carried the produce from Fort Dolphin, Port Depaix, St. Marcs, Jeremy, &c. to the three principal ports, and chiefly to the Cape, where the market was better, with drawbacks from the receivers of octroi.

Every pariſh on the coaſt had its landing place, to which the produce was carried, and at which certain agents, called paſſengers, had ſtores to receive,

ceive, and veſſels to tranſport the different articles to town, and carry back the proviſions, at a ſtated freight and commiſſion.

All theſe coaſters were liable to certain regulations, the violation of which was cognizable, either by the admiralty court, or by that of common law.

Portugueſe gold, and Spaniſh gold or ſilver, were the principal current coins here. Theſe were alſo conſidered as merchandizes, the dollars more particularly, being an object of exportation to France. 11. Specie.

The ideal denominations were livres, ſols and deniers; the livre worth 20 ſols, and the ſol 12 deniers. The currency was ſuch, that two French livres amounted here to three livres.

As to effective money, it conſiſted of Portugueze johannas, half-johannas, and quarters, worth 132, 66, and 33 livres.

Spaniſh gold conſiſted of doubloons, half-doubloons, and quarters.

Silver money of dollars, half-dollars, and quarters. Next, of bits, double-bits, and half-bits.

Formerly, the doubloons were worth 120 livres. Some were not milled, and however much adulterated (as well as Portugueze coin) paſſed at full value, and their fractions in proportion. About the year 1772, it was enacted that both ſhould paſs only for their value, according to weight.

About the ſame time it was imagined, and rather inconſiderately adopted, that exportation of money, by which circulation was hampered, would be effectually prevented if the nominal value were raiſed.

The doubloon was accordingly raiſed from 120 to 126 livres, and its fractions in proportion; the dollar from 10 bits to 11, or from 7 livres 10 ſols, to

8 livres 5 ſols. The bits remained at their former value of 15 ſols.

The conſequence was (as might have been expected) that all commodities ſoon took the level with the actual repreſentative ſign; while the merchants finding ſtill, in ſome circumſtances, more benefit in exporting money than goods, the increaſe of nominal value only became a benefit to the Spaniards, and our own wealth in ſpecie was encreaſed in idea, not in reality.

Art. VIII. Religion, Religious and other Establishments.

1. Religion.

The catholick, apoſtolick, Roman religion was excluſively that of the colony. The black code, or edict of 1685, did not particularly mention the proteſtants, but it preſcribed the abſolute excluſion of the Jews. Severity however had fallen into diſuſe; but the public exerciſe of no religion, except the eſtabliſhed religion of the colony, was tolerated.

We cannot help confeſſing, and in confeſſing lament, that religion was fallen into ſo great a neglect, that the exerciſe of it was treated almoſt with ridicule and ſcorn. Where climate heightens the reliſh of luxury and ſenſual enjoyments, where incitements are conſtantly preſent, where means of gratification are eaſy, as in St. Domingo, it requires more than common energy to reſiſt the ſeductions of libertiniſm; and unfortunately, the ſmall ſhare of knowledge and philoſophy known in this iſland, inſtead of preſerving the life pure and the morals correct, was employed in inventing arguments of ſophiſtry to combat and weaken the reſtraints of religion.

Perhaps more ſolid or deeper knowledge would act as a preſervative againſt thoſe dangerous errors.

But

But however that may be; it is certain that a general contempt of religion, and profligacy of manners, were fatal and unfortunate circumſtances in our colonies. Planters ought to have conſidered, that moral influences ought to have been employed, as the beſt means of keeping ſo great a number of ſlaves in ſubjection; for as ſuperſtition has great power over people of this claſs, an exterior obſervance of religion, and a regard to moral duties, would have formed one of the ſureſt bonds of order and ſubmiſſion in domeſtick œconomy.

The following was the religious eſtabliſhment of the colony. 2. Eſtabliſhment.

The *miſſions* conſiſted of an *apoſtolick prefect* and a certain number of prieſts. There was a *vicar* appointed in every pariſh by the prefect, and under his direction. The prefect himſelf was appointed by his majeſty, and received from the pope certain of the leſſer diſpenſing powers of the biſhops; but he had none of the juriſdiction of the ordinary. In the pariſhes where population was conſiderable, the vicars had one or two aſſiſtant prieſts.

Tithes were entirely unknown in the colony *(a)*

I have already obſerved, that the vicars had a certain ſalary, fixed and paid by the freeholders of the reſpective pariſhes. They had alſo ſome ſtated caſual perquiſites for maſſes and burials. Gratuities for marriages and baptiſms were entirely voluntary. From what I have ſaid (Art. the 5th, No. 19.) it is obvious that the freehold of the church and its appurtenances was veſted in the body of the pariſh. In the country in general, the vicar had the uſe of a certain extent of land, and ſometimes of a few negroes belonging to the church.

(a) Dr. Adam Smith (vol. 2. page 374) expreſsly ſays, "*that in the French*, as well as in the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies, the eccleſiaſtical government is oppreſſive; that tithes take place; that there is a numerous race of mendicant friars, who are a charge upon poor people; that clergy are the greateſt ingroſſers of land."

It is to be lamented, that the beſt writers receive too often wrong information upon facts, of which they cannot be themſelves judges.

The clergy were under the direction of the governor and intendant, who had power jointly with the prefect, or rather with his advice, to ſend home ſuch men of the church as proved of bad character and conduct.

That each miſſion might be better ſupplied, it was the cuſtom to truſt it to certain orders of friars, who ſent recruits from time to time. When churches became vacant, they were filled by the appointment of the prefect.

There were two miſſions, one of Dominican friars, formerly at Leogane and afterwards at Port-au-Prince, for the weſt and ſouth; another, formerly of Jeſuits, but ſince the diſſolution of that ſociety, of Capuchines, at the Cape, for the north.

I cannot help obſerving that, whatever might be the political tenets of that ſociety, as the loſs of it has been felt in France in the education of youth, it has alſo been regretted here on other accounts no leſs intereſting. The manners of this ſociety were decent, and little attention ſeemed to be paid to an increaſe of their caſual perquiſites; but the matter of the greateſt importance was, that it was attentive in improving the natural bias of ſuperſtition in negroes, to reſpect and ſubmiſſion due to their maſters; qualifications not ſo well ſupplied by its ſucceſſors.

3. Temporal Property.

In the early times of the colony, the miſſion did not find difficulty, nor did it entirely neglect the opportunity, of acquiring property. The Dominicans had, at Port-au-Prince, a very handſome houſe with convenient and comfortable appurtenances. As that town was ſettled only in 1752, the miſſion, previous to that period, was at Leogane, where it had a houſe in town; a ſugar eſtate, with two hundred negroes, of about 150,000 pounds weight a year; a little eſtate where proviſions were

raiſed, and another ſugar eſtate, at Cavillon, farmed for 25,000 livres.

The property of the Jeſuits, in the north, conſiſted in a large ſugar and in a coffee eſtate, which were ſold for the benefit of their creditors. They had alſo, at the Cape, a large ſpace of ground with a ſtately houſe, which afterwards belonged to his majeſty, in which the governor was lodged, and where the courts ſat. As the Capuchines had no property, an annual ſupply of ſix thouſand livres was allowed them from his majeſty's treaſure.

There was at the Cape a convent of nuns for the education of the ſex. Their property was a pretty extenſive houſe and garden, and a public chapel, and on the neareſt mountain, a ſmall eſtate where proviſions and vegetables were cultivated for their conſumption. They principally ſubſiſted from the penſions paid by the young ladies committed to their care. 4. Education.

I ſhall curſorily obſerve, that the greater part of young people of fortune, of both ſexes, were ſent home for their education, a ſyſtem encouraged by government, as tending to cement the connection of the colony with the mother-country, ſo that public ſchools, for reading, writing, and arithmetick, were eſtabliſhed in the principal towns (under the inſpection of the police) only in latter times, though (as far as reſpects a certain claſs of people) it would perhaps have been better that ſuch ſeminaries had not been permitted.

The management of the royal hoſpitals, at the Cape and Leogane, was in the hands of the *charity friars*, and the ſupply was from the convent at Paris. The intendant made a bargain with them for the officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen. At Port-au-Prince, Cayes, and other places, there were other contractors. The higheſt rates which I find recorded, are 15 livres per day for the officers, 4 livres 8 ſols for the 5. Hoſpitals.

ſoldiers

ſoldiers and ſeamen, 6 livres for each burial. The king's phyſicians and ſurgeons attended every day, as well as an officer of every corps, who reported the neglects and complaints of patients.

At the Cape, their property conſiſted in a vaſt convenient ſick houſe for the privates, another for the officers, and a beautiful dwelling houſe, with its appurtenances, a mile diſtant from the town, in a pleaſant healthy ſituation, and well watered, upon an eſtate out of which two or three others were let to farm, and, moreover, a good handſome ſugar eſtate four miles diſtant.

At Leogane, their property conſiſted in an hoſpital built upon 18 ſquares of good land; a ſugar eſtate with 200 negroes, yielding 350,000 pounds of brown ſugar; a coffee eſtate of 40,000 weight a year, and a ground where proviſions were cultivated.

Hoſpitality was practiſed in thoſe houſes, but that is not wonderful, as it was the favourite virtue of the planters of St. Domingo: an honeſt traveller might go through the whole iſland, finding in every plantation, not only welcome entertainment, but horſes and carriages for conveyance. The greateſt difficulty, in ſhort, which a man of figure met with, was to obtain permiſſion to depart.

6. Waters. Government had an eſtabliſhment at the mineral hot waters of Port a Piment in the north, for the relief of the ſick of the garriſons, the director of which, however, was allowed to keep ſeparate lodgings for other perſons. Before this eſtabliſhment was made, the ſick went to the waters of Banica, in the Spaniſh part of the iſland, three leagues diſtant from the borough of that name.

7. Providence Houſes. Early in the preſent century, a reputable merchant at the Cape (Mr. Turc de Caſtelveyre) deviſed his whole eſtate for the ſettlement of two houſes, where poor men and women coming from Europe ſhould find

find maintenance till they were capable of ſhifting for themſelves. Theſe houſes, by ſeveral gifts, bequeſts, and grants from the government, were become conſiderable civil hoſpitals. They were under the adminiſtration of a board, compoſed of the attorney-general, a few members of both courts, and ſome reputable citizens, under the ſuperior authority of the intendant *(a)*.

As I have mentioned, in this article, eſtabliſhments of public inſtruction, I ſhall take notice of royal printing houſes ſettled at the Cape and Port-au-Prince, and of a literary aſſociation at the Cape, which, in 1789, had been favoured with a charter, under the title of *royal ſociety of ſciences and arts*. It might, in proceſs of time, have been improved ſo as to be of ſervice, if its enquiries had happened fortunately to be properly directed. 8. Royal Society.

Art. IX. The Military Eſtablishment.

The eſtabliſhment of the army in St. Domingo, in time of peace, conſiſted of two regiments of foot and a brigade of artillery, recruited from France. Theſe ſupplied the garriſons in the different parts of the iſland. 1. Army.

There was a regiment known by the name of the regiment of Port-au-Prince, another by that of the Cape. The uniform was plain, without any vain parade of expenſive ſhow, and without the incumbrance of lace. They were entirely under the authority of the miniſter of the marine. 2. Regiments.

(a) In the year 1787, a ſimilar eſtabliſhment was made at Port-au-Prince by the commander in chief and the intendant, which was not of duration on account of the revolution.

Theſe

Theſe regiments conſiſted of 2 battalions.

The firſt battalion conſiſted of a company of grenadiers and four of fuſiliers; the ſecond, of a company of chaſſeurs and four of fuſiliers.

In time of peace, each company of fuſiliers conſiſted of a captain in command, a ſecond captain, a firſt lieutenant, a ſecond lieutenant, two enſigns or ſub-lieutenants, a ſerjeant major, a harbinger (fourier) intruſted with the functions of quarter-maſter, 5 ſerjeants, 10 corporals, 10 appointees, 2 drummers, and 90 privates; in all 119 men and 6 commiſſioned officers.

The companies were divided into ten detachments, each of which had an appointee and a corporal at its head. A ſerjeant commanded two detachments.

In time of war, the number was increaſed to 3 drummers and 140 privates; reinforcements of other regiments were alſo ſent.

The companies of grenadiers and chaſſeurs were officered as the others. But they were, both in times of peace and war, of only 5 ſerjeants, 8 corporals, 8 appointees, 72 privates, and 2 drummers; in all 96 men, ſix officers, and eight detachments.

The field officers were, a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, and a major. They had not companies of their own.

The ſtaff was compoſed of a quarter-maſter, with the rank of lieutenant, 2 ſtandard bearers, who ranked as youngeſt enſigns, 2 adjutants, a ſurgeon major, an armourer, a drum major with the rank of ſerjeant major.

The whole regiment, the officers included, was, in time of peace	1,183	men.
In time of war — —	2,366	

Pay

Pay of Officers.

		Livres
Colonel — —		15,000 per an.
Lieutenant colonel —		10,500
Major — —		7,200
Quarter maſter treaſurer —		2,700
Standard bearers —		1,890
Adjutants — —		1,230
The two firſt captains in command — —		4,950
The eight others —		4,200
The two firſt ſecond captains		3,600
The eight others —		3,150
Firſt lieutenants —		2,400
Second lieutenants —		2,250
Enſigns — —		2,100

In time of war, the preceding rates were increaſed by a quarter's pay in addition.

The officers had no rations, no allowances, no cloathing, and they were liable to no ſtoppages.

The mercantile job of cloathing the regiment, allowed to the colonel, was unknown in the French ſervice.

Pay of the Fuziliers and Chaſſeurs.

		L.	S.	D.	
Serjeant majors —		1	6	—	per day.
Serjeants and harbingers — —		1	1	6	
Corporals — —	—		14	3	
Firſt appointee —	—		9	9	
Other appointees —	—		9	—	
Fuſiliers and drummers	—		8	3	

Pay

Pay of Grenadiers.

	L.	S.	D.	
Serjeant major —	1	9	—	per day
Serjeants and harbingers	1	5	3	
Corporals — — —	—	16	6	
First appointee — —	—	12	—	
Other appointees — —	—	10	9	
Grenadiers and drummers — — —	—	10	6	
Drum major —	1	6	—	
Armourer — —	—	8	3	

The ration of the non-commissioned officers and privates was, every day, 24 ounces of fresh bread, or 20 of flour; 8 ounces of fresh or salted meat.

There was a stoppage of twenty deniers per day, upon the pay of serjeant majors, drum majors, serjeants and harbingers, and of twelve deniers upon that of all others, for linen and shoes; and to that stoppage the king added a gratuity, in time of war, of eight deniers per day, in behalf of all non-commissioned officers and privates.

There was also a general mass or stoppage of 45 livres per annum, in time of peace, and 51 livres in time of war, upon the pay of all non commissioned officers (the adjutants included) and privates, for the expences of cloathing, equipment, the poll tax, and the invalid tax, to which they were liable; from that mass the drummers received an addition of pay of 12 deniers per day, for the maintenance of their drums and sticks.

The cloathing, arms, and equipment of the non-commissioned officers and privates, and arms of the officers, were at the king's cost, from the general mass which belonged to him. The cloathings were suitable to the climate. Linen shirts, a coat, jacket, trowsers of dowlass, for the usual service; a coat of cloth,

cloth, and linen waiſtcoats, breeches, and leggins, for the days of parade.

The two regiments were lodged in large beautiful barracks of the king's, at the Cape and Port-au-Prince.

The diſcipline and adminiſtration of the regiments were minutely ſettled by the ordinance of December 10th, 1784. The reviews were made every month, by the commiſſary charged with the department of the war, to ſtate the pay and rations.

The governor, as has been ſaid, was inſpector-general of the troops, artillery, militia, and fortifications.

The colonial brigade belonged to the corps royal of artillery of France (ordinance of the king's, October 24th, 1784.) 3. Artillery.

A brigade was compoſed of four companies of *cannoneers bombardeers*, at the head of which was immediately a brigade-maſter (chef de brigade); but as the brigade was only part of a regiment diſtributed in all the French colonies, and which had field officers, a *colonel director of artillery* and an adjutant major were ſtationed in St. Domingo.

The companies conſiſted of a

Captain in command —	commiſſioned officers.
A ſecond captain — —	
A firſt lieutenant —	
A ſecond lieutenant —	
A third lieutenant —	
A ſerjeant major —	non commiſſioned ditto.
A ſerjeant harbinger clerk —	
Five ſerjeants — —	
Five corporals — —	
Five appointees —	
Five fire-workers —	

Five

Five cannoneer-bombardeers of the first class —	Privates.
Five ditto of the second ditto	
Forty appointees —	
A drummer — —	

In all, five officers and 88 men; each company divided into five detachments (*a*).

The regiments had, besides, two companies of artificers, composed as the others, except that the privates were,

Fifteen artificers of the first class
Fifteen of the second
Twenty-five apprentices
One drummer.

In all, five officers and 73 men.

A detachment of one of the companies of artificers was stationed at St. Domingo.

There was, at the Cape, a polygone or school of artillery, and a fine arsenal, with a large park, stores, and work-houses; as also barracks for the brigade and artificers.

When the service required it, the several parts of the colony were supplied from the brigade. The law above-mentioned had settled the service, discipline, administration, and reviews of that corps. The pays were as follow:

		Livres.
Colonel director's	—	18,000 per an.
Brigade master's	—	8,100
Adjutant major's	—	3,750

(*a*) It is not, perhaps, improper to observe, that our military corps were free from the encumbrance, if not nuisance, of wives and women, seen in other services. Perhaps one of 300 soldiers or officers was not seen to have a wife.

Captains

			Livres.
Captains in command (*a*)	—		5,850 per an.
Second ditto	—	—	4,050
First lieutenants	—	—	3,000
Second ditto	—	—	2,850
Third ditto	—	—	2,700
Serjeant major	—	—	1,170
Serjeant harbinger clerk		—	769 10
Corporals	—	—	486
Appointees	—	—	364 10
Fire-workers	—	—	324
First class—Cannoneers-bombardeers	—	—	283 10
Second ditto—Ditto		—	216
Apprentices	—	—	189
Drummers	—		—283 10

Company of Artificers.

Serjeant major	—	—	1,440
Serjeant harbinger clerk		—	769 10
Corporals	—	—	594
Appointees	—	—	543
Artificers—first class		—	472 10
Ditto — second ditto		—	364 10
Apprentices	—	—	297
Drummer	—	—	283 10

All pay, in general, was augmented by a quarter, in time of war. The same ration allowed to the infantry.

In time of actual war, and under the activity of field-service, an allowance was granted to the officers, at the pleasure of the governor and intendant.

(*a*) To the first of them, as also to the senior captain in command of artificers, an addition of 450 livres was allowed.

The ſtoppage for linen and ſhoes was the ſame as for the infantry.

The general maſs was 84 livres per annum, for the non-commiſſioned officers and privates.

The cloathing and equipment were ſettled as for the infantry.

4. Engineers. The corps of Engineers was as follows:

Officers.

	Pay.
	Livres.
A director-general of fortifications — —	18,000 per an.
Three engineers in chief —	7,500 each.
Two engineers or more —	5,160 ditto.
Engineers geographers, when captains — —	4,500
Ditto, when lieutenants —	3,000

With no allowance or cloathing.

The director-general had an office, where all the draughts of plans, of fortifications, and works, were made and depoſited, copies of which were ſent to the general repoſitory of plans at Verſailles.

I ſhall here curſorily obſerve, that in the laſt years, the government had directed all the ſurveyors of lands to draw the charts of the reſpective pariſhes, marking, by figure and name, all the plantations. This had been performed, and, out of all thoſe charts, a general map was begun to be executed.

5. Militia. That military ſervice is a hardſhip for peaceable planters cannot be denied; but if it were well conſidered, that where near 500,000 ſlaves muſt be kept in ſubjection by a handful of men, in a very extenſive territory, a well-ſettled, and in ſome meaſure diſciplined, militia, muſt appear to be the only

only means to be depended upon, and on that account no man ought to repine at thoſe hardſhips. The mildneſs of our government was exceedingly defective in this reſpect; and when the revolt broke out, the inhabitants were found almoſt defenceleſs in ſome places. The inconvenience was felt, but too late.

Our militia, in time of peace, was only bound to appear at four annual reviews, for the inſpection of their arms, ammunition, and uniform. Even that was conſidered as a grievance, and was individually eaſily diſpenſed with. In time of war, they were obliged to guard for eight days, by turns, the reſpective forts and batteries diſperſed over the coaſts, which ſervice was often turned into rendezvouſes of entertainment and jollity.

The eſtabliſhment of the militia had ſuffered many alterations; even a fooliſh governor had once aboliſhed it. I will mention the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed in the year 1768, and ſome modifications which were preſcribed in 1787.

The whole iſland was divided into ſixteen quarters; five in the north, five in the ſouth, ſix in the weſt, each comprehending four or five contiguous pariſhes. Each quarter furniſhed a battalion, under a commander, a major, and an adjutant-major.

The companies of infantry, in the pariſhes, were officered by a captain, a lieutenant, and an enſign, and conſiſted of 2 ſerjeants, 8 corporals, 40 privates, and a negro or mulatto drummer.

The companies of horſe conſiſted of a captain, a lieutenant, an enſign, 2 quarter-maſters, 8 brigadiers, and 40 dragoons; but the number of privates and dragoons could not always be ſtrictly adhered to.

The ſenior captain had the command in his pariſh, and was allowed an adjutant under him.

There was a gradual ſubordination and correſpondence among the different ranks, and of pariſh officers to the battalion officers.

In every pariſh there was an alarm gun.

When the militia was on active ſervice, in time of war, the officers of the line had command only over militia officers of the ſame rank with themſelves, a captain of the militia being ſuperior to a lieutenant of the army; but the militia was ſubordinate to the military commanders of the departments and diſtricts.

The militia had no pay or cloathing, even in time of war. The officers were appointed by the king, and proviſionally by the governor.

They were entitled to the croſs of St. Lewis, viz. the commanders after twenty-eight years ſervice, the majors after thirty, the captains after thirty-two, the lieutenants after thirty-ſix, time of war being reckoned double.

The officers had ſome civil functions in their pariſhes, as of taking and verifying the returns of the property and families of the inhabitants, upon printed forms annually ſent by government; they alſo inſpected and returned the ſufficiency of the proviſion-grounds upon all the eſtates in the pariſhes.

The militia did not ſerve out of their own diſtricts, without an expreſs order from the governor.

The free negroes and people of colour ſerved in ſeparate companies of foot, officered by white gentlemen. Independent of the ordinary ſervice, they were employed in going after the run-away negroes, who diſturbed the peace, but only by expreſs order of the commander, and they were allowed certain gratuities in caſe of ſucceſs. They alſo ſerved, by turns, as plantoons or orderly, at the houſes of the commanders, and for a week, to carry orders, &c.

All perſons who had civil employments in adminiſtration, or were ſworn in courts, were exempted from

from this ſervice, as well as the knights of St. Lewis, and penſioned veteran officers of the army, and the members of the boards of agriculture; but they were bound to keep two muſkets in good order, four pounds of gunpowder, and twelve of bullets, and liable to inſpection, a regulation very much neglected.

I am not able to ſtate the number of the militia in St. Domingo; but I ſuppoſe it had been little ſhort of eight or ten thouſand men in 1789, if the laws had been ſtrictly executed.

In 1787, another regulation was made, on account of ſome pretenſions of a dangerous tendency ſtarted by the commanders of battalions. The battalions were ſuppreſſed. The militia of each pariſh was diſtinct, and directly ſubordinate to the commanders of the diſtricts. A commander in each pariſh was to be appointed, by the governor, from among the captains of the companies thereof. The militia was to conſiſt of companies of foot, grenadiers, fuſiliers, artillery, and dragoons. The enſigns of companies were ſuppreſſed, and ſome alterations alſo took place in the numbers of privates and non-commiſſioned officers. The age of ſervice was fixed from 15 to 55 years. Every planter was bound to ſupply the militia with three white men, himſelf included, if he owned eighty negroes and upwards.

6. Fortifications.

As all the towns of St. Domingo (ſome of them perhaps too large and populous) had been placed upon the coaſts, for the convenience of commerce, all the fortifications were alſo directed towards exterior defence, no other want being ever ſo much as foreſeen or ſuſpected. Yet thoſe who had conſidered better the extent of the coaſts, and the numerous places where deſcents could be effected, without poſſibility of oppoſing them effectually,

were of opinion that ſhips of the line were the only certain means of defence.

However, ſome forts were neceſſary, and were erected in all the principal harbours; and batteries were made at a great number of exterior landing places.

A general view of this kind will only be expected from me.

St. Lewis, in the ſouth, Port-au-Prince, Leogane, St. Marcs, Port Depaix, Fort Dolphin, and the Cape, have good forts of defence; but the Mole is particularly remarkable; and, if all its forts and batteries were well-ſerved, they might bid defiance to the moſt formidable naval force, and actually keep it off.

The colony had, in general, a very fine and numerous coaſt artillery, perfectly well mounted, and kept in good order.

Conclu-ſion.

Thus I have given all the information in my power concerning the conſtitution and the ſituation of St. Domingo, before 1789 *(a)*.

Every nation is apt to claim a ſuperiority in favour of her own ſyſtem. The uninterrupted tranquillity and ever increaſing proſperity of this colony might incline me to ſome partiality; however, as Mr. Pope ſays,

> " For forms of governments let fools conteſt,
> " Whate'er is beſt adminiſter'd is beſt."

In general, the knowledge of the laws *only* of any country conveys to the mind a more favourable

(*a*) The beſt effect that can be wiſhed from this information being publiſhed, is, that the Britiſh government, legiſlature, and nation, be fully ſatisfied, that no other form of adminiſtration can agree with the reſtoration and tranquillity of St. Domingo, and that (if ever Great Britain obtains poſſeſſion of this iſland) no alteration ought to be made in the former conſtitution; a mixture of democracy may be very proper for Britiſh colonies and for Engliſh heads, but *piſcis hic non eſt omnium*.

idea

idea than the actual ſituation warrants; becauſe, however difficult it is to frame good laws, it is ſtill eaſier to find legiſlators endowed with knowledge, and diſengaged of paſſion and ſelf intereſt, than to meet with a whole nation ready to obey laws which may thwart private views and intereſts, or magiſtrates on every occaſion ſacrificing their own purpoſes and affections in the execution of their duty.

Our ſettlements in the Weſt Indies are, doubtleſs, more liable to this inconvenience than other countries. They are at a great diſtance from the centre and ſource of power. People, whom want hath forced from their homes (not to ſpeak of thoſe whom ill conduct hath driven into the colonies) actuated by ambition to go in queſt of riches to the fartheſt extremities of the world, through the ſtorms and dangers of the ſea, and who are eager to return ſpeedily to their country with an accumulation of wealth, are much leſs influenced by reſpect for the laws than by intereſted views. Magiſtrates and officers entruſted with power cannot well be perfectly free from this general diſpoſition. The planters themſelves are, by degrees, infected with the contagion, in as much as the rage of going to France, with the means of enjoying a higher degree of the luxuries of life and refinements of pleaſure, pervades them, and alienates them, as it were, from their own country.

Thus ſelfiſhneſs and covetouſneſs take the lead; public ſpirit is not known. Robbers or highwaymen are not heard of, becauſe a ſmall induſtry ſupports men of low condition; but every one tries to make the moſt of his ſituation or employment, to raiſe ſpeedily a large fortune, and in the execution of this favourite ſcheme the effect is more regarded than the means. At the ſame time, the climate inflames other paſſions. The means of gratifying the paſſions are obvious and eaſy. Profligacy of

manners becomes general. Shame affords no longer a check. The restraints of religion might still be effectual, but the rank weeds of vice suffocate, so that every principle of religious duty, inculcated in early youth, is treated with scorn. If, amidst the general corruption, honest sober men happen to be living satires of the world, if magistrates are strict and severe in enforcing the laws, ridicule, and perhaps persecution, will fall upon them from all quarters, and will sink them into despondency.

Thus, the best laws fail of their aim and lose their influence. Such was, in a great measure, the case in St. Domingo; such it must be, I am afraid, in every colony of the West Indies, in proportion to wealth and prosperity.

However, religion, honesty, good manners, and a strict execution of the laws, are the only guardians of all political societies; and where things are fallen into that state, which I have rapidly but too faithfully described, the colony may still subsist for some time, but it will sink by degrees, and, perhaps, perish at last by some frightful catastrophe.

ARTICLE THE LAST.

SOME HINTS CONCERNING THE PRESENT STATE OF THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN ST. DOMINGO.

Here I had determined to put an end to my task; but after the preceding account of the former state of St. Domingo, I am sensible that English readers will expect to find some notice of its actual situation under the British government. Under other circumstances, perhaps, I would gladly enlarge upon this subject; but, averse as I am to blame, I shall content

content myſelf with ſome general remarks, and that with reluctance.

Before the period of the French revolution, a fanatical ſociety exiſted in France, which aimed at the general emancipation of ſlaves. This ſociety united itſelf with that of the Jacobins, which held out ſtill more extenſive principles of political liberty. Agents were neceſſary in the colonies to forward theſe views, and the people of colour, who were known to be diſguſted at their actual ſtate of depreſſion, were ſuppoſed to be inſtruments fit for this purpoſe. The events, which happened in St. Domingo were unfortunately ſuch as aided too effectually in promoting their ſcheme. 1. Revolution.

As ſoon as the news of the firſt revolt in Paris arrived in St. Domingo, the populace of our great towns became infected with the example, and dropped the maſk of ſubordination. Their numbers and inſolence overawed the government, and as many men of property, but of mean education, were intoxicated with the ſpirit of revolt, the few men of reflection and foreſight, who ranged on the ſide of adminiſtration, were unable to reſiſt the torrent. The democratic party took the lead in the popular aſſemblies that were then formed. In theſe, the negroes ſaw the dangerous example of numbers bearing down authority formerly reſpected; an example moſt impolitic and dangerous in its conſequences.

The people of colour claimed a ſhare in thoſe pretended advantages which the ruling party of the whites promiſed themſelves by the revolution, and inſiſted upon the equality of rights, which the law of 1685 had aſſigned to them, but which they had never been permitted to enjoy. The jealouſy and pride of the aſſemblies took the alarm. The people of colour became the objects of ſevere perſecution; but not in a ſituation to hope for victory by open

open force, and chagrined at disappointment, they readily gave ear to the insinuations of the Jacobins and their emissaries *(a)*. The revolt of the negroes actually broke out in the north. The whole country became immediately a scene of confusion, murder, and devastation, which I refrain to describe. In the south and west, the planters joined with the mulattoes against the towns, where the whites of the lowest rank had also taken the lead. Civil war raged there with uncommon fury; but the negroes were only revolted in some places where the mulattoes wanted their assistance. The whole colony was then distracted by war, and by the opposition of parties inflamed against each other; negroes against whites, whites against mulattoes, assemblies against government, people of no property, under the name of patriots, against planters, even assemblies against assemblies. Some attempts were made to subdue the revolted negroes; but there was no plan, no union, no mutual confidence. The peaceable and honest planters were disgusted and distressed at the miseries of the situation, and a great emigration began to take place. Even where the planters had joined with the mulattoes, if the latter had the superiority of force, most of the former were expelled more or less violently, and the mulattoes took possession of their estates.

The colony was in this situation when the commissaries, *Santhonax* and *Polverel*, emissaries of the Jacobins, the then ruling party, arrived in the island, under pretence of restoring tranquillity, but in fact to complete the scheme of general emancipation. They began by soothing and deceiving the different parties; by publicly declaring that slavery would be

(*a*) The fact is proved by the most undoubted evidence. Santhonax, in his proclamation of general emancipation, addresses the negroes in these terms: "Remember for ever, that it is to the people of colour "you are indebted for those arms and means by which you have "fought for liberty, and conquered it."

rigidly

rigidly maintained. They then laid their plan of ruin, by oppoſing the different parties to each other. Firſt, government was overturned by the patriots; next, the patriots yielded to the mulattoes. The towns of Port-au-Prince and the Cape, more populous than at former periods, gave umbrage to the commiſſioners. They attacked Port-au-Prince, and put it under the abſolute dominion of the mulattoes. Jeremy had entirely ſubdued or expelled this claſs of men, and thus preſerved property and the ſubmiſſion of the negroes. The commiſſaries, in the act of preparing to march againſt it, were called to the Cape, where a party was ſeemingly formed by general Galbaud, to oppoſe their views and overturn their authority. Arrived at this place with a numerous train of mulattoes, aſſiſted by the negroes of the town, whom they eaſily corrupted, by the priſoners taken out of the gaol, and by the brigands of the country, with whom they had for a long time entered into correſpondence; moreover, aſſiſted by the incapacity, cowardice, and perhaps treachery of general Galbaud himſelf, they plundered and reduced the town to aſhes almoſt entirely. A great number of whites were butchered. The greater part of the others eſcaped to America, with Galbaud, by means of a large fleet, which was then in the harbour. The ſituation of thoſe who remained was truly pitiable; a ſhocking ſlavery under thoſe who had been formerly their own ſlaves. The mulattoes were now no longer an obſtacle to the ſcheme of the commiſſaries. General liberty was proclaimed in the north by Santhonax. In the weſt and ſouth, ſuch proprietors as remained, were compelled by Polverel to grant the negroes a general and perpetual emancipation.

Confuſion was now complete, the power of the commiſſaries was almoſt uncontrouled and the expulſion or deſtruction of what remained of white proprietors

2. Introduction of the Engliſh

proprietors was purſued with eagerneſs, Jeremy remained alone free, but ſenſible that it could not reſiſt long, application was made to Jamaica for protection. The Mole, where a great number of whites had taken refuge, and Bombarde, followed the example. Theſe places, and the extenſive diſtrict of Jeremy, were ſurrendered to commodore John Ford, in the month of September 1793; St. Marc with its territory, Leogane, and Larcahaye, were taken poſſeſſion of in the ſame manner; and Jean Rabel was taken without reſiſtance, in the following month of January. Some forces having been ſent from Jamaica and from England, Tiburoon and Port-au-Prince alſo yielded, with the borough and territory of Croix des Bouquets.

3. and Spaniards. In the mean time the Spaniards, having taken into their pay a great number of our revolted negroes, took poſſeſſion of Verites, Mirbalais, Grand-bois, and Gonayves, in the weſt; of Fort Dolphin, Wanaminth, Gros Morne, and the Borgne, in the north, by voluntary capitulations. They were, however, afterwards expelled from all thoſe places, except Fort Dolphin, which they ſurrendered at the concluſion of peace with the French republick. In fact, their power was at all times precarious, and their intentions ſuſpicious. A great number of Frenchmen, who had come from America to Fort Dolphin, were maſſacred by the negroes in the Spaniſh pay, (July 7th, 1794) a garriſon of 1000 men being, during this act, under arms on the parade, without attempting to prevent it, and even driving back the poor wretches who ſought for ſhelter in their ranks.

Mirbalais and Grand-bois were taken by the Engliſh, and afterwards Banica, a Spaniſh territory of great importance, in the view of giving eaſy acceſs by land into the north of the French colony.

In

In the mean time, Jeanrabel, Bombarde, Tiburoon, and Leogane have been entirely loſt, as alſo the territory belonging to St. Marc, which itſelf was narrowly ſaved by the bravery of lieutenant-colonel Briſbane, and the zeal of the inhabitants and garriſon. The limits of Jeremy become daily more circumſcribed. It is frequently annoyed by the incurſions of the brigands, who have burned a great number of eſtates and carried away the negroes. There are military poſts in the mountain near Port-au-Prince, and in the territory of Croix des Bouquets, Grand-bois, and Mirbalais; yet theſe diſtricts are by no means ſecure from inroads. Culture juſt now begins to be attempted, but it is attempted with diffidence, difficulty, and danger, in the rich plain of Croix des Bouquets, where almoſt all the eſtates have been lately burned by our own troops, under pretence that they were lurking places for the brigands. Mirbalais, Larcahaye, Grand-bois, and the central parts of Jeremy, are the only quarters where the plantations are cultivated in peace; and even the limits of Larcahaye are by no means ſecured.

In the month of March, 1796, an attempt was made againſt Leogane, which failed of ſucceſs. Bombarde, an inſignificant place, was taken in the month of June, but evacuated in leſs than a month. Since that period, except in the accidental poſſeſſion of Banica, no attempt to conqueſt has been made.

Such is the ſtate of the Britiſh part of St. Domingo, as far as reſpects conqueſt and progreſs of arms (March 1ſt, 1797).

It is only ſince the arrival of his excellency Sir Adam Williamſon, (May, 1795) that our government can be ſaid to have aſſumed any thing of ſyſtematic form. Previous to that period, every commanding

4. Britiſh government.

commanding officer adopted, in his own diſtrict, ſuch meaſures as he pleaſed.

Certain articles, ſettled and ſigned at St. James's, in the month of February, 1793, between the miniſtry and ſeveral reſpectable planters of St. Domingo, and recommended to general Williamſon by his majeſty, have been eſteemed as a capitulation, not only of the places ſurrendered, but of all thoſe which may hereafter by any means whatever come into the poſſeſſion of Great Britain. By thoſe articles it is expreſsly agreed, that our religion, conſtitution, and laws, as well as the taxes exiſting and paid by the colony, before the year 1789, ſhall ſuffer no alteration. It follows of courſe that the former government and adminiſtration ſhould be completely re-eſtabliſhed. But this has been carried into effect only in ſome parts, ſo that a motley ſyſtem has ariſen, and Engliſh inſtitutions are mixed, and ſometimes claſh with the French conſtitution. I ſhall curſorily examine the different heads mentioned in the appendix.

5. Legiſlature. It appears that the care of all the regulations, which the preſent circumſtances may require, is left by miniſtry entirely in the juriſdiction of the governor. He is indeed, or ought to be, aſſiſted by ſix planters, taken from the three parts of the iſland, who compoſe his privy council, for matters of adminiſtration and police. This is a new inſtitution extremely plauſible in theory, but not ſo uſeful in practice. Firſt, becauſe it is now more difficult than ever to compoſe that council of men of real abilities, and perfectly free from ſelf intereſt and partialities. 2dly. Becauſe it has no authority; the governor may, but he is not bound to take its advice. 3dly. It had ſome influence under Sir Adam Williamſon; at other times, as many Engliſh military men are accuſtomed to ſee a check in civil inſtitutions,

tions, coldneſs and neglect ſometimes bordering upon jealouſy or ſcorn have been perceived. At all times, intruders and intriguers have had more weight than the privy council; nay, regulations exiſt in the very records of the court, written or corrected in the margin by the miſcreants who ſuggeſted and obtained them for their own benefit.

The governor has all the powers which were formerly divided between the governor-general and the intendant; a burthen too heavy for any man, whatever may be his abilities; ſtill more ſo for a military man, a ſtranger in the country, a ſtranger to the laws, and ſometimes to the language; at a period too when active war muſt be carried on, and when all the branches of adminiſtration and police require to be re-eſtabliſhed anew. 6. Executive.

Thus the old ſyſtem of our adminiſtration is altered. The agent general, or the commiſſary general of the treaſury, has no other power or charge but to pay accounts where he finds the ſignature of the general. If it ſhould happen that he is not a competent judge of the propriety or impropriety of expence; if in the hurry of immenſe buſineſs he is either miſtaken or artfully deceived, the commiſſary general has no right to make an objection. Beſides, no formalities are preſcribed, no precautions are taken, at a time when they are more than ever neceſſary. The money of his majeſty is diſpoſed of by the governor exactly as if it were his own; and ſignatures may be extorted, at unguarded times, which may enable miſcreants to ſecure millions for themſelves.

The ſecretary of the governor has very large fees for all expeditions, and always a very great influence. This has in a great meaſure been one of the great cauſes of abuſive expence. Civil places

unheard

unheard of were created; military corps of officers formed and paid, which have few, or are without a soldier. Even commissions, both civil and military, were ridiculously given for places which are yet in the power of the enemy *(a)*.

7. Courts. The judicial system has been re-established much in the same form as formerly (as also all the ministerial officers belonging to it); a superior council at Port-au-Prince, as also an inferior court of common law. Inferior courts likewise at Jeremy, at St. Marcs, and at the Mole, instead of Port Depaix. The proceedings are the same, in civil and criminal cases, as they were before 1787. They are determined by the ancient laws, as far as new regulations do not interfere. The salaries of the members of the superior council are 20,000 livres, those of the president and attorney general had been settled at 25,000 livres; these indeed had secured to themselves certain new fangled fees, which might have become exorbitant, but which were suppressed. A chief justice was established, and as his salary was pretended to be fixed by the minister at 90,000 livres, the attorney general claimed the same annual sum, and was not refused.

The courts of admiralty have not been re-established; only a commission has been appointed by the governor, of which the late agent general was the principal member, to decide upon the cases of interlope and smuggling.

8. Martial law. In consequence of some jealousy or other of the civil power, government was betrayed into a proclamation of martial law (of which the British military men seem to be extremely fond) pretended to be directed by his majesty, the first effect of which (how warrantable I cannot say) was to suspend every

(a) Namely, of colonels of negro corps for almost all the parishes in the north; for all these the secretary had his fee.

function

function of the courts. But to these the governor has, after many complaints, again allowed a scanty precarious portion of their former jurisdiction.

The smallest knowledge of the constitution of our government would have prevented this mistake. The promulgation of martial law (in the sense in which it has been understood here) can only be necessary in a country where the military is naturally subordinate to the civil power, and only admitted under emergencies where active and forcible authority is required to quell public disorders. In this country, government being entirely military, and the civil power in strict subordination to it, martial law is an absurdity; as much an absurdity as it would have been under the absolute government of William the Bastard. The formal existence, however, of martial law, puts a stop to the legal redress of all civil or criminal injuries. If the subject may still expect personal safety from the sword, he suffers in his property. Other inconveniences resulting from its rule may be easily perceived, as upon representation made, in an instance where a wrong exertion of power had been exercised, the answer returned was, that *in time of martial law the governor might do whatever he pleased, and the courts had no right to represent.*

The duty of octroi is raised at the English custom houses; a commission of five per cent. is granted to the collector; a charge much greater than the former salary of the receivers. The duty upon exportations is the same as formerly for British vessels, but double for the Americans. The latter pay also the duties prescribed by the law of 1784, and the occident demesne duty only, at the rate of 6¼ per cent. *9. Revenue.

The following is a return, which I have from good authority, of the duties collected from the

20th of February 1795 to the 29th of February 1796:

		L.	S.	D.
At Port-au-Prince	—	1,447,088	6	5
Sterling	—	£. 41,763	3	1
Jeremy about	—	42,000	—	—
Mole and St. Marcs	—	2,000	—	—
Total ſterling	—	£. 85,763	3	1

The duty of octroi upon houſes and negroes has never been collected.

The municipal and curial duties are only collected at Jeremy, and expended privately in the diſtrict.

It is obſerved that Jeremy, Grand Bois, Mirbalais, and Larcahaye, pay very great voluntary taxes for the expences of their defence; at Jeremy, a pretty regular municipal adminiſtration exiſts on that account. In the other places they are generally collected and managed by the officers commanding. At Port-au-Prince, a general inſpector of police, who is alſo provoſt general of Mareſhalſea, raiſes taxes on the inns, taverns, gaming-houſes, retailers of liquors, and even upon the common ſellers at the market place, for ſome purpoſes of the police. The public expects that theſe gentlemen will, one day or other, fairly account to proper authority for both the receipts and expenditure.

Far the greater part of the expence is ſupplied from the royal treaſury of England. I cannot poſitively ſtate the amount, but I am informed from proper authority, that it has ſometimes exceeded 900,000 dollars a month.

Governor Williamſon, a man formed by nature to be the comforter of misfortune, ſaw with pity the diſtreſſes

diſtreſſes of many families, fallen from wealth into miſery and want. In alleviation of theſe calamities, he granted ſuch a ſmall allowance, which, from particular conſiderations, and in ſome inſtances by dint of importunity or impoſition, was enlarged in favour of ſome individuals; an expence which (as the late agent general uſed to ſay) was very little, and too honourable for the Britiſh nation, and too well ſuited to attach the French to their government, to be ever withdrawn; yet in latter times it has been moſt unmercifully and injudiciouſly abridged, though more proper objects of reform and retrenchment have not been meddled with.

I muſt here take notice of what relates to the eſtates of abſentees, actually ſuppoſed to be in the territory of the republic. The proceeds of theſe have been directed, by an act of parliament, to be ſequeſtered, and depoſited in the hands of government, for the benefit of the proprietors; a meaſure which may afford a temporary aid in defraying of expence. General Williamſon had ſettled the management of this buſineſs as well as he could, according to the views of the act of parliament. But it has ſo happened, that the managers have not been compelled to render an account; or, if they have, they all (except one) had ſo artfully arranged the buſineſs, that after admitting great receipts, they ſtill appeared to be creditors; a circumſtance certainly very extraordinary, but which has never yet been properly inveſtigated. In conſequence of this, intereſted perſons propoſed another method of management, namely, the farming of all thoſe eſtates; but as the very ſame perſons were to be appointed for this purpoſe, they took care to make themſelves perfect maſters of the management, to free themſelves from the ſhackles of formalities, and, that no controul might reſtrain them, they extorted a prohibition, forbidding the courts to take cognizance

of the affairs which concerned the abſentees. The leaſes have been executed in a ſuitable manner, in a manner quite arbitrary and oppreſſive. I will not take notice of the wrongs and complaints which reſound from all quarters; but I can ſay candidly, that the rents will not amount to the ſixth or fifth of the real produce, and that, though the greater number of abſentees may be ruined, the benefit accruing to the public will not be great.

10. Produce. The above return ſtates the exportations from Port-au-Prince, that is, from Larcahaye, Grandbois, and Mirbalais, for the ſame period of a year and nine days, as follows:

Coffee	— —	8,660,416 pds. wgt.
Brown ſugar from Larcahaye	— —	9,846,439
Clayed ditto, from ditto		12,032
Melaſſes, hogſheads	—	3,229
Ditto, tierces	—	128 ½
Cotton	— —	609,300
Indigo	— —	6,072
Hides	— —	3,854

There is no produce at the Mole, or at St. Marcs.

I am not able to ſtate the produce of Jeremy, which is almoſt entirely in coffee; but as it has been ſeen that the duties collected there exceed thoſe collected at Port-au-Prince, the produce muſt be alſo more conſiderable.

11. Commerce. The produce of Port-au-Prince (in the period above mentioned) has been exported by Britiſh veſſels bound to Britiſh ports — 58
By foreign ditto, to foreign ditto — 186

I have no returns, either of importations, or of the ſhips trading in other places.

Though

Though it appears reaſonable that the American trade, which feeds the Britiſh colony, ſhould be encouraged, it lies actually under very great reſtrictions as to importations, after having been much indulged under general Williamſon. The conſequence is, that, at the preſent moment, the price of bread is raiſed more than double, and the ſtores at Jeremy and Port-au-Prince are full of produce, for which there is no demand.

The colonial ſea trade is almoſt entirely annihilated by the brigand privateers, and chiefly by the barges of Leogane and Gonaives, which find ſhelter in places where our ſhips cannot purſue them. The misfortune is, that theſe barges are moſtly manned by our very ſailors, who deſerted to the republick for want of employment, while ſmall veſſels might have been fitted out for the protection of our coaſts.

Since the declaration of war with the Spaniards (*a*), cattle and meat begin to be very ſcarce at the Mole, St. Marcs, and Jeremy; Port-au-Prince being yet tolerably ſupplied from the limits of Mirbalais and Grand-bois.

All articles of conſumption are exceedingly dear, leſs from ſcarcity than from the diminiſhed value of money, in conſequence of the immenſe maſs brought into circulation, on account of the expences of government.

The population of the whites is much decreaſed in all the parts of the iſland, as might be expected, from the maſſacres, the hardſhips, and the emigrations which have taken place; though ſeveral have returned to the ports in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh, and a great number of emigrants from France 12. Population.

(*a*) Great hopes have been entertained of the good diſpoſition of the Spaniſh coloniſts. It is likely that if a great force had been ready to aſſiſt them, they might have exerted themſelves in our favour; but now all our expectations on that account have vaniſhed.

have ſought employment in the colony, the population is ſtill comparatively inconſiderable. The emigrants from Old France are, in general, brave men, good officers, and in that reſpect extremely uſeful; but not having property in the iſland, they have not the ſame intereſt in the ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment of order and tranquillity as in the continuance of war, during which they expect to retain their employment and its profits. The planters, in deſpair of ever regaining their eſtates, are in a great meaſure under a ſimilar influence. Preſent advantages have become the principal aim; the permanent intereſt of the colony only a ſecondary object.

The population of the people of colour, during the revolution, cannot be ſuppoſed to be much diminiſhed. Thoſe expelled from Jeremy are in the boundaries of the republic. Though under the Britiſh government they are, in general, treated with more kindneſs, and admitted to more equality, than before the revolution; though in ſome places, or under certain circumſtances, they have been uſed exactly as the whites, a great part of them continued in the ſame views and diſpoſitions which have actuated them during the revolution. Daily deſertions, plots, and treacheries, are diſcovered. Even one of them, who has the merit of having preſerved and ſurrendered to the Engliſh a very rich pariſh, and has ſtill the chief command of it, has been obliged to uſe great ſeverity towards great numbers of people of this claſs. If ever the period comes, when durable peace is to be ſettled in this colony, one of the points of niceſt management will conſiſt in arranging the concerns of that intermediary tribe of men.

In the preſent unſettled ſtate of the colony, it had been thought proper that no emancipations ſhould be granted by government, and governor William-

ſon

ſon had agreed to it; but ſome have been extorted by deception and importunity.

The population of the negroes, in the whole colony, may be ſuppoſed to be reduced to much leſs than one-half of what it was before the revolution from various cauſes, from war, from failure of importation, from diſorders, and from ſickneſs, without means of attendance and cure, during a courſe of ſix years. In parts under the Britiſh government, ſome of theſe cauſes have operated, ſo that the eſtates are greatly reduced in point of produce, from want of hands to work them. Though ſome alteration may be remarked in the ſubmiſſion of negroes, yet it is amazing that it ſhould have ſubſiſted as it has, notwithſtanding the examples and allurements of the republican ſyſtem daily, almoſt, under their eyes.

13. Religion.

The principal religious eſtabliſhment has undergone no alteration. There is a prefect at Port-au-Prince. The churches are filled by the ſame prieſts, or ſuch as have been vacated have been ſupplied with others, and the worſhip and ſervice are performed as formerly. However, all the eſtates belonging to the clergy, or to the hoſpitals, are in the hands of the republicans, except the houſe of miſſion at Port-au-Prince.

It is with grief one is obliged to obſerve, that the viſitations of God have been ineffectual againſt irreligion and profligacy of manners, as miſery has not checked the habits of luxury. On the contrary, corruption and libertiniſm ſeem to have taken deeper roots, being cheriſhed by the wicked principles preached by the French revolutioniſts.

14. Military.

With regard to the military eſtabliſhment, it is undeniable that the preſent circumſtances required a great alteration from the old ſyſtem. Exterior defence is become needleſs, by the ſuperiority of

the Britiſh navy; but all the poſts require to be fortified againſt interior attacks. A great colonial force was alſo indiſpenſible, as it was rightly foreſeen that reinforcements adequate to our wants could not be expected from Europe. Happily, the trial made of negroes, under the command of an excellent officer, has given great hopes of ſucceſs from this quarter.

The ancient corps of the Marſhalſea was new modelled into a regiment of cavalry. It was completely officered; but the number of privates could not be completed, ſo that it was extremely expenſive, without being of any real ſervice. It has, therefore, been reduced to four companies of people of colour, and even theſe not complete. The Marſhalſea was then re-eſtabliſhed, according to the ancient plan, but much beyond the number.

A legion was formed at Port-au-Prince, compoſed of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and chevaux legers. It is pretty numerous and very ſerviceable, but not complete, though from time to time recruited from England.

Another was attempted to be formed at St. Marcs, but it went on ſlowly, and it is now ſo weak, that the number of officers is very little ſhort of that of the privates. Another at the Mole is alſo very weak. Laſtly, one at Jeremy, which, as it could not be recruited, is now entirely ſuppreſſed. The population of whites is very low; thoſe capable of ſerving are, on one ſide, averſe to the ſeverity of diſcipline, or, on the other, find ſo much more profitable employment in ſerving with the planters, for the particular defence of a diſtrict, particularly Jeremy, that they do not think of enliſting.

Emigrants from Leogane, and other republican quarters of the colony, have been formed into corps, but rather with a view of aſſiſting them with [illegible] than

than for the ſake of real ſervice: yet field officers have been appointed for theſe corps, which ſcarcely deſerve the appellation of companies.

The eſtabliſhment of negro corps was regulated by governor Williamſon. The ſyſtem of free-companies was, perhaps, the moſt proper, either with reſpect to œconomy, or on account of better ſervice, but by reaſons too obvious he was prevailed upon to determine, that each pariſh ſhould have a corps of *chaſſeurs* of five hundred men, officered by white gentlemen. The negroes were required to be ſupplied by the planters, in the proportion of one out of fifteen, male or female. They were to be paid for by government at the rate of 240 dollars a head.

However, ſome pariſhes have two of theſe corps, ſo that the planters complain of being forced to contribute beyond what the regulation preſcribes: ſome of the corps alſo exceed the number, being near a thouſand, while others are incomplete; yet, it muſt be owned, that the neceſſity of a numerous force of that kind is an excuſe for ſtretching out the rate.

There are two corps in Jeremy, one at Port-au-Prince, two at Croix des Bouquets, one of which, however, is attached to the legion, one at Mirbalais, two at St. Marcs, two at Larcahaye, four uncomplete companies at the Mole, and, at preſent, a corps (under the name of chaſſeurs of the north) at Banica *(a)*.

The colonels of ſome of theſe corps have obtained leave to form ſome companies of horſe, a very expenſive charge, and ſeemingly contrary to the purpoſe of theſe corps, which are deſigned to

(*a*) It was a delicate attempt to form a whole corps entirely of negroes taken among the brigands, however well affected they ſeemed to [illegible] The laſt accounts from Banica ſtate, that three or four hundred [illegible] have deſerted to the republic, with their arms and baggage.

purſue the enemy through the mountains and in the woods.

It was in the original plan, that the officers ſhould be, as much as poſſible, choſen from amongſt the planters, who were ſuppoſed to be better acquainted with the character and mode of managing negroes, than men lately from Europe; but notwithſtanding this intention, emigrants have been admitted in great numbers, and even non-commiſſioned officers of the regiments ſerving here during the revolution (*a*). Thus it happens, that ſome of theſe corps are neither ſo properly diſciplined nor ſo truſty as it was expected.

By the formation of all thoſe corps, the militia is both fallen into diſcredit, and become very ill compoſed, though, in fact, it was the moſt reſpectable colonial corps before the revolution; yet field-officers have been appointed to command it. Britiſh pay has been allowed to both officers and privates; but though it has been accepted of by the officers, and by ſome companies, others have declined it. This ſervice is in general very irregular, a great number of citizens (particularly all the Engliſh) either finding means to evade it, or cauſing it to be performed by ſubſtitutes not very truſty.

The whole of the colonial force is ſaid to amount to eight thouſand men in Britiſh pay. How accurate the returns are I cannot warrant.

There are diſtinct hoſpitals for the colonial troops; but ſome reform has been lately made in this expenſive department.

Fortifications have been erected, and perhaps more than were neceſſary, at all the poſts.

Such is, in general, the colonial military eſtabliſh-

(*a*) Thus the battalion of Dillon (the former garriſon of the Mole) has been drained of all the men, who remained, and the officers have been left without a man.

ment

ment at present, independent of British troops, and of foreign troops in British pay.

Such is also the general state of the British possessions in St. Domingo. Minute details would require a large volume; yet I must add, that lately two posts have been taken without resistance, in the Spanish part of the island, namely, *Saint Juan*, near Banica, and *Neyba*, a place commanding the communication with the south; but in the present state of our forces, perhaps such remote possessions cannot be deemed advantageous, and the expence of feeding them is immense.

It appears, that by the accounts transmitted from the colony, three articles give great disgust, and are bitterly complained of in London:

Want of progress,
Immense expence, and
Mortality of troops.

The truth of these charges cannot be denied. The two former are entirely attributed to the *successive* governor and commander in chief, the latter is imputed only to the climate. It is necessary that government and the nation be enabled to form a right judgment on points so material; I shall, therefore, candidly explain the true causes, as I have been an ocular witness of the circumstances. 15. Want of progress.

With regard to want of progress; a memorial, stating the situation of the colony, and the means of securing the conquest, was communicated to the ministry so early as 1794. The number of troops necessary was stated at 15,000 men; but it was recommended that they should be dispatched in one embarkation, and that it should be so calculated that they might arrive about the beginning of October, a period when the season begins to be temperate; but this, unhappily, could not be accomplished.

Two

Two ſmall reinforcements, one of 1,500 and one of 2,000 men, arrived at different periods. The laſt conſiſted of about 5,000; but near 3,000 of theſe were foreign cavalry, troops very little capable of being ſerviceable in a country interſected with ſteep mountains, and covered with thick woods. It was found not poſſible to mount them inſtantly on landing, and as by their terms of ſervice they could not be forced to ſerve on foot, they became in a manner uſeleſs. The Britiſh troops, of the three reinforcements, were newly recruited ſoldiers, entirely raw and unformed, with the majority of officers juſt entered into the ſervice. Laſtly, all thoſe troops arrived in the beginning of ſummer, a ſeaſon when the Engliſh ſuppoſe that every kind of exertion is fatal to Europeans, and which, in fact, is the leaſt proper for the ſervice of the field. Thus it has been imagined that it was neceſſary to wait a ſeaſon fitter than the preſent for operations; the troops have conſequently been quartered in the garriſons, and diſeaſe has invariably deſtroyed them before they were uſefully employed.

On the other hand, the chief officers do not appear to have had a proper idea of the ſpecies of war calculated for this country. They ſaw an extenſive territory, apparently difficult for military operation; they eſtimated the number of the enemy according to the number of the negroes, on a ſuppoſition that they were equal to troops from Europe. They do not appear to have made a difference between war here and war in Europe, with difficulty perſuading themſelves that a handful of whites is capable of routing an army of negroes without courage or diſcipline, ill armed, and worſe commanded *(a)*.

Laſtly, there does not appear to have been a

(a) Thoſe advantages really exiſted; but the more the actual operations are delayed, the more they will be diminiſhed, as the brigands are daily diſciplined.

plan;

plan; private views ſeem to have directed the few operations which were attempted; for inſtance, at the time that Port-au-Prince was attacked and taken poſſeſſion of, the whole French republican government and force were at Port Depaix. That town was not then in a ſtate of defence; the garriſon was actually ſtarving; it ſaw no poſſibility of retreat, as the two adjoining pariſhes to the eaſt and ſouth were in the hands of the Spaniards, and the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of the weſt. Thus the conqueſt was eaſy, and it would have been deciſive, by cutting off communication between the north and the reſt of the iſland; and it further may be obſerved, that had the republican government been once deſtroyed, the negroes and mulattoes, without head or direction, had ſunk into a ſtate of deſpondency; the Cape would have become an eaſy conqueſt on the arrival of the firſt reinforcement, and its ſituation to windward, by commanding the whole iſland and the ſea, is of great conſequence. Port-au-Prince offered none of thoſe advantages. But the conqueſt of it was preferred, becauſe there was a large fleet in the harbour loaded with goods, a rich booty for the conquerors. The attempt againſt Leogane, the expedition of Bombarde, were alſo adviſed by private intereſted views of another kind. The former had very unfortunate conſequences, as the admiral was obliged to be refitting at Jamaica when the laſt reinforcement arrived at the Mole. While he was expected, the troops ſuffered, and became ſickly on board the ſhips. During this time alſo a republican ſquadron, with commiſſaries, troops, arms, and ammunition, entered into the Cape without oppoſition.

The ſeeming independance of the navy forms a great hindrance to the land ſervice, where the cooperation of a fleet is neceſſary to the ſucceſs of an enterprize. It is certain that a very excellent plan was ſuggeſted to, and adopted by general Forbes,

after

after the return of admiral William Parker from Jamaica; but partly disgusted at having been betrayed into the unfortunate attempt against Leogane, partly deceived by the reports artfully sent abroad, of a naval armament expected at the Cape, the admiral could not be prevailed upon to assent. The troops were of course dispersed into the garrisons, and fell victims to idleness and inactivity rather than to the actual effects of the climate.

16. Expences. With regard to expences, these have been immoderate and excessive. But still strong arguments may be pleaded in excuse of the necessity.

That great expences were indispensible in this undertaking, and that the conquest of St. Domingo was able to repay with interest, by the accession of wealth and of commerce, are facts beyond contradiction. The necessity of fortifying the several posts, of forming the colonial military establishment, independant of the cost of British troops and charges annexed to government, could not fail to run high, especially when every article of materials, cloathing, and victuals, were scarce and excessively dear. The negro corps were particularly expensive, as they could not be trusted if liberty was not granted them, and as they could not be taken from the masters without an indemnity. A careful administration had undoubtedly saved great sums; but if such an administration has not existed, the fault may be imputed to the plan of loading a single man with all the details of civil government, war, and finance, a burthen too great for an individual, and still more so for a military man, who can seldom be supposed fit for intricate business. Thus, if government has gone into excess, if impositions and frauds have been practised upon it, allowances should be made for the situation in which it was placed.

General Williamson, one of the most virtuous, honest, generous, compassionate, and benevolent men

men exiſting, had a natural inclination to ſcatter benefits, and was too candid himſelf to ſuſpect impoſition in others. He had the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in St. Domingo much at heart, and was ſenſible that the beſt means to accompliſh this were by endeavouring to attach ſincerely the French to the ſervice and government of his majeſty. Unhappily, the Britiſh government does not hold out thoſe moral means, namely the exterior diſtinctions and marks of honour which, in the French monarchy, were employed with much ſucceſs to ſecure attachment, and without expence. High ſalaries and gratuities are the only or ordinary encouragements and rewards in the Britiſh ſervice; and general Williamſon having no other at his diſpoſal, determined to employ them. Firſt, he granted the uſual rates of the Britiſh pay; the other allowances were requeſted, and ſeemed to follow of courſe. The cloathing of regiments is eſteemed a perquiſite or right of the colonel; this and the purveyance of regimental hoſpitals were inſiſted upon, objects which, under the preſent circumſtances, might eaſily amount, and actually amounted to the moſt extravagant gain. There was no poſſibility of refuſing what was deemed uſual in the army. The plurality of places was alſo allowed, and much abuſed. Inſtances might be quoted, where the ſame officer was major or captain of a corps, and colonel of another, where he had another company. It is ſaid, that all the pay allowances and profits of a company of foot amount to 18,000 livres, thoſe of a company of horſe to 36,000 livres, thoſe of a regiment of foot to 100,000 and of horſe to 200,000 livres, (the purveyance of cloathing and hoſpitals included) and perhaps to much more.

There is a great error in all this. Immenſe fortunes are engroſſed, or ſcandalous expence made by a few men, the greater part of them ſtrangers to the iſland, while brave lieutenants and enſigns

can

can ſcarcely maintain themſelves, and while reſpectable and formerly wealthy planters, with their families, are ſuffering from want. This is even aggravated by the circumſtance, that the majority of thoſe who reap ſo great gains were in the beginning in indigence and diſtreſs, would be glad to have been employed for daily bread, and on this footing would have ſerved with as much zeal, cheerfulneſs, and loyalty as they do at preſent *(a)*.

Money has been compared to the dropſy; the more the patient drinks the more he deſires to drink. The facility of obtaining has opened a door to ambition and rapacity, and example has perverted thoſe who were conſidered as honeſt and diſintereſted. But even in excuſe of this ſome allowance may be made. People ſee that the efforts of England in this colony are faint, that the progreſs is ſlow, that there is little hopes of the reſtoration of culture and tranquillity. Some, who have not property in expectation, do not look forward to diſtant proſpects. After ruin, every body finds here an opportunity in ſome meaſure of repairing their loſſes, and how long that opportunity will laſt they cannot foreſee. It muſt be owned, that more than common honeſty would be neceſſary to reſiſt the temptation.

The French civilians are by no means free from the ſame diſpoſition. Even it muſt not be ſuppoſed that the Engliſh in office are, during all this profuſion of wealth, negligent of themſelves. That is not by any means the caſe. They conſider St. Domingo as a conqueſt, and they argue, that as conquerors they ought to ſhare in the prize.

The fortifications of the poſts, the ſhips hired and armed for the ſervice of government, the carriage of proviſions and ammunition to the advanced poſts

(a) I ſuppoſe if a more reaſonable plan of œconomy is now attempted, it is ten to one that all thoſe gentlemen will withdraw from the ſervice.

form

form a claſs of expences very enormous, and in which there has been great abuſe, eſpecially in remote places, where the governor, not being able to ſee with his own eyes, is obliged to truſt to repreſentations of others.

General Forbes has been ſhocked at the enormity of expence; he has made ſome trifling reforms; but he is difficulted in finding a more effectual remedy; for when once a tree has acquired growth and ſtrength, however wrong and irregular in its diſpoſition and direction, it requires a very ſkilful hand to lop the paraſitical branches, without hurting or deſtroying the exiſtence of the tree itſelf.

It is reported that governor Simcoe, who is already arrived at the Mole, comes out to act upon a plan of ſtrict and regular œconomy *(a)*; I hope he may be endowed with all the qualifications neceſſary for this truly herculean taſk, which I conſider as a critical operation for the colony. Great alarm is already ſpread among thoſe who are highly penſioned, or in the practice of engroſſing the public money. Honeſt well meaning men will, as uſual, preſerve a reſpectful diſtance; intriguers will, as uſual, alſo crowd round him, and contrive to ſneak into his confidence. I really lament his ſituation, as I did that of his reſpectable predeceſſor's; I regret alſo that he is deprived of the aid of two men deſigned to accompany general Abercromby.

17. Mortality of troops.

It is generally known that the climate of the Weſt Indies is noxious to the conſtitutions of Europeans *(b)*. It muſt not however be ſuppoſed

(a) Certainly a man of capacity may reduce the expences, perhaps, under one half; but the plan talked of; bearing down the annual aſſiſtance from England to 300,000 l. ſterling, amounts in my opinion to an actual deſtruction of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in St. Domingo.

(b) There is an old remark, that out of a given number, one Spaniard, two Frenchmen, and three Engliſhmen, will periſh in the act of aſſimilation; and the different temperatures of Spain, France, and England, as well as the various degrees of intemperance of the three nations, agree with this obſervation.

that the uncommon mortality of the troops, which has taken place, is to be entirely imputed to the difficulty of aſſimilation. With proper management, many lives might have been ſaved which have been loſt; nay the greater number of deaths are actually the effects of a wrong treatment.

It would ſeem, that as miniſtry transfer the reſponſibility to governors and commanders, preſcribing no plan, but leaving all operations to their own choice, governors or commanders, on their part, believe themſelves acquitted in entruſting the lives of troops to the care of the medical ſtaff; yet phyſicians have only the charge of the actual ſick; the governors are, in reality, entruſted with the charge of preſerving health, by proper diſcipline and proper management. The general opinions, among the Britiſh, upon this ſubject, are as wrong as they can be.

The ſoldiers wear flannel, and are cloathed in very heavy cloaths of woollen cloth.

They are allowed full living, and a daily ration of rum.

They are generally quartered in the towns upon the coaſts, places particularly unhealthy, and where the gratifications of the vices of drunkenneſs and incontinence are eaſily attained.

It being ſuppoſed that exertions of every ſort are fatal to Europeans, chiefly in ſummer, the ſoldiers are kept in an abſolute ſtate of inactivity and idleneſs, except the duty of guards and ſentries, which affords no variety of exerciſe or amuſement *(a)*.

(a) Independent of the daily rations of rum, the ſoldiers get as much of it as they pleaſe. The officers never watch upon this important point; nay, great numbers of officers ſet the example of daily intemperance and drunkenneſs. When thus overheated, fever comes upon them; they are in general treated in the hoſpitals on a ſuppoſition that their ſtomach is debilitated; cordials are poured in; if a few eſcape, and they are not watched in their convaleſcent ſtate, a relapſe generally carries them to the grave.

The experience of all the inhabitants of St. Domingo condemns this practice; to which I am able to add an opinion of professional authority. A physician of the British staff, of some length of service and acquaintance with climates, in a memoir which I had the opportunity of perusing, has proved, by conclusive arguments drawn from experience, that the ordinary system of management is such as our enemies might advise; that, instead of the ordinary equipment, the soldier ought to be lightly and loosely cloathed, and defended from the cold of night, when on duty, by a mantle or cloak rather than a blanket; that he should live upon less full diet, and be permitted only a small and occasional allowance of rum; that European soldiers should be quartered or cantoned in the country, and especially in the mountains, which are generally healthy, the colonial troops being employed in the towns and plains; that thus they would be precluded from opportunities of acquiring or indulging in the vices and licentiousness of towns; that, though the cooler seasons are preferable for the business of war, yet exertions of body and mind are necessary at all times; and that, even in summer, the marches and activity of the field, under actual service, would have fewer victims than the system of indolence adopted at present. Further, he is of opinion, that of six men who may fall in the country, if one is the victim of climate, the other five are sacrificed to causes which might in general be obviated. Lastly. he says, and the truth of it is obvious, that our enemies are by no means formidable; and that, with proper management, and a good plan of conduct, the conquest presents little difficulty. I pray to God that our future governors may attend to this salutary advice.

It is time to stop. I wish this information may be useful to a government and to a nation to which

I am much indebted and heartily attached. Should any individuals take offence at my obſervations, I hope the greater number will allow that I have been cautious and moderate, and that I have taken care to throw the cloak of charity over the ſins of my neighbours.

March 1ſt, 1797.

April 7th, 1797.

P. S. I am happy that the time neceſſary to review and correct this work leaves it in my power, after the preceding details, to give ſome comfort to thoſe who wiſh for the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in St. Domingo. Governor Simcoe aſſumed the reins of government about a month ago, and it ſeems as if ſevere trials had been reſerved to put his abilities to the teſt. The preceding ſupineneſs of government ſuffered the brigands to collect forces in ſome degree formed to diſcipline. They have attacked, in better order than uſual, ſeveral poſts. General Simcoe has oppoſed their efforts with judgment, activity, and ſpirit, and has checked their progreſs effectually, wherever he has been preſent. Where he has not been, things have happened ſo afflicting, and ſo extraordinary, that time only and ſtrict enquiry into the facts can enable a man of diſcretion to form a judgment of the real cauſes, and of the conduct of ſome officers. However, the ſpirit and capacity of the governor inſpire general confidence. Forces are arrived from Jeremy, others are expected from Jamaica. There is no doubt but our loſſes will be repaired, and the inſolence of the enemy repreſſed. Before the confuſion of theſe events, governor Simcoe had began

to

to penetrate into the buſineſs of civil adminiſtration, to inveſtigate the channels of expenditure, and to inquire into the means of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of œconomy, in which he is ably aſſiſted by J. Wiggleſworth, eſquire, the commiſſary-general, a man of capacity and integrity. Thoſe ſincerely attached to the proſperity of St. Domingo, ſee with indifference the approaching diminution of their pecuniary emoluments *(a)*, while thoſe eager only in the purſuit of gain are overawed. Subordination alſo is reſtored. Thoſe who had been accuſtomed to object to, or evade orders given in a feeble and irreſolute manner, now implicitly and inſtantly obey. Some men of great name, but of little real merit, begin to loſe influence. Intriguers ſtill put on the maſk, lurk about, and look for oblique means of acceſs; but they are daily diſappointed; and it is hoped that they will not again be able to lay hold of the reins of government.

In ſhort, it is a ſubject of univerſal regret, that general Simcoe was not here two years ago. We, however, find ourſelves happy in his preſence, at a critical period (a period perhaps marked for the deſtruction of the Britiſh colony) and we doubt not, that if aſſiſted effectually by England, he will accompliſh the object of putting the whole colony under the dominion of his country.

(*a*) The privy council and the ſuperior council have offered a great diminution of their ſalaries; the planters of Culdeſac have offered their negroes to ſerve as ſoldiers; inſtances of zeal and patriotiſm which could not be expected to happen under a leſs popular and able chief.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CURRENCIES.

Sterling.			Jamaica Currency.			St. Domingo Currency.			In Dollars, Bits, Sols, and Deniers.			
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	Livres.	Sols.	Den.	Dol.	Bits.	S.	Den.
—	—	1	—	—	$1\frac{2}{5}$	—	2	$10\frac{13}{20}$	—	—	—	—
—	1	—	—	1	$4\frac{4}{5}$	1	14	$7\frac{4}{5}$		2	4	$7\frac{4}{5}$
1	—	—	1	8	—	34	13	—		2	3	—
10	—	—	14	—	—	346	10	—	42	—	—	—
20	—	—	28	—	—	693	—	—	84	—	—	—
30	—	—	42	—	—	1,039	10	—	126	—	—	—
50	—	—	70	—	—	1,732	10	—	210	—	—	—
100	—	—	140	—	—	3,465	—	—	420	—	—	—
500	—	—	700	—	—	17,325	—	—	2,100	—	—	—
1,000	—	—	1,400	—	—	34,650	—	—	4,200	—	—	—
10,000	—	—	14,000	—	—	346,500	—	—	42,000	—	—	—
100,000	—	—	140,000	—	—	3,465,000	—	—	420,000	—	—	—

N. B. A livre St. Domingo currency is to a pound ſterling as 693 to 20, therefore multiply a ſum of St. Domingo by 20, and divide by 693, the quotient will be the correſponding ſum ſterling, and vice verſâ; that is, if you multiply a ſum ſterling by 693 and divide by 20, the quotient will be the ſame ſum St. Domingo currency.

A pound Jamaica currency is to a pound ſterling, as 7 to 5.

A pound Jamaica currency is to a livre of St. Domingo, as 4 to 99.

In both caſes, the rule is the ſame. Multiply by 5 or by 99, and divide by 7 or by 4, and vice verſâ.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

OF THE

APPENDIX.

SECT.

2. Intro-

CONTENTS OF THE APPENDIX.